

A N

Universal HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time to the Present :

COMPILED from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

Maps, Cuts, Notes, *Chronological* and *Other* Tables.

V O L. VII.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεται μὴ κατανίει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὐρήσεις ἀκόπως, ὥστε ἑτέροι συνῆξαν
ἐγκόπως. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.



L O N D O N :

Printed for T. OSBORNE, in *Gray's-Inn*; J. OSBORN, in *Pater-noster Row*; A. MILLAR, over-against *Catharine-street* in the *Strand*: and J. HINTON, in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*.

M.DCC.XLIV.



TO THE
LEARNED MEMBERS
Of the TWO CELEBRATED
UNIVERSITIES
OF
ENGLAND.

Reverend and Learned Gentlemen,

THE great helps and encouragement, which the authors of this work have received from your Two Learned Bodies, not only exact this public testimony of our gratitude, but have made us long since look upon ourselves as accountable, in no small measure, to You, for every deviation we have found reason to make from our original plan; especially as the greater part of our number have had, and some of us do still enjoy, the happiness of being members of one or other of your colleges.

The late learned Mr. Sale, the first compiler of this grand work, was so fully satisfied, that it was capable of considerable improvements, that he offered the first plan, rather as a sketch or specimen, than a complete system of what was intended; and accordingly closes it with a hint, that the undertakers were, even then, sensible they should find cause both to make additions to, and to vary from, the method of it, in the course of this history: And that every such addition and variation might the more effectually conduce towards the perfecting of the whole, as far as a work of this nature, and hitherto unattempted by any nation, could be brought to such perfection, care was taken, in the proposals prefixed to every number of the first and subsequent volumes, to invite such of the Learned, both at home and abroad, who wished to see so considerable and extensive a work well executed, and could either furnish us with any useful hints, towards the improvement of the plan or history, or could favour us with any observations, which might explain a doubt, clear up a difficulty, discover an error, or give a new light to any point of history, chronology, geography, &c. that they would be pleased to communicate them to us, with a promise, that they should be thankfully acknowledged, and either complied with, or reasons assigned, why they were not.

This we quickly found to have the desired effect, and many learned men, not only from your Two Illustrious Universities, and other parts of South and North-Britain, but likewise from other parts of Europe, even so far as from Sweden and Norway, favoured us with their correspondence, and furnished us with many useful hints and remarks, and even curious materials, which have been inserted in this work, and well approved by all the Learned of our acquaintance, to say nothing of some others, which will more properly belong to the Modern Part of this history. We were more particularly obliged, for several very curious remarks, to those gentlemen, who undertook the translation of this work into foreign languages, especially the learned translator of it into Dutch, who was pleased not only to send us over his version, as it came out in Holland, but likewise to communicate to us his reasons, whenever he found any, to differ from us in any of those remote and abstruse points, concerning which nothing can be offered, at best, but probable conjectures, and wherein, consequently, every author has an undoubted right to declare, and defend, his own. And as it plainly appeared to us, that these gentlemen had not been behind-hand with us in calling in the best helps, and consulting the ablest judges of their nation and acquaintance; so not to have paid a due regard to their judgment, in points of that arduous and intricate nature, would have been doing a manifest injury to them, and a much greater to the public.

But, notwithstanding all this, our eyes have chiefly been fixed on your Two Illustrious Bodies. It is to some of your learned Members that we have had constant recourse, in all doubtful points; and it has been their decision that has finally determined us in every deviation from, or, rather,

ther, as we have good ground to hope, in every improvement we have made, to our original plan; for, whether they occurred to ourselves, in the course of this work, or were communicated to us by our correspondents, they never received our approbation, till they had previously obtained the sanction of some of the most learned amongst You: And that we might the more effectually come at your real sentiments, we did not content ourselves with a bare epistolary intercourse, but deputed, upon all such material emergencies, some of our number to your Universities, to consult with such members of Both, as were known to be best versed in those points, in which we wanted advice, or could direct us to the most likely means to improve both the design and the work itself: And this was done sometimes by personal application to such of our learned friends and acquaintance, who, we were sure, would give us their opinion, without any reserve; but, in other cases, much oftener, by a third hand; that is, by the assistance of some persons of their acquaintance, who could more freely introduce the point in question occasionally, as it were, and without any other seeming view, than to know their private sentiments on the subject. And by this means it was, that many of them have been prevailed upon to open their minds more freely, especially where they differed from us; which their extreme modesty, the inseparable companion of true learning, might, in all probability, have induced them to conceal, had they been applied to in any other way. Hence it will be allowed, that we took the most effectual steps to enable ourselves to carry on this arduous and useful work in such a manner, as to intitle it, as we may presume to say, to the kind acceptance it hath met with from your Two Illustrious and Venerable Bodies: and, as a natural consequence of that, from the public. And the obligations we are under on this head to several of the Learned Members of those Bodies, will, we hope, be deemed a sufficient apology for addressing this concluding Volume of the Antient History to both your Universities, as well as for every thing that, in the execution of the work, shall be found to deviate from our original plan.

However, for our further justification to the rest of our readers and encouragers, who are unapprised of our frequent applications to You, as well as to remove even the shadow of a suspicion, that this address was calculated to insinuate them into an implicit belief of, and acquiescence to, what we have ventured to affirm in it, we shall, for their fuller satisfaction, acquaint them, in the Preface here subjoined, not only with the most material alterations we have made to our plan, but with our reasons for them, and the visible advantages the public will receive from them; and we doubt not but they will convince every unprejudiced reader, that we have, in every such deviation, studied the ease and benefit of the student and purchaser, much more than our own interest.

But, not to anticipate what more properly belongs to the pages following, we beg leave to instance to You, our Reverend and Learned Patrons, only one of those alterations, indeed a very considerable and advantageous one to the Purchasers, which was first thought of and agreed upon at Oxford, and has been since honoured with an universal approbation; we mean, the dividing the whole work into two distinct classes or bodies; the one, to contain all that is properly called Antient History, and which is now happily concluded in this Seventh Volume; the other, all that belongs to the Modern part, which is now to follow; that so each part might be had separate, or, when completed, together, as the genius and inclination, the course of study, or circumstances of every purchaser, should determine him.

All that we shall presume further to add to this our thankful acknowledgment for all Your past favours, shall be only our constant and hearty prayers for increase of the honour, welfare, and prosperity, of your Two Illustrious Bodies, and to declare our sense of the singular happiness which this address affords us, of subscribing ourselves,

Reverend and Learned Sirs,

Your most Obligated, most Dutiful,

and Humble Servants,

The Authors.

T H E

P R E F A C E.

HAVING been induced to deviate, in several particulars, from our Original Plan, we think ourselves obliged, in the Preface to a Volume which concludes one great period of our labours, to lay before the public our reasons for so doing.

These deviations, then, may be reduced to the three following heads.

The *First*, That we have swelled the book to a greater bulk than we had promised in our Proposals.

The *Second*, That we have taken a much longer time to finish it than we had engaged for.

The *Third*, relates to that division of the work into two distinct bodies ; the one, of the Ancient History, the other of the Modern ; which is mentioned in the preceding Dedication.

As to the *First* article, relating to the increased bulk of the work, it is necessary to observe, That the fourth number of our First Volume was scarce published, when we received complaints from several of our correspondents, that we had handled the histories of the Egyptians, Syrians, Canaanites, and other ancient nations, in so concise a manner, as could by no means answer the principal end of the work, which, according to our Proposals, was, to save our readers all that vast expence of time and books, which they must otherwise be at, to obtain a competent knowledge of the histories of the respective nations, by furnishing them with a Complete Body of History, ready compiled to their hands ; and, at the same time, to let in upon the abstruser parts, all the light that could be gained from ancient and modern authors ; as well as from our own study, and, even, conjectures, where the matter to be treated of, admitted not of absolute certainty.

These considerations, and others of equal force, determined us to be more full and explicit for the future, upon every curious and material point ; and even, where requisite, to write short dissertations upon them ; and since our purchasers would be gainers by these additions, if they were pertinent and instructive, to be less solicitous, than we had been, about the bulk of the work ; which must, of necessity, by this means, be greatly increased.

Accordingly, we found ourselves obliged to enter upon a more diffuse and copious display of historical facts, extracted from a much larger number of authors, than we had before selected, and, as our subjects called for it, to take into our scheme the principal masters of Chronology, Geography, Natural History, Politicks, Philology, &c. And by these means we presume to say, we have given our readers a clearer and more extensive view, not only of past ages, and ancient nations ; but of their various religions, laws, trade, navigation, climates, genius, learning, manufactures and produce ; of their wars and conquests, rises and falls ; and, in a word, of every thing that is diverting, useful, and instructive in the history of each country ; intermingling occasionally, besides, proper explanations of every dark and intricate point ; reconciling original authors, and removing every difficulty, as far as the nature of the subject, and our own abilities would admit.

Nor may it be amiss, in this place, to observe, that if we had principally consulted our own interest, as Authors, or that of the Proprietors, we must have been naturally led to adhere to our original design. For as, on the one hand, the more expensive a work of so large a nature, is made, the fewer purchasers it will have ; so on the other, the succinctness we had proposed to observe, would have afforded us a very plausible excuse (had we been inclined to make use of it) for passing over slightly, or in silence, many things which were difficult to come at ; whereas a more enlarged and capacious plan, necessarily obliged us to take notice of every thing that we imagined our readers had reason to expect either from our care or industry.

These considerations will, we presume, sufficiently apologize for the length we have been obliged to run into : and, at the same time, necessarily account for the

Second deviation from our Proposals ; which is, The delay of the work : For the reader cannot but suppose, that the abovementioned alteration in our scheme, must have laid us under a necessity of entering upon new studies and researches, and of procuring great numbers of the scarcest books ; some of which were not to be had in England ; so that no small time was required after we had, with the greatest difficulty, obtained them, to digest them ; and when we had done this, we were obliged to new-model the copy we had before in a manner ready for the press.

But hence, that is to say, from this enlargement of our plan, resulted a still greater cause of delay than the former ; for, hereupon several of our society declined the work ; some plainly acknowledging, that it was become too difficult a task for them to perform, while others, as freely, declar'd, that it would be too laborious an undertaking ; and that it was unlikely to succeed in such a manner as to afford them a suitable encouragement for the time and pains which this new method made absolutely necessary to be taken. This extremely surprized, and even disconcerted the remaining few, who began then to apprehend, that the design must be wholly laid aside. But the proprietors having found the work, so far as it was published, received with an uncommon approbation, and their learned encouragers, as well abroad as in Britain, extremely desirous to have it prosecuted, resolved, as they had been already at a very great charge in providing books and entering into Correspondencies, &c. to spare no expence to obviate this new and very discouraging difficulty ; by engaging, as opportunity should offer, new assistances ; in which they happily succeeded. But nevertheless, like mariners in a storm, who are obliged to part with some valuables, in order to save the rest of the cargo, they found themselves under a necessity to give up that part of our Proposals, which engaged us to publish twenty sheets monthly : For, after proper hands were procured, which was not easily or soon effected, it must be supposed, that it took up some considerable time, notwithstanding the extraordinary qualifications of the new-engaged gentlemen, to acquaint themselves with what had been already done ; with the method to be proceeded in ; with the authors we had selected for our purpose ; and with the system of history, chronology, &c. which, upon the maturest deliberation, and with advice of our learned friends, we have resolved to follow throughout the work.

To these difficulties, (to which may be added, the much-to-be-regretted death of a valuable assistant) which would have been unfurmountable to authors and proprietors less determined to prosecute so useful, and, we will venture to say, so publick-spirited an Undertaking, was it owing, that the publication of the First Volume, more particularly, was so long delayed, that we began ourselves to apprehend, that the Work would not meet with an encouragement answerable to our assiduity and pains. But when our readers and correspondents came to see what they were likely to gain by this delay, it procured from them such a kind and generous reception to our labours, that it inspired the proprietors with hopes, that altho' the *first edition* might not compensate them, nor even repay them the interest of the money they should be obliged to expend in the prosecution of a Work, that must necessarily take up some years to complete ; yet that the probability of its becoming a *Standard Work to Posterity*, and of a *future impression*, (the present not being a large one) and that their *families*, if not *themselves*, might reap the benefit of their risques and expence : This therefore induced them to spare no pains nor charge to perfect it ; and this ardor being seconded by all the gentlemen employed, we have been enabled, notwithstanding such unavoidable and unforeseen hindrances, as have been
occasioned

occasioned by the sickness, the death, and sometimes the necessary absence of some of our society, to publish every volume more regularly since; and at length to complete this body of Ancient Universal History, in such a full and extensive manner, that the like never had been attempted in our own nation, or any other.

But before we obtained this desirable end, and even at the time we determined upon the alteration we have mentioned; to wit, the enlargement of our plan; another difficulty, and that no small one, occurred, which concerned principally the interest and advantage of our kind Encouragers: For we could not but foresee, that by this more diffuse manner of treating our subjects, we must necessarily swell the Work to a price as well as to a bulk, that might not be suitable to the convenience of every one that might be desirous of being possessed of so valuable a repository of ancient and modern learning. And this brings us to account for

The *Third* material deviation from our original plan.

To be the better enabled to obviate this difficulty, some of our society undertook personally to consult such of their learned friends at Oxford, on whose judgment they had the greatest reason to rely. The result, after the maturest deliberation, was, as we hinted in the Dedication, to divide the Work into two distinct bodies; the one, to contain the Ancient, the other, the Modern History; so as that each might be purchased separately, as the genius or circumstances of our encouragers should determine them. And as the preparation necessary for the Modern Part, would take up some time, that intervening space, it was observed to us, might possibly make the purchase of the Modern Part, when it came to be published, more convenient to such as chose to have both:—While the Ancient History would deserve, nevertheless, to be considered as a perfect Work of itself.

To what we have mentioned on this head, we shall observe, that this deviation from our original plan, will render the study, as well as the purchase, easier to many gentlemen, who are desirous to acquire knowledge in the history of the Universe, than if we had adhered to our proposed method; as it will enable them to distinguish with greater certainty and judgment between what properly belongs to the Ancient, and what to the Modern. For such a distinction is manifestly necessary to be made between those ancient kingdoms and nations, that have long since ceased to be such; for instance, the ancient Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Persians, Grecians, &c. and those that continue still in being, under the same or other denominations; as also, from those that remain nearly in the same condition which they have been in from the remotest times; such as the Moscovites, the Tatars, vulgarly called Tartars, the Chinese, and many other eastern and northern nations.

And here it is proper to observe, that upon the prosecution of this part of our new plan, another distinction appeared to us absolutely necessary to be made; and that was, between the ancient state of these kingdoms and nations that still subsist, and that period of time in which they were brought to the form of government they now enjoy, or live under; as it is proper, for the better elucidation of the history of those nations, to begin their Modern at that epocha. Thus, for instance, the ancient nation of the Arabs, with respect to its religious concerns, differs as much from itself before and since the time of Mohammed, as any two nations can well do, from one another. Their Ancient History, therefore, could not reach lower than that epoch; and it is our design, for the same reason, to begin our Modern, at the birth of that noted Legislator. The like may be said with respect to the history of Spain, Gaul, Germany, Italy, and several other countries; in which, had we followed our first Plan, the Ancient and Modern History would have been so blended and confounded, as to have rendered both much more unintelligible to our readers, than now they will be found to be.

But we ought not to omit mentioning, that while we were endeavouring to please such of our judicious readers, as admonished us against being too succinct and concise, we had the misfortune to be blamed by some few others, for having been too copious and diffuse in some parts of the Work, particularly in the Roman History. But here, not to remind those gentlemen, that the History of the Constantinopolitan Empire is, properly, includable, and therefore included, in that of the Roman; we desire, that it may

be considered, that the Roman History is by far the most considerable of any, both as to the extent and copiousness, as well as the usefulness of its matter; and that by reason of its unbounded conquests, the affairs of almost every nation in the then known world, must be, more or less, included in it; and the more, because in duration of time it exceeded any of the other three Universal Monarchies, as they were called. And as there was a necessity, that the most material transactions between the Romans, and the nations they subjugated, should be inserted either in the history of the one or the other, we judged it more eligible, to give the preference to the conquering nation; and in our account of the others, to refer for the principal transactions between both, to that of the Romans; than to take the contrary method: And by this means the histories of the other nations are treated with a brevity which that of the Romans would less allow of; references being constantly made in them to the Roman History; as will be found in our accounts of the ancient Spaniards, Gauls, Germans, &c. By this method, prolix as the one part must necessarily seem, compared with some of the others, the bulk of the Work in general is very little augmented.

But we had still a more cogent motive to treat the Roman History thus extensively: The reader may remember, that it had been written very lately abroad in other languages, and by several hands; but tho' by far more diffusive than ours, yet in so partial and unsatisfactory a manner, that it would have been next to impossible to have set the most important and instructive facts related in it in their true light, without descending into all those particulars, which serve as a clue to unravel the truth and springs of the principal ones. And this we have frequently hinted at in several parts of that history, by way of apology, and to prevent our readers being misled into a notion, that we were swelling the Work to an unnecessary bulk, for selfish considerations.

When we first entred upon this great Work, we resolved to make it a rule with us, to avoid, as much as possible, all Religious disputes, and to leave all controverted points of that nature to Ecclesiastical writers: But we had scarcely passed over the threshold; (that is to say, the Cosmogony) before we found reason to dispense, occasionally, with this our Resolution.

The account which Moses gives us of the Creation, the Flood, the Dispersion of nations, the Foundation of ancient kingdoms, &c. is so succinct, and, in many cases, so dark, intricate, and controverted, that our readers would have reaped but little benefit from the best light we could have given them, unless we had descended to particulars, by explaining some, proving others, and obviating or answering such objections, as had been, or might be made to that and the rest of the sacred historians; as well as inserting the various notions and systems which the learned, whether Christians, Jews, or Gentiles, had built either upon, or against them. And we were soon convinced, by the universal approbation that first Volume met with, as well as by the letters which we received from our correspondents, that this method, tho' difficult, and likely to swell the first Volume beyond our intention, ought to be strictly followed where-ever our materials were taken from the inspired Penmen.

By this means, we may safely affirm, that we have rendered much easier than ever, the study of those remote histories; and, at the same time, by the explication we have given to obscure and difficult places, in the Sacred Books, have cleared up many abstruse Points that had been the subject of Controversy, occasionally answering the Objections of our modern, as well as the ancient Sceptics; and, we hope, have set many important Facts, and intricate Subjects, in such an impartial light, as may both convince and instruct; and upon the whole, save our readers the trouble of consulting an endless number of Commentators, which would be more likely to confound than satisfy, the minds of the younger students especially.

Whatever, therefore, may be objected to this new method, by persons who had much rather be left at liberty to cavil at their pleasure with the sacred writers, the more serious and unprejudiced part have been very well pleased to see those important points so fairly stated and cleared.

This likewise has necessarily increased the bulk of our Work; particularly in our Jewish History: But nevertheless, instead of blaming us, several eminent writers have

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have done us the honour of a public approbation, by quoting us, in some of their learned works since published, and many more have favoured us with theirs in their epistolary correspondence.

We must beg leave to add, that we should have been justly chargeable with the most flagrant, not to say unpardonable neglect, if, whilst we endeavoured, as becomes all impartial historians, to vindicate the character of a ZOROASTER, a CONFUCIUS, a SOLON, a LYCURGUS, or any other heathen philosopher or lawgiver; we had left those of our truly INSPIRED WRITERS, and more especially that of our DIVINE MASTER, unrescued from the misrepresentation and obloquies of an unbelieving age. Such an omission must have been interpreted either as a total giving up of the cause of Revelation, or, at least, of all hopes of convincing our modern unbelievers of the truth of it, by any arguments. Whereas we ought, in candor and charity, to believe, that the most sober and thinking part of them are willing and ready to peruse and weigh every thing that can be said against, as well as for, their unbelief. However that be, the success which this work has met with, hath happily convinced us, that our theological, critical, and even philosophical excursions, have been disrelished but by very few, in comparison of those who have given them their approbation and encouragement.

The Chinese, the Eastern Tartars, the Japanese, the Siamese, and other potent Nations of the East-Indies, were, some of them, so wholly unknown, and the rest so imperfectly known to ancient authors, that we have thought proper to refer our accounts of those people (as well as, still more properly, of the kingdoms of America, or the New World) intirely to the intended Modern Part of our Work. But nevertheless, that we may not be thought to omit any thing material to our design, we propose to begin our Modern History of those East Indian empires, kingdoms and states, with a brief recapitulation of all that is to be met with in ancient writers concerning them.

Upon the whole, we presume to congratulate our kind encouragers, as well as our selves, that we have so happily gone through and completed the most abstruse and laborious part of our undertaking: An undertaking, the difficulties whereof the reader will be able to form some idea of, when he casts his eye on the subsequent list of authors which we have consulted, for the first Volume only, (for it would have been too tedious and painful a task to have gone through the whole Seven Volumes in the same manner) and upon the ensuing collection of texts of scripture, which we have either new translated, or explained and defended, or both. We repeat our thankful acknowledgments to them, and to all our correspondents, for their patience with us, and favour to us; and hope, all the difficulties of a task so arduous considered, that our Work will appear worthy of both: Whatever faults there are in it, (and several we have already, as we proceeded, taken proper occasion both to acknowledge and correct) we promise, if we shall be so happy as to see it come to a Second Edition, carefully to rectify them; and to print separately the most material of them, for the sake of the purchasers of this first.

And here, having, as we hope, shewn evident tokens of disinterestedness, in every instance where it *could* be shewn, and that we preferred the Good of the Work to our own or our Proprietors Interest, we beg leave to mention a grievance that particularly affects both Authors and Proprietors: And that is, That two Printers of a neighbouring kingdom are at this time actually contending, who shall hurt us most, by publishing this expensive work upon us, and propagating their spurious editions at an under-rate; which they may the better afford to do, as they pay nothing for the Copy; and as Paper in Ireland is not subject to a Duty; whereas we in England pay a very large one upon it.

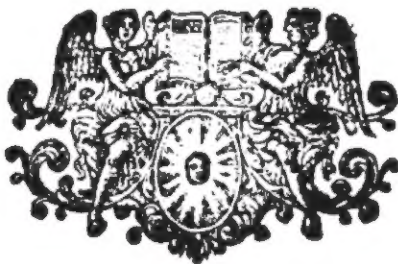
The Proprietors of these Volumes have reason to complain of this ungenerous treatment for two reasons, peculiar, as we may venture to say, to this Work; the first, because the Undertaking is not so much a *National*, as, answerable to its title, an *Universal* one; for, altho' we were not a little pleased, that it was thought to have merit enough to be translated into foreign languages, nevertheless we hoped that we were out of all danger of a piracy upon us in the English tongue, to be printed verbatim from our copy: The other, because, if the Proprietors are prevented coming to a Second Edition, they will, notwithstanding

standing the encouragement they have already met with, be losers rather than gainers, by reason of the very great expence they have been at, to authors, engravers, &c. and by a trouble and attention, and correspondencies, of a very extensive nature, as well as by an incredible expence of books collected for this purpose; and other incidental charges, which a *Second Edition* only can compensate.

Notwithstanding this is a grievance that *principally* affects the Proprietors, yet the Authors and the Public are not wholly unconcerned in it: For, altho' the compilers acknowledge themselves to have been as handsomely gratified, as the thing would bear, for their great pains and labour; yet, as the pirated editions will be printed verbatim from their copy, it will, by preventing a *Second Edition* to be set forth by them, deprive them of the honour and credit, which they had all along proposed to themselves, in making such corrections and emendations, as, on the strictest and maturest consideration, they should find proper to be made; for we had long ago agreed, that immediately upon the close of this *Ancient History*, even previous to the publishing of the *Modern*, each of us should have revised his own Part with the utmost Care and Deliberation; to be afterwards re- and cross-examined and criticized in common concert, in order to have rectified every mistake, supplied every deficiency, retrenched every superfluity; and, in a word, to have enriched it with every thing which either our own retrospection had suggested to us, or which came too late to us from our Correspondents to be inserted in the former.

By this means we promised to ourselves that having thus happily reached the summit of our arduous task, we should be able, as weary travellers from some convenient eminence, to view, as it were at one point of sight, both the difficult roads we had left behind in the *ancient*, and the more pleasant prospect that was now before us with respect to the *modern part*, as would have enabled us to have made both more perfect and uniform to each other.

If this good design be thus rendered imperfect, by the sordid intervention of two or three private men, who would never have been venturers or embarkers, originally, in so expensive and precarious a work; and which, indeed, hardly any other persons of learning or business would have prosecuted through so many discouragements, and with a necessary ardour of so many years continuance; may not the Public be said to be universally a sufferer in so base and sordid an invasion of a design *not yet compleated*? For what heart can the Undertakers have to proceed, even with the *Second Part* of their Design, the *Modern History*, if they are to be invaded, and robbed of the due Reward of their labours and risque, by so ungenerous and unjust a violation of their property?



A L I S T

Of such of the ENCOURAGERS of this
Work, as have come to our Hands since the Pub-
lication of the SIXTH VOLUME.

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T H E

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A Badie	Apollonius	Bellonius	Cantacufenus
Abdalrahman	Apuleius	Ben Gerfhom, <i>R. Dav.</i>	Capzovius
Abenezra	Aquila	Berefhith, <i>Rabbab</i>	Cardan
Abraham, <i>ben Levi</i>	Aquinas, <i>Tb.</i>	Bernard	Cardinalis, <i>Hug.</i>
— Nicol.	Arabic Version	Bernardi, <i>Edw.</i>	Carlow
Abравanel	Arburthnot	Bernier	Carofalo
Abu'l, <i>Faragus</i>	Aristobulus	Beroaldus	Carrión
Abu'l, <i>Feda</i>	Aristocles	Berosus	Cartefius
Abu'l, <i>Shafi Khaniz</i>	Aristotle	Pseudo Berosus	Cartwright
Abu, <i>Moham. Aduf.</i>	Armenius	Berruyer	Caryand
Abunazar	Arnobius	Betram	Caufaubon
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Abdamnana	Artemidorus	Bion	Caftro, <i>de</i>
Ado	Affemanus	Blount	Celfus
Ælian	Athanasius	Bochart	Cenforinus
Æfchilus	Athenæus	Bodinus	Chalcidius
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Africanus	Atlas Sinenf.	Bonfrere	Chalepta, <i>R. ben Jof.</i>
Agatharchides	Auctuarium ad Diof-	Boot. <i>Anf. de</i>	Chardin, <i>Sir Jahn</i>
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Ainſworth	Avicen	Boullage	Chemnitius
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Al'moftætraf	Aufonius	Brett	Chevreau
Al'foynti	Azariah, <i>R.</i>	Breves, <i>de</i>	Childea, <i>R.</i>
Al'tabari		Brie	Chitroæus
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Alex. <i>ab Alexand.</i>	Baker	Brown	Choronenfis, <i>Mof.</i>
— Halles	Balbi	Bruyn, <i>le</i>	Chryfoftom
Alexandrian Chronicle	Bambrige	Bucer	Cicero, <i>M. T.</i>
— Septuagint	Bamidbar, <i>Rabbab</i>	Budeius	Clarke, <i>Dr. Sam.</i>
Allin	Barabbin	Bugenhag	Clavius
Allix	Barcepha, <i>R.</i>	Bull, <i>bp.</i>	Cleitarchus
Alphomfus, <i>king of Na.</i>	Bardefan	Bundy	Clemens, <i>Alex.</i>
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Alftedius	Barreman	Burgenfis, <i>Lud.</i>	Cluverius
Altinga	Barthenora, <i>R.</i>	Burnet	Coccejus
Ambrofe	Bartolocci	Burratius	Codomanus, <i>Laur.</i>
Ambrofiaft	Bafil	Burretini	Colvius
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Annianus	Beda	C.	Compte, <i>Fatb. le</i>
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Antoninus, <i>Marc.</i>	Behmius	Calmet	Coreal
Antonius, <i>liberal.</i>	Beker	Calveſius	Coſmas

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Couplet	Empedocles	Gerundenfis, R. Mof.	Holstein, Luc.
Tozi, R. Mof.	Enoch, lib. apocr.	Glycas	Homer
Cozri, lib.	Ephesius	Goar, R.	Horace
Cratylus	Ephodeus	Golius	Hornius
Crofs, Alex.	Ephrem, Syr.	Gomarrus	Hoffein
Ctefias	Epiphanius	Goodwin	Hofpin
Cudworth	— Pseudo	Gordon	Hottinger
Cumberland, bp.	Erasthones	Gorion, Joseph' ben	Howel
Cunæus	Eſtrange, Sir Roger	Goropius Beccan	Hudſon
Cuper	Eucharus	Gouſſet	Huetius
Curtius, Quint.	Eudoxus	Grabe	Hyde
Cyprian	Eugubinus	Grand, le	Hyginus.
Cyril	Eupolemus	Greaves	
	Euripides	Gregorius Magn.	I.
D.	Eusebius	— Nyſſen	Jallalo', din
Dacier	— Pamphilius	— Nubiens	Jamblichus
Dale, Van	Euſtatiuſ	Mac Gregory	Ides
Damachus	Eutropius	Grew	Jean dos Santos
Damaſcen, Nic.	Eutychiuſ	Grotius, Hug.	Jehudah, R.
Damiati	Eutymiuſ	Gurtler	— Hakkodeſh
Dandily		Gyralduſ	Jerom, St.
Danhaver			Jerombaluſ
De Dieu, Lud.	F.	H.	Johan. Hieroſol.
Del Rio	Fabriciuſ	Hackluit	Johnſon
Democrituſ	Fagiuſ	Hahſon, R.	Jonathan, R.
Derham	Falconeri	Haitho	Jones
Dicæarchuſ	Feruſ	Halicarnaffuſ, Dio.	Jornandes
Dictys, Creſ.	Fefuſ, Rufuſ	Halley	Joſephuſ
Didymuſ	Feuillee	Hammond	Joviniuſ
Diodoruſ Sicul.	Figuerra	Harduin	Journal des Scavants
Diogeneſ Laert.	Fitch	Harman	Iſidoruſ, Hiſpal.
Diogenet	Flacceiuſ	Haroph, R. Abr.	— Peluſiota
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Dioſcorideſ	Fontenelle	Hecatæuſ	Juchafin, lib.
Diuſ	Foffenbrona, Paul	Heidegger	Juliuſ Firmic.
Dodwell	Frederic, Ceſar	Helladiuſ	— Pollio
Dorotheuſ	Frefier	Hellanicuſ	Juniuſ, Franc.
Dofitheuſ	Froes, Lud.	Helmont, Van	Juſtin Martyr
Driedo	Fuller	Helvicuſ	— ex Trogeo
Drufiuſ	Funcciuſ	Herbelot, de	Juvenal
Dupin		Herbert	Izaak, R.
Dupleſſiſ	G.	Herman	
Dutch embaffy	Gabalii, Count de	Hermiaſ	K.
	Gabriel Sionita	Hermippuſ	Karo, R. Mof.
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Ecchellenſiſ	Gaſtrei, bp.	Hefichiuſ	Koran, Al.
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Eldred	— Babyl.	Hippocrateſ	Lætuſ Pomponiuſ
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Elleſhemoth, rab.	Genebrard	Hiſcuniuſ	Lamberg
Elmacin	Gefner	Hobbeſ	Lamy

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Lansbergh	Mede, <i>Jos.</i>	Odoardus	Plotinus
Lapide, <i>Cornel.</i>	Medina, <i>R. de</i>	Olearius	Plutarch
Launoy	Megasthenes	Oleaster	Pocock
Leo, <i>Judab</i>	Megillath, <i>Tbabaniib</i>	Onkelos	Poiret
— de Modena, <i>R.</i>	Meibonius	Onuphrius	Pollion, <i>Treb.</i>
Leon, <i>Hebreu</i>	Melancthon	Opeimerus	Polybius
Letters V concerning	Mela	Origen	Polyænus
Inspiration	Menage	Orosius	Polyhistor, <i>Alex.</i>
Lescapier	Menander	Ortellius	Pontac, <i>Arnold.</i>
Lesley, <i>Charles</i>	Mendez	Osthanes	Pool
Levi, <i>R.</i>	Meral, <i>al Zeman</i>	Overald	Porphirius
Levita, <i>R. Elias</i>	Mercennus	Ovid	Posidonius
— <i>Abr. ben-Dior</i>	Mercer	Outram	Postellus
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Lipenius	Metzer	Pachurst	Præcepta and Negat.
Lippoman, <i>R.</i>	Meyer	Pagninus	
Lipsius Justus	Micrelius	Panætius	Prateolus
Lisle, <i>de</i>	Middrahim	Panodorus	Prideaux
Littleburry	Mildendorp	Pantaleon	Proclus
Livy, <i>T.</i>	Minutius, <i>Felix</i>	Paracelsus	Procopius
Lluydd	Mirandula, <i>Pic. de</i>	Patricio, <i>Fr.</i>	Propag. of the Gospel
Locke	Mirat-kainat	Patrick, <i>bp.</i>	Prosper
Longomontanus	Mitylenensis, <i>Zach.</i>	Paul Burgens	Ptolemy
Lord	Moebius	— de Middleburg	Puffendorff
Loubere, <i>la</i>	Moham. <i>Ebn. Jacob.</i>	Pausanias	Purchas.
Lucan	Monæus	Peletier	Pyrro
Lucas	Monconis	Pelican	Pythagoras
Lucian	Monozah	Pelling	
Lucretius	Montfaucon	Perdicas	Q.
Ludolph	Mopfuet	Peritzol	Quadra, <i>de la</i>
Luther	Morinus	Perizon	Quandt
Lydiat, <i>Tb.</i>	Morizon	Perkins	Quaresm
Lyranus, <i>Nic.</i>	Mornay, <i>Phil. de</i>	Petavius	
	Moschus, <i>Job.</i>	Petit	R.
	Mosès <i>Ægyptius</i>	Peucer	Raban, <i>Maur.</i>
M.	— <i>Col.</i>	Peyrerius	Radzivil
Macrobius	— <i>Barcepha</i>	Pezron	Ramazzin
Mæstlinus, <i>Mich.</i>	Munster	Pfeiffer	Raleigh, <i>Sir Walt.</i>
Maffæus	Muyfius	Philip, <i>P.</i>	Rascius
Maimonides, <i>R.</i>	Muscato, <i>R.</i>	Philippe, <i>de St.</i>	Ranwolf
Maldonat	Musculus	Philippus Berg	Ray
Malela	N.	Philastrus Brix	Regnauld
Mallebranche	Nachman, <i>R.</i>	Philo Biblius	Reinhold
Manasse, <i>Constant.</i>	Nathan, <i>R.</i>	— <i>Judæus</i>	Reland
— <i>ben Israel</i>	Nepos, <i>Cornel.</i>	Philochoras	Relation des Indes or.
Manetho	Newberry	Philopon	Renaudot
Manoch, <i>R.</i>	Newton, <i>Sir Is.</i>	Philosophic. Transact.	Reuchlinus
Marcion	Nicen acta Concil.	Philostratus	Reymer
Marcus Diacon.	Nicetas	Philostorgus	Rheinford
Marianna	Nichols	Phocas	Rhodoginus, <i>Cal.</i>
Marraccius	Nicholson	Phormutius	Ribera
Marroc, <i>R. Sal.</i>	Nieuhoff	Photius	Ricciolus, <i>J. Bap.</i>
Marsham, <i>Sir Rob.</i>	Noldius	Pierius	Rivinus
Martianay	Nonnius	Pignorius	Rogers
Martini	Nosen, <i>R. Jason</i>	Pineda	Rohault
Martyr, <i>Pet.</i>	Numenius	Piscator	Rollin
Masius	O.	Plato	Romuald, <i>Ss.</i>
Maffochet, <i>Pessachim</i>	Oakley, <i>Sim.</i>	Pliny	Roque, <i>de la</i>
Mafforah	Ocellus, <i>Lucan</i>	Plot, <i>Dr.</i>	Rubruquis
Maundrel		[d]	

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Rufinus	Silius, <i>Ital.</i>	Thales	Villamount
Rufus	Simeon, <i>R.</i>	Thearidas	Villet
Rupertus	——— <i>ben Paki</i>	Themestius	Vincent
	Simler	Themistocles	Virgil
S.	Simmachus	Theodoret	Vitringa
Saadias, <i>R.</i>	Simon, <i>Fath.</i>	Theodotus	Vitruvius
Sacrobios	Simpson	Theophilaet	Vives, <i>Lud.</i>
Safoddin	Smith	Theophrastes	Vossius { <i>sen.</i> <i>jun.</i>
Salden	Solinus	Theopompus	Voyage, <i>de Perse</i>
Salian	Solomon Jarchi	Thevenot	Usher, <i>archbp.</i>
Salmasius	——— <i>ben Melech</i>	Thomafini	Ufiel, <i>ben R.</i>
Salmeron	Solomonis Judicium	Thoyth	Ufuardus
Samaritam Pentat.	Sozomen	Thuanus	
Sanches	Spanheim	Thucidydes	
Sanchoniatho	Spencer	Thymestes	W.
Sanctius	Spinosa	Tillotson	
Sanders	Spondanus	Timæus	Walton
Sandys	Stackhouse	Toland	Wansleb
Sanfon	Stanley	Tornelius	Warren
Sarisbury	Stephanus, <i>Byz.</i>	Tostatus	Watts
Saubert	Sternheilmius	Tournafort	Webb
Saurin	Steuchus	Tournemine	Wells
Scaliger { <i>sen.</i> <i>jun.</i>	Stillingfleet	Trallius	Wendelen
Scene, <i>le</i>	Stobæus	Travels of the Preach.	Whiston
Schikard	Strabo	Tremellius	Whitby
Scholiasfs	Strada, <i>della</i>	Trithemius	Wikman
Schotus, <i>Gasp.</i>	Struys	Tudela, <i>Benj. de</i>	Wilkins, <i>bp.</i>
Schindler	Stunica, <i>Diego de</i>	Turre Cremata	Willibald, <i>Sir Wil.</i>
Schroeder	Suetonius	Turretinus	Woodward
Schultens	Suidas	Tyrius, <i>Maxim.</i>	Wolf
Schotanus	Sulpitius, <i>Sever.</i>	——— <i>Guillelmus</i>	Worstius
Scotus Marian.	Syncellus	Tzetzes	Wooton
Selden	Synod. Oecumenic.		
	Syrian	V.	X.
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Seleucus	Tabari	Vajicra, <i>rabbab</i>	Xanthus
Seller	Tacitus	Valerius Maximus	Xenophon
Semedo		——— <i>Flaccus</i>	Xiphilinus
Seneca	Talmud { <i>Hierofol.</i> <i>Babyl.</i>	Valesius, <i>Franc.</i>	
Sepharadi, <i>R. Abr.</i>	Tanhuma, <i>R.</i>	Valle, <i>Petro de la</i>	Y.
Septuagint	Targums	Vandal	
Serrarius	Tavernier	Varenius	Ya'hya
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Sicard	Testam. XII. Patriar.	Victor, <i>Hug. de St.</i>	Zohar, <i>lib.</i>
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		Villalpandus	

The

The constant Recourse we have had to the Sacred Books, in every Part of this WORK, would make it an endless Task to give here (as is usual in Works of that kind) a full List of the Texts quoted out of them; that which is here annex'd, is only designed to direct our Readers to the principal Passages that have been either explained, defended, commented upon, or differently translated by us, and to the Volumes and Passages they are to be found in.

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I

AN
UNIVERSAL
HISTORY,

FROM THE
Earliest Account of Time to the Present.

The history of the Carthaginians.

S E C T. VII.

The history of the Carthaginians, from the beginning of the second Punic war, to the destruction of Carthage by Æmilianus.

THE consul *Lutatius*, at the conclusion of the first *Punic* war, had behaved with such insolence to *Hamilcar Barcas*, when, for some time, he insisted, that the *Carthaginian* troops, under his command, should deliver up their arms to the *Romans*, and even pass under the *jugum*, that the *Carthaginian* general, from that moment probably, conceived an aversion to him, and his whole nation. Nothing could have been more inconsistent with true magnanimity and greatness of soul, than such a conduct, and consequently more disagreeable to a person of heroic and generous sentiments. *Hamilcar* therefore could not but deeply resent an action so infamous in its nature, and look upon the people countenancing it as void of honour, as strangers to all those amiable qualities, from which military virtue is inseparable. That this notion is founded upon truth, sufficiently appears from *Cornelius Nepos*, who tells us, that *Hamilcar* professed he would rather die, than return home loaded with the ignominy a compliance with such a proposal must fix upon him. We may therefore conclude this to have been a remote cause of the second *Punic* war ^a.

Hamilcar likewise condemned himself for having so tamely given up *Sicily* to the *Romans*. Being endued with that greatness of soul so natural to a true lover of his country, he reflected, with the utmost regret, upon that action, which, in every light, he considered as dishonourable, and too precipitate. This undoubtedly excited him to meditate revenge upon that nation, which occasioned so false a step, and consequently determined him to embrace the first opportunity that offered of attacking the *Romans* ^b.

BUT what the most effectually contributed to the war we are going to enter upon, was the injustice of the *Romans*, who, taking advantage of the weakness of the *Carthaginians*, after the *Libyan* war was terminated, dispossessed that nation of *Sardinia*, and extorted a vast sum of money from them. The great success of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain* likewise heightened the animosity betwixt the two states, and consequently disposed both of them to a rupture. The train therefore for a bloody contest betwixt them was laid before the siege of *Saguntum* ^c.

^a CORN. NEP. in *Hamilc.* ZONAR. in *annal.* l. viii. c. 17.
^c *Ibidem* *ibid.*

^b POLYB. l. iii. LIV. l. xxi. sub init.

THE cession of *Sardinia* to the *Romans*, and the payment of the vast sums to that rapacious nation, in compliance with their unjust demands, after *Carthage* had been so drained by the *Libyan* war, incensed *Hamilcar Barcas*, or, as some call him, *Boccor*, to the last degree. He saw that there was no end of such extortions, and therefore came to a full resolution, not only to endeavour at securing his country from such depredations for the future, but even to take ample vengeance of the *Romans* for their perfidious conduct in this particular. He therefore inspired his four sons, *Asdrubal*, *Hannibal*, *Hamilcar*, and *Mago*, with an implacable hatred to that proud republic, which was the object of his aversion, declaring publicly, that he looked upon them as four lions whelps brought up for the destruction of the *Romans*. *Hannibal* only survived nearly to execute the vast project his father had formed, and probably was the only one of them endued with a genius fit for the execution of it. From hence it appears, that the grand spring, which set *Carthage* in motion against *Rome* at this juncture, was the disposition *Hamilcar* had transfused into his family, as well as the majority of the citizens of *Carthage*.

Hamilcar's resentment therefore may be looked upon as the chief impulsive cause of the second *Punic* war. That great general was of too heroic a spirit, and too strongly attached to the interest of his country, not to make use of all proper means to restore it to its former grandeur. As this could not be done without humbling the *Romans*, it is no wonder, especially considering the affronts he had in person received from them, that he should bend all his thoughts that way. In fine, after his great achievements had raised his reputation to so high a pitch at *Carthage*, that he was looked upon there as a second *Mars*, it is no wonder he should have interest enough to lay the foundations of a second war with the *Romans*.

THE great success the *Carthaginians* had in *Spain*, we may, with *Polybius*, likewise look upon as a concurring impulsive cause of the second *Punic* war; for this did not only increase the jealousy of the *Romans*, and strongly excite them to a rupture, but also dispose the *Carthaginians* thereto, as it furnished them with such copious supplies both of men and money, which enabled them to put their favourite scheme in execution. The *Greek* writers frequently call this the *Hannibalic* war. The interval betwixt it and the first *Punic* war consisted of twenty-three years.

The Carthaginians repulsed by the Saguntines.

BUT to return to our history: The *Saguntines* were a colony, partly of the *Zacynthians*, and partly of the *Rutuli* from the city of *Ardea*. According to *Livy*, they were not of long standing in *Spain*, though they soon grew immensely rich there, the province in which they were seated being extremely fertile. Their city was situated on the *Carthaginian* side of the *Iberus*, about a mile from the sea, near a ridge of mountains, that separated *Spain* from *Caliberia*, and in a country where, by the late treaty, the *Carthaginians* were permitted to make war, though this city was expressly excepted from all hostilities by that treaty. As soon as *Hannibal* approached their frontiers, he detached a party to lay waste the territory adjacent to the city, and then made a disposition to attack it in three places at once. With his battering-engines he made the utmost efforts to beat down the wall, whilst his troops were in readiness to storm the city upon the first breach made. The *Saguntines* defended themselves with inexpressible bravery, making frequent sallies upon the besiegers, and destroying many of their men, though they were scarce sensible of this loss, since *Hannibal's* army consisted of a hundred and fifty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. The besieged however suffered extremely in these actions, losing as many men as the *Carthaginians*; which rendered their condition almost desperate. However, their fate was for some time respite, by a wound *Hannibal* received in his thigh from a javelin, as he was viewing some of the works; which occasioned such a consternation amongst his troops, that the enemy were upon the point of making themselves masters of all his works and military machines. Till the wound was cured, a sort of cessation of arms ensued, tho' the besiegers still maintained their posts, carried on their approaches, and perfected their works. After *Hannibal's* recovery, hostilities recommenced with double fury, the *Saguntines* opposing the enemy with undaunted resolution, and *Hannibal* pushing on his attacks with the utmost vigour. At last the besiegers, after having laid a great part of the wall level with the ground, and demolished three towers, by which the body of the place lay intirely exposed, made an assault with unparalleled bravery, thinking, that now a fair opportunity offered of taking the

^a ZONAR. l. viii. c. 21. POLYB. & LIV. ubi sup. VALER. MAX. l. ix. c. 3. LUCIUS AMPELIUS in lib. memorial c. 36. ^b LIV. & POLYB. ubi sup.

a town sword in hand. The besieged, on the other hand, considering, that every thing valuable to them lay at stake, exerted themselves in an extraordinary manner. They drew up their forces in order of battle in the space betwixt the ruins of the walls and the town, and disputed every inch of ground with such incredible valour, that the place where the engagement happened was covered with dead bodies. In short, hope and despair so animated both parties, that the greatest efforts were made on each side. However, at last despair prevailed, the *Saguntines* forcing the *Carthaginians* not only to abandon the breach, but to flee to their camp with prodigious slaughter. Livy tells us, that a kind of dart or missile weapon, called *falarica* (A), was of singular service to the *Saguntines* on this occasion.

b It appears from *Zonaras* and others, that, in pursuance of the resolution above-mentioned, the Romans sent deputies to *Hannibal* at his camp before *Saguntum* (B), who arrived there about the time we are now upon. According to these authors, *Hannibal* avoided giving them an audience, and that in a refined politic manner. He employed certain *Spaniards*, whom he could confide in, to meet the Roman

The Romans expostulate with Hannibal and the Carthaginians upon their proceedings.

c *Idem* *ibid.* EUTROP. l. iii. c. 7. SIE. ITAL. l. i. PLUT. & AUR. VICT. in *Hannib.*

(A) The description of the *falarica*, as it may be collected from *Livy* and other authors, is as follows: The *falarica* was a kind of large dart, or missile weapon, discharged by the parties posted in wooden towers, upon the enemy. These wooden towers were called *fala*, as we learn from *Juvenal*, *Servius*, and others; so that the weapon undoubtedly derived its name from those machines. It had an oblong shaft, round and even every-where, but towards the end, where it had a square piece of iron, bound about with tow, besmeared with pitch. The iron head, resembling that of the *Roman pilum* or javelin, was three foot long, that it might be capable of penetrating the strongest armour, and, through it, of doing execution; which it frequently did. As the combustible part of it was set on fire before it was thrown upon the enemy, and this fire must have been greatly increased by the air fanning it in its motion, in case it killed not the person it fixed upon, but only stuck in his armour, it could not fail of throwing him into the greatest consternation; since, in order to preserve himself from the flames, he must have lain under the necessity of disarming himself, and consequently of leaving himself entirely exposed to the future efforts of the enemy. To render this weapon the more terrible, by making the fire indistinguishable, the tow, according to *Pontepianus Sabinius* and *Vigerius*, was smointed or besmeared likewise with sulphur, resin, bitumen, and burning oil. This dart was sometimes discharged out of the *ballista* with an inconceivable force, and did not only destroy men in the manner just mentioned, but likewise frequently consumed the enemies wooden towers, against which it was levelled. The *falarica* was either *magna* or *parva*, as we have before observed of the *ballista*. From the particulars already laid down, it cannot but appear probable, that this weapon was of oriental extraction; and therefore it can by no means be deemed absurd to deduce the name itself from the east. *Fellus*, as hinted above, intimates, that the dart here described derived its name from the towers called *fala*, from whence it was discharged; and that *fala*, in the *Etruscan* language, signified *high*. We may therefore either deduce it from the verb *פלה* *phala*, *mirabilis*, *enclausus*, *ardens*, *excellens* *fuit*; or from *פלה* *phala*, *ascendit*, *altus*, *elevatus* *fuit*, with a compictive *vau* prefixed, which will make it *פלה* *phala* or *phalab*. That the eastern nations, particularly the *Hebrews*

and *Arabs*, used *vau* and *fe*, or *phe*, sometimes in such a manner, without any signification annexed to it, may be proved by many instances; so that there is nothing forced or unnatural in the latter etymon, if the first should not satisfy our readers. From one or both of these words, (for it is very possible, that the former may have been originally formed from the latter) the Greek *φάλαξ*, *crissa*, *eminens in mari* *petra*, *ornamentum in summitate* *galea*, &c. is to be drawn. *Fellus* and others farther countenance this notion, by calling the wooden towers we are now upon *loci extructi*. By adding to either of the verbs above-mentioned any of the following radices, viz. *פלה* *phala*, *interfecit*, *פלה* *phala*, *maius* *fuit*, *פלה* *phala*, *affixit*, *פלה* *phala*, *longus* *fuit*, from whence *פלה* *phala*, *arica*, *longa*, may be formed the word *falarica*; in which case the name will aptly enough answer to the nature and office of the weapon here described. It is probable, that the *Saguntines* either learned the use of the *falarica* from their neighbours the *Carthaginians*, or the *Phœnician* colonies settled antiently in *Spain*. We shall only further observe upon this head, that the *falarica* is called *פלה* *phala*, a kind or species of lance, by *Hefichius* (1).

(B) *Saguntum* being first built and peopled by a colony of *Zacynthians*, it is no difficult matter to account for its name. It was probably called by the citizens *ZAKTNOOS* or *ZAKTNOON*, *Zacynthus* or *Zacynthos*; which, in old *Latin*, was *Sacuntius*, *Sacuntum*, or *Saguntus*, *Saguntum*, the ancient *Latins* using C in the same manner as those of the classic period of time did G, as we learn from *Terenianus*, the *columna rostrata* of *Dionisius*, *Quintilianus*, &c. In confirmation of this notion, it may be further observed, that some of the oldest editions of *Aurelius Victor*, for *Saguntum*, have *Zagynthus*; which reading receives some strength from *Priscian*. *Silius Italicus* likewise calls it *Sagynthos*, which word approaches very near what we would have the original name. According to *Appian*, after *Hannibal* had taken it, he brought thither a colony from *Carthage*, and called it *Spaurigens*. There seem to have been, in ancient times, two cities of this name in *Spain*, on the ruins of one of which at present stands *Sigüenza*, a city of *New Castille*, situate upon the river *Henares*. The inhabitants of *Saguntum* are greatly celebrated, for their constancy and fidelity to the Romans, by most of the Roman historians (2).

(1) *Liv.* l. xli. *Ennius* apud *Fest.* in *voc.* *falarica*. *Non. Marcel.* in *voc.* *Virg.* *Æn.* ix. & *Serv.* in *loc.* *in* *Æn.* v. *Pompey*. *Sabin.* *annoni.* in *Virg.* *Æn.* v. *Juvenal.* apud *Serv.* ubi sup. *Ammian.* *Marcellin.* apud *Pomp.* *Sabin.* ubi sup. *Vogel.* de *re milit.* l. iv. c. 18. *Isidor.* l. xviii. c. 7. *Hefich.* in *voc.* *φάλαξ*. *Joan. Briau.* in *Juvenal.* *sat.* vi. *Suid.* in *voc.* *φάλαξ*. *Mat. Martin.* in *voc.* *falx*. *Schind.* *pent.* p. 454. 1317, 1319, 1320, 1321, 1322, 1323—1443, 1444. *Dempst.* de *Estruc. regal.* l. iii. c. 88. (2) *Quintil.* *Terenian.* *Priscian.* &c. *Vide etiam* *Jos. Scalig.* *animadv.* in *Euseb.* *Jul. Caf.* *Scalig.* de *ling. Lat.* *alloq.* *mule.* *Gerab.* l. iii. *Lucan.* l. iii. *Sil.* *Ital.* l. i. & ii. *Appian.* in *Iberic.* *Flor.* *Eutrop.* *Orat.* &c.

ministers at some distance from the camp, and, accosting them as friends, to assure a them, that it would on no account be safe to approach nearer the camp, since the general himself was absent, and the barbarous nations, which formed the *Carthaginian* army, had such an antipathy to the *Romans*, that they would undoubtedly massacre them, if an opportunity offered. *Livy* intimates, that *Hannibal* dispatched messengers to the sea-side to meet the deputies above-mentioned, and acquaint them in his name, that it was by no means proper for them to trust their persons with those fierce nations, of which his army was composed; and that the multiplicity of his affairs would not permit him then to hear their proposals. *Polybius*, on the other hand, asserts, that the *Roman* deputation found *Hannibal* in his winter quarters at *New Carthage*, a little before he had formed the siege of *Saguntum*; and that, being b admitted to an audience, they advised him not to attack the *Saguntines*, whom the *Romans* had taken under their protection; nor infringe the late treaty concluded with *Asdrubal*, by passing the *Iberus*. *Hannibal*, according to the same historian, being then successful in all his enterprizes, fired with ambition, and mortally hating the *Romans*, with some emotion, replied, that the *Romans* themselves had already given just grounds for a rupture, by oppressing several of the principal inhabitants of *Saguntum*, after the citizens had applied to them, upon the breaking out of a sedition in the city, to make up all differences between the contending parties by a just and impartial arbitration; and that as the *Carthaginians*, in imitation of their ancestors, always thought it incumbent upon them to succour the oppressed, he would c revenge so perfidious an action, unless the *Romans* gave immediate satisfaction to the persons injured. At the same time he dispatched an express to *Carthage*, informing the senate, that the *Saguntines*, grown insolent by their alliance with *Rome*, and spirited up by their allies, made irruptions into the *Carthaginian* territories, desiring instructions how to act in so critical a situation. *Livy* says, that the *Roman* deputies, being denied access to *Hannibal*, sailed directly to *Carthage*, to demand satisfaction there; but that *Hannibal* took care to send advice to the leaders of the *Barchine* faction of what had happened, and to prepare their minds for giving the *Romans* such a reception as he desired; in consequence of which, they were dismissed from *Carthage*, without any satisfactory answer. Whether any of these jarring relations be d true, or which of them is so, we shall not take upon us at present to determine. However, we cannot avoid observing, that *Polybius* has probability on his side; for it is much more likely, that a general, so famed for politeness and address as *Hannibal* was, should confer with the *Roman* deputation, in his turn expostulate with them, and impute the approaching rupture to their principals, as is, generally speaking, the practice of civilized states at this day, than to behave in so rude and savage a manner towards them, as the *Roman* historians, and their adherents, suggest. Certain it is, that these last authors deserve very little credit, when they deliver any thing, that affects the character either of *Hannibal*, or his enemy *Hanno*, since it is their constant endeavour to paint the former in the blackest colours, and to represent e the latter, with his partizans, as the only virtuous members of the state of *Carthage*. They were so greatly obliged to *Hanno* for his kind disposition towards them, or at least his aversion to their enemies, and received so much of the treatment they deserved from *Hannibal*, that it is no wonder they should labour so heartily to depreciate the one, and extol the other, though this was done at the expence of truth, as well as of their own reputation, since many of their insinuations relating to the characters of both these *Carthaginians* are absolutely inconsistent with the accounts of their actions, which they themselves have handed down to us. As we cannot therefore but look upon *Polybius* as the most impartial and unprejudiced, as well as the most rational and probable, historian, we shall supersede that tedious declamatory harangue of f *Hanno* to the senate of *Carthage*, in order to prejudice them against *Hannibal*, and the *Barchine* family, given us by *Livy*; notwithstanding which, in order to preserve consistency, and render our history uniform throughout, we must follow this last historian with respect to order of time, and suppose the *Roman* deputies to have found *Hannibal* employed in the siege at present under consideration. The majority of the senate and people being closely attached to *Hannibal*, neither the *Roman* faction in *Carthage*, nor the deputies sent from *Rome* to put them in motion, could prevent the destruction of *Saguntum* ^g.

^g *Iidem* *ibid.* *Dion. Sic.* l. xxv. in excerpt. *Rhodom.* & *Hæschel.* *ZONAR.* ubi sup. c. 21. *PAUL. OROS.* l. iv. c. 14. *EUTROPI.* ubi sup. *Univerſ. hiſt.* vol. iv. p. 691.

- ^a BUT to return to the military operations: After the late repulse, *Hannibal*, finding his troops greatly fatigued, remained for some days in a state of inaction, but disposed guards in proper places to defend his works and machines from all attempts of the enemy. In the mean time, in a speech he made to his soldiers, he endeavoured to raise their courage, by inspiring them with a detestation of the enemy, by promising them great rewards, if they did their duty, and lastly, by assuring them of the plunder of the place, in case it was taken by storm. The garrison likewise kept quiet within the town, and took the opportunity of this cessation of arms to build a counter-wall opposite to the breach the *Carthaginians* had made. *Hannibal's* troops, greatly animated by the hopes of sharing the plunder of the town, made a vigorous attack, being encouraged
- ^b by their general, who had placed himself on the top of a moveable tower, overlooking all the works of the besieged, and the whole city. In fine, *Hannibal*, having cleared the breach of the soldiers posted there for its defence, and demolished the new wall, by the assistance of five hundred *Africans* appointed to undermine it, entered the town without opposition; and possessing himself of an eminence near the citadel, drew a line of circumvallation round it, and planted his artillery against it. The *Saguntines* however did all that could be expected from men animated by despair; they erected a new wall to support that part of the city, which the enemy had not yet made themselves masters of; they disputed every inch of ground with the utmost bravery; and repulsed the besiegers in many attacks. However, being not a little
- ^c streightened for want of provisions, they found themselves reduced to great extremities, especially as they had no prospect of foreign aid, the *Romans* seeming to have intirely deserted them. But they were, for the present, relieved by an expedition *Hannibal* undertook against the *Carpetani* and *Oretani*, who shewed a disposition to shake off the *Carthaginian* yoke. The besieged however did not reap any great advantages from this expedition, since *Maberbal*, the son of *Himilco*, whom *Hannibal* left to command the forces before *Saguntum* in his absence, pushed on the siege with as much vigour as *Hannibal* himself could have done. Battering the new wall incessantly with his rams, he made such a breach in it, that *Hannibal*, returning sooner than was expected, having quashed the conspiracy of the aforesaid nations in embryo,
- ^d immediately stormed the citadel. After a warm dispute, *Hannibal*, making a lodgment, possessed himself of part of it, the *Saguntines*, with no small difficulty, maintaining themselves in the other^h.

Hannibal carries on briskly the siege of Saguntum.

WHILST affairs were in this melancholy situation, one *Alcon* a *Saguntine* went privately by night, unknown to his countrymen, to the *Carthaginian* camp, where, by his tears and supplications, he endeavoured to move *Hannibal's* compassion towards the unhappy citizens of *Saguntum*. He could however make no impression upon that general. The conditions he insisted upon were; that they should give ample satisfaction to the *Turdetani*; that they should deliver up all their treasure to the *Carthaginians*; and that they should retire, with only their cloaths upon their

^e backs, to the place the *Carthaginians* should assign them for their habitation. These conditions appeared so intolerable to *Alcon*, that he durst not propose them to the garrison of *Saguntum*; and therefore remained in *Hannibal's* camp. But one *Alorcus*, a *Spaniard*, then in the *Carthaginian* service, though expressing a great regard and esteem for the miserable inhabitants of that unfortunate city, undertook to convey the *Carthaginian* general's proposals to them. This he did, endeavouring at the same time to prevail upon that unhappy people to embrace them; but they were so harsh, that the *Saguntines* could not so much as think of accepting them. Before they gave their final answer, the principal senators, bringing their gold and silver, and that of the public treasury, into the market-place, threw both into a fire lighted for that purpose, and afterwards themselves. At the same time a tower, which had been battered

^f by *Hannibal's* rams, falling with a dreadful noise, the *Carthaginians* entered the town by the breach, soon made themselves masters of it and the citadel, and cut to pieces all the inhabitants, who were of age to bear arms. *Livy* relates, that vast numbers of the *Saguntines*, without distinction of sex or age, were massacred; and that many, taken prisoners, became the property of the soldiery. According to *Frontinus*, *Hannibal*, by a stratagem, drew the garrison out of the town, and put them all to the sword. *Zonaras* tells us, that *Hannibal* took the city in the following manner: He applied a machine to the wall, which overtopped it, and was filled with armed men, some of

And takes it.

^h POLYS. & LIV. ubi supra.

whom were in sight, and others concealed. Whilst the *Saguntines* warmly engaged a those in fight, the others concealed undermined the wall; which falling, gave the *Carthaginians* an opportunity of advancing into the town, and threw the *Saguntines* into such a consternation, that they immediately retired into the citadel. Upon their application to *Hannibal*, finding him averse to moderation, and themselves destitute of any prospect of assistance from the *Romans*, they desired some days to deliberate upon the measures they were to take; which being granted, in that interval they committed every thing valuable to the flames; persuaded the poor helpless people to lay violent hands on themselves; and then, making a sally on the besiegers, were all put to the sword ⁱ.

He finds great spoils there.

NOTWITHSTANDING the fire above-mentioned, the *Carthaginians* got a very b rich booty. *Hannibal* did not reserve to himself any part of this; but applied it solely to the carrying on of his enterprizes. *Polybius* remarks, that the taking of *Saguntum* was of signal service to him in the execution of the scheme he had formed, as it stimulated his soldiers to further conquests by the sight of so much booty, and a prospect of more; as likewise by engaging the principal persons of *Carthage* to second his views; which the large presents he was enabled to make them from such rich spoils could not fail of doing. He also from hence laid the foundations of a future fund to supply all his exigencies in the accomplishment of the vast project he had so long been intent upon.

The Romans send fresh ambassadors to Carthage.

THE news of the taking of *Saguntum* had scarce reached *Carthage*, when embassa- c dors arrived there from *Rome*, demanding of the senate and people, whether the *Spanish* expedition had been undertaken by their order, or *Hannibal*, contrary to their approbation, had been the sole author of it. One of the *Carthaginian* senators, the best qualified for this purpose, by order of the senate, endeavoured to vindicate *Hannibal's* conduct, or rather that of the republic, on this occasion. He made very slight mention of the last treaty *Asdrubal* had concluded with the *Romans*, only endeavouring to draw a parallel betwixt it and the peace granted the *Carthaginians* by the consul *Lutatius* after the battle off of the islands *Ægates*. He insisted, that as the senate and people of *Rome* had taken the liberty to insert some additional articles in that treaty, so the *Carthaginian* senate and people had an equal right to make what d alterations they thought proper in that *Asdrubal* had concluded with the *Romans*. He further acquainted them, that the *Carthaginians* were not strangers to the ambitious designs of their republic; and that they might enter upon the execution of them as soon as they pleased, without giving any concern or uneasiness to his state. In short, he gave them to understand, that the senate and people, notwithstanding the efforts of *Hanno* and his faction, were of the same sentiments with *Hannibal*, in relation to the affair of *Saguntum*, and intirely approved of what he had done. Upon which *Q. Fabius*, the senior of the embassy, declared war against the *Carthaginians*, in the manner already related by us in a former part of this history ^k.

An inquiry into the justice of this war.

IN order to give our readers an adequate idea of the justice with which this war e was entered upon, we must beg leave to observe, that the *Carthaginians* had, in reality, a right to call the *Romans* to an account for their former instances of oppression; but made use of a pretended motive, not so consistent with the dictates of equity, to vindicate, or at least to palliate, their conduct on the present occasion. The iniquitous conquest of *Sardinia*, and perfidious exaction of the immense sum above-mentioned from the *Carthaginians*, undoubtedly authorized that nation to make reprisals upon the *Romans*, whenever they found themselves in a capacity of so doing; and the *Romans*, by intermeddling with the affairs of *Spain*, without any other cause, than to give a check to the *Carthaginian* conquests there, did, with reason, highly irritate the state of *Carthage*. But then, on the other hand, it must be allowed, that f no just parallel could be drawn betwixt the treaty of peace concluded by the *Romans* with *Asdrubal*, and that granted the *Carthaginians* by *Lutatius*. In the former, no mention was made of the senate and people of *Carthage*; but *Asdrubal* acted, as tho' he had been invested with full powers to sign whatever articles he should judge proper for the good of the republic; which afterwards gave a sort of sanction to what he had done, by an acquiescence in it: whereas to the latter, *Lutatius* expressly added a clause, importing, that the treaty should be valid, provided the senate and people of

ⁱ Ibidem ibid. S. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. l. iii. c. 10. ex. 4. CORN. NEP. in Hannib. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 21. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 6. Vide etiam SIGON. annot. in Liv. l. xxi. ^k LIV. POLYB. ZONAR. ubi sup. Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 692.

- a *Rome* thought proper to ratify it. Here therefore, with *Polybius*, we cannot but acknowledge, that the *Carthaginian* pretext was mere chicanery, void of the least shadow of reason or justice to support it. But, with regard to one of the articles of the treaty of *Lutatius*, which the *Romans* urged as a condemnation of the destruction of *Saguntum*, we own ourselves not so intirely of that author's sentiments. The article was to this effect; *That neither party should injure or molest the allies of the other*; which he extends to all those with whom an alliance might be contracted in any future times, though, in our opinion, no necessity appears for admitting such a supposition, at least except such an alliance had been contracted by the mutual consent of both parties; for otherwise, each nation might have entered into a confederacy with the declared enemies of the other, and then, by virtue of this article, have forced their old friends to make peace with their new confederates; which would undoubtedly have been contrary to the true intent and meaning of it, as well as the general tenor of the treaty; since it would have given the more formidable power an opportunity of extorting a compliance with the most ruinous conditions from the other. It is probable, notwithstanding the silence of the *Roman* historians on this head, that the article we are now upon furnished the *Romans* with a pretext to countenance the *Sardinian* rebels above-mentioned, and espouse their interest, in order to make themselves masters of *Sardinia*; since it appears from *Livy*, that they understood it in the sense of *Polybius*, which seems to authorize such an action. It is certain the perfidious conduct they were guilty of towards the *Carthaginians* at that time, gives ground to suspect them capable of wresting the treaty of *Lutatius* in such a manner, to serve so villainous a purpose; and therefore justifies our not intirely agreeing with *Polybius* in the above-mentioned particular. Be that as it will, as the treaty of *Lutatius* was infringed by the reduction of *Sardinia*, the *Romans* had no reason to condemn any subsequent conduct of the *Carthaginians* for its not squaring with the articles of that treaty. Besides, as the *Sicilian* peace bore no relation to the *Carthaginian* conquests in *Spain*, which were made long afterwards, they had no right to prescribe limits to those conquests, which they did, by obliging *Asdrubal* not to pass the *Iberus*. Add to this, that it does not appear from history, that the *Carthaginians* ever ratified, with an oath, the articles *Asdrubal* signed by his own authority, but only concealed their disapprobation of that action, till a proper opportunity of discovering it offered; and therefore the *Carthaginians* could not, with so much justice, be charged with perjury, by concurring with *Hannibal* in the destruction of *Saguntum*, as the *Romans* with a second violation of the treaty of *Lutatius*, by extorting a compliance with such hard terms from *Asdrubal*, when the necessity of his affairs would not permit him to refuse it. In confirmation of what has been advanced, it may be farther observed, that the *Romans* had not obliged themselves, by any implicit covenant prior to the pretended treaty with *Asdrubal*, to fix the *Iberus* as a boundary to any future acquisitions or discoveries they might make in *Spain*; besides which, nothing could have the least tendency to palliate their treatment of the *Carthaginians* on that occasion. However, it must be owned, that the *Carthaginians* would have acted more generously, by assigning the unjust cession they found themselves forced to make of *Sardinia*, and the immense sum of money at the same time iniquitously exacted from them, as the chief motives that prompted them to desire a rupture with the *Romans*. But they were doubtless hindered from this by some political views, which, they thought, it might be for their interest to keep concealed; than which scarce any practice has been more common in all ages; and we have had recent instances of princes publishing a manifesto, immediately before a declaration of war, filled with frivolous pretences, rather than the real causes of their hostile intentions¹.

- f *Appian* seems to intimate, that *Hannibal*, in order to provide for his own safety, Hannibal undertakes this war to prevent civil dissensions at home, according to *Appian*. was obliged to attack the *Saguntines*, and come to blows with the *Romans*. Notwithstanding he was elected general by the army after the death of *Asdrubal*, and had his election confirmed by the senate and people of *Carthage*, yet, according to this author, *Hanno's* faction, taking advantage of his youth, endeavoured to inspire the giddy populace with sentiments to his prejudice. His friends, perceiving the wicked suggestions of that faction beginning in a short time to take some effect, apprised him of it, desiring him by no means to forget them, but to exert himself in order to promote their interest, and consequently his own. This, adds the same author, *Hannibal* had foreseen; and being sensible, that whatever attacks seemed levelled at his friends, were principally intended against him, notwithstanding the great services

¹ Vide Liv. & Polyb. ubi supra.

his family had done the state of *Carthage*, he thought, that the only expedient to prevent civil dissensions; and hinder *Hanno's* insinuations from making any impression upon the minds of the populace to his disadvantage, would be to enter upon a war with *Rome*. An enterprize of such importance as this, he very well knew, would engage all the public attention, and of course greatly contribute towards stifling the cabals and schemes, that might have been formed against him, especially as the generality, both of the senate and people, were eagerly bent upon such a war. Besides, the fears and anxieties arising in their minds for the success of an *Italian* expedition, would naturally render them cautious of changing hands at home. *Appian*, we say, mentions this as one of the motives that induced *Hannibal* to lay siege to *Saguntum*; which may possibly be true. But we must own, that neither *Polybius* nor *Livy* takes any notice of it. That another motive, as the first author relates, was a desire to immortalize his name, will be granted by all, who consider the genius of that general, as described to us by the best writers. But whatever might prompt him to the siege above-mentioned, he met with a courage and resolution in the *Saguntines* worthy of himself. After a most gallant defence, they fell in the manner already related, the very women from the ramparts, with astonishing intrepidity, beholding the slaughter of their husbands and relations, and massacring all the children, that had escaped the flames, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. Some writers insinuate, that, before the last sally, the *Saguntines* melted lead with their gold and silver, imagining, that such a mixed mass could not be of any great service to the *Carthaginians*; and that *Hannibal* would have found it more difficult still to have carried the place, had not the citizens been reduced to the last extremity by famine. The *Carthaginian* general did not think proper to raze the city, but transplanted thither a colony from *Carthage*. Thus the *Saguntines*, after a siege of eight months, fell a sacrifice to *Hannibal's* resentment, being marked out for destruction, on account of their singular fidelity and attachment to the *Romans*.

The Romans attempt to draw the Spaniards off from the Carthaginian interest, but in vain.

THE *Carthaginians*, or at least the *Barchine* faction, received the *Roman* declaration of war from *Fabius* with great joy and acclamations, assuring him they would carry it on with the utmost vigour and alacrity, and make all possible efforts to revenge the repeated extortions, the sinister designs, the unjust invasions, and the haughty behaviour of his republic. In consequence of this step, *Fabius*, and his companions, returned home, taking *Spain* in their way, as they had been ordered by the senate. Upon their arrival there, they endeavoured to draw the *Spaniards* subject to *Carthage* from their allegiance, to detach the allies of that state there from its interest, and to enter into an alliance with as many of the *Spanish* nations, as were disposed to accept either the friendship or protection of the *Roman* republic, pursuant to the instructions they had received before their departure from *Rome*. The *Bargusii*, being desirous of shaking off the *Carthaginian* yoke, gave the *Roman* ambassadors a kind reception; which not a little influenced many other neighbouring cantons. But this success was not lasting; for the *Volsciani*, upon *Fabius's* application to them, made him this smart reply: *With what face can you, Romans, offer to solicit us to prefer your friendship to that of the Carthaginians, since your treachery to the brave Saguntines, who did so, exceeded even the cruelty of that barbarous enemy, who destroyed them? Seek for allies, where the fate of Saguntum is not known. The destruction of that city will serve for a lively lesson to the people of Spain, to take care how they ever repose any confidence in the Romans.* After which, the ambassadors, being commanded to leave the territories of the *Volsciani*, found themselves obliged to retire out of *Spain*, without accomplishing their design. Neither did they meet with any better success in *Gaul*; for when they desired the *Gauls* to refuse the *Carthaginians* a passage through their country into *Italy*, they could by no means prevail upon them to grant their request. *Hannibal* had before prepossessed them in favour of the *Carthaginians*; which he found it no difficult matter to do, they having, on various accounts, conceived an aversion to the *Romans*.

Hannibal puts both Spain and Africa into a posture of defence.

AFTER the reduction of *Saguntum*, *Hannibal* put his *African* troops into winter-quarters at *New Carthage*; but permitted the *Spaniards*, in order to gain their affection, to retire to their respective habitations. During the winter, he remained in a state of inaction, but made several very wise regulations for the security of the

• DIOD. SIC. l. xxv. in excerpt. Rhodoman. & Hæschel. APPIAN. in Iberic. Vide & POLYB. LIV. ZONAR. ubi sup. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 7. PLUT. in Hannib. PETRON. ARBIT. in satyric. * LIV. POLYB. & ZONAR. ubi sup.

- a Carthaginian dominions both in Spain and Africa. He transported into Africa, for the defence of that country, a body of Spaniards, consisting of *Iberians*, *Mastiani*, and *Olcades*, amounting to twelve hundred horse, and thirteen thousand eight hundred and fifty foot, to which were added some companies raised in the *Balearic* islands. These it was thought proper to place, for the most part, in the provinces of *Metagonium*, and city of *Carthage*. He posted four thousand *Metagonites* likewise in *Carthage*, not only to defend that metropolis, in case of need, but likewise to serve as hostages for the good behaviour of their countrymen. *Hannibal* appointed his brother *Asdrubal* to command in Spain, leaving him, besides a sufficient naval force, a powerful army, to preserve the Carthaginian acquisitions there. The African corps, b destined to act in Spain under the command of *Asdrubal*, was composed of four hundred and fifty African and *Libyphœnician* cavalry, eleven thousand eight hundred and fifty *Massylian*, *Massylian*, *Macian*, and *Mauritanian* foot, besides three hundred (C) *Lorgites*, eighteen hundred *Numidians*, three hundred *Ligurians*, five hundred *Balearic* slingers, and above twenty elephants. These particulars, *Polybius* tells us, he extracted from some tables or records of copper, engraved by *Hannibal* himself when in Italy, and left by him at *Lacinium* (D). After such a prudent disposition, which had a natural tendency to render both Spain and Africa intirely dependent on *Carthage*, as well as more closely to cement the people of those countries by mutual bonds of friendship, he made the necessary preparations to pass the *Iberus*. But before he c attempted this, he judged it expedient to win the *Cisalpine Gauls* over to his interest, that he might not only have a free passage through their country, but likewise receive a reinforcement from them when there. This he effected, partly by distributing some gold amongst their chiefs, and partly by heightening their aversion to the *Romans*. Having received intelligence, that the *Gauls* were ready to join him, and before discharged his vows made to *Hercules* at *Gades*, as well as engaged himself by new ones, provided success attended his arms in the ensuing expedition, he immediately put himself in motion. As his emissaries, arrived from *Gaul*, informed him, that

(C) It is evident from *Livy*, that *Polybius's* text here stands in need of an emendation. We find in no author the word *Lorgita*, [ΛΟΡΓΙΤΑΙ] as the name of a people; but the *Ilargetes*, whom *Livy* takes notice of here, and whom *Polybius* had mentioned just before, were a people of Spain, frequently described by antient writers. In the room therefore of ΛΟΡΓΙΤΑΙ, we ought to substitute ΙΛΑΡΓΙΤΟΙ, nothing being more easy, than for some letters, and parts of letters, to be defaced by time, or a variety of contingencies. As *Livy* closely followed *Polybius*, we doubt not but ΙΛΑΡΓΙΤΟΙ is the true reading (3).

(D) The *Lacinian*, here mentioned by *Polybius*, must, we apprehend, have been the name of a town near the *Lacinian* promontory in *Calabria*, taken notice of by several authors. From this curious passage of *Polybius*, as well as from *Livy*, it seems to appear, that *Hannibal* left behind him an account of the principal, if not all the transactions he was concerned in there. But here a question may arise, In what language was this account left written or engraved? To which we must beg leave to answer, that our readers may determine for themselves, when they have considered the principal arguments that may be offered in favour both of the Greek and Carthaginian languages, which we shall here lay down for their perusal. In behalf of the Greek it may be urged, first, that *Hannibal* intended his tables should be understood by the natives of the country wherein they were left. Now the Greek was the tongue of *Magna Græcia*, and consequently of the *Bruttii*, in whose territory *Lacinium* was situated. Secondly, *Hannibal* understood Greek, having been taught it by *Sesilius* the *Lacedæmonian*, and

composed some pieces himself in that language. Thirdly, *Sesilius* attended *Hannibal* in his expeditions, and wrote a history of them in Greek, from whence, it is probable, the inscriptions on these tables of copper, mentioned by *Polybius*, were taken. Fourthly, as *Polybius* understood these inscriptions, and made extracts from them, it is natural to suppose, that they must have been in Greek. On the other hand, it may be said, first, that the Greek language had been expelled *Carthage* before *Hannibal's* time; and that the Carthaginians ever retained such an aversion to the Greeks, that it cannot be supposed the language of that nation should afterwards have been introduced amongst them. Secondly, that though *Hannibal*, for his own private amusement, studied the Greek tongue, he was too wise so far to thwart the genius of his countrymen, as to leave a journal or history of his Italian wars in it, especially as he had a faction against him at *Carthage*. Thirdly, that the Carthaginian and *Etruscan* languages must have been related, the *Etruscans* being descended from the *Pelasgi* and *Phœnicians*; and it is well known, that the *Etruscan* was the antient language of *Magna Græcia*, that country having been antiently a part of *Etruria*. Fourthly, the Carthaginians had, for many generations, an intercourse with the people of *Magna Græcia*; and several coins of that country, particularly of the *Thurians*, have characters upon them resembling the *Etruscan*, and even the Carthaginian. From hence it is probable, the inhabitants of *Magna Græcia* understood something of the Carthaginian tongue; which renders it likely, that the language of *Hannibal's* tables must have been the Carthaginian. But this we leave our readers to decide (4).

(3) *Liv. & Polyb. in loc. citat.*

(4) *Polyb. l. iii. c. 56. Liv. l. xxviii. sub fin. Corn. Nep. in Hannib. Justin. l. xx. c. 5. Diod. Sic. pass. Stillingf. in orig. Scip. Mass. in ant. Etrusc. & Latin. Diod. Sic. l. v. Liv. l. i. & v. Jul. Philargyr. ad Virg. Georg. l. ii. ver. 534. Varro apud Jul. Philargyr. ubi sup. Serv. in Virg. loc. jam laudat. Vide & Demoff. de Etr. regib. l. i. c. 1. p. 3, 4.*

tho' the passage of the *Alps* was difficult, it was far from being impracticable, he began to look upon the *Carthaginians* as already masters of *Italy*°.

His remarkable dream.

HAVING therefore completed his military preparations, and got every thing in readiness for the intended expedition, early in the spring he moved out of his winter-quarters, advancing at the head of all his forces to *Etouissa*, and from thence to the *Iberus*. Here, we are told, *Hannibal* had a remarkable dream, which gave him great hopes of success in the enterprize he was going to enter upon. That general, according to the authors referred to, imagined himself, in his sleep, summoned to a council of the gods, who commanded him to begin his march for *Italy* without delay. At the same time there appeared to him a youth incircled with glory, who said, that *Jupiter* had appointed him his guide, with orders to conduct him and his troops to *Italy*, strictly injoining him never to draw his eyes from off him; which injunction he, for some time, obeyed: but at last, having the curiosity to look behind him, he saw a serpent of a monstrous size moving with great celerity, overthrowing all the trees, shrubs, &c. in its way, and attended by a dreadful tempest, with violent claps of thunder. He then asked his guide, What such a prodigy could portend? who told him, it prefaged the dreadful devastations, that should be committed in *Italy* by his troops, desiring him to pursue his journey, and not to be too inquisitive, nor pry too deeply into what the fates had decreed. Upon his passing the *Iberus*, several beasts, of a species utterly unknown, likewise appeared to him, seeming to shew the way to his troops. The *Romans*, about the same time, were as greatly dispirited by bad omens, as *Hannibal* found himself animated by good ones. An ox spoke audibly with a human voice at *Rome*, just before the commencement of this war; another threw itself from the top of a house into the *Tiber*, and was drowned, during the public diversions; many places were struck with lightning; blood flowed from many statues, and from the shield of one of the legionaries; and lastly, a wolf carried off a sword out of the camp. Whether these occurrences are to be esteemed as so many fictions, intirely owing to that credulity and superstition, to which both the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* were so much addicted, or as real events, intended by Providence as prefages of those dreadful convulsions, which afterwards happened in the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* states, we shall not take upon us to determine; but only observe, that many arguments may be offered in support of each opinion. However, as the histories of almost all nations are interspersed with such relations, as Scripture itself gives countenance to some of them, and as the authors cited here are of no mean authority, we doubt not but our curious readers will at least excuse what has been inserted in this place P.

He passes the Iberus.

BEFORE *Hannibal* began the operations of the campaign, he thought it incumbent on him to inspire life and vigour into the soldiery, nothing but that being now wanting, since the senate and people of *Carthage*, at the instigation of *Asdrubal*, had given him an unlimited commission, which left him in full power to act as he should think fit for the good of the republic. In an harangue therefore he acquainted the army, that such was the insolence of the *Romans*, that they insisted upon having him, and all the general officers, delivered up to them; that *Italy* was one of the most fertile and delicious countries in the world; that he had just concluded a treaty with the *Cisalpine Gauls*, through whose countries they must pass, who would not only supply them with all necessaries, but join them with a good body of troops, bearing a mortal hatred to the *Romans*; so that they ought to look upon themselves as morally certain of success. The soldiers, animated by this speech, loudly proclaimed their confidence in his conduct, at the same time declaring themselves ready to follow him whithersoever he should think proper to lead them, and to spend the last drop of their blood in executing the project he had formed. Finding it therefore time to enter upon action, he took a review of his army, consisting of ninety thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, of various nations, besides a good number of elephants; and then, without the least obstruction, passed the *Iberus* q.

And subdues all the nations betwixt that river and the Pyrenees.

THE *Ilergetes* and *Bargusii* were the first cantons he obliged to submit to the *Carthaginians*, and soon after the *Arenosii* and *Ausetani*, people whose territories extended as far as the *Pyrenees*. Nevertheless, as he reduced several towns by force, these conquests cost him abundance of men. Before he proceeded farther on his march, he constituted *Hanno* governor of the country betwixt the *Pyrenees* and the *Iberus*,

° *Iidem* *ibid.* P *Liv.* *ubi* *supra.* ZONAR. l. viii. c. 22. p. 407, 408, 409. VAL. MAX. l. i. c. 7. GER. c. xxxvii. v. t. f, 6, 7. DAN. c. ii. ver. 29, &c.

q *Liv.* POLYB. & ZONAR. *ubi* *sup.*

which

- a which included the territory of the *Bargusii*, injoining him to have a watchful eye over that people, whose former conduct gave him reason to suspect, that still they were secretly well-wishers to the *Romans*. To support *Hanno* in his new post, he left him a body of ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse; and in order to ingratiate himself with the *Spaniards*, that he might be the more readily supplied with what recruits he should want in *Italy*, he dismissed about the like number of them to their respective habitations, and gave the greatest encouragement to those that continued in the *Carthaginian* service. Upon a muster of his forces, after they were weakened by sieges, desertion, mortality, and the aforesaid dismissal and detachment, he found them to amount to fifty thousand foot, and nine thousand horse, all veteran troops, and the best in the world. As they had left all their heavy baggage with *Hanno*, and were light-armed, *Hannibal* easily crossed the *Pyrenees*, passed by *Ruscino*, the *Roussillon* of the moderns, a frontier town of the *Gauls*, and arrived on the banks of the *Rhone* without opposition^r.

- For some time however he was retarded in his march by the jealousy of the *Gauls*; for that nation, hearing that the *Carthaginian* army, then encamped at *Illiberis*, a city of *Gallia Narbonensis*, had reduced the country immediately beyond the *Pyrenees*, and left strong garrisons there to keep the natives in awe, entertained vehement suspicions, that *Hannibal* had a design upon them, notwithstanding his pretext of invading *Italy*. But upon his decamping speedily from *Illiberis*, giving them the strongest assurances of his amicable intentions towards them, and making a few presents to their *reguli*, they permitted him to continue his route without the least molestation. Upon his approaching the banks of the *Rhone*, the greatest part of the *Volcae* (E), a nation inhabiting the tract contiguous to that river, withdrew, with all their effects, to the opposite bank, the other neighbouring *Gauls* being his friends, and giving him all the assistance they were able. The *Gauls* on the other side, taking umbrage at the approach of so formidable a power, had assembled all their forces, with an intent to dispute the passage of the river; which *Hannibal* perceiving, and finding it no-where fordable in sight of the enemy, he began to be in pain for the success of the expedition; but his good fortune still attending him, he at last carried his point by a stratagem, and dispersed the *Gallic* forces in the manner by us already related. But, after all, the greatest difficulty was how to waft over the elephants. Some affirm this to have been done in the following manner: a float of timber two hundred foot long, and fifty broad, was thrown from the bank of the river, being fixed thereto, by large ropes, and quite covered over with earth; so that the elephants, deceived with this appearance, thought themselves upon firm ground. From the first float they proceeded to a second, which was built in the same form, but only an hundred foot long, and fastened to the former by chains, that were easily loosened. The female elephants were put upon the first float, and the males followed. As soon as they got upon the second float, it was loosened from the first, and, by the help of small boats, towed to the opposite shore. After this, it was sent back to fetch those which were left behind. Some threw their guides, and fell into the water, but they at last got safe to shore; so that out of forty-eight, not a single elephant was drowned. Others say, that *Hannibal* ordered them all to be drawn together on the bank of the river, when one of the guides, by his direction, having irritated the fiercest of them, leaped into the river, and swam to the opposite side, being hotly pursued by the enraged beast, that immediately rushed into the (F) water after him with the utmost fury;

^r Liv. & Polya. ubi supra.

(E) The *Volcae*, or *Volcae Aricomici*, according to *Strabo*, were a nation, that inhabited the country contiguous to one side of the *Rhodanus* or the *Rhone*; but had nothing to do on the other, as *Livy* here asserts. *Nemanus*, the *Nîmes* of the moderns, was their capital. *Mela*, *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, take particular notice of them (f).

(F) But this, with *Livy*, we cannot help thinking improbable; especially since it is remarked by *Polybius*, that elephants were exceedingly afraid of the water; inasmuch that though they were taught an exact obedience to their guides, yet these could never prevail upon them to go into the water with-

out the utmost difficulty. That excellent author adds, that, on the present occasion, these beasts were at first so terrified, that they ran from one side of the float to the other; but seeing themselves surrounded with water, the fear of that element kept them in order. However, some of them, he tells us, were so extremely scared, that, being in the middle of the stream, they leaped into it, tho' breathing freely, and discharging their stomachs of the water taken in, by the assistance of their trunks, which they held above water, they were thereby preserved.

Though, according to *Polybius* here, the elephant

(f) *Strab.* l. iii. p. 129. *Mel. Plin. & Ptol. in Gal.*

fury; upon which all the rest followed. *Hannibal* spent five days in passing the a river, though vast numbers of the *Gauls*, by their assistance, facilitated the execution of the plan he had formed. The elephants were not wasted over, till the day after the

is afraid of passing deep and rapid waters, yet, if *Ælian* may be credited, that animal takes delight in the marshes, being, for the most part, in moist places. The *Indians* therefore, employed in taking their whelps, (for vast numbers of these they train up for use) generally go to such places, where they seldom fail of finding them. In summer-time the elephant covers himself with mud, to avoid the heat, receiving more refreshment from hence, than from being in the shade (5).

In confirmation of what *Polybius* asserts, it may be observed, that, according to naturalists, the elephant is a vast animal, of a make intirely unfit for swimming. He drinks much, *Aristotle* assuring us, that there have been some elephants, that have been seen to drink fourteen *amphora's* of the *Macedonian* measure, that is, if we will believe *Budens*, about one eighth part of a *Paris* hoghead. It is remarkable, that this animal always disturbs the water before he drinks, as if this was a way to make it more nourishing, or to add a certain taste to it, and take away the sweetness of it, which is not sufficiently pungent to his tongue. *Ælian* intimates, that the sight of the sea terrifies the elephant; and that, in order to get him on ship-board, recourse is sometimes had to such an artifice as that here mentioned; which notion he undoubtedly received from the very passage of *Polybius* we are now upon (6).

The wild elephant chiefly feeds upon rushes, ivy, the tender tops of palms, the young shoots of other trees, plants, &c. We are told, that when wild elephants find themselves necessitated to pass a river, that is not extremely deep, the younger swim over first, after which the others ford it, the females carrying their young on their trunks. These animals herd together in great numbers in *India*, and are hunted by the *Indians*, partly on account of the ivory they produce, and partly for other reasons. We find a full and particular description of the *Indian* manner of hunting them in *Agatharchides Cnidius*, and *Ælian* (7).

Of all quadrupeds the elephant is the largest; the male is much higher and stronger than the female, being sometimes in *India* nine cubits high, and capable of carrying a tower on his back, with thirty-two warriors in it. With one stroke of his trunk he kills a camel or a horse, and has been known to draw two cast cannons fastened together with cables, and weighing each three thousand pounds, five hundred paces, with his teeth! The *Indian* elephants are either black, or of a mouse-colour; but some white ones are found in *Ethiopia*. According to *Ptolemy*, all the *Ethiopian* elephants were formerly of that colour. Some few were likewise produced in *India*, and looked upon as great curiosities by the princes of that country. It is remarkable, that this animal has a particular aversion to a sow. The grunting of that creature, as well as the squeaking of a young pig, strikes him with terror. A ram likewise he has an antipathy to. But his two worst enemies are the dragon and the rhinoceros; the latter frequently wounding him in combat, and the for-

mer as often destroying him by sucking all the blood out of his veins. *Ælian* tells us, that these dragons strangle the elephant first. However, the blood, that they imbibe, kills them. Some authors affirm, that the female elephant goes two years with her young; and that the elephant is reckoned in his prime at sixty years of age. Some elephants have been known to live above two hundred, three hundred and fifty, and even four hundred years; for which reason that animal was a symbol of eternity amongst the antients, and, as such, may be seen on the reverses of several antique coins (8).

Though the elephant is naturally a quiet and inoffensive animal, yet he is terrible when provoked: nothing can stand before him; he oversets trees, houses and walls; he tramples under foot every thing that comes in his way; he overthrows whole squadrons. His arms are his trunk, and his teeth his horns, for so some of the antients call them. His trunk is a long, hollow cartilage, like a large trumpet, hanging between his teeth, and frequently serves him for hands. His teeth are the ivory so well known to us, being of the nature of horn, and may be softened. There have been elephants teeth seen as large as a man's thigh, and a fathom in length. When they quarrel amongst themselves, they strike one another with their teeth, as bulls do with their horns. However, the elephant never uses his strength, but when compelled to it. He creates no terror in other creatures. If he is obliged to pass through a herd of other beasts, he puts them gently out of his way with his trunk, to make way for him. He feeds in the fields and meadows; and the weakest and tamest animals, with impunity, play before him. If *Ælian* may be credited, the elephant is quite ravished and transported at the sight of a beautiful woman. He takes great delight likewise, according to the same author, in beautiful flowers, particularly those that emit fragrant odours, which are exceeding grateful to him (9).

Of all animals the elephant comes nearest to man in sagacity, docility, address, clemency, prudence, equity, and, according to some authors, even religion. His modesty, fidelity, chastity, &c. are likewise greatly celebrated by the antients. He understands the language of his guide, and of the country where he is produced. *Pliny* mentions one that understood *Greek*, and could write that language. *Ælian* tells us he saw another that wrote *Latin*, and, whilst writing, behaved with great attention. In *Hadrian's* time, *Arrian* saw an elephant playing on a cymbal, and others dancing about him. That they worship the sun, moon and stars, and even are not void of some sense of moral duties, is attested by several good authors. In short, so many things of this kind are related of them, as would seem fabulous, were they not delivered by grave writers. The antients gave them both names and surnames. The names were generally such as great warriors had gone by, viz. *Patroclus*, *Ajax*, &c. They frequently bore a singular affection to their guides, of which we are

(5) *Polyb.* in loc. citat. *Ælian.* de animal. l. iv. c. 24. & l. xiii. c. 8. & l. ix. c. 56. (6) *Ælian.* l. x. *Plin.* l. viii. *Aristot.* hist. animal. c. 9. (7) *Ælian.* l. vii. c. 6. & l. x. c. 17. & l. vii. c. 15. *Agatharchides Cnidius* apud *Phot.* in biblioth. p. 1354. (8) *Aristot.* hist. animal. l. ix. c. 46. *Plin.* nat. hist. l. viii. c. 1. *Auctor incert.* apud *Pisibæum.* *Lotichius ad Petron.* Arb. *Ptol.* in *Afric.* c. 9. *Ælian* de animal. l. i. c. 38. & alib. pass. *Polyan.* in strat. l. iv. c. 6. ex. 3. *Plin.* ubi sup. & c. 11. *Diod. Sic.* l. iii. *Agatharchides Cnidius* ubi sup. p. 1362. *Solin.* c. 30. *Philostroph.* apud *Phot.* in biblioth. p. 1019. & in vit. *Apollon.* l. xi. c. 6. *Spanhem.* de us. & prest. num. ant. diff. iv. p. 169, 170. *Conr. Gesn.* de elephant. & *Gisb. Cuper.* de elephant. in num. invent. exercit. in nov. thesaur. Rom. ant. congest. ab *Alb. Hen.* de Salengre, tom. iii. edit. Hagæ-Com, 1719. (9) *Aristot.* *Ælian.* *Plin.* ubi sup. & alib.

a the defeat of the *Gauls*, who attempted to dispute his passage. The particulars here laid down, added to those already related in a former part of our history, make up a full and ample description of this remarkable achievement.

WHILST the elephants were crossing over, *Hannibal* detached five hundred *Nubian* horse to get intelligence of the enemy, who, he was informed, approached the banks of the *Rhone* with a powerful army, in order to give him battle. These, falling in with a party of three hundred *Roman* and *Gallie* horse, sent out by *Scipio* upon the same design, a rencounter immediately ensued, which, after a brisk dispute, ended in favour of the *Romans*, though the loss was pretty equal on both sides. As *Hannibal* had drawn up his troops in order of battle, and the *Roman* detachment b pursued his cavalry to the camp, *Scipio* was soon acquainted with the disposition of the *Carthaginian* army; which encouraged him to move with all possible expedition towards *Hannibal*, in order to attack him. That general was, for some time, in suspense, whether he should engage the *Romans*, or continue his march for *Italy*;

* POLYA. l. iii. c. 46, 47. LAVI. l. xxi. c. 31, 32. UNIVERS. HIST. vol. iv. p. 695. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 23. p. 409, 410.

supplied with some surprising instances by antiquity (10).

The natural parts of the elephant are under his belly, like those of a horse; but his testicles lie concealed in his loins. The female elephant receives the male lying upon her back, contrary to the nature of other beasts; and he never courts her as long as any one appears in sight. When he is heated with lust, he beats down trees, walls, and every thing that approaches him, butting with his forehead like a ram. We are told he copulates but once in his whole life, and that about the twentieth year of his age. Others say, that the male is capable of propagating his species at ten years old, and the female at five; and that the male covers the female once every three years. The females bring forth only one at a time, which immediately sucks the dam with its mouth, and not the trunk. The elephant sleeps in an erect posture; and, when he is tired, leans against a tree, which being cut in two, he falls to the ground, and cannot rise, and by this means is sometimes taken by the *Indians* and *Ethiopians*. Wild elephants are likewise caught sometimes by the help of a female elephant, which is ready for the male, and put into some narrow place between barricades, where the elephant engages himself, and is taken. They are also taken in deep ditches, dug particularly for that purpose, and covered with a little earth scattered over hurdles, which close the open part of them. A nation inhabiting that part of *Ethiopia* to the west of the *Nile*, and not far from the line, used formerly to eat great numbers of those they took; for which reason they were called *Elephantophagi* by *Agatharchides*, *Cnidius*, and others. To what has been before-mentioned, with regard to the elephants food, we may add, that some of them could eat at once nine *Macedonian medimni* of barley, besides a great quantity of leaves and young branches of trees. They feed likewise upon legumes, hay, herbs, &c. as the tamest animals. They drink a vast quantity of liquor at once, as has been observed; but, to make amends for this, they can go eight days, without taking any liquid whatsoever. Though the wild elephants drank only water, those that were trained up for war had either wine mixed with their water, or a liquor composed of water, rice, sugar, &c.

which infused new life and vigour into them, and made them exert themselves in such a manner, that nothing could stand before them. We read in the *Maccabees*, that the elephants of *Antiochus Eupator's* army had the blood of grapes and mulberries shewn them, that thereby they might be animated to the combat, to accustom them, as it were, to the sight of blood; as likewise that it was usual to intoxicate them, by giving them wine mixed with incense, or with parcels of incense; which parcels were dipped in the wine, in order to make the fumes of it the stronger, and consequently more proper to intoxicate the elephants. *Ælian* says, that the only parts of the elephant used for food by the *Elephantophagi*, were his proboscis, his lips, and the marrow of his horns. The same author affirms the fat of the elephant to be a preservative against all venomous animals, which will not approach any thing anointed with it. We read in *Philostrophus* of bulls and oxen, resembling the elephant in size, skin and colour, common in *Ethiopia* (11).

History affords us surprising instances of the dexterity of the elephant: in the public theatres at *Rome*, elephants danced upon ropes. They sat down in a formal manner to a feast, helping themselves, in a decent manner, to what they wanted, with their trunks. Forty of them carried lamps or torches before *Julius Cæsar* to the capitol, and from thence home, a representation of which we have upon an ancient coin taken notice of by *Spanheim*. Some authors tell us, that, notwithstanding the antipathy betwixt swine and the elephant, pork cures that animal of ulcers, and other disorders; and that the tiger, a potent enemy, is frequently too hard for him. Thus we have enumerated the principal qualities and properties of the elephant; which is sufficient to give our readers a general idea of that creature, and consequently answers our purpose; tho' we might fill a volume by repeating what has been laid down by various authors on this subject. We shall conclude the whole by observing, that an elephant is called *syll* in the *Islandic* tongue, and *phill* in the *Turkish*; and that *Roland* seems to derive the word *baron* or *barro* above-mentioned from the *Persic baron*, which signifies a castle, tower, bulwark, &c. (12).

(10) *Plin.* l. viii. c. 1, 3, 4, 5, &c. *Ælian.* de anim. l. vii. c. 44. & l. iv. c. 10. *Plut.* de solert. anim. Apollon. apud *Philost.* l. i. c. 7. *Dio Cass.* l. xxxix. *Arrian.* in Ind. Com. Gess. ubi sup. *Pierius* in hieroglyph. l. ii. c. 18. & *Hier.* Ofor. l. ix. de gest. Emian. reg. (11) *Aristot.* *Plin.* *Ælian.* *Agatharchid.* *Cnid.* *Philost.* ubi sup. 1 *Maccab.* c. vi. ver. 34. & 3 *Maccab.* c. 5. *Ant.* chron. *Alexand.* p. 412. edit. *Rader.* *Joseph.* cont. *Apion.* l. ii. *Diod. Sic.* l. iii. *Philostroph.* ubi sup. l. iii. c. 11. (12) *Plin.* l. viii. c. 4. *Senec.* epist. lxxxv. *Sueton.* in *Ner.* c. 11. & in *Galb.* c. 6. *Dio Cass.* l. lvi. p. 697. *Ælian.* l. ii. c. 11. *Vide* & *Exerc.* *Spanheim.* ubi sup. *Arrian.* hist. Ind. p. 328. *Ælian.* l. xv. c. 7. *Roland.* in *differt.* miscel. p. 3. *Nicol.* Smith in *itinerar.* *Constantinopol.* tom. xxii. collect. *Petr.* *Vander Aa.*

but was soon determined to the latter; by the arrival of *Magilus*, a prince of the *Boii*, who brought rich presents with him, and offered to conduct the *Carthaginians* over the *Alps*. In consequence of the resolution he had taken, the next day he decamped, commanding his horse to move towards the sea-coast, in order to prevent any sudden irruption from thence; the foot followed at some distance, whilst he himself waited for the coming up of the elephants, and the guides that conducted them. That his troops might bear the fatigues of so long and painful a march with the greater alacrity, *Hannibal*, the day before he began it, in the presence of them all, gave an audience to *Magilus*, who assured him by an interpreter, that his subjects ardently desired to see him; that both they, and the neighbouring *Gauls*, were ready to join him upon his first arrival amongst them; that he himself would take care to conduct his army through places where they should meet with a plentiful supply of provisions; and that he would soon bring them safe to *Italy*, which was one of the finest countries in the world. And then, after the prince was withdrawn, *Hannibal*, in a speech to them, magnified extremely this deputation from the *Boii*; extolled, with just praises, the bravery which his forces had hitherto shewn; and exhorted them to sustain, to the last, their reputation and glory. The soldiers, greatly animated hereby, protested they were ready to execute all his measures. Nothing could have happened more favourable to *Hannibal's* affairs, than the arrival of *Magilus*, since there was no room to doubt the sincerity of his intentions, the *Boii* bearing an implacable hatred to the *Romans*, and having even come to an open rupture with them, upon the first news, that *Italy* was threatened with an invasion from the *Carthaginians*.

And arrives at
the foot of the
Alps.

For four days *Hannibal* continued his march, crossing through the midst of *Gaul*, and moving northwards, with his horse and elephants posted in the rear; not because this was the shortest way to the *Alps*, but because it kept him at a considerable distance from the sea, and consequently enabled him to avoid *Scipio*, with whom he chose to decline an engagement, in pursuance of the advice given him by *Magilus*, that he might march his army, without any diminution, into *Italy*. Advancing towards the country of the *Allobroges*, he found two brothers disputing about the sovereignty of a territory, where he encamped. *Brancus*, the elder brother, was driven from his throne by the younger part of his subjects, who espoused his younger brother's interest. *Hannibal*, being made arbiter of this dispute, reinstated *Brancus* in the possession of his dominions; who thereupon, out of a sense of gratitude, supplied his troops with every thing they wanted, particularly arms, of which they then stood in great need, their old ones being, in a manner, worn out by long service; which was, as *Polybius* observes, the same thing as furnishing him with a proper number of recruits. He likewise escorted him through the countries of the *Tricastini*, *Vocontii*, and *Tricorii*, as far as the river *Druentia*, now the *Durance*; from whence he reached the foot of the *Alps* without opposition.

As, in a former part of this work, we have given a large account of *Hannibal's* passing the *Alps*, we shall have no occasion to expatiate upon that head here. Nothing further is requisite to be done, than to insert all the most material circumstances and occurrences, relative to so famous a transaction, that have been hitherto omitted. This we shall do from those writers, whose authority is the most esteemed, and who have been the most particular in their descriptions of it; which, we hope, will not be unacceptable to our readers.

He comes to the
summit of those
mountains.

NOTWITHSTANDING most, if not all, of the barbarous nations, through whom *Hannibal* was to pass, had a mortal aversion to the *Romans*, yet, as they were incapable of friendship or fidelity, he frequently found both himself and his army in the most imminent danger of being cut off, and particularly at his beginning to ascend the *Alps*, soon after his escorte had left him. Being however informed, that the enemy only kept guard in the day-time, he found means to encamp not far from them; and, about the first watch of the night, ordering a great number of fires to be made in his camp, as though all his troops remained there, he moved, at the head of a choice detachment, to some passes in the neighbourhood, which the enemy had abandoned, their main body always retiring at night to a town at some distance. These he immediately seized upon, and soon after gave them a defeat, killing vast numbers of them upon the spot; upon which, advancing to the town, he found it

¹ POLYB. l. iii. LIV. l. xxi.
ubi supra, p. 696, 697.

² LIV. & POLYB. ubi supra. ZONAR ubi supra.

³ Univerf. hist.

deserted

a deserted by the inhabitants. Here he met with plenty of cattle, and other provisions, with which, for three days together, he refreshed his forces. Continuing his march to the summit of the *Alps*, he encountered with many other difficulties. The sight of these mountains, which seemed to touch the skies, that were all covered with snow, and where nothing appeared to the eye but a few tottering cottages, scattered here and there on the sharp tops of inaccessible rocks; nothing but meagre flocks almost perished with cold, and hairy men of a savage and fiery aspect; this dismal spectacle, we say, renewed the terror, which the distant prospect of this ridge of mountains had raised, and struck a prodigious damp on the hearts of the soldiery. Besides which, the whole army was brought upon the verge of destruction by the perfidy of a *Gallie* nation, who, under the specious appearance of friends, persuaded *Hannibal* to commit himself to their conduct, promising to shew him the best and most expeditious way to the summit of the *Alps*. But these faithless guides, having led him into a steep pass, out of which they thought it would be impossible for him to make his escape, facing about on a sudden, charged him with great fury, being supported by vast numbers of their countrymen, who, till that time, had kept themselves concealed, but now rushed out from an eminence, that commanded this pass, where they had placed an ambuscade. However, *Hannibal*, by the wise disposition of his forces, as well as the assistance of his elephants, and bravery of his infantry, who greatly distinguished themselves on this occasion, at last dispersed them; and, having surmounted all other difficulties, the ninth day from his beginning the ascent, arrived at the top of the mountains. It must be observed, that *Hannibal* was, in a great measure, obliged to the elephants for his escaping all the disasters the enemy threatened him with, since where-ever these huge animals appeared, the *Gauls* were struck with such terror, that they immediately took to their heels; by which means the *Carthaginian* general gained the summit of the *Alps* with the less molestation^x.

HERE *Hannibal* halted for two days, to refresh his wearied troops, which were greatly disheartened by the snow that had lately fallen. In order to animate them to make another effort with alacrity, from one of the highest hills he gave them a prospect of the fruitful plains watered by the *Po*, the day before he decamped. He likewise pointed towards the place where *Rome* stood, which, he assured them, a battle or two would make them masters of, and consequently put a glorious period to all their toils. This inspired them with such vigour, that they seemed to have forgot all the fatigues they had undergone, and to think of nothing but taking possession of that baughty city, whose conduct towards their state had been nothing but one continued series of insults since the conclusion of the *Sicilian* war^y.

THEY therefore pursued their march; but the difficulty and danger increased, in proportion as they approached nearer the end of the descent. We are told, that, about this time, *Hannibal* meditated a return home; but, from the main conduct and genius of that general, this seems highly improbable. To omit many particulars, they came at last to a path naturally very steep and craggy, which being made more so by the late falling in of the earth, terminated in a frightful precipice above a thousand foot deep. In fine, *Hannibal* found it would be impossible for him to accomplish his design, without cutting a way into the rock itself, through which his men, horses, and elephants, might pass; which, with immense labour, he effected. Approaching therefore gradually the *Insubrian* foot of the *Alps*, he detached some parties of his horse for forage, there appearing now some spots of pasture, where the ground was not covered with snow. *Livy* informs us, that, in order to open and enlarge the path above-mentioned, all the trees thereabouts were cut down, and piled round the rock, after which fire was set to them. The wind, by good fortune, blowing hard, a fierce flame soon broke out; so that the rock glowed like the very coals with which it was surrounded. Then *Hannibal*, according to the same author, caused a great quantity of vinegar to be poured on the rock; which piercing into the veins of it, that were now cracked by the intense heat of the fire, calcined and softened it. In this manner, taking a large compass about, in order that the descent might be easier, he cut a way along the rock, which opened a free passage to the forces, baggage, and elephants, as above observed. As *Polybius* has passed over in silence the use *Hannibal* made of vinegar on this occasion, many reject that incident as ficti-

^x LIV. & POLYB. ubi sup. AUREL. VICT. in Hannib. ZONAR. ubi sup. ^y LIV. & POLYB. ubi sup.

tious.

tious. However, *Pliny* mentions one extraordinary quality of vinegar, viz. its being able to break rocks and stones, after fire had been applied to them, and found ineffectual. And that the walls, or at least a strong tower, of the city *Eleuthera* in *Crete*, after a continued operation for several nights, were thrown down by the force of vinegar, is asserted by *Dio. Appian* likewise, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, attest the fact we have, from *Livy*, here taken notice of. But, admitting this acid to be endued with such a quality, it seems difficult to conceive how *Hannibal* could procure a quantity of it sufficient for his purpose in so mountainous and barren a country ^a.

He arrives in Insubria.

THREE days after this, *Hannibal* gained the fruitful plains of *Insubria*, where, taking a review of his army, he found, that, in five months and a half's march, (for so long was it since he had set out from *New Carthage*) he had lost, by sickness, desertion, fatigue, and various engagements, thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse; so that it amounted at present to no (G) more than twenty-six thousand effective men. Of the soldiers missing, above twenty thousand had perished since his departure from the *Rhodanus*. And here, that we may have a clearer idea of *Hannibal's* march, it will be proper to give the names and distances of some of the principal places, through which that general passed in his way to *Italy*; which we shall beg leave to transcribe from *Polybius*. From *New Carthage* to the *Iberus* were computed two thousand six hundred stadia; from the *Iberus* to *Emporium*, a small maritime town, which separated *Spain* from the *Gauls*, according to *Strabo*, sixteen hundred stadia; from *Emporium* to the banks of the *Rhodanus*, sixteen hundred stadia; from the *Rhodanus* to the *Alps*, fourteen hundred stadia; from the *Alps* to the plains of *Insubria*, twelve hundred stadia. In all eight thousand four hundred stadia, making much about a thousand *English* miles ^b.

Takes Taurinum.

UPON *Hannibal's* arrival in *Italy*, he, for some time, encamped at the foot of the mountains, in order to give his troops some rest, they having suffered extremely in their passage over the *Alps*. He first took care to refresh them, and afterwards to recruit his cavalry, that he might be ready to enter upon action. He then solicited the *Taurini*, who were at war with the *Insubres*, to enter into an alliance with him. Upon their refusal to conclude a treaty with him, he entered their territories in a hostile manner; and sitting down before *Taurinum*, their capital city, after a siege of three days, took it by storm, putting all, that made any resistance, to the sword. This struck all the neighbouring *Gauls* with such terror, that coming in to him as one man, they surrendered at discretion. By this first instance of success, he had not only his army plentifully supplied with all kinds of provisions, but likewise strongly reinforced by great numbers of these *Gauls*, who took on in the *Carthaginian* service. The rest of the *Gauls* would, in all probability, have done the same thing, had they not been awed by the terror of the *Roman* arms, which were now approaching. *Hannibal* therefore thought his wisest course would be to march up directly into their country without loss of time, and make some important attempt; such as might encourage those, who shewed a disposition to join him, to put themselves under his protection ^c.

And advances towards the Romans.

IN the mean time, *Hannibal* received intelligence, that *Scipio* had passed the *Po* with his legions, and was advancing, with all possible celerity, to give him battle. This, at first, he could scarcely believe, thinking it impossible, that he should return from *Gaul* to *Italy*, cross *Etruria*, pass the *Po*, and be ready to receive him, in so short a time. What gave him this notion, was an information from those he could confide in, that the passage from *Massilia*, now *Marseilles*, to *Etruria*, by sea, was

^a LIV ubi sup. PLIN. nat. hist. l. xxiii. c. 1. sub fin. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. xv. p. 427. edit. Genev. DIO CASS. l. xxxvi. sub init. JUV. sat. 10. CORN. NEP. ubi sup. ^b POLYB. ubi sup. p. 159. STRAB. l. ii. ^c LIV. & POLYB. ubi sup.

(G) We have followed *Polybius* in this particular, since he tells us, he extracted this account from the column at *Lacinium*, which specified the number of forces here mentioned. It is highly probable, as *Livy* followed *Polybius* in most points, that this column is the altar, that author tells us, *Hannibal* erected in the temple of *Juno Lacinia*, whereon he engraved the general account of his great achievements in *Greek* and *Punic* letters. We do not learn

from this testimony of *Livy*, in what language these memoirs were written; but as either the *Greek* or *Punic*, or rather both, bids the fairest for it, *Livy's* authority confirms what we have lately suggested on that head. *Polybius*, it is certain, has been intirely silent as to this particular; and therefore *Livy's* authority is not decisive. However, with what we have lately advanced, it is nearly, if not absolutely, so (13).

(13) *Polyb. in loc. citat. Liv. l. xxviii. sub fin. Univers. hist. vol. vii. p. 9. not. (D).*

extremely

a extremely difficult and tedious; and the way to the last place from the *Alps*, by land, almost impracticable. *Scipio*, on his side, was as much surpris'd at *Hannibal's* expeditious march, and rapid progress. The news of his arrival in *Italy*, and the conquests he had already made there, so alarmed the people at *Rome*, that they dispatched an express to *Sempronius* at *Lilybæum*, to repair, with the utmost expedition, to the relief of his distressed country. Having received an account of the posture of affairs, he imbarqued immediately for *Rome* with the naval forces, leaving orders with the respective tribunes to draw together what troops they could out of their several garrisons, fixing a day for them to rendezvous at *Ariminum*, now *Rimini*, a town situated near the coast of the *Adriatic*, on the edge of the plains watered by the *Po* on the south. *Hannibal*, besides the method made use of to animate his soldiers formerly mentioned, in a set speech, put them in mind of their glorious achievements, and of the great difficulties they had surmounted. He told them, the *Romans* had never yet engaged men act'd by despair, nor such warriors as themselves, who had marched from the pillars of *Hercules*, through the fiercest nations, into the very heart of *Italy*. His own superiority to *Scipio* in military experience and exploits, he insinuated, they were not strangers to. They could not but be sensible, he went on, that he was almost born, at least educated, in his father *Hamilcar's* tent; that he was the conqueror of *Spain*, of *Gaul*, of the inhabitants of the *Alps*, and, what is still more, of the *Alps* themselves; that, by a little bravery, they would make themselves masters of *Rome*, and consequently of all the *Roman* acquisitions in *Sicily*, of which that ambitious republic had deprived their ancestors. Lastly, he rous'd their indignation against the insolence of the *Romans*, who had had the assurance to demand, that both he, and the other officers employ'd in the reduction of *Saguntum*, should be deliver'd into their hands, in order to be put to the most exquisite torture; endeavouring to inspire them with a just abhorrence and detestation of such a proud and imperious people, who imagin'd, that all things ought to obey them, and that they had a right to give laws to the whole world.

In the mean time, *Scipio*, advancing to the *Ticinus*, threw a bridge over that river, and immediately erected a fort to defend it against all attempts of the enemy. It is not improbable, that he call'd it *Ticinum*, after the name of the river, and that this was the original of the city of *Pavia*, which, in the most antient authors, is call'd *Ticinum*. Whilst the *Romans* were employ'd in raising this fort, *Hannibal* detach'd *Maberbal*, with a body of five hundred *Numidian* horse, to lay waste the territories of those nations, that were in alliance with *Rome*; but gave him orders to spare the *Gauls*, and excite the various princes of that people, if possible, to a revolt. The *Roman* army, having pass'd the *Ticinus*, advanced to a village of *Insubria*, five miles from the fort they had built, and there encamp'd upon some heights, in sight of the *Carthaginians*. *Hannibal*, upon this motion, call'd in the *Numidian* detachment under *Maberbal*, and made the proper dispositions to attack the enemy. Before the signal was given, he thought it requisite to animate his troops with fresh promises; which having done, cleaving with a stone the skull of the lamb he was sacrificing, he pray'd *Jupiter* to dash to pieces his head in like manner, in case he did not give his soldiers the rewards he had promis'd them. This render'd his troops impatient to come to blows with the enemy, especially as two ill omens had just fill'd their army with terror and consternation. In the first place, a wolf had stol'n into the *Roman* camp, and cruelly mangled some of the soldiers, without receiving the least harm from those who endeavour'd to kill it; and secondly, a swarm of bees had pitched upon a tree near the *prætorium*, or general's tent. However, *Scipio* mov'd at the head of his forces into the plain, where *Hannibal* had drawn up his troops in order of battle; and, advancing with his dartmen and cavalry to take a view of the number and posture of the enemy, fell in with the whole body of the *Carthaginian* horse, command'd by *Hannibal* himself; upon which the fight immediately began. As we have already given a full account of this battle, it will be unnecessary to be prolix here in our description of it. We shall therefore only observe, that *Hannibal* post'd in the centre of his cavalry the troopers who rode with bridles, and the *Numidian* horse on the wings, in order to surround the enemy; that the action was very hot and bloody, victory continuing, for a long time, in suspense; that many troopers on both sides, in the heat of the action, dismounted, and fought on foot;

He defeats the
Romans near
the Ticinus.

* *Idem* *ibid.*

but that at last the *Numidians* charged the *Romans* in flank with such fury, that they broke them, put their centre into disorder, and wounded the consul himself; which obliged the *Romans*, after having lost the greatest part of their army, to betake themselves to a precipitate flight. The immediate consequence of which victory was, that *Scipio* repassed the *Ticinus* in great confusion, broke down the bridge he had lately thrown cross that river, and left six hundred men in the fort to the mercy of the enemy, who surrendered at discretion to *Hannibal* upon his approach. It is agreed, that *Hannibal* owed this first victory to his superiority in cavalry, and the disposition of the ground where the engagement happened, no place being more proper for such troops to act in, than those large open plains lying between the *Po* and the *Alps* ^d.

And pursues
them as far as
the Trebia.

Hannibal, having thus driven the enemy out of the field, pursued them as far as ^b the bridge above-mentioned; but finding it broke down, he marched up the river for two days, till he came to the banks of the *Po*. Here he dispatched *Mago*, with the light *Spanish* horse, to move after the *Romans*; who, having rallied their shattered forces, and repassed the *Po*, were encamped at *Placentia*. *Asdrubal* immediately crossed that river on a bridge of boats, and was followed by *Hannibal* with the gross of the army, after he had given an audience to the deputies that came to him from several *Gallie* nations. These nations, immediately upon *Scipio*'s defeat, entering into an alliance with *Hannibal*, not only reinforced the *Carthaginians* by inlisting in their army, but supplied them plentifully with all sorts of necessaries. Having given a most kind reception to the deputies above-mentioned, and concluded a treaty ^c with them, he pursued his march with great expedition, soon joining *Mago*, who had advanced a day's march beyond the *Po*, towards *Placentia*, where he halted, till *Hannibal* came up. Upon the junction of their forces, the two *Carthaginian* generals advanced to *Placentia*, and offered the *Romans* battle. But they judging it proper to decline accepting the challenge, the *Carthaginians* encamped ten miles from them, where a body of *Gallie* deserters from the consul's army came over to them, after they had cut to pieces a good number of the *Romans*. As the *Boii* likewise, about the same time, were guilty of an action equally black and perfidious, *Scipio* feared a general insurrection of the *Gauls*; and therefore, removing from the neighbourhood of their country, he passed the *Trebia*, a small river which falls into the *Po*, taking ^d post on an eminence near that river, on the frontiers of his allies. Here he encamped, being determined to remain in a state of inaction, till the arrival of his colleague *Sempronius* with the forces from *Sicily* ^e.

Hannibal, being apprised of the consul's departure from *Placentia*, sent the *Numidian* horse to harass him in his march, himself moving, with the main body of the army, to support them, in case of need. The *Numidians*, finding the *Roman* camp deserted, set fire to it; which gave the consul an opportunity of making his retreat without any loss: whereas, had not the *Numidians* spent their time in so trifling an action, they might have cut off a great part of the *Roman* army. However, they made such speed, that they arrived upon the banks of the *Trebia*, before the rear of ^e the *Romans* had intirely passed that river, and put to the sword, or made prisoners, all the stragglers they found upon their arrival there. Soon after, *Hannibal* coming up, encamped in sight of the *Roman* army, on the opposite bank; and having, by his spies, soon learned the character of *Sempronius*, who had joined *Scipio*, and, during the disorder that general laboured under by reason of his wound, had the sole command of the *Roman* forces, formed a scheme to intrap him. In fine, *Sempronius*, being of a rash, though ambitious, disposition, contrary to the sentiments of *Scipio*, was resolved, at all events, to venture an engagement with *Hannibal*. To this he was farther excited by the scarcity of provisions prevailing in the *Roman* camp; whilst the *Carthaginians* enjoyed the greatest plenty and affluence, *Hannibal* having ^f lately seized the principal *Roman* magazine at *Clasidium*, a city betrayed to him by *Publius a Brundusian*. As a body of *Numidians*, by *Hannibal*'s orders, were ravaging the country of the *Gauls* in alliance with the *Romans*, he detached his cavalry in quest of them, who, coming up with them, gained an inconsiderable advantage over them; which so puffed up the consul, that, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, it being now about the winter solstice, he commanded his troops to be ready at an hour's warning to pass the river, and attack the *Carthaginian* camp. *Hannibal*, in the mean time, posted *Mago*, with a detachment of two thousand horse and foot, in

^d *Iidem* *ibid.* CORN. NEP. FLOR. AUREL. VICT. EUTROP. OROS. ZONAR. *ubi sup.* Univerf. hist. vol. iv. p. 699, 700. ^e *Iidem* *ibid.*

a ambuscade, on the steep banks of a rivulet running between the two camps; and then detached a body of *Numidian* cavalry to pass the *Trebia*, and insult the enemy, with orders to repass it upon the first motion of their army, and, if possible, to draw the *Romans* after them. This stratagem had the desired effect; for *Sempronius*, not being able to bear seeing himself braved in this manner, dispatched all his horse, supported by his dart-men, after the *Numidians*, himself following with the rest of the army. Upon this motion, a battle ensued, wherein, partly by the wise disposition of the *Carthaginian* forces *Hannibal* had made, partly through the great imprudence of *Sempronius*, and partly by the bravery of his troops (H), *Hannibal* intirely defeated the *Romans*, in the manner by us already related. Almost the whole *Roman* army, besides a body of ten thousand men, who made their retreat to *Placentia*, were either slain, or taken prisoners. The *Gauls*, in the *Carthaginian* service, suffered pretty much in the action; but the *Carthaginians* sustained no considerable loss, except that of their horses and elephants, all of which last, but one, perished by the cold, and in the battle. The *Roman* army consisted of sixteen thousand legionaries, twenty thousand auxiliary forces, some companies of the *Cenomani*, and four thousand *Roman* horse; *Hannibal's* of twenty thousand *Gallic*, *Spanish* and *African* infantry, eight thousand *Spanish* and *Balearic* slingers, and ten thousand *Gallic* and *Numidian* cavalry. The *Carthaginians* pursued the routed enemy, with great ardour, as far as the *Trebia*; but did not think proper to pass that river immediately, on account of the excessive cold. The next night *Scipio* decamped, and retired likewise with great precipitation to *Placentia* f.

It is evident, that what principally contributed to the defeat of the *Roman* army, was their inferiority in horse; for the *Carthaginian* cavalry amounted to ten thousand, whereas that of the *Romans* did not exceed four thousand; and this body, small as it was, could not act with vigour, being soon thrown into confusion by the enemy's elephants. The horses could neither bear the sight nor smell of those monstrous animals, and therefore were, in the highest degree, terrified upon their approach. *Scipio* undoubtedly had acquainted *Sempronius* with the danger he was in from the enemy's superiority in horse, since he had lost the battle of *Ticinus* just before by the

One cause of the defeat of Sempronius was his weakness in horse.

d weakness of his cavalry, and urged this among other topics, as a reason for him to decline an engagement. But *Sempronius*, being infatuated by his rashness, as well as ambition, was deaf to all salutary admonitions, and, in consequence of this infaturation, brought upon the *Romans* the signal loss and disgrace above-mentioned e.

THE *Carthaginians*, upon *Fabius's* declaration of war, proposed to act by sea as well as land, against the *Romans*, and their allies; and therefore, besides all their military preparations above-mentioned, fitted out twenty galleys, with a thousand soldiers on board, to ravage the coasts of *Italy*. Nine of these seized upon the islands of *Lipari*, and eight upon the island of *Vulcania*, the other three not being able to approach the shore, by reason of the tide's being against them. They likewise equipped a fleet of thirty-five quinqueremes, with a sufficient land-force on board, to pos-

The Carthaginian operations by sea.

f POLYB. ubi supra, c. 71. LIV. l. xxi. c. 55. APPIAN. de bell. Hannib. FLOR. l. ii. c. 6. FRONTIN. strat. l. ii. c. 5. ex. 23. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 9. OROS. l. iv. c. 24. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 24. CORN. NAP. & AUREL. VICT. ubi sup. Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 700, 701, &c. g POLYB. & LIV. ubi sup.

(H) We are told by the *Roman* authors, that the *Carthaginians*, at *Hannibal's* command, anointed their bodies with oil before the engagement began, making use of this expedient as a preservative against the cold, a vast quantity of snow having fallen the day before. In like manner *Xenophon* tells us, that *Cyrus's* troops anointed themselves with oil before large fires, when snow two cubits deep had fallen in *Armenia*. *Frontinus* insinuates, that, on such occasions, the ancients sometimes used oil and wine mixed. It appears from *Virgil*, *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, &c. that wrestlers increased their strength and vigour, by applying oil to their bodies in the manner above-mentioned. In allusion to which custom, the ancient christian writers sometimes called

the Holy Spirit *ANETHES*, or *The Anointer*; because he supplies good christians with an ample degree of courage and power in their spiritual warfare. The pastors of the christian church have likewise that name given them by some of the *Greek* fathers, on account of the assistance they afford the flocks committed to their care, in their struggle with their spiritual enemies. That the ancient *Romans*, as well as the *Carthaginians*, used oil for the ends just hinted at, is evident from many authors. *Pliny* relates, that when a person asked *Augustus* in his extreme old age, how he came to preserve such vigour of body and mind so long? he answered, *Intus mulso, foris oleo*, i. e. By refreshing myself inwardly with wine, and outwardly with oil (14).

(14) LIV. l. xxi. c. 53, 54. POLYB. l. iii. c. 71. FLOR. l. ii. c. 6. FRONTIN. l. ii. c. 5. ex. 23. & l. i. c. 4. ex. 7. *Xenoph.* in expd. Cyr. minor. l. iv. p. 224. *Virg.* *Æn.* v. ver. 135. *Dion. Halicarn.* *de* ecclesiast. Nazianz. orat. xviii. de *Cyprian.* exul. *Cic.* xii. *Attic.* ep. 6. *Plut.* in *Alex.* *Ænac.* ep. 80. *Plin.* l. xxiii. c. 24.

self themselves of *Lilybæum*. This last attempt however miscarried, the Carthaginians being defeated by the Romans, and losing seven of their vessels, together with seventeen hundred of their men taken prisoners, amongst whom were three Carthaginian noblemen. From the coast of *Sicily*, *Sempronius*, with the Roman and *Syracusan* squadrons, sailed to *Melita*, now *Malta*, and had the island, together with the Carthaginian forces in it, surrendered to him by *Hamilcar*, the son of *Gisco*, the governor. From *Melita* the consul steered his course to the island of *Vulcania*, thinking to meet with the Carthaginian fleet; but he was disappointed in his expectation, the Carthaginians having before sailed to the coasts of *Italy*, and plundered the territory of the city of *Vibo*, threatening at the same time to attack that city itself; which the consul being apprised of when he returned to *Sicily*, and likewise receiving letters from *Rome* by an express, notifying to him *Hannibal's* arrival in *Italy*, with orders to return home with all possible expedition, he found himself obliged to alter his measures. He immediately therefore dispatched *Sextus Pomponius*, with twenty-five long ships, to protect the maritime coasts of *Italy* from the insults of the Carthaginian squadron; and hastened himself to *Ariminum*, from whence he proceeded to the *Trebia*, where he met with the misfortune above related ^b.

The transactions
in Spain this
campaign.

WHILST *Hannibal* was pushing on his conquests in *Italy*, *Hanno*, who commanded in *Spain*, received intelligence, that the Romans, under the command of *Cneius Scipio*, had advanced as far as the *Iberus*, and reduced all the country betwixt that river and the *Pyrenees*. Upon this advice, *Hanno* assembled his forces, and marched to the city of *Cissa*, where he encamped in sight of the Romans. The vicinity of the two armies soon brought on a general action, wherein the Carthaginians were totally routed. *Hanno* himself was taken prisoner, together with *Indibilis*, a Spanish prince, intirely devoted to the Carthaginians. Their camp was forced, six thousand of them slain, and two thousand taken prisoners. All the heavy baggage *Hannibal* left with *Hanno* before his departure for *Italy*, fell a prey to the Romans; and many of the Spanish nations concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with *Scipio* upon this defeat. However, this did not discourage the Carthaginians; for *Asdrubal*, another Carthaginian commander, hearing that the Roman seamen and marines had dispersed themselves about the country, without any order or discipline, immediately passed the *Iberus* with a body of eight thousand foot, and a thousand horse, fell upon them unexpectedly, and put the greatest part of them to the sword, pursuing the rest to their fleet. Nothing of moment happened afterwards this campaign in *Spain*, *Asdrubal* taking up his winter-quarters at *New Carthage*, as soon as he had ended this expedition; and the Romans theirs at *Tarraco*, after *Scipio* had divided the booty got from the Carthaginians by the late victory amongst his troops ^c.

Hannibal's policy to win over to his interest the allies of the Romans.

THE Romans, having received an account of the two terrible blows given them by *Hannibal* upon the *Ticinus* and the *Trebia*, were struck with the utmost terror and consternation. However, they made vigorous preparations to continue the war. In the mean time *Scipio* removed from *Placentia* to *Cremona*, where he put his troops into winter-quarters. *Hannibal*, after the action upon the *Trebia*, ordered the *Numidians*, *Celtiberians*, and *Lusitanians*, to make incursions into the Roman territories, where they committed great depredations: and not contented with this, he formed a design to make himself master of a Roman fortress in the neighbourhood of *Placentia*; but miscarried in the attempt. He likewise reduced *Vidulumviæ*, making the garrison prisoners of war; which concluded the operations of this campaign. But, during his state of inaction, he took care to refresh his troops, and win the affections of the *Gauls*, as well as the allies of the Romans. He therefore declared to the *Gallie* and *Italian* prisoners he had taken, that he had no intention to make war upon their nations, being determined to restore them to their liberty, and protect them against the Romans. To confirm them in the idea he was desirous they should entertain of him, he dismissed them, without demanding the least ransom ^d.

He marches into Etruria.

DURING the winter, *Hannibal's* troops were reinforced by a considerable body of *Gauls*, *Ligurians*, and *Etruscans*, who, for various reasons, thought proper to abandon the Romans. *Hannibal* however reposed no great trust in his auxiliaries, but rather entertained a suspicion of them; on which account he disguised himself this winter in the manner already related. He was the better enabled to do this by the variety of languages he understood, amongst which *Zonaras* mentions the *Latin*. By

^b LIV. l. xxi. c. 17. APPIAN. in Libyc. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 22.
fin. APPIAN. in Iberic.

^c POLYB. ibid. c. 72. LIV. ibid. c. 57.

^d POLYB. l. iii. LIV. l. xxi. sub

a this conduct he found, that the most effectual way for him to secure himself, was to change the theatre of the war, and march into *Etruria*. This he did, after a brisk rencounter with *Sempronius*, wherein many fell on both sides, as we have already observed in a former part of this history ¹.

Hannibal having, to the great surprize of all, crossed the *Apennines*, and penetrated into *Etruria*, received intelligence, that the new consul *Flaminius* lay encamped, with the *Roman* army, under the walls of *Arretium*. Pursuant to the plan of operations laid down, he moved directly that way, in order to inform himself of the *Roman* general's capacity and designs, as well as the course and situation of the country. As his troops had been greatly harassed by the late fatiguing march, he halted b some time in the neighbourhood of *Fasula* to refresh them. Here he learned the true character of *Flaminius*, that he was a good orator, but intirely ignorant of the military art: in fine, that he was rash, proud, and of a fierce disposition. This gave *Hannibal* no small encouragement, not doubting but he should soon be able to bring him to a battle. *Hannibal*, in the first step he took, says *Polybius*, acted like a wise commander, since it ought to be the chief study of a general to discover the genius of his antagonist, in order to take advantage of his foible. To inflame the impetuous spirit of *Flaminius*, the *Carthaginian* general advanced towards *Arretium*, taking the way to *Rome*, and leaving the *Roman* army behind him, destroying all the country, through which he moved, with fire and sword. As that part of *Etruria* abounded c with corn, cattle, all sorts of provisions, in fine, with all the elegancies, as well as necessaries, of life, being one of the richest and most fertile spots of ground in *Italy*, the *Romans*, and their allies, sustained an incredible loss on this occasion.

Flaminius was not of a temper to continue inactive in his camp, though *Hannibal* should have lain still, and given him no provocation; but when he beheld the territories of the allies of *Rome* ravaged in so dreadful a manner, he lost all patience, thinking it would reflect the greatest dishonour upon him, should he permit *Hannibal* to continue his devastations with impunity, and even advance to the very walls of *Rome* without opposition. He resolved therefore immediately to attack the *Carthaginians*; and so furiously was he bent upon this, that when the officers of the army, d in a council of war, endeavoured to prevail upon him to wait the arrival of his colleague, he rushed out of the council in a rage, giving orders to the army instantly to begin their march. Yes truly, said he, we ought to sit still before the walls of *Arretium*, since this is our native country, and here are our habitations! We ought to let *Hannibal* escape out of our hands, and destroy all the country, to the very walls of *Rome*, with fire and sword! We ought, by no means, to move from hence, till the conscript fathers send for *C. Flaminius* from *Arretium*, as they formerly did for *Camillus* from *Veii*! He mounted his horse in such a hurry, that he fell from him; which was considered as a bad omen. This however made no impression upon him. Immediately after this, a messenger came to acquaint him, that the ensigns stuck so fast in the ground, that the soldiers e could not pull them out. Upon which, turning towards him, Dost thou bring me a letter likewise, said he, from the senate, prohibiting me to act against the *Carthaginians*? Go tell them, they may dig the ensigns up, if their hands are so benumbed with fear, that they cannot pull them out. As though therefore he had been certain of victory, he immediately decamped, approaching *Hannibal* with the utmost temerity, in order to attack him ^m.

In the mean time *Hannibal* kept on, still advancing towards *Rome*, having *Cortona* on the left-hand, and the lake *Thrasymenus* on the right. At last, observing the disposition of the ground to be very commodious for his purpose, he put himself into a posture to receive *Flaminius*, who was upon the point of coming up with him. The f lake *Thrasymenus*, and the mountains of *Cortona*, form a very narrow defile, which leads into a large valley, lined on both sides with hills of a considerable height, and closed at the outlet by a steep hill of difficult access. Upon this hill *Hannibal* encamped with his *Spanish* and *African* troops, posting the *Baleares* and light-armed infantry, which were drawn up in one long line, in ambuscade, at the foot of the hills on the right-side of the valley, and lining with the *Gallie* cavalry the left-side of it, in such manner, that they extended as far as the entrance of the defile. *Hannibal*, having thus in the night surrounded the valley with his forces, lay still, as though he

¹ LIV. POLYB. & ZONAR. ubi supra. S. JUL. FRONTIN. l. i. c. 5. ex. 28. CORN. NEP. in Hannib. c. 5. APPIAN. in Hannib. PLUT. in Hannib. &c. Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 702, 703, &c. ^m POLYB. l. iii. c. 75—78—85. LIV. l. xxii. c. 7. APPIAN. de bell. Hannib. ZONAR. ubi sup. c. 25.

had no intention to engage. This farther excited the consul to fall upon the Cartha-
 ginians as soon as possible; for which end he so eagerly pursued them, that the follow-
 ing night he advanced to the valley, and entered it the next morning, moving with his
 vanguard at a small distance from the lake *Thrasymenus* above-mentioned. *Hannibal*,
 now observing, that the greatest part of *Flaminius*'s troops marched in disorder, and
 were so near him, that his men could not fail of doing great execution amongst
 them, provided they instantly charged them with vigour, ordered them to be
 attacked in front, in rear, and in flank, at the same time. As the Roman officers
 could not see which way to lead their men, nor discover the enemy that charged them,
 by reason of a thick fog from the lake, the consular army was, in a moment, thrown
 into confusion. *Flaminius* however did his utmost to animate his men, exhorting
 them to cut themselves a passage with their swords through the midst of the enemy;
 but the tumult, which reigned every-where, the dreadful shouts of the enemy, and
 the fog that was risen, prevented his being seen or heard. However, the Romans,
 seeing the impossibility of saving themselves by flight, and a little recovering them-
 selves upon the dissipation of the fog, for some time fought with unparalleled bra-
 very; but *Flaminius* himself being slain by an *Insubrian*, they began to give ground,
 and at last betook themselves to a precipitate flight. The Roman army, according
 to *Appian*, consisted of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse; of which
 fifteen thousand (twenty thousand, says *Appian*) fell upon the field of battle, and
 six thousand, that retreated to a town in *Etruria*, surrendered the next day at discre-
 tion to *Maherbal*. According to *Valerius Maximus*, *Eutropius*, and *Orosius*, five-
 and-twenty thousand Romans perished in this action. *Hannibal* lost only fifteen hun-
 dred men on this occasion, most of whom were Gauls, though great numbers, both
 of his soldiers and the Romans, died afterwards of their wounds. He commanded
 the strictest search to be made for the body of *Flaminius*, in order to give it a decent
 interment; but it could not be found. He likewise solemnized the funerals of thirty
 of his chief officers, who had been slain in the action; but was at a loss how to
 dispatch a courier to *Carthage*, with an account of the glorious victory he had gained.
 All the other principal particulars relating to the defeat of the Romans at the lake
Thrasymenus, our readers will find in a proper place.

Maherbal *romus*
Centenius.

Hannibal, being informed, that the consul *Servilius* had detached a body of four,
 or, according to *Appian*, eight thousand horse from *Ariminum*, to reinforce his col-
 league in *Etruria*, sent out *Maherbal*, with all the cavalry, and some of the infantry,
 to attack him. The Roman detachment consisted of chosen men, and was com-
 manded by (1) *Centenius* a patrician. *Maherbal* had the good fortune to meet with
 him, and, after a short dispute, intirely defeated him. Two thousand of the Ro-
 mans were laid dead upon the spot, the rest retiring to a neighbouring eminence,
 where being surrounded by *Maherbal*, they were obliged the next day to surrender
 at discretion. This blow, happening within a few days after the defeat at the lake
Thrasymenus, almost gave a finishing stroke to the Roman affairs. *Appian* tells us,
 that the people in *Rome* were so alarmed on this occasion, that they expected an
 immediate visit from *Hannibal*; and therefore not only posted great numbers of dart-
 men on the ramparts to defend them, but likewise armed even the old men with the
 arms taken from their enemies in former wars, and hung up as trophies in their tem-
 ples. *Hannibal* however, now thinking himself so much superior to the Romans,
 that they would not be able hereafter to make head against him, did not advance to
Rome, but moved towards the territory of *Adria*, taking his route through *Umbria*
 and *Picenum*. As he plundered all the country through which he marched, upon his
 arrival in the territory of *Adria*, he was loaded with booty. *Spoletum* he attacked in
 his march; but was repulsed with great loss. From thence approaching the fron-
 tiers of *Apulia*, he ravaged the adjacent territories, viz. the country of the *Marsi*,
Marrucini, *Peligni*, together with the districts of *Arpi* and *Lutetia*. The consul *Ch.*

(1) We cannot forbear expressing our surprize, that *Isaac Casaubon*, in his Latin version of *Polybius*, should prefer the name *Centronius* to *Centenius*, since, in the original, it is *Centenius*. That very learned man might have been convinced by *Sigonius*, in his excellent *scholia* upon *Livy*, that, tho' some

antient copies of this last author have in one place *Centronius*, *Centenius* was the name of the general here mentioned. To what *Sigonius* has said, we shall only beg leave to add, that *Appian* and *Zonaras* both call this proprætor *Centenius*; which is a confirmation of that great man's opinion (15).

(15) *Car. Sigon. schol. in Liv. l. xxii. c. 8. Appian. in bell. Hannib. p. 553. edit. Tolliz, Amst. 1670. Zonar. l. viii. c. 25.*

a *Servilius* did nothing memorable this campaign. He had only a few slight skirmishes with the *Gauls*, and made himself master of an inconsiderable town. However, he thought proper to move towards *Rome*, to cover that capital from any attempts of the *Carthaginians*. *Polybius* tells us, that *Hannibal* treated the allies of the *Romans* with the utmost cruelty in this expedition, which that author attributes to the invincible aversion he had been inspired with by his father *Hamilcar* to the *Romans*.

THE *Carthaginian* army at this time was very sickly, being troubled with a scorbutic disorder, called by the *Greeks* *Lemphoros*. This seemed owing to the unwholesome encampments they had been obliged to make, and their march through so many morasses. As both the horses and men were infected with it, *Hannibal* found it absolutely necessary to repose his troops for some time in the territory of *Adria*, which was a most pleasant and fruitful country. In his various engagements with the *Romans*, he had taken a great number of their arms, with which he now armed his men after the *Roman* manner. Being now likewise master of that part of the country bordering on the sea, he found means to send an express to *Carthage*, with the news of the glorious progress of his arms. The *Carthaginians* received this news with the most joyful acclamations, at the same time coming to a resolution to reinforce, with a proper number of troops, their armies both in *Italy* and *Spain*. They also had frequent consultations how they might send them a plentiful supply of all necessities with the utmost expedition, being determined to prosecute the war with all possible vigour.

Hannibal arms his soldiers after the Roman manner.

c *Hannibal*, having refreshed his army, and over-run the territory of the *Præ-* *And marches*
tii, *Ferentani*, *Daunii*, *Messapii*, and, in fine, the whole province of *Apulia*, *into Campania*.
encamped near *Isonium*. In the mean time *Fabius*, for his singular virtue and abilities surnamed *Maximus*, was elected dictator at *Rome*, and had the absolute command of the *Roman* army given him. *Fabius* ordered the consul *Servilius* to watch the motions of the *Carthaginians* by sea, whilst he, with the legions, and his general of the horse, advanced to *Ægæ*, to have an eye upon *Hannibal*. The cunning *Carthaginian* made a great variety of movements, and had recourse to an infinity of stratagems, in order to draw the *Roman* general to a battle, which it was his highest interest to do; but all his endeavours proved ineffectual. *Hannibal* therefore, having before
d ravaged all the country bordering on the *Adriatic*, crossed the *Apennines*, and entered into *Samnium*, where he likewise committed great devastations. He plundered the territory of *Beneventum*, took the strong city of *Venusia*, and laid siege to *Telesia*, a town at the foot of the *Apennines*. *Fabius* still kept pace with him, tho' he did not think proper to approach the *Carthaginians* nearer than a day's march, being determined to decline an engagement. *Hannibal*, being convinced, that a state of inaction must prove fatal to him, in order to draw *Fabius* to a battle, marched his army into *Campania*, by the advice of some of the *Italian* prisoners he had dismissed after the late battle, and who now had joined him. Accordingly he ordered his guides to
e conduct him to the territory of *Casertum*, being informed, that, if he could make himself master of this, he should cut off all communication betwixt the *Romans* and their allies on that side. *Livy* tells us, that *Hannibal*, not having the true pronunciation of the *Latin*, named *Casilinum*, instead of *Casertum*, to his guides; who thereupon pursued a different route, leading him through the districts of *Allifæ*, *Calatia*, and *Cales*, into that of *Stella*, where finding himself surrounded on all sides by mountains and rivers, he inquired in what part of the world he was; and received for answer from his guides, that he should lodge that night at *Casilinum*; when discovering the mistake, he put to death the principal of them, and detached *Maberbal*, with a body of horse, to plunder the territory of *Falernum*. That general, penetrating as far as the waters of *Silueffa*, destroyed all the country, as he advanced, with fire and sword, the *Numidians* making a terrible slaughter of the poor country people. However, the *Campanians* continued firm in their obedience to the *Romans*. *Hannibal* afterwards, encamping upon the *Vulturnus*, ravaged the whole province in a most dreadful manner, *Fabius* not offering to stir; though he beheld these devastations from the top of mount *Masivus*, where he had posted himself to observe the motions of the *Carthaginian* army. This greatly incensed both the *Roman* troops, and his general of the horse, against him.

* *Idem* *ibid.* Vide & *FLOR. CORN. NEP. AUREL. VICT. EUTROP. ORO.* &c. ubi *supr.* *FRONTIN. Strat. l. ii. c. 5. ex. 24.* Vide & *Univ. C. hist. vol. iv. p. 703, 704, 705, &c.* *LIV. POLYB. APPIAN. ZONAR.* ubi *supra.* *PLUT. in Fab. ENN. in annal. xii. spud Var. de poet.*

He cannot
bring Fabius to
a battle.

ALL methods had been now tried in vain by *Hannibal* to bring *Fabius* to a battle. ^a He had at first advanced to his very intrenchments at *Ægæ*, and braved him; he had upbraided him and his troops with having lost the valour of their ancestors, tho' at the same time he inwardly fretted to find himself engaged with a general of so different a genius from *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*; he had endeavoured to rouse him by frequent removals from place to place, by laying waste the lands, plundering the cities, and burning the villages and towns. He, at one time, would decamp with the utmost precipitation, and at another quite stop short in some remote valley, to see whether he could not rush out, and surprise him in the plain; but, notwithstanding all his artifices, all his marches, countermarches, and finesses, the dictator inflexibly adhered to his first resolution, and thereby gave the crafty *Carthaginian* to ^b understand, that the *Romans*, instructed by their defeats, had at last made choice of a general capable of opposing *Hannibal* ^c.

He retires from
Campania.

As *Campania* was a country more agreeable to the eye, than proper for the subsistence of an army, and the *Carthaginians* would have been forced to have taken up their winter-quarters amongst morasses, rocks and sands, had they remained any considerable time longer there, *Hannibal* began to think of decamping. To this he was farther excited by an apprehension, that the *Romans* would receive plentiful supplies from *Capua*, and the richest countries in *Italy*. That he might not therefore consume idly the provisions he had amassed for the winter-season, nor lose the immensely rich spoils gotten in the provinces he had ravaged, he began his march out of *Campania* towards the decline of summer, and pursued it for some time with great expedition ^d.

And with great
difficulty ar-
rives on the
confines of Sam-
nium.

IT being natural to suppose, that *Hannibal* would return the same way he came, and *Fabius* being apprised of this by his spies, the *Roman* general ordered a detachment of four thousand men to advance, and possess themselves of the pass on mount *Eribanus*, exhorting them to behave with bravery, when an opportunity of engaging the *Carthaginians* offered. After this, *Fabius*, that he might the more easily annoy *Hannibal* in his march; threw another body of troops into *Casilinum*, a small town situated on the *Vulturnus*, which separated the territories of *Falernum* from those of *Capua*, and at the same time took post with the main body of his army on mount ^d *Callicula*. From hence he sent a party of four hundred horse, under the command of *L. Hostilius Mancinus*, to reconnoitre the enemy, with orders to retire upon the first news of their approach. *Mancinus*, paying no regard to his orders, skirmished with several straggling parties of *Numidians*, who, retiring before him, drew him on by degrees nearer the *Carthaginian* camp; which *Cartalo*, general of the *Carthaginian* cavalry, observing, pursued him, at the head of a good body of horse, five miles, and at last coming up with him, cut him off, with the greatest part of his men. The rest fled to *Cales*, from whence, through several by-paths, they made their escape to *Fabius*, bringing him the melancholy news of the disaster that had befallen them.

His stratagem
so effect this.

Hannibal, with his forces, soon arrived at the foot of the mountains, where he ^e encamped. Soon after, an action happened between him and *Fabius*, wherein he lost eight hundred men, and the *Romans* two hundred. But here he found himself involved in great difficulties, being pent up in such a manner, by reason of the *Romans* having seized upon *Casilinum* and *Callicula*, that it seemed impossible for him to make his escape. Now he found, that his own arts were put in practice against him, and that he had fallen into much the same snare he had laid for *Flaminius* at the lake *Tbrasymentus*. *Fabius*, in the mean time, thinking he had his enemy in his power, was making the proper dispositions for an attack the next morning. At this critical conjuncture, *Hannibal*, by the assistance of two thousand wild and tame oxen, with torches, faggots, and dry vine-branches, tied to their horns, and driven with ^f great violence, in the dead of the night, to the top of the hills where the *Romans* lay encamped, found means to gain the pass above-mentioned, which opened a way for him to *Allifæ*. We are told, that, before he communicated this stratagem to his general officers, he massacred five thousand *Italian* prisoners, to prevent its taking air by their means, as well as to hinder their joining the enemy, if his design should miscarry. By this singular contrivance, *Hannibal* eluded all the efforts of *Fabius*, and preserved both himself and his army, when they were upon the very brink of destruction. It is certainly glorious for a general to turn his very errors to his advantage,

^a Ibidem ibid.

^d Ibidem ibid.

^e POLYB. LIV. APPIAN. ubi supra

a and make them subservient to his fame. For the particulars of this stratagem we must refer our readers to the *Roman* history*.

As soon as day-light appeared, *Hannibal* observed, that his light-armed troops were advanced to the summit of the mountain, on which was the defile he had forced the *Romans* to abandon by the stratagem above-mentioned. Here they met with a strong body of the *Romans*, who had ascended the hill in the night; so that they were in danger of being all cut to pieces, especially as the enemy had found means to surround them. Upon this, *Hannibal* detached a party of *Spaniards* to bring them off, which he imagined them capable of doing, as they were more used to craggy rocks and precipices, as well as more active and nimble, than the *Romans*. Accordingly, the *Spaniards* charged the *Romans* with so much bravery, that they put them to flight, killed a thousand of them upon the spot, and covered the retreat of their companions in such a manner, that scarce a man was lost on this occasion†.

Hannibal, upon his arrival near the confines of *Samnium*, made a motion, as though his intention had been to pass through that province towards *Rome*; but, wheeling about on a sudden, he fell into the country of the *Peligni*, which he ravaged a second time. From thence he retired into *Apulia*, and took possession of a defenceless town called *Gerion*; which the inhabitants abandoned upon his approach. This is *Livy's* account. But, according to *Polybius*, who calls the place (K) *Gerunium*, making it about twenty-five miles distant from *Luceria*, it stood a siege, and was at last taken by storm. *Hannibal*, if we chuse to follow the same author, put all the inhabitants to the sword; but made granaries of the houses, lodged his troops under the walls, and fortified his camp with a retrenchment. From hence he sent two thirds of his army to gather in the corn of the province, which was extremely fertile, ordering them by turns to relieve daily the other third part that remained with him. This he had always drawn up in battalia, not only to protect the others, but likewise to prevent the enemy from making any attempt upon his camp. In the mean time *Fabius*, being sent for to *Rome*, left the command of the army to *Minucius*, his general of the horse, with orders to observe the motions of *Hannibal* at a proper distance; but by no means to engage him‡.

d *Minucius*, being of a contrary disposition to *Fabius*, resolved not to keep in the path, which that general had chalked out for him. Being therefore informed, that the greatest part of the *Carthaginian* army was dispersed over the territory of *Gerunium*, in order to forage, and that *Hannibal* himself lay encamped with the other part under the walls of that place, he took post on an eminence called *Calela*, in the neighbourhood of *Larinum*, not far from *Hannibal's* camp. *Hannibal*, receiving intelligence of the enemy's approach, recalled part of his foragers, and possessed himself of an ascent about two miles from *Gerunium*, imagining, that this post would enable him to secure his other foragers from all insults. The night after his arrival here, he sent two thousand of his light-armed troops to seize upon a rising ground close by the *Roman* camp; which they effected without opposition. But, the next morning, *Minucius* detached a body of his light-armed forces to dislodge them from thence; which, after a brisk action, they did, putting many of them to the sword, and dispersing the rest. Animated by this first instance of success, *Minucius* attacked the *Carthaginian* foragers, cut many of them to pieces, and, in a rencounter, had the advantage over *Hannibal*. These things being known at *Rome*, greatly sunk the credit of *Fabius*, and occasioned there a general condemnation of his conduct; nay, as *Hannibal* had artfully spared his lands in the general devastation, some began to entertain a suspicion of his having kept a secret correspondence with the *Carthaginians*. The people and senate of *Rome* however did not take the command of the army absolutely from him; but gave *Minucius* an equal authority with the dictator.

* Ibidem ibid. PLUT. ubi sup. ZONAR. ubi sup. c. 26. FRONTIN. strat. l. i. c. 5. ex. 28. Univers. hist. ubi sup. p. 706, 707. † POLYB. l. iii. c. 92. LIV. l. xxii. c. 15. ‡ POLYB. l. iii. c. 101, 102, &c. LIV. l. xxii. c. 28, 29, 30, &c. PLUT. in Fab. OROS. l. iv. c. 15. sub fin. CIC. de offic. &c. in Caton.

(K) We believe, with *Gronovius*, that the true name of this town was *Gerunium*, and consequently that *Livy's* text ought to be emended. This seems to appear, not only from the superior autho-

rity of *Polybius*, but likewise from *Peutinger's* table, in which the place under consideration is called *Gerunium*. Other reasons might be offered, were there any occasion for them (16).

(16) Vide Polyb. l. iii. c. 101. & l. v. c. 108.

After *Fabius's* return to the army, the two generals agreed to divide the forces, that each of them might have his separate corps, *Fabius*, on account of his superior skill in the military art, and that he might be able to preserve at least one part of the army, not being disposed to give his consent to an alternate command ^w.

Fabius prevents Hannibal

from cutting off his colleague.

NOTHING could be more agreeable to *Hannibal*, than to hear of the disgrace of *Fabius*, whose measures he so much dreaded. He flattered himself, that the dissension between the two commanders, and the rashness of *Minucius*, would throw an opportunity into his hands of embarrassing the Roman affairs more than ever. He resolved therefore to lay a snare for *Minucius*; which fortune soon pointed out to him a method of doing. *Fabius* encamped on the hills, after his usual manner; and *Minucius* in the plain, near the Carthaginians. *Hannibal* in the mean time observing a small rising ground between him and *Minucius*, by which either might incommode the other, formed a design to make himself master of it, not doubting but this would bring on an action between them. In order to which, he laid an ambuscade of five thousand foot, and five hundred horse, divided into parties of two and three hundred men each, posted in different places near this eminence. He then commanded a body of his light-armed men to advance, and take possession of that post; which *Minucius* endeavouring to prevent, fell into the ambuscade, and had been cut off with all his men, if *Fabius* had not rushed from the hills, like a torrent, to his assistance in the critical moment, and forced *Hannibal* to retire. *Hannibal* is reported to have said on this occasion, *That he had overcome Minucius, and Fabius him.* *Hannibal*, after this action, fortified his camp, seized upon the eminence above-mentioned, drew a line round it, and then continued in a state of inaction till the following campaign ^c.

The Romans defend the Carthaginians in Spain.

DURING these transactions in Italy, *Cneius Scipio*, having, as we observed, conquered all the Spanish cantons from the Pyrenees to the *Iberus*, put his troops into winter-quarters at *Tarraco*. *Asdrubal* however, as we at the same time informed our readers, gave the Romans a considerable blow towards the close of the campaign; the consequence of which, according to *Livy*, was, that the *Ilergetes*, who had left in *Scipio's* hands hostages for their fidelity, declared for the Carthaginians. *Scipio*, being apprised of this, assembled a body of forces, and immediately invested their capital city *Atbanagia*. He pushed on the siege with such vigour, though in the midst of winter, that the *Ilergetes* found themselves obliged to have recourse to his clemency, *Asdrubal* being then at too great a distance to afford them speedy succours. As the principal author of the revolt was fled, *Scipio* was the more readily induced to pardon them. Having therefore exacted a good sum of money from them for their perfidy, and compelled them to give him new hostages for their future good behaviour, he took them again into favour. From hence he marched against the *Ausetani*, allies of the Carthaginians, seated near the *Iberus*, and sat down before their metropolis. During this siege, he drew a great body of the neighbouring Spaniards, particularly of the *Lacetani*, who came to the assistance of the *Ausetani*, into an ambuscade he laid for them, putting twelve thousand of them to the sword, and dispersing the rest. However, he could not reduce the city for the space of thirty days, on account of the rigour of the season, which was such, that the Roman engines of battery could not play upon it. At last, *Amusitus*, their prince, having found means to retire to *Asdrubal*, the garrison delivered up the place to *Scipio* for twenty talents of silver; after which that general moved again into his winter-quarters. In the mean time *Asdrubal* reinforced the squadron, his brother had left him, with ten galleys, so that it now consisted of forty-five ships of the line; and gave the command of it to one *Hamilcar*, an officer who had distinguished himself on various occasions. *Hamilcar*, pursuant to his orders, put to sea, with an intention to coast along, till he came to the mouth of the *Iberus*, where *Asdrubal* was to meet him at the head of the land-forces, that they might, in concert, begin the operations of the campaign. *Scipio*, receiving intelligence of their design, and at the same time hearing, that *Asdrubal* was already in motion, immediately fitted out a fleet of five-and-thirty sail, putting the flower of his land-forces on board. Upon his arrival near the mouth of the *Iberus*, he dispatched two *Massilian* vessels to reconnoitre the enemy, who

^w *Iidem* *ibid.* VALER. MAX. l. iii. c. 8. ENN. *ubi sup.* POLYÆN. strat. l. viii. * *Iidem* *ibid.* FRONTIN. strat. l. ii. c. 22. Vide etiam SIL. ITAL. l. vi. VIRG. ÆN. vi. DROD. SIC. in excerptis VALER. l. xvi. OVID. l. ii. fast. MANIL. l. i. FLOR. l. ii. CORN. NEP. AUR. VICT. EUTROP. *ubi sup.* CLAUD. de bell. Get. MACROB. in Saturn. POSIDON. alioq; plurim.

a brought him advice, that their Squadron of galleys actually rode at anchor in the mouth of the river; upon which he made the necessary dispositions to attack it. *Asdrubal*, receiving timely notice of this, drew up his army in order of battle on the shore, to assist, or at least to animate, his naval forces; but they were not able to withstand the efforts of the *Romans*, who, after a warm dispute, intirely defeated them, forced all the vessels on shore, killed great numbers of the seamen and marines, and carried off thirty-five galleys. From this time, the *Carthaginian* affairs began to wear a bad aspect in *Spain*.

b THE *Carthaginians*, receiving intelligence of this blow, equipped another fleet of seventy sail with the utmost expedition, knowing of what vast consequence it was to them to be masters of the sea. With this, according to *Polybius*, they put in at one of the ports of *Sardinia*, and proceeded from thence to *Pisa*; where the admiral proposed to have a conference with *Hannibal*. But *Servilius*, who commanded a *Roman* Squadron of an hundred and twenty galleys, prevented that intercourse, the *Carthaginians* thinking proper to sheer off upon his approach, and return to *Carthage*. *Servilius*, for some time, gave them chace; but finding himself not able to come up with them, he left off the pursuit, and steered his course for *Cercina*, a small island on the coast of the *Regio Syrtica*; which he laid under contribution. From thence he sailed to *Cossyrus*, another little island, not far from *Carthage*; which he easily made himself master of, and left a garrison in the town. After this he set sail c for *Sicily*, and arrived safe with his Squadron in the harbour of *Lilybaum*.

And gain several other advantages over them in Spain and Africa.

d IN the mean time *Scipio* made a good use of his late naval victory. He first advanced to *Honosca*, which he closely besieged both by sea and land, took it by storm, and levelled it with the ground. Then he made a descent in *Africa*, ravaged all the country about *Carthage*, and burnt several houses adjoining to the haven and the wall. Loaded with spoil, he departed from thence to *Longuntica*, where he found a vast quantity of *spartum*, a shrub much used in the navigating of ships, amassed by *Asdrubal*, which he either carried off for his own use, or burnt. Afterwards he landed a body of forces in the island *Ebusus*, now *Yvica*, plundered it, and burnt some streets of its capital city; but could not reduce the town. However, he concluded a treaty with the inhabitants of this, and the other *Balearic* islands. Upon the fame of these exploits, *Livy* tells us, an hundred and twenty different cantons of *Spaniards* submitted to the *Romans*, who penetrated as far as the *Salus Castellonenfis*, *Asdrubal* retiring before them into *Lusitania*, and those parts of *Spain* bordering upon the ocean.

The consequences of the defense in Spain.

WHILST the *Carthaginian* affairs were in such a melancholy situation in *Spain*, *Asdrubal* reduced to great difficulties. *Mandonius*, a person of distinction amongst the *Ilergetes*, advanced to the frontiers of some of the allies of *Rome*, with a design to plunder them. *Scipio*, being apprised of this, detached a body of three thousand *Romans*, with some *Spanish* auxiliaries, to attack him; which they did so effectually, that they overthrew him, and drove e him from those frontiers with great loss. Upon this, he applied to *Asdrubal* for assistance, who presently marched with all his forces to support him. *Scipio*, being acquainted with this motion, ordered all the *Celtiberian* princes in the *Roman* interest to assemble their forces, and fall upon the *Carthaginians*. In compliance with this order, they made an irruption into the *Carthaginian* territories with a powerful army, took three fortresses there by assault, and gave *Asdrubal* two notable overthrows, killing him above fifteen thousand men, and taking four thousand prisoners. Nothing further material happened in *Spain* this campaign, except that the two *Scipios* passed the *Iberus*, and penetrated into the *Carthaginian* dominions as far as the gates of *Saguntum*, a particular account of which has been already given.

f BUT to return to the armies in *Italy*: *Hannibal* remained quiet in his winter-quarters, till the following spring, and, before the season for action came on, had the pleasure to hear of *Fabius's* being recalled to *Rome*, upon the expiration of his office, which was limited to six months. The consuls, *Cn. Servilius Geminus*, and *M. Atilius Regulus*, who succeeded him, in all things regulated their conduct according to the model *Fabius* had laid down. Upon their arrival in the army, they cut off several parties of *Hannibal's* foragers; but declined a general action, though he made use of all the art and cunning he was master of to draw them to one. *Hannibal* therefore found himself so streightened for want of provisions, that he had once

Hannibal in great distress.

^a POLYB. l. iii. c. 95. LIV. l. xxii. c. 19, 21, 22. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 1.
^b Idem ibid. ^c Idem ibid. Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 708, 709.

^d POLYB. & LIV. ubi sup.

thoughts of retiring into *Gaul*; but was diverted from this design by a suspicion, ^a that such a retreat would look so much like a flight, that it might be an inducement to his allies to desert him. His safety now seemed intirely to depend upon the measures the two new consuls, *C. Terentius Varro*, and *L. Æmilius Paulus*, should pursue. If they steadily adhered to *Fabius's* plan of operations, he must be irrecoverably lost; whereas, by a departure from it, they might throw the game once more into his hands. His hopes were not a little raised, when he received intelligence from his spies, that *Varro*, in disposition and genius, nearly resembled *Sempronius*, *Flaminius*, and *Minucius*; that there was a perfect want of harmony betwixt him and his colleague *Paulus*; and that he was obtruded by the plebeians upon the senate, who had a very indifferent opinion of him. Notwithstanding therefore the *Roman* army this ^b year consisted of eight legions, besides the troops of their allies, in all making about eighty-six thousand effective men, he was far from desponding, especially as he believed, that however numerous it might be, two thirds of the troops composing it, being new levies, would not be capable of coping with his veterans. The event justified the sentiments he entertained, as we shall see immediately.

The Romans
defeat a body of
Carthaginians.

Hannibal had not only learned the true character of *Varro*, but likewise discovered his grand design. He had received advice, that this consul, before he left *Rome*, declared in public, that he would fall upon the enemy the very first opportunity, and put an end to the war; adding, that it would never be terminated, so long as ^c men of *Fabius's* complexion should be at the head of the *Roman* armies. He had not been long in the *Roman* camp, before one of his detachments routed a body of *Carthaginians*, killing seventeen hundred of them upon the spot; which greatly increased his boldness and arrogance. *Hannibal* considered this loss as a real advantage, not doubting but it would spur him on to a battle, which he wanted extremely; for he was reduced to such a scarcity of provisions at *Gerunium*, that he found it impossible to subsist there ten days longer; and the *Spaniards* already meditated a desertion, which could not but prove fatal to him. But his good fortune at this crisis interposed, and threw in his way an antagonist, that extricated him out of all the difficulties in which he was involved ^d.

The Roman
and Carthagi-
nian armies
meet near Can-
na in Apulia.

AFTER several movements, the two armies came in sight of each other near ^d *Cannæ*, a village and castle of *Apulia*, situated on the river *Aufidus*. *Hannibal* had taken the castle, which commanded all that part of *Apulia*, and seized therein one of the enemies principal magazines, before the approach of the *Roman* army. He had likewise taken care to encamp in a smooth and open plain, proper for his cavalry, in which the main strength of his forces consisted, to act in. *Paulus*, considering *Hannibal's* great superiority in horse, was for drawing the *Carthaginians* to an irregular spot of ground, where the infantry might have the principal share in the action; but *Varro* being of another opinion, that salutary design was dropped; which proved the total ruin of the *Romans*. As soon as the consuls appeared, *Hannibal* moved towards them at the head of his horse, and began an attack with great ^e bravery; but the *Romans*, intermixing some of the legionaries with their light-armed troops, sustained the first shock of the enemy with much firmness, and, being duly supported by their cavalry, repulsed them with considerable loss. This a little discouraged *Hannibal*, especially as the night rendered him incapable of renewing the charge. However, to remove all impressions of terror, that might have seized upon his soldiers minds upon that event, he judged it expedient to re-animate them the next day by an harangue, which was to the following effect: "Return thanks to ^f the gods, said he, for having brought the enemy hither, that we may triumph over them; and, in the next place, make proper acknowledgments to me, for having forced them to come to a battle with us upon the most disadvantageous terms. After three glorious victories already won, is not the remembrance of your own actions sufficient to inspire you with courage? By your former renowned achievements, you have made yourselves masters of the open country; but another victory will put all the cities, as well as all the riches and power, of the *Romans* into your hands. It is not words that we stand in need of, but action; and I doubt not but, by the favour of the gods, you will soon find my promises fulfilled, and your most sanguine expectations answered." The army, receiving fresh life and vigour from this speech of their general, both by their voice and gesture,

^a POLYB. l. iii. c. 115, 116. LIV. l. xxii. c. 48, 49. APPIAN. in HANNIB. ^d LIV. ubi sup.

declared

a declared themselves to be intirely at his devotion. After which, remanding them all to their respective posts, he commanded them to be ready the next morning to enter upon action *.

HAVING already given a full and particular account of the battle of *Cannæ*, as well as of the dispositions of both armies at that battle, we shall here only endeavour to revive in our readers minds a general idea of that most memorable event, by reciting some of the most remarkable circumstances of it, and pointing at some of the principal causes, that determined victory to declare in favour of the *Carthaginians* †.

We have before observed, that *Paulus* was for declining an engagement, being well assured, that a state of inaction must ruin *Hannibal*; but not being able to prevail upon his colleague to fall in with his sentiments, he then proposed fighting the enemy on such a spot of ground, as would enable the infantry, in which the *Romans* were much superior to *Hannibal*, to have the principal share in the action; but *Varro*, hurried away by his rashness, and impetuosity of mind, was deaf to both these salutary proposals; and, being greatly exasperated, that a party of *Numidians* should dare to insult his camp, the next day of his command, he advanced into the plains of the *Aufidus*, to attack the *Carthaginian* army. This was the very thing that *Hannibal* wished for, who therefore moved towards him with great alacrity. He had before passed the river, and drawn up his army in order of battle at a small distance from the *Romans*, having posted himself in such a manner, that the (L) wind *Vulturnus*, which rises at certain stated times, should blow directly in the faces of the *Romans* during the fight, and cover them with dust. On his left he had the river

The battle of Cannæ.

* POLYB. & LIV. ubi sup.

† Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 709, 711.

(L) The wind *Vulturnus* blew south-south-east, or south-east, and was the most common of all other winds at *Capua*. The old *Etruscan* name of that city, as we learn from *Livy* and others, was *Vulturnus*, or *Vulturnum*, being, in all probability, so called from its founder. This founder was undoubtedly deified by the inhabitants of his city after his death, and looked upon there, and perhaps through all *Campania*, as a tutelary deity. That the *Etruscan* inhabitants of *Campania* worshipped the god *Vulturnus*, or *Vulturnus*, is past all doubt, as likewise that he was a deity peculiar to them. As *Capua* or *Vulturnum* lay south-east of *Etruria*, it is no wonder the *Etruscans* should call the south-east wind, especially since it blew so frequently there, *Vulturnus*; and from them that name passed to the *Romans*. That it was an *Etruscan* proper name, appears both from what we have just observed, and from its beginning with the word *Vul* or *Vol*, in common with many other *Etruscan* proper names, viz. *Volumnus*, *Volumna*, *Volta*, &c. The *Etruscans* wrote it, in all likelihood, *Ful-Turnus*, or *Fal-Turnus*; since, instead of the V consonant, they used the *Eolic digamma*, as appears from the *Eugubian* tables; and terminated those words in E, that the *Romans* did in US. Let this be admitted, and it must be allowed probable, that *Ful*, or *Fal*, was a term of honour, signifying *high*, *sublime*, &c. especially as we have evinced in a former note, that this word, in the *Etruscan* language, had that signification. Our notion, in this particular, will appear still more agreeable to truth, if we farther consider, that all the proper names, of which this word makes one part of the composition, were either applied to deities, great men, or something which apparently bore an analogy to the foregoing signification. And as for the word *Turne*, or *Turnus*, that was a proper name of *Latium* in the ages preceding the *Trojan* war, when the language of that country agreed in many, if not most, points with the *Etruscan*;

and consequently it might have been a proper name in use likewise amongst the *Etruscans*. Be that as it will, it is certain *Turan*, which comes extremely near it, as consisting of the same radicals, was an *Etruscan* proper name, as we learn from an inscription upon an antique *Etruscan* *patere*. We own indeed, that *Raphael Massani Volaterranus* asserts the word *Vola* to have signified a city in the old *Etruscan* tongue, which runs counter to what we have offered; but as this assertion has nothing to support it but that writer's bare authority, which, in the point before us, is of no weight, we cannot advise our readers to pay any regard to it. That the word *Fal* or *Ful* signified *high*, as likewise that the old *Etruscan* language was at first oriental, is confirmed by the proper name *Volaterra*, or, as the *Etruscans* probably wrote it, *Ful-tur*, *Ful-sir*, *Ful-tera*, i. e. a height or eminence, or a height or eminence strong by its situation; which exactly answers to the situation of that place, as described by *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* and *Strabo* (17).

Zonaras observes, that the wind *Vulturnus* greatly contributed to the defeat of the *Romans*; since, till that began to blow, which, he says, was about noon, the *Carthaginians* had no prospect of victory. *Hannibal*, according to the same author, soon after he arrived upon the banks of the *Aufidus*, ploughed up all the sandy soil there, that, by having it more immediately exposed to the heat of the sun, clouds of dust and sand from thence might the more easily be blown into the faces of the *Romans* (18).

The *Sirocco*, answering to the *Vulturnus*, at present blows in several parts of *Italy* for many days together; and when this happens, the atmosphere is extremely heated, which renders the place most disagreeable, and sometimes almost intolerable. A *Tramontana*, or cold north-east wind, frequently succeeds the *Sirocco*; which occasions a great mortality amongst the *Italians* from the *mal di petto*, &c.

(17) LIV. l. iv. & l. xxxiv. DION. HALICARN. l. i. SERV. ad ÆN. x. ver. 149. VOL. PATERE. l. l. ANT. FRAN. GER. MUS. ETRUSC. clas. prim. p. 53, 54, 55. & p. 204. edit. Florent. 1737. TAB. EUGUBIN. 3. 4. 5. pass. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 3. not. (A). VIRG. ÆN. xii. & alib. SCHIND. pens. p. 1988. ANT. FRAN. GER. ubi sup. p. 113. RAPH. MASS. Volaterran. l. v. DIONYS. HALICARNASS. l. iii. STRAB. l. v. TAB. 4. apud DEMPST. de ETRUSC. reg. tom. i. p. 78. (18) ZONAR. l. ix. c. 2.

Aufidus, and placing his cavalry in the wings, he formed his main body of the *Spanish* and *Gallie* infantry, which he posted in the centre, with half the *African* heavy-armed foot on their right, and half on their left, on the same line with the cavalry. Having made this disposition, he caused the *Spanish* and *Gallie* infantry to move towards the enemy in such a manner, as to form a large crescent, that there might be no interval between them and the *African* foot, that were to support them. *Asdrubal* was posted on the right, *Hanno* on the left, and *Hannibal*, with his brother *Mago*, commanded the main body. The *Africans*, says *Livy*, seemed to be a body of *Romans*, *Hannibal* having been enabled to arm them after the *Roman* manner by the spoils taken from the enemy in the battles of *Trebia*, and the lake *Thrasymenus*. The *Gauls* and *Spaniards* used the same sort of shields; but their swords were different, those of the *Spaniards* being short, and well-pointed, fit either to cut or thrust; whereas those of the *Gauls* were long and broad, designed for a downright cutting blow. The *Gauls* were naked from their waist upwards, and thereby rendered capable of giving a blow with the greater force. The *Spaniards* were clad in white linen-cassocks, bordered with purple, after the manner of their country; which strange habits, together with the vast size of body these nations were eminent for, exhibited an appearance, that not a little intimidated the *Romans*. Five hundred *Numidians* came over in a body to the *Romans*, with their shields thrown behind their backs, in the form of deserters, before the beginning of the action. Upon their arrival at the *Roman* camp, they dismounted, and laid down all their arms, except the swords they had concealed under their coats of mail. The consuls had not then time to examine them; and therefore *Varro* ordered them to be placed behind the army, till the conclusion of the engagement. Here they remained quiet, till the dispute grew very warm, when the *Romans* were so pressed on all sides, that they could not observe them; but then, supplying themselves with the bucklers, that lay scattered on the field of battle amongst the heaps of the slain, and making use of their own swords, they attacked the enemy's rear, killing many, and striking the rest of the *Romans* posted there with the greatest terror. Thus *Hannibal*, by this refined artifice, found means to lay an ambuscade for the enemy in a plain, and behind their backs, when such a stratagem seemed absolutely impracticable. The consular army was disposed much in the same manner as in other engagements: *Paulus* commanded the right wing, *Varro* the left, and the proconsuls, *Marcus Attilius* and *Cneius Servilius*, the main body. The signal of battle being given, both armies moved with great ardour to the attack; but the wind *Vulturnus* blew so strongly in the faces of the *Romans*, that they had their eyes filled with dust, and could scarce see the enemy. After the light-armed troops had engaged, *Asdrubal*, at the head of the *Spanish* and *Gallie* horse in the left wing, charged the *Roman* in the right wing, commanded by *Paulus*, with such fury, that, after a warm dispute, he broke and dispersed them; and having left, to pursue the scattered squadrons, only such forces as were necessary to prevent them from rallying, he advanced to the relief of the main body. *Paulus*, being wounded, at the first onset, by a *Balearic* slinger, found himself obliged to dismount; which induced the cavalry under his conduct to do the same. *Hannibal*, observing this motion, is reported to have said, *I would much rather the consul had delivered his men to me bound*, intimating thereby, that he looked upon them now as in his power, and himself as sure of victory. Nor can it be doubted but that this accident was of fatal consequence to the *Roman* cavalry posted in the right wing. In the mean time the *Spanish* and *Gallie* infantry, forming the large crescent above-mentioned, being hotly charged by the *Roman* legions, after a brave resistance, by *Hannibal's* direction, gave ground, and retired through the interval they had left in the centre of the line. The *Romans* pursued them with the utmost eagerness and confusion, as *Hannibal* had foreseen; whereupon the *African* infantry, which was fresh, well-armed, and in good order, wheeled about on a sudden towards that void space, in which the *Romans*, who were already fatigued, had thrown themselves in disorder, and attacked them vigorously on both sides, without allowing them either space or time to form themselves. Whilst matters were in this situation, *Asdrubal*, with his victorious horse, coming up, charged the rear of the *Roman* infantry, which, being pushed on all sides by the enemy's horse and foot, was at last almost intirely cut to pieces, after having fought with unparalleled bravery. Two quæstors, twenty-one military tribunes, many who had either been consuls or prætors, *Minucius*, late general of the horse to *Fabius*, *Servilius*, one of the proconsuls that com-
manded

- a manded the main body, and the consul *Æmilius Paulus*, all fell in the action, covered with wounds and glory. Neither did the left wing of the *Roman* army meet with a much better fate; for *Asdrubal*, according to some authors hinted at by *Polybius*, before he advanced to the relief of the main body, by reinforcing the right wing under *Hanno*, enabled the *Numidian* cavalry posted there intirely to defeat it. *Varro*, the author of this terrible destruction, escaped to *Venusia*, with only seventy horse, being soon after joined by three hundred of the allies. Of the ten thousand men left by *Paulus* to guard the camp, immediately after the battle, two thousand were put to the sword, and the rest surrendered at discretion. In fine, very few of the *Romans* escaped either the carnage or captivity. *Hannibal*, upon a review of his forces after
- b the battle, found, that he had lost only four thousand *Gauls*, fifteen hundred *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and about two hundred horse. Such was the defeat at *Cannæ*, the greatest the *Romans* had hitherto ever received *.

Causes of the defeat the Romans received there.

- THE superiority of the *Carthaginians* in horse must be allowed to have been the principal cause of this terrible overthrow. *Hannibal's* army consisted of ten thousand horse, and forty thousand foot; whereas the *Roman* cavalry did not exceed six thousand, though, in the consular army, the infantry amounted to eighty thousand men. The strange and astonishing figure made by the *Spaniards* and *Gauls*, together with the activity of the former, and fierceness of the latter, did not a little contribute towards throwing the enemy into confusion, as is even allowed by *Livy* himself.
- c The body of *Numidians*, that attacked the *Roman* rear, and the accident, which attended *Paulus's* wound above-mentioned, were also of singular service to *Hannibal* on that auspicious day the battle of *Cannæ* was fought. The confidence the *Carthaginian* troops reposed in *Hannibal*, looking upon him as a general absolutely invincible, likewise animated them to a prodigious degree, and consequently enabled them to exert themselves in a most extraordinary manner. *Hannibal* did his utmost to inspire them with a contempt of the *Romans* on all occasions; which had the desired effect. We are told, that when *Mago*, whom he had sent to view the enemy, assured him, that the *Romans* were extremely numerous, he replied, As numerous as they are, I give thee my word, brother, thou canst not find one amongst them,
- d whose name is *Mago*. And having thus said, he burst out into a great laughter, as did all the general officers that attended him; which induced the soldiers to believe, that he thought himself sure of victory, and of course so raised their spirits, that nothing could stand before them. The arming his *Africans* in the *Roman* manner was also a wise expedient made use of by *Hannibal*, as it enabled those troops to attack and resist the *Romans* in their own way, and, of course, not a little conduced to the victory. These, we say, and many more concurring causes of the defeat at *Cannæ*, might be produced, and expatiated upon; but we think it sufficient barely to have touched upon the circumstances here mentioned, not at the same time forgetting to observe, that *Hannibal* himself, by the wise disposition of his forces, by his singular address, presence of mind, vigilance, and personal bravery, during the heat of the action, contributed more towards this unparalleled overthrow, than all the other concurring causes that can be assigned *.

- THE immediate consequence of this victory, as *Hannibal* had foreseen, was a disposition of that part of *Italy*, called *The old province, Magna Græcia, Tarentum, Arpi*, and part of the territory of *Capua*, to submit to him. The neighbouring provinces likewise discovered an inclination to throw off the *Roman* yoke; but had a mind to see, whether *Hannibal* was absolutely in a condition to protect them, before they declared themselves. All the *Carthaginian* officers, except *Maberbal*, advised *Hannibal* to give his troops some repose after the great fatigues and hard service they had lately gone
- f through; but *Maberbal*, on the contrary, pressed him to take directly the route to *Rome* at the head of his horse, promising him, that, within five days, they should sup in the capitol. *Hannibal* answered, That he deserved commendation for the ardour he shewed; but that an affair of such importance required mature deliberation. To whom *Maberbal* replied, "I perceive the gods have not endued the same person
- " with all shining talents. You know, *Hannibal*, how to conquer; but not how

Hannibal's motions after his victory at Cannæ.

* POLYB. LIV. & ZONAR. ubi sup. FLOR. l. ii. c. 6. CORN. NEP. in Hannib. AUREL. VICT. in Hannib. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 10. QROD. l. iv. c. 16. APPIAN. in Hannib. FRONTIN. l. ii. c. 2. ex. 7. & alib. pass. SUI. ITAL. pass. PLUT. in Hannib. alii; quamplurim. LUCIUS AMPEL. in lib. mem. c. 46. ^d Ibidem ibid.

“ to make the best use of a victory.” *Livy* (M) seems to fall in with *Maberbal*’s ^a notion, and looks upon *Hannibal* as guilty of a capital error on this occasion ; but others, as we have elsewhere taken notice, entertained different sentiments of this point of that renowned general’s conduct ; for which, besides those already mentioned, they assign the following reasons : 1. *Hannibal* was one of the most consummate generals antiquity ever produced ; a vast military genius ; a person of the greatest prudence, forecast and penetration, as the whole series of his actions, as well as the character of him, that may be gathered from the *Roman* writers themselves, prejudiced as they were, clearly demonstrates. It is therefore highly improbable, that, in this single instance, he should either have failed to make choice of the best expedients, or been wanting in readiness to put his designs in execution. 2. They are disposed to judge ^b favourably of him from the authority, or, at least, the silence, of *Polybius*, who, speaking of the memorable consequences of this famous battle, says, that the *Carthaginians* believed they should possess themselves of *Rome* at the first assault ; but he gives us no room to suppose, that such a project was feasible, nor that *Hannibal* did wrong in not attempting to put it in execution. 3. That as his infantry, before the battle of *Cannæ*, did not amount to above forty thousand men, he had not strength sufficient to undertake the siege of *Rome*, especially as that city was very populous, strongly fortified, and defended by a garrison of two legions. This will appear in a stronger light, if we consider, that his infantry must have been considerably weakened by the loss he sustained in the action at *Cannæ*, which amounted, on their part only, to ^c five thousand five hundred men. 4. *Hannibal* was destitute of battering-engines, ammunition, and all things necessary for the carrying on of a siege ; and consequently, on this account, as well as the paucity of his troops, he must have been incapable of attacking in form so large a city as *Rome*. In proof of what is here advanced, it may be observed, that, for want of the necessaries above-mentioned, even after his victory at the lake *Thrasymenus*, he miscarried in his attempt upon *Spoletum*, a town of no great strength ; and after this at *Cannæ*, was forced to raise the siege of *Casilinum*, a little inconsiderable city. 5. Not any of the *Italian* nations had yet declared for him ; so that, had he miscarried in the attempt, he must have been utterly ruined. These reasons, with others that might be offered, seem to render dubious the opinion ^d of those, who have espoused *Maberbal*’s side of the question ⁱ.

He advances to
Capua.

WHEN *Hannibal* had thoroughly pillaged the *Roman* camp, he thought proper to march into *Samnium*, being informed, that the *Hirpini*, and other neighbouring nations, were disposed to enter into an alliance with the *Carthaginians*. He first advanced to *Compsa*, which opened its gates to him, and admitted a *Carthaginian* garrison. In this place he left his heavy baggage, as well as the immense plunder he had amassed. After which, ordering his brother *Mago*, with a body of troops destined for that purpose, to possess himself of all the fortresses of that country, he moved into *Campania*, the most delicious province of *Italy*. The humanity *Hannibal* had all along shewn the *Italian* prisoners, as well as the fame of the complete victory lately ^e obtained, wrought so powerfully upon the *Lucani*, *Brutii*, and *Apulians*, that they expressed an eager desire of being taken under his protection ; nay, even the *Campanians* themselves, a nation more obliged to *Rome* than any in *Italy*, except the *Latins*, being strangely affected with the gallant behaviour and good fortune of *Hannibal*, discovered an inclination to abandon their natural friends ; of which the *Carthaginian* general receiving intelligence, he bent his march towards *Capua*, not doubting but that, by means of the popular faction which then prevailed there, he should easily make himself master of that important place ^k.

And has that
city surrendered
to him.

SOME of the leading men in *Capua* had offered to deliver the city into *Hannibal*’s hands immediately after the battle of the lake *Thrasymenus* ; which induced that ^f general to march his army to their frontiers, instead of advancing to *Rome*, as some

ⁱ *Iidem* *ibid.* & *Univ. hist.* vol. iv. p. 711, 712. Vide & *AUL. GEL.* in noct. *Attic.* l. x. c. 24. *CAT.* in origin. *CAL. hist.* l. ii. *PLUT.* in *Fab.* *MACROB.* *saturn.* l. i. c. 4. ^k *LIV.* & *POLYB.* *ubi sup.* *ZONAR.* l. ix. c. 2.

(M) Most of the *Roman* historians follow *Livy* in this particular, though this adds no weight to that author’s notion. *Zonaras* tells us, that *Hannibal* himself was so chagrined afterwards at his conduct on this occasion, that he fell into a deep melancholy,

often crying out in a doleful tone, O *Cannæ* ! *Cannæ* ! However, *Zonaras*’s authority is not capable of overthrowing the reasons offered to prove this improbable (19).

(19) *Zonar.* l. ix. c. 2.

a think he might have done; tho', at that time, he was so narrowly watched by *Fabius*, that his partizans in *Capua* could not find an opportunity of executing the design they had formed. But, at the present juncture, the popular faction bearing an absolute sway in the city, and being intirely at the devotion of one *Pacuvius Calavius*, an ambitious nobleman, on account of his known attachment to *Hannibal*, the *Carthaginian* party put themselves again in motion. *Calavius* having, by artful management, brought the senate under the power of the populace, and prevented the latter from massacring the former, as they intended to do, by this means united the whole city in favour of the *Carthaginians*; and the battle of *Cannæ* happening soon after this union was effected, *Calavius* thought he might, without any obstruction, introduce them into the city. However, three hundred *Capuan* youths being at that time serving the *Romans* in *Sicily*, it was agreed to send a deputation to *Varro*, to learn the situation of the *Roman* affairs, that they might not only go upon sure grounds, but likewise have an opportunity of obliging the parents of the above-mentioned youths, by getting them out of the hands of the *Romans*. *Varro* continued still to act in character, that is, with the utmost imprudence; for he represented the *Roman* state as unable to support itself, much less to furnish them with the necessary succours; and therefore advised them to make war upon the *Carthaginians* with their own forces, that, by such a seasonable diversion, they might administer some relief to their old and faithful friends. This ill-judged representation and advice made such an impression upon the deputies, that, when they returned home, they advised their fellow-citizens immediately to conclude a treaty with *Hannibal*. They therefore entered into an alliance with him upon the following conditions: That the *Campanians* should be governed by their own laws; that the *Carthaginians* should not arrogate to themselves the least dominion in *Capua*, but live there upon the foot of friends; and lastly, that *Hannibal* should give them three hundred *Roman* prisoners, such as they should chuse, to be exchanged with the same number of *Capuan* youths in the service of *Rome*. One *Decius Magius* however, a person of distinction in the city, did his utmost to obstruct the negotiation, by reminding his countrymen of the fatal consequence of changing old friends with new ones, from the example of *Pyrrhus* and the *Tarentines*; nay, when the *Carthaginian* troops were about to enter the town, he would fain have prevailed upon his countrymen to sally out upon them, and cut them to pieces, that they might thereby have made some sort of reparation to the *Romans* for the great injury offered them. *Hannibal* was so incensed at this conduct of *Magius*, that he insisted upon having him delivered into his hands; which being granted, he put him on board a ship, in order to send him to *Cartage*; but being driven by stress of weather into the port of *Cyrene*, *Ptolemy Philopater* took him under his protection. *Perolla*, the son of *Calavius*, likewise for some time expressed a great aversion to *Hannibal*, and was even upon the point of assassinating him. However, *Hannibal* at last took peaceable possession of *Capua*, and fixed there his winter-quarters. *Livy* tells us, that *Hannibal*, in his march to *Capua*, passed by *Neapolis*, now *Naples*; and that a body of horse sallying out of the town upon one of the *Carthaginian* parties, that advanced to the walls, was drawn into an ambuscade, and almost intirely cut off, with one *Hegeas*, who commanded it; but that *Hannibal* could not form the siege of the place; which sufficiently justifies what has been hinted above. The same author likewise informs us, that *Virius Sabius*, one of the *Campanian* deputies sent to *Varro*, endeavoured to persuade the *Capuans* to a rupture with the *Romans*, by urging, that they had now not only a fine opportunity of shaking off the *Roman* yoke, but likewise of making themselves masters of all *Italy*; since *Hannibal* would undoubtedly return to *Africa*, when he had demolished that proud republic he had so justly contracted such an aversion to, and conclude a treaty with them upon their own terms. It was however agreed, our author goes on, that the same deputies should be dispatched to *Rome*, and propose this condition as the basis of a future friendship between the two cities, viz. that from thenceforth one of the consuls should be a *Campanian*; which was rejected with the utmost indignation, and the deputies ordered immediately to depart *Rome*. *Marius Blossius*, prætor of the city, greatly distinguished himself at *Hannibal's* entry into *Capua*, commanding the citizens, with their wives and children, in a body, to meet him at some distance from the town. The night after his entry, *Hannibal* invited *Calavius*, with his son *Perolla*, and *Jubellius Taurus*, an officer of uncommon merit, to sup with him; and the day following gave the *Campanians* flattering assurances of making their city the metropolis of *Italy*.

By these steps, and in this manner, did *Hannibal* make himself master of *Capua*; a which being an event of no small importance to him, and the boundary, as we may style it, of his great success, we could not avoid being thus explicit and particular in our account of it ^k.

The Carthaginians ravage the maritime part of Hiero's dominions.

WHILST *Hannibal* was pushing on the war in *Italy* with the utmost vigour, the state of *Carthage* sent two fleets to the coasts of *Sicily*. One of these ravaged the maritime part of *Hiero's* territories, because that prince was in alliance with *Rome*, whilst the other stood off of the islands *Ægates*, in order to observe the motions of the *Romans*. The admiral of this last squadron had orders to attack *Lilybæum* both by sea and land, as soon as the *Romans* advanced to the relief of king *Hiero*; of which *T. Otacilius*, the proprætor, being apprised, he dispatched an express to *Rome* for a speedy reinforcement of ships; but the senate, considering the deplorable condition the republic now was in, did not think proper to comply with his request. He therefore found himself obliged to stand upon the defensive, lest he should expose the *Roman* dominions in *Sicily* to an invasion ^l.

Hannibal cannot prevail upon the Romans to redeem their countrymen taken prisoners in the battle of Cannæ.

NOTWITHSTANDING the implacable hatred *Hannibal* bore the *Romans*, he dispatched *Carthalo* to *Rome*, to treat with the senate there about a redemption of the prisoners taken in the battle of *Cannæ*. Though the sum demanded for these prisoners was far from being exorbitant, the conscript fathers refused the payment of it. The reasons alledged for this refusal by the *Romans*, have been already given; but the true one seems to have been the extreme poverty of the *Roman* state at this melancholy juncture. *Hannibal*, upon *Carthalo's* return, sent all the *Roman* prisoners of distinction to *Carthage*, and treated the others in the manner by us related in a former part of this history ^m (N).

He dispatches Mago to Carthage, with an account of his great success.

Soon after *Capua* had made its submission, many cities of the *Bruttii* opened their gates to *Hannibal*, who ordered his brother *Mago* to take possession of them. *Mago* was then dispatched to *Carthage*, with the important news of the great victory obtained at *Cannæ*, and the happy consequences of it. Upon his arrival there, he acquainted the senate, that *Hannibal* had defeated six *Roman* generals, four of which were consuls, one dictator, and the other general of horse to the dictator; that he had engaged six consular armies, killed two consuls, wounded one, and driven another out of the field, with scarce fifty men to attend him; that he had routed the general of the horse, who was of equal power with the consuls; that the dictator was esteemed as the only general fit to command an army, merely because he had not had the courage to engage him. As a demonstrative proof of what he advanced, he produced, according to some authors, three bushels and a half of rings of *Roman* knights and senators. He likewise subjoined, that *Capua*, a city that was not only the metropolis of *Campania*, but, since the defeat of the *Romans* at *Cannæ*, of *Italy* itself, had submitted to *Hannibal*. For such unparalleled successes, he moved, that thanks should be returned to the immortal gods, and that an immediate reinforcement

^k Liv. l. xxlii. c. 2—11. ZONAR. ubi sup. c. 3. PLUT. in Hannib. ^l Liv. l. xxii. c. 56. ^m POLYB. l. vi. sub fin. DIOD. SIC. l. xxvi. in excerpt. VALEF. Liv. ubi sup. c. 58—61. APPIAN. in Hannib. p. 570. edit. Tollii, Amst. 1670. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 34. AUL. GELL. NOCT. ATTIC. l. vii. c. 18. ZONAR. ubi sup. c. 2. Vide BUDÆUM de all. l. ii. GLAREAN. in Eutrop. l. iii. c. 11. & Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 714.

(N) *Appian* and *Zonaras* intimate, that *Hannibal* sold some of the *Roman* captives for slaves, and slew a vast number of the meaner sort of them, with whose bodies he made a bridge over a river, which facilitated a passage for his troops. But this last instance of cruelty seems highly improbable, especially considering the partiality of the historians from whom it comes, and that it is passed over in silence by *Polybius*. That excellent author, amongst other things, observes, that the senate at *Rome* imagined, that a compliance with *Hannibal's* proposal would look like a tacit acknowledgment of his great superiority, and therefore declined closing with it. *Livy* affirms, that many of the *Roman* prisoners were bought of *Hannibal* by the *Greeks*; which may possibly be true. But that great numbers of them were put to a vast variety of the most exquisite tortures, purely to gratify the cruel and vindictive disposition

of that general, as *Eutropius* suggests, will not be so easily admitted by our candid readers, for the reasons above assigned. We must beg leave to remark here, that, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, none of the *Roman* captives could be forced, by the most grievous sufferings, to lift up their hands against their friends and relations, when *Hannibal* would have obliged them to act the part of gladiators, for the entertainment of his troops; though *Livy* asserts the contrary, as will further appear from what we have extracted from that historian on this occasion, in the passage of the *Universal history* here referred to. The disagreement therefore of two such eminent authors, and the silence of *Polybius* on this head, seem to evince many, if not all, the instances of cruelty laid to *Hannibal's* charge at this juncture, to have been intirely fabulous (10).

(10) *Diod. Sic. Liv. Appian. Eutrop. Zonar. ubi sup. Vide & Polyb. in loc. citat. Liv. l. xlii. sub fin. &c.*

should

- a should be sent to *Hannibal*, who, being in the heart of an enemy's country, wanted both men and money, especially as his troops must have greatly suffered in the various engagements they had had with the enemy. All ranks and degrees of people being struck with an extraordinary joy on this happy occasion, *Himilco*, the chief of the *Barcan* faction, fancying, that a fair opportunity of insulting *Hanno* now offered, addressed himself to him in the following terms: *Do you still, Hanno, repent of the war we are embarked in with Rome? Forbid, by all means, the appointment of a day of thanksgiving to the immortal gods, for so many signal advantages obtained! Come, for once let us hear a Roman senator declaim in the senate-house at Carthage!* *Hanno*, notwithstanding this provocation, without any emotion, according to *Livy*, replied;
- b *That he still entertained the same sentiments as formerly, in relation to the war; that he should not cease blaming their invincible general's conduct, till his glorious victories had procured them a tolerable peace; that the mighty exploits, on which Hannibal's creatures expatiated so much, supposing them real, could only give him joy, in proportion as they were made subservient to such a peace; that however, as it was preposterous in Hannibal to solicit such succours, as could only be deemed necessary for a general in desperate circumstances, at the same time that he was amusing them with an account of the rapid conquests he had made, he could not help looking upon those exploits as perfectly chimerical and imaginary.* Then turning to *Mago* and *Himilco*, he asked them, *Whether a single member of any one of the thirty-five tribes had come over to Hannibal, or any of the Latin*
- c *nations declared for him, after the so-much cried-up victory at Cannæ?* To which *Mago* answering in the negative; *It is evident then,* replied *Hanno*, *that the Romans are still very strong. But, pray, what degree of courage are they inspired with? What hopes or expectations have they of carrying on the war with success, to animate them? Of which question Mago professing himself incapable of giving a proper solution; How!* says *Hanno*; *nothing can be more easy than this. Have the Romans sent ambassadors to enter into a negotiation with Hannibal? Has any mention been made of a peace at Rome?* No, replied *Mago*. *Why then I find,* subjoined *Hanno*, *we have the same happy prospect before us now, that we had the first day Hannibal entered Italy. In what a fine situation were we, when Lutatius gave us that memorable defeat off of the*
- d *islands Ægates, which destroyed all our hopes, and reduced us to the necessity of suing for an ignominious peace? This may be again our case; and therefore I am for concluding an advantageous peace with Rome, whilst our affairs wear a tolerable aspect, lest, upon some disaster, it should not be in our power to do so.* *Hanno* therefore, with all his adherents, opposed the continuation of the war, and consequently voted against sending *Hannibal* any succours; but the majority of the senate considering this merely as the effect of prejudice and jealousy, the *Barcan* faction prevailed, and orders were given to furnish the army in *Italy* with a proper reinforcement of troops, as well as an ample supply of money and provisions. A body of forty thousand *Numidians*, with forty elephants, was first destined for that country; a large detachment of *Spanish*
- e *forces* was appointed to follow the *Numidians*; and that these last troops might be ready in due time, *Mago* set out immediately for *Spain*, to raise twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, there. The *Carthaginians* proposed to recruit, with these new levies, not only *Hannibal's* army, but that likewise which acted in *Spain*.

As soon as *Hannibal* had possessed himself of *Capua*, he attempted, both by promises and menaces, to make himself master of *Naples*; but the *Neapolitans* being proof against all his efforts, he advanced to *Nola*, and summoned that city, threatening its inhabitants with the utmost extremities, if they did not immediately surrender. The senate, at least the leading men in it, was wholly in the *Roman* interest; but the *Carthaginians* being masters of the open country, and in high reputation by the advantages they had gained, the populace was intirely at *Hannibal's* devotion. The former therefore, in order to carry their point, pretended to be in a disposition to surrender the city to *Hannibal*; but at the same time insinuated, that, before this could be done, it would be proper to come to some terms of agreement with him. Under the pretence therefore of entering into a negotiation with the *Carthaginian* general, the senate of *Nola* found means to spin out the time, and send, with all possible expedition, messengers to *Marcellus*, the *Roman* prætor, acquainting him with the situation of affairs, and that the city would be obliged to capitulate, except he instantly marched to its relief. *Marcellus*, leaving *Capitulum*, where he was then

The translation in Italy immediately after the battle of Cannæ.

* Liv. ubi sup. Flor. l. ii. c. 6. PLIN. l. xxxiii. c. 50. HANNIB. apud Lucian. in dial. EUTROP. ZONAR. & OROS. ubi sup.

posted, advanced to *Calatia*; and having passed the *Vulturnus*, moved, with surprising celerity, through the districts of *Satricula* and *Trebia*, in order to succour *Nola*. *Hannibal* drew off upon his approach, and made a fresh attempt upon *Naples*; but without effect. After this, he laid siege to *Nuceria*, and starved it to a surrender. One of the articles of the capitulation was, that the inhabitants should be permitted to march out with all their cloaths, though disarmed. Thirty senators, and most of the people of fashion, retired to *Capua*; but were refused admission there, because they did not at first open their gates to *Hannibal*; but they met with a kind reception at *Cumæ*. *Hannibal* gave *Nuceria* up to his soldiers to be plundered, and afterwards burnt it. *Marcellus*, the Roman prætor, having thrown himself, with a body of troops, into *Nola*, was under no apprehension for the safety of that place, though the *Carthaginian* army, after the destruction of *Nuceria*, encamped before it. The populace ardently desired to deliver it up to *Hannibal*; but *Marcellus* prevented the *Carthaginian* from possessing himself of it, by gaining over to the Roman interest *L. Bantius*, the chief of the *Carthaginian* faction. This he did, partly by the force of adulation and condescension, ordering the lictors to give him admission, as often as he desired it, and partly by dint of presents, desiring him to accept of a fine horse, and five hundred *bigati* (O). *Hannibal* drew up the *Carthaginian* army in order of battle before the walls, as *Marcellus* did the Roman forces within the town. His parties had frequent skirmishes with those of the Romans, though neither side sustained any considerable loss. By his emissaries, he engaged the populace to seize upon the gates, as soon as *Marcellus* had sallied out of them with his whole force, as he had received intelligence the Roman general designed to do; by which means the Romans would have been hemmed in betwixt the garrison and the *Carthaginian* army, and consequently must all have been cut off. *Marcellus*, being informed of this, divided his army into three bodies, which he posted at three gates fronting the enemy; having before issued out an order, forbidding any of the citizens to stir out of their houses. *Hannibal*, in the mean time observing, that no parties were posted on the ramparts for their defence, immediately concluded, that his whole scheme was unravelled, and *Marcellus* now engaged with the citizens. He therefore ordered his scaling-ladders to be brought immediately to the walls, and began the attack. The moment this happened, *Marcellus*, at the head of a choice body of veterans, sallied out of the middle gate, fell upon the *Carthaginians* with such fury, that he put them into disorder. *Hannibal*, little dreaming of such a sally, with some difficulty rallied his troops, and made head against the enemy. During this conflict, the two other bodies sallied out of the other gates, and attacked the rear of the *Carthaginians*; which struck *Hannibal* with such terror, that he retired into his lines, and soon after drew off from before the town. Though the *Carthaginians*, even according to the Roman accounts, did not lose much above two thousand men on this occasion, yet the Romans looked upon this action, as one of the most considerable in its consequences to them, of all that happened during the whole course of the war, since it demonstrated *Hannibal* not to be invincible. *Hannibal*, advancing to *Acerræ*, made the proper dispositions to besiege it; but the inhabitants abandoning it, he laid it in ashes. From thence he moved to *Casilinum*, which he immediately invested. The garrison defended itself with inexpressible bravery; neither could *Hannibal* have ever made himself master of it, had not famine forced it to surrender. Before the *Carthaginian* general presented himself before the town, he detached a body of *Gatulians*, under the command of their captain *Isalca*, to prevail upon the inhabitants, if possible, by fair means, to receive a *Carthaginian* garrison; but, if this could not be

(O) The *bigati*, or *nummi bigati*, were silver pieces of money, with the figure of a chariot drawn by a pair of horses stamped upon them; and the *quadrigati*, or *nummi quadrigati*, others with that of one drawn by two pair of horses, as we learn from *Pliny*. According to the same author, the *Phrygians* invented the former kind of chariots, and *Erichthonius* the latter. Let this be admitted, and it will seem to follow, that the Romans had these cha-

riots introduced amongst them by their neighbours the *Etruscans*, who were descended from the *Lydians* and *Phrygians*, since they were used at Rome before that city had any intercourse with the Greeks. Many Roman *denarii*, particularly of those coined in the times of the republic, with such images on their reverses, are to be seen in the cabinets of the curious. *Tacitus*, and other Roman authors, as well as *Livy*, mention the coins we are now treating of (21).

(21) *Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 3. & l. vii. c. 56. Dempst. de Etrur. regal. l. i. c. 4. Val. Max. l. ii. ex. 17. Plus. in prob. Roman. c. 52. Tacit. in corr. Asiæ. urb. l. iv. Tertul. de pal. Vido etiam Joan. Meursium, de ford. Athen. apud Jac. Gronov. in ans. Græc. thesaur. v. vol. p. 1707. & de ling. Etrur. regal. vernac. differs. edit. Oxon. 1738.*

effected,

a effected, they had orders to attempt storming it. *Isalca*, upon his approach, finding a profound silence, and no enemy appearing, imagined the place to be abandoned; and therefore made the necessary preparations to force open the gates: which being observed by two cohorts that garrisoned the city, they, according to orders received, issued out in a moment, repulsed the *Gatulians*, and made a great slaughter of them. *Maberbal* afterwards assaulted it with a greater force; but was obliged to retire with considerable loss. Lastly, *Hannibal* himself, with his whole army, formed the siege of it; but lost abundance of men, without making any considerable progress. However, he at last found means to surround almost the whole garrison, in a sally they made, with his elephants, and cut to pieces most of them, the rest

b securing their retreat by favour of the night. The next day *Hannibal*, to inspire his troops with the greater ardour, promised to the soldier, who first mounted the ramparts, a golden mural crown; and declared, *That it was matter of surprize to him, that an inconsiderable town, situated in a plain, should be able to baffle the efforts of that army, which took Saguntum, and defeated the Romans at Cannæ, Thrasymenus, and Trebia.* Notwithstanding which, the garrison made so vigorous a defence, that he found himself obliged to turn the siege into a blockade, and, after leaving a small body of troops to guard his lines, to put his army into winter-quarters at *Capua* *.

It is intimated by the *Roman* historians, that *Capua* proved the destruction of *Hannibal*. Here it was, according to these authors, that those soldiers, who had long been inured to the greatest fatigues, and braved the most formidable dangers, were vanquished by luxury, and a flow of pleasures, with which the minds of the *Capuans*, who were immersed in a profusion of the most charming delights, had long been corrupted. *Livy* in particular intimates, that *Hannibal's* delicious abode at *Capua* was a reproach to his former conduct, and infinitely more prejudicial to his affairs, than the false step he was guilty of, in not marching directly to *Rome* after the battle of *Cannæ*; for this last error, according to that historian, might seem only to have retarded his victory; whereas the former rendered him absolutely incapable of conquering. This, we say, is the sentiment of *Livy*, and has been adopted by several later writers; but whether or no it is intirely agreeable to truth, will, if we

c consider things with due attention, perhaps admit of some dispute †.

The pleasure of *Capua* prejudicial to *Hannibal*.

For though we should allow, that the martial genius of the *Carthaginians* was impaired by the bewitching retirement at *Capua*, yet it cannot reasonably be supposed, that the bad success, which afterwards attended *Hannibal's* arms, ought to be ascribed to this, as its principal cause. The frequent defeats that general afterwards gave the *Romans*, the several towns he reduced in sight of the *Roman* armies, the bravery with which he maintained himself in *Italy* for fourteen years after this event, in spite of the continued efforts of the enemy, will not admit of such a supposition. But *Livy* himself puts this beyond dispute; that author points out to us a cause of the declension of the *Carthaginian* affairs in *Italy*, different from the delights of *Capua* ‡.

e We have before observed from him, that the senate and people of *Carthage* ordered forty thousand *Numidian* horse, forty elephants, and a considerable body of *Spanish* infantry, with a proper sum of money, to be sent to *Italy*, in order to enable *Hannibal* to maintain and extend his conquests there. Had this ample supply been sent him with an expedition equal to the spirit with which it was granted, the *Romans* would have had no opportunity of reflecting upon *Hannibal*, on account of his conduct at *Capua*. That general would, in all human probability, have obliged the haughty rival of the *Carthaginian* republic to have submitted to the superior force of his arms the next campaign. But, notwithstanding the influence of the *Barcan* faction, *Hanno*, and his adherents, found means not only to retard the march of the intended

f succours, but even to diminish them. *Mago*, through the artifices of that insatuated party, could obtain an order for only twelve thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; and even with this body of troops, inconsiderable as it was, he was sent to *Spain*. *Hannibal*, being thus deserted by his country, through the intrigues of a profligate and abandoned faction, who had come to a resolution to sacrifice the state, of which they were members, to their private resentment, found himself obliged to be on the defensive, his army being reduced to twenty-six thousand foot, and nine thousand horse. As the *Romans* therefore, notwithstanding the difficulties

The principal cause of the decay of *Hannibal's* affairs.

* DION. SIC. l. xxvi. in excerpt. VALEF. LIV. ubi sup. c. 14—19. PLUT. in Marcel. PAUL. OROS. l. iv. c. 16. † LIV. ubi sup. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 1. FLOR. l. ii. c. 6. SEX. AUREL. VICT. in Hannib. ZONAR. ubi sup. c. 3. ‡ LIV. l. xxiii. c. 13. & c. 32. Idem, l. xxvi. Idem ibid. ZONAR. ubi sup.

they were reduced to, sent every year two consular armies into the field, fully recruited, and in good order; as neither the *Gauls* nor *Italians* were natural allies of the *Carthaginians*, and consequently would scarce fail of abandoning them, as soon as fortune began to declare against them; there is no need to have recourse to the pleasures of *Capua*, in order to account for *Hannibal's* being driven out of *Italy*.*

At the return of the spring, *Hannibal* drew his forces out of their winter-quarters, and resumed the siege of *Capitulum*. He did not however push this on with vigour, as knowing, that the place must soon surrender through want of provisions. The famine raged so grievously amongst the citizens, that they were obliged, for some time, to feed upon the most loathsome animals. *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that one of them gave another a hundred *Roman* denarii for a single mouse; which supported him, till *Hannibal* granted the garrison a capitulation; but the person who sold it, in the mean time, perished with hunger. *Pliny* and *Frontinus* affirm, that this mouse was purchased with two hundred *Roman* denarii; and with these authors *Livy*, in the main, agrees. *Marcellus*, not being able to attempt raising the siege, by reason of an inundation of the *Vulturnus*, the troops in garrison were forced to have recourse to *Hannibal's* clemency, who, induced thereto by their brave defence, permitted them to march out of the town, upon the freemens paying seven ounces of gold a head. *Livy* says, that, till the gold was paid, the *Carthaginian* general kept them in chains; but afterwards, with great honour, conducted them to *Cuma*. Of the *Prænestine* garrison, which, at the beginning of the siege, consisted of five hundred and seventy men, near one half arrived safe at *Præneste*, with their prætor *Manilius*, the rest having been destroyed by sickness, famine, and the other casualties of war. *Hannibal* restored *Capitulum* to the *Campanians*, leaving there a *Carthaginian* garrison of seven hundred men, to defend the place against the *Romans*, in case they should think proper, after his departure, to attack it. Then, to complete the reduction of that part of *Italy*, in conjunction with the greatest part of the *Bruttii*, he laid siege to *Petilia*, the only city of that nation, which held out against him. The *Petilini* immediately applied to the *Romans* for succours in the most pressing manner; but the perplexed state of affairs would not permit the republic to assist them. Notwithstanding which, they defended themselves for several months against the reiterated attacks of the whole *Carthaginian* army, with incredible bravery and resolution†.

The state of
affairs in Spain

DURING these transactions in *Italy*, the war was carried on with great vigour in Spain. For some time *Asdrubal*, the *Carthaginian* general there, kept himself upon the defensive, not being in a condition to face either the *Roman* fleet under *Publius Scipio*, or the land-forces commanded by *Cneus*. However, at last receiving a reinforcement of four thousand foot, and five hundred horse, from *Carthage*, he ventured to move out of the fastnesses, wherein he had before posted himself, and advanced towards the enemy's camp. He likewise gave orders to have his fleet repaired, to protect the maritime parts of the *Carthaginian* provinces, and the islands adjacent to them, from all insults of the enemy; but, before this was in a condition to put to sea, he received intelligence, that several captains of ships had gone over to the *Romans*. These captains, it seems, had been severely reprimanded for abandoning the fleet upon the *Iberus*, through cowardice, the last year; which they not being able to brook, had, from that time, meditated a revolt from the *Carthaginians*. Not content with what they had already done, they endeavoured to excite the *Carpestii* to a defection; in which they so far succeeded, that several towns were drawn off from their obedience to the *Carthaginians*, and another, that refused to join them, reduced by force. This unexpected rebellion proved very prejudicial to *Asdrubal*, and a seasonable diversion in favour of the *Romans*; for the *Carthaginian* general, leaving the *Romans* to themselves, advanced, at the head of his whole army, into the enemy's territories, with a design to attack *Galbus*, the *Carpestian* general, who lay encamped under the walls of the town he had lately possessed himself of. He therefore first sent away his light-armed troops to reconnoitre the rebels, and draw them to an engagement, detaching immediately afterwards part of his infantry to ravage the neighbouring country, and cut off all the straggling parties of the enemy, that should be found dispersed there; by which means many of the *Carpestii* were killed, others put to flight, and their camp alarmed at the same time. However,

* Vide Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 715. & alib. † LIV. l. xxiii. c. 20. APPIAN. in Hannib. PLIN. nat. hist. l. viii. c. 57. VAL. MAX. l. vii. c. 6. S. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. l. iv. c. 5. cx. 20. PLUT. in Marcel. & in Hannib.

- a their forces being very numerous, they were so far from being terrified at this motion, that they instantly issued out of their camp in a body, dancing and skipping after their manner, with an intention to fall directly upon the *Carthaginians*. This sudden instance of courage so damped the spirits of *Asdrubal's* main body, with which he was advancing to attack *Galbus's* camp, that he thought proper to take post on an eminence, in itself of difficult access, but rendered more so by a river, which secured him from the enemy. Here he was rejoined by the two above-mentioned detachments, equally struck with terror at the enemy's approach; nay, under such terrible apprehensions were the *Carthaginians* at this juncture, that, notwithstanding their camp might have been looked upon as inaccessible, *Asdrubal* fortified it with an
- b intrenchment, in order to cover it the more effectually from all attempts of the barbarians. Some skirmishes happened whilst the two armies lay so near one another; but without any considerable loss on either side. *Livy* tells us, that the *Numidian* cavalry were not so good as the *Carpesian*; nor the *Mauritanian* dartmen as the *Carpesian* targeteers; who, in activity, were equal to them, and in strength, as well as courage, excelled them. *Galbus*, finding it impossible either to draw the enemy out of their camp, or force the intrenchment that covered it, seized upon *Afena*, a town where *Asdrubal* had fixed his principal magazine, when he first entered upon the *Carpesian* frontiers, and easily made himself master of the open country round about it. *Asdrubal*, finding the enemy, not a little elated with their late success, soon after to
- c disperse themselves in small parties over the country, and to lay aside all discipline, both in their detachments and their camp, advanced out of his trenches, with his army drawn up in order of battle, and immediately fell upon them. The *Carpesians*, not expecting so sudden an onset, being in confusion, and having a good part of their forces then roving about the country, were easily routed by the *Carthaginians*, who continued the slaughter a great part of the day. In fine, the whole body of the barbarians in the camp, except a small party, that escaped, by a vigorous sally, to the mountains and woods, was put to the sword; which threw the *Carpesii* into such a consternation, that the next day the whole nation submitted to *Asdrubal*. Soon after a courier arrived from *Carthage*, with orders to *Asdrubal* to begin his march
- d for *Italy* without delay. This changed the face of affairs in *Spain*; for the *Spaniards*, upon the publication of this news, considered the *Carthaginians* as not in a condition to protect them; and of course began to turn their eyes towards the *Romans*. *Asdrubal* therefore dispatched an express to *Carthage*, giving the republic an account how prejudicial the bare rumour of his departure had been to it; at the same time adding, that if the late orders were put in execution, the *Romans* would be masters of *Spain*, before he had passed the *Iberus*. To support what he advanced, he declared, that after he had drawn the forces assigned him out of the *Carthaginian* provinces there, neither garrisons nor a general would be left capable of giving any opposition to the *Romans*; that, besides this, the natives were not well affected to the *Carthaginians*;
- e and that therefore it would be at least proper for him to defer his march, till a successor arrived in *Spain*, with a strong body of forces, to preserve the *Carthaginian* acquisitions there; since, whatever success might attend their arms against the *Romans*, the disposition of the *Spaniards* themselves would require no small number of troops to be distributed amongst them. But, notwithstanding this just remonstrance, the state of *Carthage* persisted in its former resolution, looking upon it as a matter of the utmost consequence to support *Hannibal*. However, it so far complied with *Asdrubal's* request, as to send *Himilco*, with a competent army, and a considerable naval reinforcement, into *Spain*, to watch the motions of both the natives and the *Romans*.
- f *Himilco*, having transported his forces to *Spain*, took care immediately to put himself into a situation not to fear any insults of the *Spaniards*. He fortified his camp, drew his ships on shore, and surrounded them with a ditch and a wall. After this, he hastened with the utmost expedition through the territories of several cantons, either open enemies to the *Carthaginians*, or disposed to be so, to *Asdrubal's* camp, escorted by a choice detachment of horse. After he had imparted the orders of the senate to that general, and received from him instructions how to carry on the war in *Spain*, he returned to his own camp in safety, the extreme celerity, with which he posted through the territories of the above-mentioned *Spanish* cantons, not giving any of them an opportunity of discovering him. Before *Asdrubal* began his march for

* POLYB. l. viii. LIV. l. xxiii. c. 26—29. FLOR. l. ii. c. 6. APPIAN. in IBERIC. ZONAR. ubi supra.

Italy,

Italy, he furnished himself with large sums of money, which he exacted from the *a Spaniards* subject to, and in alliance with *Cartbage*, being sensible, that *Hannibal* could never have reached the *Alps*, had he not been powerfully supported by gold. At last, having got all things in readiness for the enterprize he was going upon, he assembled all his forces, and advanced to the *Iberus*. In the mean time he received intelligence, that the *Romans*, apprised of his approach, had laid siege to *Ibera*, a town deriving its name from the river on which it stood, and the richest in all that part of *Spain*. To induce them therefore to raise that siege, he sat down before another town, which had lately submitted to the *Romans*. This had the desired effect; for the *Romans*, leaving *Ibera*, immediately moved towards him, and encamped upon a spot about five miles distant from him. The consequence of this action was a decisive battle, wherein *Asdrubal* gave proofs of an extraordinary military genius, though fortune declared against him. The *Spaniards* in his army, not relishing an *Italian* expedition, took to their heels at the first onset; the *Mauritanian* and *Numidian* horse made but a faint resistance; so that the rout was general, and the slaughter dreadful. *Asdrubal* did all that could be expected from the most consummate general; he continued to give his orders with the greatest presence of mind, and to animate his men by his example, till all things became desperate; but, not being able to rally his troops, he found himself obliged to leave the field of battle and his camp to the enemy, together with the vast sums of money he had amassed for the *Italian* expedition. According to *Eutropius* and *Orosius*, the *Carthaginians* had twenty-five thousand men killed, and ten thousand taken prisoners, in the action. *Zonaras* intimates, that *Cneus* was so posted with a body of troops, that very few of the *Carthaginians* found it possible to make their escape. After this blow, all the *Spaniards*, who had before been wavering in their fidelity to *Cartbage*, declared for the victors. *Asdrubal*, in the mean time, collecting the remains of his shattered army, was so far from being in a condition to attempt succouring *Hannibal*, that, with great difficulty, he maintained himself in *Spain* ^u.

Livy partial in his relation of the transactions in Spain.

OUR readers will easily perceive, that this account of the *Spanish* affairs, during the period we are now upon, is chiefly extracted from *Livy*; though they may at the same time discover, that we have inserted several circumstances not taken notice of by that historian, with which we have been supplied by other antient writers. They are not therefore to be surpris'd, if they should meet with several improbabilities, and even inconsistencies, in the relation; since *Livy* must be allowed to have been most unreasonably prejudiced against the *Carthaginian* republic, as well as in favour of his own. *Fabius Pictor*, *Valerius Antias*, and others, from whom he compiled his history, were of the same disposition with himself in this particular. What truth therefore can be expected from them in a description of any great transactions, wherein the *Carthaginians* bore a principal part? The improbabilities and inconsistencies just hinted at are so glaring, that they cannot escape the eye of any attentive reader; for which reason it is superfluous, would the nature of our design permit, to recite them. However, thus much is apparent from what the above-mentioned authors have transmitted to posterity in the point before us, viz. that the defeat of *Asdrubal*, in a great measure, ruined *Hannibal's* affairs in *Italy*, though it was not attended with such fatal consequences in *Spain* as *Livy* suggests. That historian himself puts this last observation beyond dispute, in some subsequent parts of his work. How greatly then are we to regret the loss of that part of *Polybius's* excellent history treating of these campaigns in *Spain*! This, had it been extant, would undoubtedly have set us right in every important particular relating to them. But to return to the *Carthaginian* affairs in *Italy* ^w:

The Carthaginians reduce Petilia.

Himilco, who commanded the *Carthaginian* forces before *Petilia*, carried on the siege of that place with great vigour, battering the walls with the utmost fury, and harassing the garrison by continual assaults. However, the *Petilian* defended themselves in a very gallant manner, destroying great numbers of the besiegers, though they were but a handful of men. But what not a little contributed to the defence of the place, was the bravery of the women, who distinguished themselves as much as the men on this occasion. They made frequent sallies, burnt the enemy's works, and then retired triumphantly into the town. Notwithstanding which, *Hannibal*, having cut off all communication betwixt them and the neighbouring country, they

^u Liv. ubi sup. c. 29. Diod. Sic. l. xxvi. in excerpt. Valer. Appian. Flor. Eutrop. Oros. Zonar. &c. ubi sup. ^w Liv. l. xxvi. & alib.

a were so greatly pressed by famine, that they found themselves obliged to send all the useless people out of the city, who, according to *Appian*, were immediately butchered by the *Carthaginians* in the sight of the garrison. At last, they resolved to make a sally with their whole force, which they accordingly did; but the greatest part of them, through hunger and fatigue, not having strength enough either to make use of their arms, or retire into the town, were put to the sword. However, eight hundred of them cut their way through the enemy, and escaped in a body to the *Romans*, who, after the conclusion of this war, reinstated them in their former possessions, and always took care to distinguish them by such marks of esteem, as their singular fidelity intitled them to ¹.

b AFTER the reduction of *Petilia*, *Hannibal*, having been rejoined by *Himilco's* detachment, advanced to *Consentia*; which soon surrendered to him. *Locri* opened its gates upon the first summons, the principal citizens having, for some time, kept a secret correspondence with the *Brutii*, who had united themselves with the *Carthaginian* army. *Croton*, which was, in a manner, deserted by its inhabitants, and several other cities of *Magna Græcia*, did the like. *Rhegium*, though attacked by *Hannibal* with all his forces, held out bravely, and baffled all the efforts of the *Carthaginians*. *Sicily* in the mean time wavered in its fidelity to the *Romans*, the defeat at *Cannæ* giving it such an idea of the *Carthaginian* power, that it could not avoid discovering an inclination to follow the example of the *Italians*. Even the family of *Hiero* was not intirely free from this disposition; for *Gelon*, the heir apparent to the crown of *Syracuse*, despising *Hiero's* old age, declared for *Hannibal*; and had not death taken him off so opportunely, that *Hiero* himself was suspected of hastening his late, he might have made a powerful diversion in favour of the *Carthaginians* ².

Zonaras intimates, that somewhere about the period we are now upon, the dictator *Junius*, with a powerful corps, attended *Hannibal*, and mimicked all his motions. He encamped, decamped, refreshed his troops at the same time, and in the same manner, the subtle *Carthaginian* did; insomuch that the movements of both armies corresponded in every particular. *Hannibal*, observing this, immediately began to consider, how he might reap some advantage from the whimsical conduct of the dictator. He was not long at a loss for a stratagem on this occasion: the first dark, tempestuous night that happened, he detached a good body of forces out of his camp, ordering them to take post in some place at a small distance from it, and to harass the *Romans* all night with continual skirmishes and alarms, if *Junius* made the same movement. With the other part of the army he reposed himself in the camp till morning, and then recalled the above-mentioned detachment, commanding every man of it immediately to take his natural rest. This artifice, according to our author, had the desired effect; for *Junius*, at the beginning of the night, observing a large body of troops to march out of *Hannibal's* camp, and perceiving every thing there still afterwards, imagined the whole *Carthaginian* army to have been in motion; and therefore drew all the forces out of his own camp, to observe the enemy. The commander of the *Carthaginian* detachment, in pursuance of his orders, kept the *Romans* in action the whole night, and then retired into the camp, to repose his troops. Upon *Junius's* doing the same, *Hannibal*, with his fresh corps, fell upon the wearied *Romans*, now asleep, and not dreaming of any attack, forced their camp, put great numbers of them to the sword, and dispersed the rest. The darkness of the night, as well as the tempestuous weather, did not a little contribute to the happy success of this stratagem, since the *Roman* general was thereby rendered incapable, either of discovering the number, or penetrating the design, of the *Carthaginians* ³.

f IN the mean time a courier arrived at *Carthage* from the army in *Spain*, with letters from *Asdrubal*, importing, that he had received a total defeat, and that the greatest part of *Spain* had revolted to the *Romans*. The senate and people were thunder-struck at this melancholy advice, which, for the present, disconcerted all their measures. *Mago* was upon the point of setting out for *Italy*, with a reinforcement of twelve thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, and twenty elephants, besides a pecuniary supply of a thousand talents in silver; but his departure, upon the reception of this mortifying news, was countermanded, and he ordered to hold himself in readiness to embark for *Spain* at a minute's warning. Whilst matters were in this ferment at

As likewise
Consentia,
Croton, Locri,
and other
cities.

Hannibal enters
with the dicta-
tor *Junius*.

The Carthagi-
nians prepare
to invade Sar-
dinia.

¹ LIV. l. xxiii. c. 35. APPIAN. in Iberic. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 6. PLUT. ubi sup.
sup. c. 30. DION. SIC. l. xxvi. in excerpt. Valef.

² ZONAR. l. ix. c. 3.

³ LIV. ubi

Carthage, ambassadors arrived there from *Sardinia*, inviting the *Carthaginians*, in the name of *Harfiscora*, who, at that time, bore the chief sway there, and the other *Sardinian* prime nobility, to send over a body of troops, in order to take possession of that island. These ambassadors insinuated, *That the Romans had scarce any forces there; that the prætor Cornelius, a person of distinguished merit, had left the island; that a new one, perfectly raw and unacquainted with the genius of the Sardi, as well as their manners and constitution, was expected; that the Sardi were tired of the Roman government, and extremely incensed against their imperious and avaritious masters, for their grievous exactions the last year; in fine, that nothing was wanting to induce them to shake off the Roman yoke, but an encouragement thereto from some powerful state, that would take them under its protection.* This embassy a little revived the drooping spirits of the *Carthaginians*, who thereupon immediately sent *Mago* to *Spain* with the abovesaid succours, and dispatched *Asdrubal*, surnamed *Calvus*, with the like number of forces to support the *Sardi*.

Hannibal concludes a treaty with Philip king of Macedon.

WHILST the two potent republics of *Carthage* and *Rome* were thus contending for superiority, the eyes of all the neighbouring states were fixed upon them. Amongst the rest, *Philip*, king of *Macedon*, had observed, with great attention, the progress of this war. This, in point of prudence, he thought himself obliged to, as he was a neighbour to *Italy*, being separated from it only by the *Ionian sea*. At first, he was equally inclined to both parties; but finding *Hannibal* the favourite of fortune, he came to a resolution to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with the *Carthaginians*. To this end he sent an embassy, with *Xenophanes*, one of his ministers, at the head of it, to *Hannibal's* camp in *Campania*. This embassy happened to fall into the hands of the *Romans*, and was conducted to the prætor *Valerius Levinus*, in his camp at *Nuceria*; but *Xenophanes*, by his address, pretending he came to propose a treaty of friendship to the *Romans*, found means to pursue his route; and, upon arriving at *Hannibal's* head-quarters, concluded a treaty with him, which, together with the preamble to it, was couched in the following terms: “ Copy of the
“ treaty concluded between *Hannibal*, general of the *Carthaginian* army, *Mago*, *Africanus*, *Barmocar*, all the senators of *Carthage*, together with the whole body of forces
“ then present, on the one side; and *Xenophanes*, son of *Cleomachus*, an *Athenian*,
“ minister plenipotentiary of *Philip*, son of *Demetrius*, king of *Macedon*, the *Macedonian* nation, and their allies, on the other. The articles of this treaty are
“ agreed upon in the most solemn manner by both the contracting powers, in the
“ presence of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Apollo*; of the *Dæmon* of *Carthage*, *Hercules*, and
“ *Iolaus*; of *Mars*, *Triton*, and *Neptune*; of those divinities who are confederates
“ with *Carthage*; of the *Sun*, *Moon*, and *Earth*; of the *Rivers*, *Meadows*, and
“ *Waters*; of the tutelary deities of *Carthage*, *Macedon*, and *Greece*; and lastly, of
“ those deities, who, presiding in war, assist at, and superintend, the signing of the
“ present treaty. *Hannibal*, general of the *Carthaginian* forces, the senators above-
“ mentioned, and the whole *Carthaginian* army, declare this, according to the
“ mutual intention of both parties, to be a treaty of amity, by virtue of which the
“ contracting powers are, from henceforth, obliged to treat each other as friends
“ and brethren. In consequence therefore of this convention, king *Philip*, the *Macedonian* nation, and the *Greeks* their allies, engage themselves to defend and support, to the utmost of their power, the lords the *Carthaginians* (P), *Hannibal*
“ their general, all the senators and forces with him, all governors of provinces under
“ the dominion of *Carthage*, who govern by the same laws, the people of *Utica*, and
“ all other cities and nations subject to the *Carthaginian* empire; all who bear arms

• Liv. ubi sup. c. 31.

(P) We have translated here the ΟΙ ΚΥΡΙΑΙΟΙ ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ of *Polybius*, the lords the *Carthaginians*, and not the *Carthaginian lords*; since the last expression seems to refer only to the senate and the suffetes; whereas the former includes likewise the people, who, at the signing of this treaty, were the most powerful part of the republic of *Carthage*; and that this alliance was concluded by *Philip's* ministers with the whole republic of *Carthage*, not

with the senate and suffetes, in exclusion of the plebeians, no one can doubt. So we see in the treaty of *Utrecht*, to omit several others of late date, the states general are styled the lords the states general. However, we do not pretend to insist upon the truth of this translation, only offer it as a conjecture to our learned readers, leaving it to them either to admit of it, or reject it, as they shall think proper (22).

(22) *Polyb. l. vii.*

“ in

- a " in their service; all cities in alliance with them in *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Liguria*; and
 " all that shall hereafter become their allies in those countries. On the other hand,
 " the *Carthaginian* armies, the inhabitants of *Utica*, all the cities and states subject to
 " *Carthage*, all the *Carthaginian* allies, and their troops, all the nations of *Italy*,
 " *Gaul*, and *Liguria*, that are in a state of amity with the *Carthaginians*, or that shall
 " hereafter enter into an alliance with them, solemnly oblige themselves to preserve
 " from all injuries and insults, and strenuously to support, *Philip* king of *Macedon*,
 " the *Macedonian* nation, together with the *Greeks* their allies. No clandestine
 " practices shall be carried on by either party to the prejudice of the other. Both
 " powers shall, with the utmost sincerity and alacrity, act against the enemies of
 b " *Carthage* and king *Philip*, except such kings, cities or ports, as shall have con-
 " tracted a friendship with either of them. The *Romans* shall be looked upon as a
 " common enemy, till such time as the gods shall be pleased happily to terminate
 " the war already commenced. King *Philip*, the *Macedonian* nation, and the *Greeks*
 " their allies, shall supply the *Carthaginians* with all necessaries, in order to carry
 " on this war, in such manner as shall be hereafter settled by a particular convention.
 " If Heaven should not vouchsafe success to the arms of the high allies, but they
 " should be obliged to enter into a negotiation with the enemy, and even conclude
 " a peace with them, they shall all be comprehended in that treaty. The *Romans*
 " shall never be permitted to have any footing in the island of *Corcyra*, nor to exer-
 c " cise any dominion over the inhabitants of *Apollonia*, *Epidamnus*, *Pharus*, *Dimalle*,
 " *Paribus*, and *Atintania*. They shall be obliged to deliver up to *Demetrius Pharius*
 " all his friends and relations, who shall be found in any part of their territories. If
 " the *Romans* shall hereafter declare war against either of the contracting powers,
 " they shall mutually assist each other, as occasion shall require. The same thing
 " shall be done by both parties, if any other power comes to a rupture with either
 " of them, except it be a king, state, or city, with which the other was before in
 " alliance. It shall be lawful either to cancel any of the articles of this treaty, or
 " add new ones to it, by the mutual consent of both parties, if it shall hereafter be
 " judged expedient so to do b."

- d THIS copy of the articles of the offensive and defensive alliance concluded betwixt
 the *Carthaginians* and *Philip* king of *Macedon*, preserved to us by *Polybius*, is a most
 curious and valuable fragment of antiquity, as serving not only to give us a good
 idea of the most noted objects of the *Carthaginian* worship, but likewise to exhibit to
 our view the form and manner in which that nation drew up their treaties; for it
 appears pretty plain from *Polybius*, that the *Carthaginians* were looked upon as the
 chief party concerned in this engagement; and that the preparing of the instrument
 we have given our readers here a translation of, was intirely left to *Hannibal*. It
 likewise further appears, that *Livy* has not so much given us the articles of this treaty,
 as certain inferences and conclusions drawn from those articles, some of which were,
 e in all probability, false, taken from *Fabius Pictor*, *Valerius Antias*, and others, who,
 in few particulars relating to the *Carthaginians*, paid the greatest regard to truth.
 For these reasons, we could not prevail upon ourselves to omit the insertion of a
 translation of the copy above-mentioned in this work, which, we doubt not, will
 oblige all the curious and inquisitive among of our readers c.

- WHEN the *Macedonian* ambassadors returned home, *Hannibal* sent three ministers Philip's embaf-
sadors inter-
cepted by the
Romans. with them, viz. *Gisco*, *Bostar*, and *Mago*, in order to bring him king *Philip's* rati-
fication of the above-mentioned treaty. They had a vessel waiting for them, pri-
vately stationed near the temple of *Juno Lacinia* in *Calabria*; but were scarce got
out to sea, when they were descried by the *Romans*. Some light galleys of *Corcyra*,
 f being detached from the *Roman* squadron, then cruising off the coasts of *Calabria*,
 soon came up with them, and obliged the vessel they were on board immediately to
 surrender. In this emergency, *Xenophanes* had recourse to another falshood, assert-
 ing, That all the passes and high ways in *Campania* were so guarded by the *Carthagi-
nian* parties, that he found it impossible to go to *Rome*, as he was ordered, but with-
 out effect; for the *Carthaginian* ministers were betrayed by their language and habits,
 by which means the *Romans* discovered the whole secret, sent both the *Carthaginian*
 and *Macedonian* ambassadors prisoners to *Rome*, and diverted the impending storm

b POLYB. l. vii.
c. 16.

* POLYB. ubi sup. & LIV. l. xxiii. c. 33. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 13. OROS. l. iv.

this formidable league threatened them with, in the manner related by us in a former part of this history ^d.

The Carthaginian affairs go to decay both by sea and land.

ABOUT this time *Hannibal* received intelligence, that the *Campanians*, who had assembled an army of fourteen thousand men to act in favour of the *Carthaginians*, had been intirely defeated by *Gracchus* at *Hamæ*, to which place they had advanced, in order to seize upon *Cumæ*, with the loss of above two thousand men, together with *Marius Alfius* their commander, and thirty-four colours. He therefore, without loss of time, marched to *Hamæ*; but, upon his arrival there, found only the carcasses of the *Campanians* who fell in the last action, with which the ground was strewed, the enemy having retired, immediately after the battle, to *Cumæ*. For the present, *Hannibal* re-occupied his former camp upon mount *Tifata*; but, at the solicitation of the *Campanians*, after having ravaged all the country about *Cumæ*, he laid siege to that city. Having applied a high moveable tower to the walls of the place, he made a vigorous assault; but the *Roman* consul, who had thrown himself into the town, having raised one upon the walls, that overtopped this, and posted some men in it, who discharged a great number of flaming torches, besides a vast quantity of other combustible materials set on fire, upon the besiegers, the *Carthaginians* were put into disorder; which being observed by the garrison, a strong party sallied out of the town, put them to the rout, and pursued them as far as their camp, which was about a mile distant. *Livy* tells us, that *Hannibal* lost fourteen hundred men on this occasion upon the spot, besides forty taken prisoners. However, the next day the *Carthaginian* drew up his army in order of battle betwixt his camp and the town, in order to draw the *Romans* to an engagement; but the consul declining this, he immediately decamped, and took post again upon mount *Tifata*. Whilst these things happened, *Hanno* was defeated at *Grumentum* in *Lucania* by *T. Sempromnius Longus*, and lost four thousand men upon the field of battle, besides forty-one colours. After this blow, *Hanno* abandoned *Lucania* to the enemy, and retreated into the country of the *Bruttii*. Upon these repeated instances of ill success, three towns of the *Hirpini* revolted from the *Carthaginians* to the *Romans*, who took a thousand prisoners there, and caused them all to be sold under the spear. A little before these disasters happened, *Asdrubal*, surnamed *Calvus*, set sail from *Carthage*, with the armament under his command, for *Sardinia*; but received great damage from a storm he met with in his passage, and was obliged to put in at one of the ports of the *Baleareic* islands. Here he staid a while, in order to refit his fleet; which gave the *Romans* time to make head against the *Carthaginians* in *Sardinia*, and consequently not a little contributed to the signal overthrow *Asdrubal* soon after received in that island ^e.

Marcellus gains another considerable advantage over Hannibal.

Philip, king of *Macedon*, being informed, that his ambassadors, together with the *Carthaginian* ministers sent by *Hannibal*, had fallen into the hands of the *Romans*, sent *Heracitus Scotinus*, *Crito Berræus*, and *Sofitheus Magnes*, three noblemen he could confide in, to conclude a fresh treaty with that general. This they happily performed; but, as the summer was spent in this negotiation, *Philip* could not put himself soon enough in motion to make any diversion in favour of the *Carthaginians*. *Hannibal* therefore now began considerably to lose ground. *Fabius*, having passed the *Vulturnus*, in conjunction with his colleague, took the cities of *Combulteria*, *Tre-lu'a*, and *Ansticula*, by assault, making the *Carthaginian* garrisons therein prisoners of war. In the mean time *Hannibal* kept a secret correspondence with the populace of *Nola*, who were at his devotion, engaging them to deliver the city into his hands; which being communicated to *Fabius*, he sent the proconsul *Marcellus* with a body of troops thither, to garrison the place, and protect the nobility, who were in the *Roman* interest; and, in the mean time, posted himself betwixt *Nola* and the *Carthaginian* camp upon mount *Tifata*, in order to cut off all communication betwixt them. *Marcellus* likewise made frequent incursions into the territories of the *Hirpini* and the *Samnites Caudini*, where he committed great depredations. This induced the *Hirpini* and the *Samnites* to send deputies to *Hannibal*, reproaching him with his indolence, and telling him, That *Marcellus* seemed rather to be the conqueror at *Cannæ* than *Hannibal*. To whom *Hannibal* replied, That as the blow given the *Romans* at *Cannæ* had eclipsed all his other victories, so they should soon see the glory of that obscured by another more illustrious achievement; and then, dismissing them with

^d JUSTIN. l. xxix. c. 4. LIV. ubi sup. c. 34. Vide & Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 712.
l. xxiii. c. 35, & seq. PLUT. in Hannib.

^e LIV.

a magnificent presents; he advanced towards *Nola*, after having left a sufficient body of troops to guard his camp on mount *Tifata*. Upon his approach, he sent *Hanno*, with a detachment of the forces, to persuade the *Nolans* to surrender their city to the *Carthaginians*. To which end, by *Marcellus's* permission, he had a conference with *Herenius Bassus*, and *Herius Petrius*, two persons of the first distinction in the place; but without effect. *Hannibal* therefore, sitting down before the city, made the necessary dispositions for attacking it with the utmost vigour; which *Marcellus* observing, sallied out upon his forces with such fury, that the action then had become general, had not the combatants on both sides been obliged to draw off by a violent storm. On this occasion the *Carthaginians*, according to *Livy*, lost thirty men; but the
b *Romans* not one. Two days afterwards, a bloody engagement happened within a mile of *Nola*, wherein the *Carthaginians* were worsted, being driven out of the field of battle, with the loss of a thousand men killed, and sixteen hundred made prisoners, besides nineteen military ensigns, two elephants, &c. taken, and four of the last-mentioned animals slain. A body of near thirteen hundred *Spanish* and *Nuni-dian* horse, immediately after this defeat, deserted to the *Romans*; which was a great loss to *Hannibal*, as these were some of his veteran troops, that had attended him in all his expeditions. *Fabius*, now laying aside his usual caution, penetrated into the very heart of *Campania*; and hearing of *Hannibal's* retreat into *Apulia*, moved towards *Capua*, destroying all the country, as he advanced, with fire and sword; which concluded the operations of this campaign in *Italy* f.

In the mean time, *Asdrubal* being detained in one of the ports of the *Balearic* islands by the accident above-mentioned, *Manlius* landed his forces at *Caralis*, and, upon taking a review of them, found them to consist of twenty-two thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse. At the head of this army he marched into the enemy's territories, and encamped near *Harficora*, the *Sardinian* general, who, being gone into the district of the *Pellidi Sardi*, to assemble all the youth there able to bear arms, in order to reinforce his troops, had left his son *Hiossus* to command in his absence. *Hiossus*, being a rash young man, ventured an engagement with *Manlius*, wherein he had the misfortune to be overthrown, having thirty thousand of his men killed
d upon the spot, and thirteen hundred taken prisoners. The body assembled by *Harficora*, upon this melancholy news, immediately dispersed itself over the fields and woods; but, at last, retired to a city called *Cornus*, the capital of the aforesaid district. *Sardinia* now must have been totally lost, had not *Asdrubal* arrived in the critical moment with the forces sent from *Carthage* for the support of the *Sardi*. *Harficora* soon joined him with all the *Sardinian* troops he could draw together; and, immediately after this junction, the confederates advanced into the territories of the *Roman* allies, laying waste the whole country through which they moved. Their intention was to have marched directly to *Caralis*, and seized upon that capital; but
e *Manlius* came up with them before they could put their design in execution. After some slight skirmishes betwixt the advanced guards of the two armies, a general action ensued, wherein the *Sardi* were soon put to the rout; but the *Carthaginians* continued the fight with extraordinary bravery, insomuch that victory hung in suspense for above the space of four hours. However, they were at last intirely defeated, and dispersed beyond a possibility of rallying. Twelve thousand of the *Sardi*, and three thousand *Carthaginians*, fell in this battle; seven hundred of both nations were made prisoners, and nineteen colours taken. *Mago*, a near relation of *Hannibal*, *Hanno*, another *Carthaginian* nobleman, the chief fomenter of all these troubles in *Sardinia*, and *Asdrubal* the general, were in the number of the latter; but *Hiossus*, the son of *Harficora*, in that of the former, which threw his father into
f such an excess of grief, that he laid violent hands on himself. The shattered remains of the *Carthaginian* and *Sardinian* army fled to *Cornus*, and, upon the first summons of the conqueror, surrendered at discretion. All the cities and fortresses likewise, either in the *Carthaginian* jurisdiction, or that of *Harficora*, in a few days made their submission to *Manlius*; who soon set sail from *Caralis* for the coast of *Italy*, with the prisoners, as well as vast booty, he had acquired in this successful expedition.

The Carthagi-
nians once more
driven out of
Sardinia.

f Liv. ubi sup. c. 38—43. APPIAN. in Hannib. PLUT. in Hannib. in Fab. & in Marcell. FLOR. l. ii. c. 6. LUC. AMPEL. in lib. memorial. c. 46. g Liv. ubi sup. c. 40—42. FLOR. l. ii. c. 6. OROS. l. iv. c. 16. SIL. ITAL. l. xii. EUTROP. l. iii. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 5.

The Carthaginians
worsted
at sea.

Asdrubal had no sooner landed his troops in *Sardinia*, as already related, than he sent the fleet back to *Africa*, the admiral of which, in his passage, was attacked by a Roman Squadron of fifty sail, under the command of *T. Otacilius* the prætor; who, having ravaged the maritime part of the territory of *Carthage*, was steering his course towards *Sardinia*, in quest of this very fleet. The Romans took seven Carthaginian galleys, with their crews, the rest escaping by sheering off in time, and by favour of a tempest, that arose during the heat of the action. About this time *Bomilcar* arrived at *Locri* with a reinforcement of troops, forty elephants, and a considerable supply of provisions and military stores, from *Carthage*. After a short stay here, he joined *Hanno*, who, at that time, lay encamped in the country of the *Brutii*, having narrowly escaped being cut off by *Appius*, who, having suddenly passed the straits of *Reggio*, unexpectedly advanced to the gates of *Locri*, in order to have surprised him. *Appius* took post in the neighbourhood of *Locri* immediately after *Bomilcar's* departure; so that the city, being abandoned by the Carthaginians, opened its gates to him. However, he missed his principal aim, and, without making any new attempts, soon after returned to *Messana* ^b.

State of affairs
in Spain.

THE Carthaginians, according to *Livy*, sustained this year a very considerable loss in *Spain*. *Asdrubal*, *Mago*, and *Hamilcar* the son of *Bomilcar*, three Carthaginian generals, laid siege to *Illiturgi*, which had revolted to the Romans. The Romans, with no small difficulty, forced their way through the enemy's three camps, and supplied their allies with all things necessary, when they were upon the point of surrendering for want of such a supply. This encouraged the *Scipios* to venture a battle with the Carthaginians, whose army consisted of sixty thousand men, though theirs did not amount to above sixteen thousand. *Asdrubal's* camp, being by far the most considerable, was first attacked by the Romans; which being observed by *Mago* and *Hamilcar*, they advanced, each of them at the head of his respective corps, to support him. But, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, according to the same author, all the Carthaginian camps were forced, and their army overthrown, with the loss of above sixteen thousand men upon the spot, three thousand made prisoners, five elephants slain, besides a thousand horses, sixty military ensigns, and five elephants taken. The consequence of this defeat was the raising the siege of *Illiturgi*, from whence the Carthaginians retired with great precipitation to *Incibi*, and in a short time found means so to recruit their forces out of the Spanish provinces, that they ventured another engagement with the *Scipios*; but their unhappy fate still attending them, they were routed again, and driven out of the field of battle, with the loss of thirteen thousand men killed in the action and the pursuit. Three thousand prisoners, above forty colours, and nine elephants, fell into the hands of the victors. After this battle, adds *Livy*, all the different nations of *Spain* revolted to the Romans ^c.

OUR readers will be beforehand with us in observing with what improbabilities, not to say absurdities, this narration of *Livy* is clogged. How can it be supposed possible for *Asdrubal*, after the complete defeat he met with in *Spain* only the last year, to assemble another army of sixty thousand men so soon in the same country, especially since the Carthaginians had reinforced their troops in *Italy*, and sent a very considerable body of forces to invade *Sardinia*? If *Asdrubal*, after the terrible blow he received last year, could scarce maintain himself in any part of *Spain*, as this author himself expressly asserts, what probability is there, that, in the space of a very few months only, he should have become so prodigiously superior in strength to his conquerors the Romans, especially since the Spaniards in general had declared against him? Lastly, admitting all this to be true, can it be imagined, that immediately after the second fatal overthrow mentioned here by our author, the Carthaginian general could form so numerous an army out of the Spanish nations, who had before espoused the Roman interest? The inconsistencies couched in these queries are certainly so glaring, that it would be intirely needless to expatiate upon them; and therefore we shall content ourselves with having barely hinted at them here, as thinking this sufficient to confirm what we have elsewhere observed of the partiality of this historian, or at least of those he extracted his materials from ^d.

The troops in
Italy on both
sides go into
winter quarters.

No considerable movements happened during the time the troops on both sides lay in winter-quarters. The citadel of *Croton* however was abandoned to the people of

^b Liv. ubi sup. c. 41.

^c Idem ibid. Vide & FLOR. EUTROP. OROS. & ZONAR. ubi sup. ut & in NOT. OUDENDORP. in S. Jul. Frónin. stræ. l. ii. c. 3. ex. 1.

^d Vide Liv. l. xxiij. c. 29. & c. 49.

Locri,

a *Locri*, allies of the *Carthaginians*, after the conclusion of the campaign. *Hannibal* took up his winter-quarters at *Arpi*, and the consul *Sempronius* his at *Luceria*. Each commander kept a watchful eye upon his antagonist, and endeavoured to animate his men, the *Carthaginian* and *Roman* parties frequently skirmishing with one another¹.

ABOUT this time *Hannibal* found means to raise commotions in *Sicily*; which turned out not a little to his advantage. After the death of *Hiero*, by several artful steps, he fixed his grandson *Hieronymus*, who succeeded him in the kingdom of *Syracuse*, in the interest of the *Carthaginians*. Some authors relate, that this young prince reigned only thirteen months; that, after he came to the crown, he shewed a most abandoned disposition; and that many prodigies at *Syracuse* preceded his accession. *Polybius* however differs from these authors, in relation to his character; though he allows, that he was a weak and unjust prince. Soon after he had entered into a league with *Hannibal* and the state of *Cartbage*, he was assassinated by the direction of *Indigemines*, one of the officers of his guards. But, for the particulars of this horrid action, as well as the effect it had upon the affairs of *Cartbage* and *Syracuse*, we must refer our readers to a former part of this history^m.

Hannibal raises commotions in Sicily.

THE *Capuans*, hearing of the vast preparations made in all the *Roman* provinces for the vigorous prosecution of this war, no less than eighteen legions being destined for the service of the current year, were thrown into a great consternation, especially as they knew themselves to be, above all others, obnoxious to the *Romans*. They therefore, in the most pressing terms, intreated *Hannibal* to move immediately to their assistance, and prevent the *Romans* from taking post before their city. *Hannibal*, in compliance with their request, advanced with all expedition to mount *Tifata* near *Capua*, where the former year he had encamped; and, after leaving one body of *Spaniards* and *Numidians* to defend the advantageous spot of ground he had then possessed himself of, and another to reinforce the garrison of *Capua*, he marched to the lake *Avernus*, under the pretence of sacrificing to the gods, but, in reality, to attempt making himself master of *Puteoli*, into which *Fabius* had, some time before, thrown a body of troops. Having ravaged the territory of *Cumæ*, as far as the promontory of *Misenum*, he presented himself before *Puteoli*, and summoned the garrison, consisting of six thousand men, to surrender; but finding the *Romans* determined to defend themselves to the last drop of blood, and that the place was, in a manner, impregnable, he thought proper to retire. Soon after this repulse, the populace of *Nola*, upon his approach towards their city, sent to *Hannibal*, desiring of him some forces to defend them against the senate, who were friends to the *Romans*. But *Marcellus*, having with great difficulty passed the *Vulturnus*, reinforced the garrison of *Nola* with six thousand foot, and three hundred horse, and thereby prevented the *Carthaginian* from being admitted into the place. In the mean time *Hanno*, marching out of the country of the *Brutii*, encamped within three miles of *Beneventum*, upon the river *Calor*; which *Gracchus* being informed of, moved at the head of a large detachment, consisting chiefly of slaves, and pitched his tents within a mile of him. This vicinity of the two camps soon brought on a general action, wherein the *Carthaginians* were defeated, with very considerable loss. During these transactions in the neighbourhood of *Beneventum*, *Hannibal* appeared again before *Nola*; but *Marcellus*, having joined the proprætor *Pomponius*, and ordered *Claudius Nero*, with a strong body of horse, to fall upon the enemy's rear, attacked him. After a brisk dispute, the *Roman* gained the advantage, and might have intirely overthrown the *Carthaginian*, could *Nero* have executed his orders; but that commander having, by some unforeseen accident, been hindered from coming up with the enemy in time, nothing decisive happened on either side. *Hannibal* soon after drew off his forces from before *Nola*, and retreated towards *Tarentum*ⁿ.

The Romans gain some advantages over Hannibal.

Hanno, after the disgrace he had received near *Beneventum*, retired into *Lucania*, where meeting with a body of *Romans* sent by *Gracchus* to ravage the country, he soon dispersed them, putting a great number of them to the sword; which made him some amends for his former disaster. *Fabius* and *Marcellus* now jointly carried on the siege of *Casilinum*, which they pushed so vigorously, that it was at last obliged to capitulate. *Fabius* granted them a capitulation, the chief article of which was, that

Hanno defeats Gracchus.

¹ Liv. l. xxiv. c. 1—4.

^m Liv. ubi sup. c. 4—8. Polyb. l. vii. in excerpt. Vales. Univers.

hist. vol. iii. p. 100, & seq. & vol. iv. p. 722. ⁿ Liv. ubi sup. c. 11—13. Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 722, 723. Vide & Liv. ubi sup. c. 13—18. APPIAN, & PLUT. in Hannib.

they should have leave to retire to *Capua*; but *Marcellus*, Roman like, broke this, a massacring many of them, and sending all the rest, except fifty, that escaped to *Fabius*, prisoners to *Rome*. After this exploit, the *Romans*, in a very heroic manner, destroyed with fire and sword the whole country of the *Caudine Samnites*, carried off from thence an immense quantity of plunder, and took by storm the cities *Compulteria*, *Telesia*, *Compsa*, *Mela*, *Fulfula*, and *Orbitanium*. *Blande* in *Lucania*, and *Anca* in *Apulia*, likewise underwent the same fate. *Hanno*, with the booty he got in the late action, arrived safe in the country of the *Brutii*, the *Roman* forces in those parts not being strong enough to intercept him *.

Hannibal advances to Tarentum, but without any effect.

WHILST *Hannibal* was encamped on the lake *Avernus*, five young *Tarentine* noblemen, that had been taken prisoners in the battles of the lake *Thrasymenus* and *Canna*, and dismissed, with great politeness, by that general, arrived there as ambassadors from the city of *Tarentum*. They told him, "That, in return for his kindness to them, they had prevailed upon the *Tarentines* to prefer his friendship to that of the *Romans*; and that they would open their gates to him upon his presenting himself before the town." *Hannibal*, relying upon this assurance, soon after advanced into the neighbourhood of *Tarentum*; but finding that nobody offered to stir, the prætor *Valerius* having thrown a body of troops into the place just before he bent his march to *Salapia*, ordering vast quantities of provisions, amassed in the territories of *Metapontum* and *Heraclea*, to be brought thither. Having an intention to fix there his winter-quarters, he likewise sent detachments of *Moors* and *Numidians* to carry off every thing valuable, that could be found in the district of *Salentum*, and the adjacent woody parts of *Apulia*. Amongst other things, that were the produce of the country, they brought off a large number of wild horses, four thousand of which, being tamed, were very serviceable to *Hannibal* in the remounting of his cavalry †.

FROM the continent of *Italy*, we should now pass over to the island of *Sicily*, which was the theatre of very considerable transactions during this period, according to *Polybius*, *Livy*, and *Plutarch*. But as so full and ample an account of these transactions has been given in a former part of this work, that not a single circumstance of note relative thereto has been omitted, we cannot so much as touch upon them, without being guilty of a repetition. We hope therefore it will be deemed sufficient for us to have hinted to our readers, that the affairs of *Sicily*, however interwoven with those of other nations, do most properly belong to the history of *Syracuse* ‡.

The transactions in Spain.

NOTWITHSTANDING the losses the *Carthaginians* sustained the last year in *Spain*, *Asdrubal* and *Mago*, the beginning of this campaign, defeated a strong body of *Spaniards*; which might have been of bad consequence to the *Romans*, had not *Publius* advanced with all expedition to the *Iberus*, in order to support his confederates. The *Romans* encamped at *Castrum Altum*, a place famous for the death of the great *Hamilcar*. Though this was a fortress of great strength, and abundantly stored with provisions, *Publius*, finding all the adjacent country possessed by the enemy, and his troops greatly harassed by their horse, soon decamped, and posted himself on a spot not so much exposed to their insults. The *Carthaginians* cut off above two thousand *Romans*, in various rencounters, during *Publius's* short stay at *Castrum Altum*. *Publius*, soon after his arrival in his new camp, which he immediately fortified with a retrenchment, went, with a detachment of his light-armed troops, to reconnoitre some of the neighbouring places; which being observed by the *Carthaginian* general, he advanced, at the head of his forces, to attack him, and had surprised him in a plain, had he not had the precaution to retire in time to an eminence, where he defended himself, till his brother *Cneus* came to his relief. *Castulo*, a strong and noble city of *Spain*, and so strictly allied with the *Carthaginians*, that *Asdrubal* had taken him a wife from thence, now revolted to the *Romans*. The *Carthaginians*, not discouraged at this, laid siege to *Illiturgi*, wherein was a *Roman* garrison, which was in great danger of surrendering to them for want of provisions. *Cneus*, hearing of this, forced his way through the enemy's camp into the town, supplied it plentifully with every thing needful, and the next day sallying out upon the enemy, killed so many of them, that, in the two actions, they lost twelve thousand men upon the spot, and took above ten thousand prisoners, together with thirty-two colours; and all this with a single legion only. The *Carthaginians*, being thus obliged to abandon

* Liv. ubi sup. c. 19—21. Vide & Univers. hist. ubi sup.

† Liv. ubi sup. c. 13. & c. 20.

‡ Idem ibid. c. 21—40. POLYB. l. viii. PLUT. in Marcel. Univers. hist. vol. iii. p. 100, & seq.

- a the siege of *Illiturgi*, marched from thence to attack *Bigerra*, another city in alliance with *Rome*; but *Cneus* forced them to raise this likewise, without striking a stroke. Afterwards the *Carthaginian* general moved to *Munda*, whither he was followed by the *Romans*. Here both armies engaged for four hours, when the *Romans* would have been victorious, had not *Scipio* been wounded in the thigh by a javelin; which so disheartened his troops, that he was obliged to sound a retreat. In this action the *Carthaginian* troops, according to *Livy*, as well as the elephants, were driven back to their retrenchment, where thirty-nine of those huge animals perished by the enemy's darts. Twelve thousand *Carthaginians* lost their lives on the field of battle, and three thousand of them, with fifty-seven military ensigns, fell into the enemy's hands. Then the *Carthaginians* retreated with great precipitation to *Oriris*, and were pursued by the *Romans*. There *Cneus*, being carried in a litter, again attacked *Asdrubal*, and intirely routed him; but did not make such a carnage as in the former engagements, because the *Carthaginian* forces were not at that time so numerous. Notwithstanding all these disasters, *Mago* speedily raised such a number of recruits, as enabled his brother to look the *Romans* again in the face. Another battle ensued, wherein the *Romans* met with their usual success. Above eight thousand *Carthaginians*, with eight elephants, were slain, and about one thousand, with fifty-eight military ensigns, and three elephants, taken. *Manicapo* and *Civismaro*, two famous kings of the *Gauls*, who came to assist their allies the *Carthaginians*, likewise fell in this battle. A vast number of gold rings, chains for the neck, bracelets, and other *Gallie* spoils, also came into the possession of the victors. The *Romans*, having now driven the enemy out of the field, advanced to *Saguntum*, forced the *Carthaginian* garrison to abandon it, and then restored it to the ancient inhabitants, that had survived the calamities of their country. As for the *Turdetani*, who had been the occasion of this bloody war, *Cneus* caused them to be sold by auction, and afterwards razed their city. Such is the account *Livy* has given us of the military operations this year in *Spain*; which is just as consistent with itself, as that extraordinary relation of the action near *Syracuse*, in the beginning of the first *Punic* war, *Philinus* vouchsafed his countrymen, according to which, the conquered were victors, and the conquerors vanquished; or, as the conduct of some of our neighbours in a late war, when they sung *Te Deum* for a defeat. In short, our readers will, from a cursory view of this account, be fully convinced, that consistency and impartiality are qualifications not essential even to those, who are reputed the best *Roman* historians.

- THE following spring *Hannibal* received intelligence, that one *Cassius Altinius*, ^{The campaign in Italy.} who abandoned the *Roman* interest after the battle of *Cannæ*, had offered to deliver up *Arpi* into the hands of the *Romans* for a sum of money. This news did not at all displease the *Carthaginian*, who had long suspected *Altinius* of holding a correspondence with the enemy; since such a conduct could not fail of giving him an opportunity of seizing upon the immense treasures that wealthy citizen of *Arpi* possessed; but, that he might seem not so much influenced by avarice as resentment, as soon as he got *Altinius's* riches into his coffers, he burnt his wife and children alive. This story depends upon the authority of *Livy*, and is as probable as some of the preceding. *Appian* calls this traitor *Dasius*, and tells us, that he was descended from *Diomedes* of *Argos*, the founder of *Arpi*. According to the same historian, he had like to have been destroyed by the *Romans*, for making such a villainous proposal to them, and afterwards wandered about as a vagabond, in continual fear of being cut off either by the *Carthaginian* or *Roman* parties. *Hannibal* immediately put a garrison of five thousand *Carthaginians* into the city above-mentioned, who were joined by a body of three thousand citizens, in order to secure it against any attack of the *Romans*. However, the *Fabii*, having guarded all the avenues to it, surprized it in the manner already related. About a thousand *Spaniards*, at the beginning of the attempt, went over in a body to the *Romans*, and prevailed upon them to permit the *Carthaginian* garrison to retire. In pursuance of the capitulation, those troops were conducted by a *Roman* escorte to *Hannibal's* camp at *Salapia*, without the least injury offered them. This is *Livy's* account. But *Appian* relates, that the *Fabii* did not reduce *Arpi* by force, but, by means of some traitors, had it delivered to them; and that they put all the *Carthaginians* found therein to the sword. Nothing further

* *Philinus* apud *Polyb.* l. i. sub init. *Liv.* ubi sup. c. 41—43. Vide & *Univerſ. hiſt.* vol. iv. p. 711.

very material, except what has been already taken notice of in the *Roman* history, ^a happened this campaign in *Italy* *.

Some motions
in Africa.

THE *Romans* this year entered into an alliance with *Sypbax*, a *Numidian* prince, who had suddenly conceived an aversion to the *Carthaginians*. In consequence of the treaty concluded betwixt the two powers, the *Romans* sent *Q. Statorius* into *Africa*, to train up a body of *Numidian* infantry after the *Roman* manner. This, above all things, *Sypbax* desired, the *Numidians* having, till that time, brought only cavalry into the field; which rendered them incapable of coping with the *Carthaginians*. *Statorius*, upon his arrival in *Numidia*, soon inrolled a considerable body of foot out of *Sypbax's* youth. These he taught to keep their ranks, follow their colours, advance or retreat with order and swiftness, and, in fine, to form all the evolutions ^b and movements of the military art after the *Roman* model; so that in a short time *Sypbax* had a body of infantry, which he could intirely depend upon. The *Carthaginians*, finding their *Numidian* forces beginning to desert in great numbers, and fearing the fatal effects such a formidable union might produce, dispatched ambassadors to *Gala*, king of the *Massyli*, another *Numidian* prince, to propose an offensive and defensive alliance to him. They insinuated, "that, out of regard to his own safety, he ought to join them without loss of time, before either *Sypbax* could transport any troops into *Spain*, or the *Romans* into *Africa*; that *Sypbax* was, at present, void of all support from the *Romans*, and might therefore be easily crushed." *Gala*, at the instigation of his son *Masiniissa*, then but seventeen years of age, closed ^c with the proposal, and sent an army to assist his new allies. *Masiniissa*, to whose conduct that army was committed, gave *Sypbax* two such total overthrows, the first in conjunction with the *Carthaginians*, and the second with the *Massylian* forces only, that he found it impossible to make a diversion afterwards in favour of the *Romans* ^d.

The Romans
take a body of
Celtiberians
into their ser-
vice.

THE transactions in *Spain* this year are scarce worth relating. Nothing of the least moment passed there, except that the *Romans* took a body of *Celtiberians* into their service, and sent three hundred persons of the most distinguished families in *Spain* to *Italy*, to encourage a desertion amongst their countrymen in *Hannibal's* army. *Appian* relates, that this scheme took some effect; but at the same time intimates, that *Hannibal* himself made use of the same method of acting, in order to draw off ^d the *Spaniards* incorporated with the *Roman* forces, with equal success. The *Celtiberians*, who took on in the *Roman* service, were allowed the same pay, that their countrymen received from the *Carthaginians* ^e.

Hannibal has
Tarentum de-
livered up to
him.

THOUGH *Hannibal* stood upon the defensive the last campaign, towards the close of it, some inconsiderable cities of the *Salentines* surrendered to him. However, to compensate this, the *Thurians* and *Consentini* revolted from him to the *Romans*. This revolt might have been attended with more fatal consequences, had not *Hanno* overthrown a body of *Roman* forces under the command of *L. Pomponius Veientanus* in *Lucania*, after they had made dreadful incursions into the country of the *Brutii*, pillaging and laying waste all before them. The commander himself was taken pri- ^e soner in the action, and a great part of his men cut off; which prevented several petty states from abandoning the *Carthaginian* interest, though a few small towns of *Lucania*, after that defeat, opened their gates to *Sempronius*. In the mean time *Phileas*, who had a long time resided at *Rome* as minister from *Tarentum*, a man of a turbulent and restless disposition, retired privately from *Rome*, with some *Tarentine* hostages, whom he had assisted to make their escape; but being closely pursued, they were all taken near *Tarracina*, brought back to *Rome*, whipped publicly there in the *comitium*, and afterwards thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock. This barbarity extremely incensed the *Tarentines*, who before were far from being well affected to the *Romans*. Some of their young nobility therefore, the principal of ^f whom were *Nicon* and *Philomenes*, formed a design to massacre the *Roman* troops in garrison, and deliver the city up to the *Carthaginians*. *Hannibal*, being informed of this, moved with his forces towards *Tarentum*. As soon as the approach of the *Carthaginian* army reached the ears of the conspirators, *Nicon* and *Philomenes*, with a party that they could confide in, went privately by night out of the city, under pretence of being engaged the next day in a hunting-match. *Nicon* and *Philomenes*, as had been before concerted, rode up so near *Hannibal's* lines, that they were seized by one of his advanced guards, their associates having taken care before to disperse them-

* LIV. ubi sup. c. 45. 46. 47. APPIAN. in Hannib. Univers. hist. ubi sup. p. 723.
Iberic. LIV. ubi sup. c. 47. 48. 49.

^a LIV. l. xxiv. sub fin. APPIAN. in Hannib. OROS. l. iv. c. 16.

elves

a selves in the neighbouring woods. At first they refused to give any account of themselves; but only intimated, that they had something of moment to impart to the general. Being therefore conducted to him, they desired to have a private conference with him; which was immediately granted. They then gave him a full account of the disposition of the *Tarentines*, exclaiming bitterly at the same time against the *Romans*. *Hannibal* received them with great kindness, commended their resolution, loaded them with promises, and agreed to have a second conference with them. In order to blind the *Romans*, as well as the people of *Tarentum*, and conceal the true end of this excursion, he ordered several head of cattle to be driven out of the camp, that they might fall into the hands of his new friends, and be carried by
b them into the town; which being done, both the *Romans*, and the citizens, were extremely pleased at the success that had attended the supposed hunting-match, as well as excursion upon the enemy (for this likewise *Nicon* and *Philomenes* related to them); inasmuch that neither of them entertained the least suspicion of what had been really transacted. So considerable a booty as they brought with them, enabled them to invite both their countrymen, and the *Romans*, to frequent entertainments; which not only paved the way to a second hunting-match, but likewise excited great numbers of the citizens to turn marauders, in hopes of meeting with the same success; and this served to render the design of the *Tarentine* leaders still more impenetrable. At the second conference, *Nicon* and *Philomenes* concluded a treaty with *Hannibal* on
c the part of the *Tarentines*, the terms of which were to the following effect: "That the
" *Carthaginians* should not exact any tribute from the *Tarentines*, nor exercise any
" dominion over them; but, on the contrary, maintain them in the possession of all
" their privileges; that they should send a garrison into the city, to deliver the inha-
" bitants from the *Roman* yoke; that it should be lawful for them to plunder all the
" *Roman* houses in *Tarentum*, and put every *Roman* they could meet with to the sword;
" and lastly, that the *Tarentines* should have free access to *Hannibal*, whenever they
" approached his camp, in order to confer with him." By virtue of this last article, *Nicon* and *Philomenes* often visited *Hannibal*; which they found it no difficult matter to do, as *Philomenes* had contracted an intimacy with *Caius Livius*, the *Roman* command-
d ant, by the venison he gave him, as well as the splendid manner in which he frequently regaled him, and won over to his interest the captain of the *Roman* guard posted at the gate called *Temenis*. That he might effectually secure that guard, his constant practice was to make a present to the captain, as well as the soldiers, either of some venison he took in hunting, or some cattle, that he was supplied with by *Hannibal*; inasmuch that he had ingress and egress at pleasure, the gate being opened to him whenever he approached it, upon a whistle, or some other signal given. The heads of the conspiracy receiving intelligence, that *Livius* had appointed a day for a feast, to which all his officers and friends were invited, in the museum, a place near the forum, they, after having held a consultation with *Hannibal*, pitched upon that day
e for the execution of their design. According to the plan of operations agreed upon between the *Carthaginian* and his new allies, when the time drew nigh, he ordered a body of ten thousand men, horse and foot, to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning. To hinder the *Romans* from conceiving any distrust from the long stay he made in his present camp, he caused it to be given out, that he had, for some time, laboured under an indisposition, which had detained him there. At last, his troops having supplied themselves with provisions for four days, began their march at the fourth watch of the night, with their general himself at the head of them. He detached a party of *Numidians* to reconnoitre the enemy, with orders to advance thirty stadia before the rest, to scour the country as far as the gates of *Taren-
f tum*, in order to prevent the enemy from discovering his forces, and to make them believe, that an inconsiderable party only had advanced out of the *Carthaginian* camp for the sake of plunder. This had the desired effect; for advice being brought to *Livius*, then in the height of his entertainment, that a detachment of *Numidians* were laying waste the country within sight of the town, he commanded some of his troops to drive them from thence the next morning, without giving himself any further trouble, for the present, about them. In the mean time *Hannibal* contrived matters so, as to take post before the town about midnight, on the side of the gate *Temenis*. Whilst affairs were in this situation, *Tragiscus* and *Nicon*, *Philomenes* serving as a guide to *Hannibal* in this expedition, found means to secure all the avenues lead-
g ing to the forum; which it was no difficult matter to do, *Livius* having so intoxicated himself,

himself, that he could think of nothing but taking his repose. *Hannibal* advertised ^a his friends in the city of his arrival by a great fire, which he caused to be lighted; and was informed by them, that the plot within doors was ripe for execution, by the same signal, as had been before concerted betwixt them. Upon this, he sent *Philomenes*, with a thousand *Africans*, to possess himself of the gate *Temenis*. *Philomenes* acquainted the guard posted there, that he had brought them a wild boar, and therefore desired a speedy admission. Upon their opening the gate, the *Africans* entered, and put them all to the sword; whilst *Hannibal*, with the main body of his troops, found a passage through another gate, by *Nicon's* assistance, into the town. All the *Carthaginian* and *Tarentine* forces met, as had been appointed, in the forum; from whence *Hannibal* sent a detachment of two thousand *Gauls*, divided into three bodies, ^b each commanded by two *Tarentine* captains, into three different parts of the town, to secure every post of importance. After this disposition, he issued out an order, injoining all the citizens not to stir out of their houses; at the same time assuring them of his protection. The *Tarentines*, finding the *Carthaginians* entered, were at first thrown into the utmost consternation; but when some of their own nobility told them, that *Hannibal* was come to deliver them from a proud and insulting enemy, and to restore them to their former liberty, their fears soon subsided. *Livius*, upon the first alarm, being so drunk, that he was incapable of giving out his orders at so critical a conjuncture in a proper manner, withdrew himself, with his family, into the port, notwithstanding the conspirators had taken care to place a guard before his ^c house, where getting on board a *Roman* vessel, he made his escape to the citadel. In the mean time *Hannibal* commanded every *Tarentine* to post over his door the word TARENTINI, that the citizens might be distinguished from the *Romans*, and then gave up all the *Roman* houses to his soldiers to be plundered, with a permission to put to the sword every *Roman*, that should fall into their hands. That the *Romans* might be struck with the greater terror, as well as the more effectually massacred, *Philomenes* had caused *Roman* trumpets to be blown towards the citadel, which stood in the mouth of the harbour, as well as in other parts of the town, imagining, that this artifice would draw them thither, where troops were prepared to fall upon them. A considerable number of *Romans* lost their lives by this device; but many of them ^d retired into the citadel, which *Hannibal* immediately blocked up. As he had drawn up his forces in order of battle, to support the detachments sent to plunder the *Romans*, if they met with any resistance, there was little blood shed on the *Carthaginian* side. When he found the city intirely at his devotion, he ordered the citizens to appear before him unarmed, and made them a speech, filled with assurances of his kind intentions towards them; which was answered with the loudest acclamations. In order to secure the city from the insults of the *Roman* garrison in the citadel, *Hannibal* surrounded the former with a line, which, in a manner, cut off all communication betwixt it and the latter. However, he could not effect this without a considerable opposition from the enemy. During the time his men were at work upon ^e it, one very brisk action happened, wherein the *Romans* were defeated, and lost a great number of men. *Hannibal*, after this, carried on the siege of the citadel with inconceivable vigour; but the *Romans*, receiving a strong reinforcement from *Metapontum*, made a furious sally upon the besiegers, and destroyed the greatest part both of their works and military machines. This made the *Carthaginians* despair of taking it at present by force; so that they drew off from before it. *Hannibal*, upon this disappointment, assembling the *Tarentines*, told them, they would never become masters of the citadel, unless they could cut off all supplies from the *Romans* by sea. This they were sensible of; but as the *Romans* kept their ships blocked up in the port, they thought it would be impossible to exclude them from the dominion of the ^f sea. But *Hannibal*, by dint of genius, surmounted this difficulty; for observing, that ships of a moderate size might be drawn on shore, and conveyed through the middle of the city into the sea on another side, he made use of this expedient to annoy the enemy. The *Tarentines* therefore, shutting up the citadel on all sides, both by sea and land, soon reduced the *Roman* garrison to great extremities. *Hannibal* then, leaving some troops in the city, to support the *Tarentines* against any attack or surprize of the enemy, returned to the camp he had marked out upon the *Galesus* immediately after he was admitted into the town. Here he continued in a state of inaction, till the commencement of the next campaign.

W POLYB. l. viii. LIV. l. xxv. c. 7—12. S. JUL. FRONTIN. Strat. l. iii. c. 3. ex. 6.

- a ACCORDING to *Appian*, the name of the person, who introduced the *Carthaginians* into *Tarentum*, was *Cononeus*, and that of the Roman commandant *Junius*. *Cononeus*, says the same author, being extremely fond of hunting, prevailed upon the guard posted at one of the gates to let him out and in whenever he pleased in the night, under the pretence, that he was obliged to pursue his favourite diversion in the night-time, for fear of the enemy's parties. By this artifice, he found means frequently to confer with *Hannibal*, and at last enabled a body of *Carthaginians*, dressed like hunters, but with coats of mail and swords under their hunting habits, to take post in the town; who, being soon joined by a greater number of forces, that lay concealed in a neighbouring wood, easily made themselves masters of the place. Five thousand *Romans*, together with a body of *Tarentines* in the Roman interest, retired into the citadel. These troops, being reinforced by half of the garrison of *Metapontum*, repulsed the besiegers in all their attacks, burnt their works and military machines, and destroyed many of their men in the frequent successful sallies they made. This so discouraged *Hannibal*, that he retired into *Apulia*, leaving *Hanno*, with a body of forces, to keep the place blocked up. But the *Romans*, being masters of the sea, received copious supplies of all things necessary, and streightened both the town and the *Carthaginian* camp in such a manner, that *Hannibal*, upon his return, which happened soon after, found them almost reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions. He therefore put them into a method of conveying their ships out of the port into the sea on the southern side of the city. After this, the *Tarentines* and *Carthaginians* intercepted the Roman convoys by sea, and greatly distressed the garrison. At last receiving intelligence, that the troops in the citadel expected a large supply of corn from the *Tburians*, they posted a squadron of galleys at a proper place in ambuscade, which, without much difficulty, seized upon the *Tburian* vessels, and made all the crews prisoners. The people of *Tburium* therefore sent deputies to *Hannibal* to redeem the captives, who, being by the *Tarentines* introduced to that general, found a most kind reception, and had their prisoners released without ransom. This made such an impression upon the minds of the deputies, that soon after they put *Hannibal* into possession of their city, tho' against the consent of the inhabitants, the garrison, upon the approach of the *Carthaginians*, retiring privately to *Brundisium*. As the reduction of the city of *Tarentum* was an event of the utmost importance to *Hannibal*, and what, in all probability, not a little contributed to the protracting of this destructive war, we thought ourselves obliged to give our readers, in this place, a circumstantial account of it, though, prolix as this may seem to be, it is but an abridgment of that to be found in *Polybius*, *Livy*, and *Appian*.*
- b
- c
- d

Appian's account of the reduction of Tarentum.

- WHILST *Hannibal* lay encamped in the neighbourhood of *Tarentum*, the consuls, towards the beginning of the following year, threatened *Capua* with a siege. This greatly alarmed the *Capuans*, who were under dreadful apprehensions of a famine, as the *Romans* had prevented them from cultivating their lands the preceding year. They therefore intreated *Hannibal* to send them a supply of provisions, before the *Romans* had cut off the communication betwixt their city and the places, where the *Carthaginians*, and their allies, had erected magazines. Whereupon *Hanno*, in pursuance of an order received from *Hannibal*, moving out of the country of the *Brutii*, encamped upon an eminence about three miles from *Beneventum*; and, having amassed a vast quantity of corn, appointed a day for the *Capuans* to send a proper number of waggons thither to carry it off. The consuls being informed of this, *Fulvius* marched with all expedition to *Beneventum*, and from thence to *Hanno's* camp, which he immediately attacked, and, by the bravery of *Vibius*, a centurion of the *Pelignian* troops, *Valerius Flaccus*, tribune of the third legion, and *T. Pedanius*, the first centurion of it, carried, after an obstinate resistance. Of the *Carthaginians*, above six thousand were slain, and seven thousand taken prisoners. A great number of *Campanian* peasants, together with their waggons, and the corn *Hanno* had collected for the use of the *Capuans*, as well as an immense quantity of other plunder, fell into the hands of the *Romans*. *Hanno* himself was not in the action, but at some small distance from the camp, when it happened; but, being informed of it by one *Cominius Ceritus*, he retired, with great precipitation, into *Brutium*, attended only by a few of his horse. This blow so terrified the *Capuans*, that the principal of them seemed afraid the enemy would as easily possess themselves of *Capua*, as they had before done of *Arpi*.
- e
- f

Hanno defeated by the Romans

* APPIAN. in Hannib.

However, in order to animate them to a vigorous defence, and protect their territory a from the incursions of the *Roman* parties, *Hannibal* sent the garrison a reinforcement of two thousand men. In the mean time the *Carthaginian* garrison at *Tarentum*, in conjunction with the inhabitants, continued the siege of the citadel there, *Hannibal*, with his army, pursuing all the measures, that he thought necessary to facilitate the reduction of that place ⁷.

The Carthaginians admitted into Thurium.

THE body of troops left to defend *Metapontum* being so weakened by the large detachment sent to the citadel of *Tarentum*, that the *Romans* there were not in a condition to make head against the citizens, who were well affected to the *Carthaginians*, *Hannibal* found means to make himself master of that city. *Appian* tells us, that the *Metapontini* put all the *Romans* to the sword; and that *Heraclea*, a town situated b between *Metapontum* and *Tarentum*, followed the example of those two cities. The *Thurians* likewise, being nearly related to the people of the two last-mentioned cities, as descended from the *Achaïans*, and highly resenting the cruel treatment of the *Tarentine* hostages, meditated a revolt from the *Romans*. They therefore sent a deputation to *Hanno* and *Mago*, who then commanded a *Carthaginian* army in *Brutium*, inviting them to come and take possession of *Thurium*. *Atinius*, the commandant, had but a small garrison, his chief dependence being upon the townsmen, whom he had armed and disciplined, that they might be the better enabled to support him, in case of a visit from the enemy. *Hanno* first presented himself before the town with a body of infantry, whilst *Mago*, with the cavalry, lay in ambuscade by favour of some c eminences, which concealed him from the enemy's parties, that were sent to reconnoitre the *Carthaginians*. *Atinius* therefore imagining, that he should be attacked only by a body of foot, and being ignorant of the conspiracy the *Thurians* had entered into, did not in the least doubt but that he should easily repulse the enemy. *Hanno*, as matters had been before concerted, retired upon the approach of the *Romans*, drawing both them and the *Thurians* insensibly to the foot of the eminences possessed by the *Carthaginian* horse; who immediately rushing down upon them with a great shout, the *Thurians*, according to agreement, took to their heels, and were received by the conspirators into the city. The *Romans* in the mean time, notwithstanding they were charged in front, in flank, and in rear, behaved with great bravery; d but being at last likewise put to flight, upon their arrival at the town, they found themselves denied admission, the conspirators on the walls crying out, *That the Carthaginians, being mixed with the Romans, would certainly enter, unless the gates were immediately shut*. They were all therefore cut to pieces, except *Atinius*, with a few of his principal officers, whom the *Thurians* saved from the general carnage, out of the great personal regard they had for that commandant, on account of his mild and gentle government. After they had sent these on board a galley, prepared for that purpose, to the next port belonging to the *Romans*, the conspirators delivered *Thurium* into the hands of the *Carthaginians*. In the mean time the consuls moved towards *Capua*, in order to form the siege of that important place ². e

The proconsul Sempronius betrayed and killed.

WHILST the *Romans* were thus preparing to attack *Hannibal* in the most sensible part, they sustained an almost irreparable loss by the death of *Sempronius Gracchus*. That excellent commander, having made the necessary dispositions for marching out of *Lucania* into the neighbourhood of *Capua*, with a body of *Volones*, to prevent the enemy from throwing any succours into the place, was, by the treachery of *Flavius Lucanus*, drawn into an ambuscade, and cut off, with all the small party that attended him. *Livy* tells us, that authors do not intirely agree in their accounts of that general's death, some affirming, that he was massacred by two troops of *Nu- midians*, as he repeated a sacrifice, which had been attended by a very bad omen, at some distance from the camp, before he left *Lucania*; others, that a *Carthaginian* f detachment put him, and three lictors, with some servants attending them, to the sword, near the river *Calor*, in the territory of *Beneventum*, as they were going to bathe themselves; and lastly, others, that he fell in the manner first related. The *Roman* writers differ likewise as much in the accounts they give us of his interment; some intimating, that *Hannibal* celebrated his funeral obsequies with great pomp and magnificence, the *Spaniards* distinguishing themselves above any other nation in the *Carthaginian* army on that occasion; and others, that he sent the body to the *Roman*

⁷ LIV. ubi supra, c. 13, 14. APPIAN. in Hannib. Hannib.

² LIV. ubi supra, c. 15. APPIAN. in

a camp, to be interred there. Be that as it will, *Hannibal* reaped considerable advantage from this accident, since it, for some time, retarded the attack of *Capua*.

HOWEVER, the consuls at last approached that city, with an intention to invest it; of which the *Capuans* being informed, they ordered a detachment of foot out of the town, to make a sally upon the enemy. As the *Romans* plundered all the country, through which they moved, that detachment, supported by a body of *Carthaginian* cavalry, under the command of *Mago*, fell in with a numerous party of them, ravaging the adjacent territory without any order or discipline. These troops *Mago* routed at the first onset, laid fifteen hundred of them dead upon the spot, took many prisoners, recovered a vast quantity of booty, and dispersed the rest. This action so intimidated the consuls, that, for the present, they thought proper to stand upon the defensive, and so encouraged the *Carthaginians* and *Capuans*, that they frequently insulted the enemy. *Hannibal*, upon advice of what had happened, immediately marched to *Capua*, and attacked the *Romans*. Soon after the beginning of the engagement, the questor *Cornelius* appeared with the body of troops formerly commanded by *Sempronius*, to the terror of both parties, each looking upon them as enemies. Under this apprehension, both armies drew off from the field of battle to their respective camps. The consuls, after the action, in which the *Romans* suffered most, divided their forces into two bodies, in order to oblige *Hannibal* to leave the territory of *Capua*. *Fulvius*, with one of them, retreated into the district of *Cumæ*, whilst *Claudius* took his march into *Lucania*. *Hannibal* pursued the latter; but was not able to come up with him. However, he met with a *Roman* corps of sixteen thousand men, under the conduct of *M. Centenius Penula*, who had signalized himself on many occasions as a centurion. This officer, being introduced to the senate by *P. Cornelius Sulla* the prætor, had the assurance to tell the conscript fathers, that, if they would trust him with only a body of five thousand men, he would turn the tables upon the *Carthaginians*, and give a good account of *Hannibal*. Instead of five thousand, they assigned him eight thousand, which, by the accession of volunteers in his march to *Lucania*, and many of the natives on his arrival there, he increased to double the number. Being a man of wonderful resolution, he engaged the *Carthaginians* upon *Hannibal's* first offering him battle; but, not being able to cope with that general, after a fight of two hours, he was intirely defeated. As *Hannibal*, by guarding all the passes and avenues in the neighbourhood of his camp, had taken care to cut off their retreat, all the *Romans*, except a thousand men, together with their general, were slain. Notwithstanding which, *Claudius* having taken a large compass, in order to get clear of *Hannibal*, arrived once more before *Capua*, and, in conjunction with his colleague, blocked up that city.

Hannibal, ever intent upon taking advantage of the foibles of the *Roman* generals, receiving intelligence from his emissaries in *Apulia*, that *Cn. Fulvius* the prætor, being elated with some late instances of success, despised the enemy, and permitted a total relaxation of discipline to take place amongst his troops, advanced to *Herdonia*, where the *Romans* lay encamped. Upon his arrival there, he distributed three thousand light-armed troops in a woody spot of ground, which concealed them from the enemy, and detached *Mago*, with two thousand horse, to block up all the passes and defiles on that part, where, he foresaw, the enemy would endeavour to make off, in case they were pushed. The prætor, being a man of a fiery temper, was easily drawn by *Hannibal* into the ambuscade; where being attacked in front, in rear, and in flank, and the retreat cut off, the whole *Roman* corps, consisting of eighteen thousand men, except the prætor, and two thousand, who fled as soon as they saw victory incline to the *Carthaginians*, were put to the sword. The two last blows coming, as it were, one upon the neck of the other, threw the *Roman* senate into a great consternation, and obliged them to send *M. Miilius* and *C. Lælorius* to the consuls, with fresh instructions.

NOTWITHSTANDING these misfortunes, the consuls, pursuant to an order received from the senate, made the necessary dispositions for forming the siege of *Capua*. *Hannibal*, after the defeat of the enemy at *Herdonia*, returned to *Tarentum*, where he attempted, both by force and persuasion, to bring the *Roman* garrison in the citadel to a capitulation; but all his endeavours proving ineffectual, he turned off to *Brundisium*, to excite the citizens there to a revolt; but being disappointed in this view, he entertained

^a Liv. ubi sup. c. 16—18. VAL. MAX. l. iii. c. 2. APPIAN. in Hannib. OROS. l. iv. c. 17. ^b Liv. ubi sup. c. 18—22. ^c Liv. ubi sup. c. 2. PLUT. in Hannib.

some thoughts of moving towards *Capua*, at the earnest desire of the citizens, who now^a sent a deputation to him. At this time the transactions in the island of *Sicily* were very considerable, and the *Carthaginians* exerted themselves there, notwithstanding the numerous armies they employed in *Italy* and *Spain*. However, as the particulars of these transactions do not fall under our province, we must refer our readers for them to the history of *Syracuse*, to which they properly belong^c.

Otacilius ravages the coasts of Africa.

ABOUT the time of the reduction of *Syracuse*, Otacilius sailed with eighty quinqueremes from *Lilybæum* to *Utica*; where entering the port in the night, he took a great number of vessels laden with corn. After which, he landed a body of forces, that ravaged all the adjacent territory; and then returned on board with a very considerable booty. The *Carthaginians* giving him no obstruction in this excursion, b either by sea or land, he arrived safe at *Lilybæum* three days after he left the harbour of *Utica*, with a hundred and thirty transports, that conveyed the corn, and other spoils he had acquired, into that harbour. By such a seasonable supply, he was enabled to relieve the people of *Syracuse*, who, as well as the *Roman* garrison there, were, at that time, threatened with a famine^e.

The transactions in Spain

THE *Carthaginians* had this year three armies in *Spain*; one commanded by *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, another by *Mago*, and the third by *Asdrubal* the brother of *Hannibal*. The two former generals encamped close together, about five days march from the *Romans*; and the latter posted himself at *Anitorgis*, a city much nearer the enemy. This obliged the *Romans* to divide likewise their forces. Cneus, with one third of the *Roman* troops, and a body of thirty thousand *Celtiberian* auxiliaries, c advanced into the neighbourhood of *Anitorgis*, to observe the motions of *Asdrubal* the son of *Hamilcar*. The two armies encamped on opposite banks of the same river, with an intention soon to come to an engagement. *Asdrubal*, having a perfect knowledge of the *Spanish* perfidy, and being besides well skilled in the *Celtiberian* tongue, easily found means to bribe the *Celtiberian* troops to a desertion; which obliged Cneus to pass the *Iberus*, and to secure himself, by keeping that river betwixt him and *Asdrubal*'s army. In the mean time *Mago*, and the other *Asdrubal*, by the assistance of *Masiniſſa*, and *Indibilis* regulus of the *Lacetani*, gave the *Romans* a complete overthrow, d and killed *Publius*. The same generals and princes, with their united forces, afterwards going in quest of Cneus, met with him on the top of an eminence, where, after a bloody action, they defeated him, put him to the sword, with a great number of his legionaries, and forced the rest to fly to *Publius*'s camp, which was guarded by a small body, under the command of one of his lieutenants called *T. Fonteius*. However, the *Carthaginians*, towards the close of the campaign, were unexpectedly overthrown by a young *Roman* knight named *C. Martius*, who had collected the remains of the *Roman* army, as we have elsewhere related. According to *Claudius*, who translated the *Annales Acilianæ* out of *Greek* into *Latin*, two *Carthaginian* camps were forced in twenty-four hours time by *Martius*, thirty-seven thousand *Carthaginians* killed, eighteen hundred made prisoners, besides many spoils taken, amongst which e was a silver shield, weighing an hundred and thirty pounds, with the effigies of *Asdrubal*, the son of *Hamilcar*, upon it. *Valerius Antias* relates, that only *Mago*'s camp was taken, when seven thousand of the enemy were put to the sword; and that, in a pitched battle, *Martius* defeated *Asdrubal*, killing ten thousand of his men, and making four thousand three hundred and thirty prisoners. *Piso* affirms, that the *Romans* drew the *Carthaginians* into an ambuscade, and by that means cut off five thousand of them. In short, from this specimen, we may form a true idea of the authors *Livy* followed; which is the reason of our inserting these last particulars here. Their relations, in the point before us, are plainly refuted both by the preceding and subsequent operations of the *Carthaginian* and *Roman* armies in *Spain*, as may be f collected even from *Livy* himself; nay, that historian, partial as he is, allows some of these to have greatly exceeded the truth in their accounts of the numbers of the slain in the battles they have described; which is a tacit acknowledgment of his own partiality, and consequently a confirmation of what, in relation to the affairs of *Spain* during this period, we have so frequently observed^f.

The Roman generals push on the siege of Capua.

IN the mean time the consuls, and the prætor *Claudius*, having drawn a line round *Capua*, pushed on the siege of that important place with the utmost vigour. The *Capuans* at first made frequent sallies, especially upon the workmen employed upon

^a Idem ibid. c. 23. Univers. hist. vol. iii. p. 100—128.

^c Liv. ubi sup.

^e CLAUD. VAL.

ANTIAS, & PISO apud Liv. l. xxv. sub fin. ut & ipse Liv. ibid. Vide & APPIAN. in Iberic.

- a the said line, which was flanked with parapets and towers placed at proper distances. The *Capuans*, in this distress, sent messengers to *Hannibal*, complaining, "That they were deserted by him, and upon the point of surrendering to the *Romans*; at the same time conjuring the *Carthaginian*, by their fidelity to him, to send them speedy succours." This however could not induce *Hannibal* to abandon the blockade of the citadel of *Tarentum*; but being at last informed by a *Numidian* horseman, who had passed through the *Roman* camp undiscovered in the night, that *Capua* was reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions, with some regret he moved from his camp upon the *Galesus* near *Tarentum*, to the relief of his beloved city. Though for some time, after the arrival of the *Numidian*, he remained in a state of suspense, not knowing whether the reduction of the citadel of *Tarentum*, or the relief of *Capua*, would turn out most to his advantage, yet, out of the singular affection he bore the *Capuans*, he at last came to a resolution to succour them. It is probable likewise, that he took this step, in order to preserve his reputation amongst his allies; which, he imagined, could not be more effectually done, than by a vigorous support of those, who had so eminently distinguished themselves in his favour. Leaving therefore his baggage in *Brutium*, he advanced, with a strong body of light-armed troops, together with thirty-three elephants, towards *Capua*, taking post in a valley behind mount *Tifala*. Here he did not continue long inactive; for he first took a fort called *Galatia* by storm, and then, without loss of time, attacked the *Roman* camp, the *Capuans* at the same instant, as had been before concerted betwixt them and *Hannibal*, making a vigorous sally with their whole garrison; but, after a warm dispute, both the *Carthaginians* and *Capuans* were repulsed, with considerable loss. *Livy* tells us, that in the heat of the action, the *Spaniards* and *Numidians*, together with the elephants, broke into the enemy's camp; that those huge animals, by overturning the *Roman* tents, and frightening the beasts of burden there, scattered terror where-ever they moved; and that *Hannibal*, taking advantage of this confusion, ordered some of his men, who could speak *Latin*, to cry out, "That, since the *Roman* camp was taken, every soldier was at liberty to shift for himself as well as he could, and to fly to the neighbouring mountains."
- d However, the elephants being soon driven out of the camp by fire brought thither for that purpose, and *Hannibal's* artifice defeated, the *Romans* recovered themselves, and obliged the enemy to retire. After this action, *Hannibal*, not being able either to draw the enemy to a battle, or force a passage through their camp into the town, laid aside all thoughts for the present of relieving *Capua*.

HOWEVER, that general, ever active in forming of schemes for the annoyance of his enemies, at last hit upon an expedient, which, he doubted not, would infallibly answer his purpose. He proposed to march with such expedition to *Rome*, as to present himself at the walls of that metropolis, before the *Romans* could have any notice or suspicion of his design. In order to facilitate the execution of this project,

Hannibal advances to Rome.

- e *Hannibal* ordered his troops to supply themselves with provisions for ten days, and to get ready as many transports as would waft them over the *Vulturnus* in one night. But, notwithstanding the privacy with which this whole affair was transacted, *Fulvius*, by means of his spies, received intelligence of *Hannibal's* intended motion, and dispatched a courier to *Rome*, to give the senate early notice of his approach. As the *Carthaginian* did not march directly to *Rome*, but took a large compass, and staid to ravage the countries, through which he moved, the *Romans* had time to make proper dispositions for the defence of their capital. However, many, even of the senators themselves, were struck with incredible terror at the appearance of the *Carthaginian* forces. *Hannibal*, having marched through the territories of *Frusinum*, *Ferentinum*, *Anagnia*, *Laticum*, *Algidum*, *Tusculum*, and *Gabii*, encamped on a commodious spot of ground within eight miles of *Rome*; his *Numidian* parties, that preceded the main body of the army, putting to the sword, or taking prisoners, all the *Romans* they met with in their route. After a short stay here, he moved to the banks of the *Anio*, about three miles from the enemy's capital; from whence, escorted by a choice detachment of two thousand horse, he advanced to the very gates of *Rome*, in order to reconnoitre the enemy, and take a view of the situation of the city. But not meeting with the desired success, either in this excursion, or the attempts he afterwards made, *Hannibal* retired six miles from *Rome*, where he pitched his tents

* *Liv. l. xxvi. c. 4—7.*

upon the *Tutia*. From hence he went to the grove of the goddess *Feronia*, where stood a temple sacred to her, enriched with the valuable oblations and presents of the *Cape-nates*, a people inhabiting that particular district; which he plundered. *Livy* affirms, that, after *Hannibal's* departure, great heaps of brass were found in this grove, which his soldiers had left there, in the room of the treasure they had carried from thence, out of a religious motive. According to *Strabo*, a sacrifice was offered annually to the goddess *Feronia*, in the grove where she was worshipped, at the foot of the mountain *Soracte*, where her votaries walked unhurt over burning coals. On several *Roman* denarii, preserved in the cabinets of the curious, she is represented with a crown on her head. *Hannibal*, finding himself disappointed in his views, is said to have cried out, "That at one time his own will, and at another fortune, would not permit him to take Rome." *Livy* seems to intimate, that the routes *Hannibal* took in his passage to Rome and retreat from it, could not be ascertained, some authors confounding them, though one of these, he believes, in his time, was certainly known. We shall not further expatiate upon this remarkable expedition, since all the particulars of moment relating to it, omitted by us here, will be found in a proper place ^b.

Capua surrenders to the Romans.

Hannibal, instead of marching to the relief of *Capua*, the siege of which his late enterprize could not divert the enemy from, moved with such expedition to *Rhegium*, that he had like to have surprised that city. This little pleased the *Capuans*, who prevailed upon *Bostar* and *Hanno*, the commanders of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Capua*, to press *Hannibal*, in the strongest and most moving terms, to attempt raising the siege of that city. Their letters however had no effect; for *Hannibal* either being not able or willing to relieve the place, it was obliged to surrender to the *Romans*, *Seppius Læsius* being at that time the *mediastuticus*, or chief magistrate, there. *Vibius Virius*, who had been the chief author of the late revolt, put an end to his life by poison, as did twenty-seven other senators. In what a shocking and inhuman manner *Fulvius* treated the *Capuan* senators, both before, and even after, the conscript fathers at *Rome* had granted them mercy, may be seen in a former part of this work. Nothing can give us a more lively idea of the cruelties and enormities a thirst after power may make a state capable of, than what even the partial *Livy* himself has transmitted down to posterity on this occasion, except the late villainous and unchristian behaviour of a most christian prince, as famous for his observation of solemn treaties, as either the *Romans* or *Carthaginians* were. The success of this siege gave the *Romans* a visible superiority over the *Carthaginians*, and disposed the *Italian* states in general to declare for their former masters ^d.

State of affairs in Spain.

SOME time after the reduction of *Capua*, *Asdrubal*, the son of *Hamilcar*, being encamped at a place called *Lapides Atri*, in the country of the *Ausetani*, between *Illiturgi* and *Mentissa*, was informed, that *Claudius Nero*, who had been employed before *Capua*, was arrived in *Spain* with a strong reinforcement; and that the command of the army destined to act against the *Carthaginians* in *Spain* was given to him, in the room of *L. Martius* and *T. Fonteius*. *Asdrubal* soon after, by a false point of conduct, suffered himself to be shut up on an isthmus in such a manner, that he lay at the mercy of the enemy. However, he found means to extricate himself out of the difficulties, in which that error had involved him, though by none of the most honourable methods. This event so changed the face of affairs in *Spain*, that no person of distinction, except *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the son of *Publius*, who had lately lost his life in *Spain*, offered himself a candidate for the proconsulate there. He was therefore chosen proconsul for *Spain*, and sent, with an additional body of troops, to carry on the war in that country. Soon after his arrival there, he received deputations from most of the *Spanish* nations, who discovered a greater inclination than ever to come to a close union with the *Romans*. When *Scipio*, amidst the applause and acclamations of all ranks and degrees of men at *Rome*, took upon himself the command of the army in *Spain*, he was scarce twenty-four years of age ^e.

Hannibal's affairs go to decay in Italy, Sicily, and Spain.

NOTHING of moment, except what has been already related, happened further this year in *Spain*. At the end of it, *Asdrubal*, the son of *Gisco*, extended his winter-quarters as far as *Gades*, and the ocean. *Mago* took up his above the *Sallus Castulonensis*, in the maritime parts; and *Asdrubal*, the son of *Hamilcar*, cantoned his body of troops in the neighbourhood of *Saguntum*. About this time the *Carthaginians* sent

^b *Liv. ubi sup. c. 7—12. POLYB. l. ix. STRAB. l. v. SIL. ITAL. C. FLOR. EUTROP. OROS. ZONAR. omneq; fere al. historic. Roman. Vide & Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 727. 728, 729.* ^c *Liv. ubi sup. c. 12—17. POLYB. ubi sup. Vide & Univ. hist. vol. iv. p. 729.* ^d *Liv. ubi sup. c. 20, &c. POLYB. l. x.*

- a a squadron to *Tarentum*, to cut off all supplies from the *Roman* garrison in the citadel there; but they incommoded their allies the *Tarentines* more than the enemy, since it was found impossible to convey, either by sea or land, a quantity of provisions, sufficient to support both the people of *Tarentum*, and the forces on board the *Carthaginian* galleys. Though the latter therefore for some time blocked up the citadel by sea, they could not carry their point, the *Romans* there being amply provided with all things necessary, and having a large train of military engines, wherewith to annoy the enemy. *Hannibal*, now finding the *Carthaginian* affairs going swiftly to decay in *Italy*, as well as *Sicily* and *Spain*, could not forbear cursing *Hanno*, and his faction, for the detention of those succours, which had so long been promised him. This, which was effected by their artifice, did not only prevent the conquest of *Italy*, but proved the total ruin of the *African* republic, the hitherto formidable rival of *Rome*, as will more clearly appear in the future course of this history ¹.

- The next campaign the *Romans* made themselves masters of *Salapia*, by the assistance of one *Blasius*, a *Salapian*, who had always been a secret well-wisher to the *Romans*. As the particulars of this action have been already related at large, we shall not dwell upon them here; but only observe, that *Hannibal* lost a body of his best horse in it, which proved much more fatal to him, than the loss of *Salapia*, since his cavalry could never after this blow, if *Livy* may be credited, make head against that of the *Romans*, to which it had always been before superior. About this time a *Tarentine* squadron, commanded by *Nicon*, defeated a *Roman* fleet sent to supply the citadel with provisions, under the conduct of *D. Quintius*, who was killed in the action. But, to make amends for this disaster, a *Roman* detachment, consisting of two thousand men, fell upon four thousand *Tarentine* foragers, and, through the conduct and bravery of their leader *C. Persius*, intirely defeated them, putting the greatest part of them to the sword ^m.

The Romans take Salapia; but are defeated at sea by the Tarentines.

- ABOUT this time, the *Romans* being resolved to chastise the *Brutians* for their attachment to the *Carthaginians*, *Lævinus*, the *Roman* general in *Sicily*, transported a body of four thousand men, consisting chiefly of robbers, from *Agathyrna* to *Rhegium*, in order to enable the garrison of this last city to lay waste the whole country of *Brutium*. As most of the men, of which this corps was formed, had been guilty of the most enormous crimes, and committed great depredations in *Sicily* for a considerable period of time, the *Romans* could not have pitched upon any troops more proper to execute such a design. *Lævinus* likewise served another wise end by sending this band of villains to *Rhegium*; for by this means he preserved the tranquillity and repose of the island of *Sicily*, which must have been greatly disturbed by the continuance of such a gang of banditti at *Agathyrna* ⁿ.

The Romans draw four thousand robbers from Agathyrna to ravage Brutium.

- Scipio*, having taken care to get his naval forces in readiness to put to sea early in the spring, and appointed *Tarraco* the place of rendezvous for the forces of his *Spanish* allies, upon their assembling there, ordered the main body of the army to defile from thence to the *Iberus*, himself following at the head of five thousand *Spaniards*. Here he harangued the soldiery, insisting largely upon all those topics, that, he thought, would be the most apt to inspire them with resentment and resolution. After this, leaving *M. Syllanus*, with three thousand foot, and three hundred horse, to prevent all disorders in those parts of *Spain*, he passed the *Iberus*, with an army of twenty-five thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse. As almost all the riches of *Spain* were deposited in *New Carthage*, a city situated, like *Old Carthage*, upon a peninsula, betwixt a noble port and a lake, which last served as a fence to the western and northern parts of the wall, he formed a design upon it. To the attack of this place he was likewise further excited by the commodiousness of its harbour, which was capacious enough to receive any fleet, and so near the coast of *Africa*, that the *Romans*, when in possession of it, might easily make a descent on the *Carthaginian* territories there. Upon his arrival here, *Scipio* made a speech to his troops, importing, "That as all the wealth of the enemy amassed in *Spain*, all their engines of battery and military machines, all the hostages of the *Spaniards* to the *Carthaginians*, which alone secured the fidelity of the former to the latter, together with the principal, if not only, granary the *Carthaginians* had in *Spain*, were lodged in that city, by the reduction of it they should, in a manner, terminate the war, at least in that part of the world, with their proud rival." *Mago*,

Scipio takes New Carthage

¹ Idem ibid. ^m Liv. l. xxvi. c. 39. PLUT. in Marcel. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 7. ⁿ Liv. ubi sup. c. 40. who,

who, according to some authors, commanded in the town, or, as *Valerius Antias* ^a will have it, *Arme*, upon *Scipio's* approach, made the necessary dispositions for a vigorous defence. He posted two thousand of the citizens in that part of the town which fronted the *Roman* camp, five hundred *Carthaginians* in the citadel, and five hundred more upon an eminence in the eastern part of the city. He likewise ordered another body to be ready to move, where-ever the efforts of the enemy should render their assistance necessary, at a moment's warning. The *Romans* did not only repulse the enemy in a sally they made upon them, but likewise pursued them with such ardour, that, had not *Scipio* caused a retreat to be sounded, they had entered pell-mell with the *Carthaginians* into the town. This so intimidated the troops in garrison, that they abandoned many of their posts, and, in a manner, deserted the ^b ramparts; which when *Scipio* observed, advancing to an eminence called *Mercurius Teutates*, he immediately ordered a vigorous attack to be made on those parts of the wall, which were most exposed, his fleet at the same time forwarding the operations of the land-forces, by assailing the town on the sea side. After a bloody and obstinate dispute, the *Romans* carried the place sword in hand, *Scipio* greatly animating his men, by flying from place to place to give his orders, as occasion required; and some fishermen of *Tarraco* enabling one of his detachments to enter the town on the side of the *stagnum* or morass, which seemed almost inaccessible. The commandant retired into the citadel; but was so vigorously pressed by the *Romans*, that he soon found himself obliged to surrender at discretion. Till the ^c surrender of the citadel, the slaughter was general; but afterwards quarter was given, the soldiers being chiefly intent upon plunder. The *Romans* made ten thousand freemen, besides a prodigious number of women, children, and slaves, prisoners, together with three hundred, or, according to others, seven hundred twenty-five *Spanish* hostages, whom the *Roman* general immediately dismissed. They found in the place an hundred and twenty of the greater catapults, two hundred eighty-one of the lesser sort; twenty-three of the larger balistæ, fifty-two of the smaller; an inconceivable number of darts, and other missile weapons; besides many of the machines called scorpions, together with seventy four military ensigns. An immense quantity of gold and silver, both in money and plate, fell into *Scipio's* hands. But as the authors ^d *Livy* followed, particularly *Silenus* and *Valerius Antias*, greatly differed in this point, as well as with regard to the strength of the *Carthaginian* garrison, the number of captives, the quantity of shipping seized in the port, and the provisions, naval stores, &c. found on board, we shall beg leave to refer our readers, for their further satisfaction on those heads, to that writer himself, and to the circumstantial account we have already given of this glorious action in a former part of our history.

The Carthaginians seem to despise the Romans, notwithstanding the progress of their arms.

THE *Carthaginians*, for some time, endeavoured to suppress the news of the blow they had received in *Spain* by the reduction of *New Carthage*, being apprehensive, that as soon as the *Spaniards* received intelligence of that unexpected event, they would, to a man, declare in favour of the *Romans*. But not being able long to conceal so remarkable a disgrace, they were obliged at last to own it, though they put ^e as good a face upon the matter as they well could, in the present melancholy situation of affairs, in order to palliate their own shameful behaviour at the late attack. They gave out, "That *Scipio* had stolen the town by surprize; that the conquest was of " little importance, notwithstanding the young commander affected to cry it up as " equivalent to a signal victory; and that, upon the approach of three *Carthaginian* " generals, at the head of three victorious armies, he would presently be thrown into " a panic, and have his mind intirely occupied by the frightful idea of the havock " lately made in his family." Notwithstanding which suggestions, they were perfectly sensible of the great loss they had sustained, and of the fatal influence the reduction of so important a fortress must necessarily have upon their affairs. The polite ^f as well as generous treatment the wife of *Mandonius*, brother to *Indibilis*, regulus of the *Ilergetes*, all the daughters of *Indibilis*, those of the principal *Spanish* nobility, a young lady of most attractive charms betrothed to *Allucius*, prince of the *Celtiberians*, and *Allucius* himself, met with from *Scipio*, will more naturally fall under our observ-

* POLYB. l. x. sub init. LIV. ubi sup. c. 43. & seq. APPIAN. in Iberic. FLOR. l. ii. c. 6. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 15. S. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. l. iii. c. 9. ex. 1. SIL. ITAL. l. xv. OROS. l. iv. c. 18. ZONAR. ubi sup. c. 8. Vide SERV. in Virg. ÆD. 1. & Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 731. ut & SILEN. & VALER. ANT. apud Liv. ubi supra.

a ation, when we come to the history of *Spain*; for which reason we shall content ourselves with having barely mentioned it in this place ^P.

Marcellus, after the taking of *Salapia*, advancing into *Samnium*, made himself master of *Maronea* and *Mela*, two cities of that country, by assault. Three thousand Carthaginian soldiers, left there by *Hannibal*, were all either killed or taken prisoners. Two hundred and forty thousand bushels of wheat, together with an hundred and ten thousand of barley, and some plunder, that the troops partook of, were found in those fortresses; but this could by no means be deemed a sufficient compensation for the great defeat *Hannibal* gave the proconsul *Cn. Fulvius* at *Herdonea* about the same time. The Roman general, being apprised, that the citizens of *Herdonea* shewed a disposition to abandon the Carthaginian interest; moved that way, to encourage them to declare themselves. *Hannibal*, by his spies, receiving intelligence of this motion, as well as the reason of it, advanced likewise into the neighbourhood of that city, with such celerity, that *Fulvius* had no notice of his approach. However, upon *Hannibal*'s offering battle to the Romans, an engagement ensued, wherein the legionaries behaved with great bravery, till the Carthaginian found means to surround them with his horse. Then they were soon thrown into confusion, and driven out of the field, with the loss of thirteen thousand men, the rest flying to *Marcellus* in *Samnium* by different routes. After this victory, *Hannibal* burnt the city of *Herdonea*; put to death as many of the nobility, who had kept a secret correspondence with *Fulvius*, as he could discover, and transplanted the body of the citizens to *Metapontum* and *Thurii*. Upon the first news of *Fulvius*'s overthrow, *Marcellus* moved out of *Samnium* into *Lucania*, to give a check to the progress of the Carthaginian arms, and came up with *Hannibal* near the town of *Numistro*. Both sides immediately shewed a disposition to fight, and drew up their armies in order of battle without delay. *Hannibal* posted his right wing on an eminence, and *Marcellus* his left close by the town. The action was very sharp, but not decisive, the night obliging both sides to retire. *Hannibal*, not judging it expedient to renew the attack the next morning, decamped in the night, bending his march for *Venusia*; where, in a few days, the Roman army arrived. Some slight skirmishes happened here betwixt the advanced guards of both parties; but nothing of moment was undertaken by either of the generals, they being wholly employed in watching one another's motions. A conspiracy, formed against the Roman troops in *Capua*, being detected; the conspirators received condign punishment. *Syphax*, about this time, sent an embassy to *Rome*, notifying to the senate certain advantages he had lately gained over the Carthaginians, with a declaration, that no power was considered by him in a more hostile light, than the state of *Carthage*, nor in a more friendly one, than that of *Rome*. Towards the close of this campaign, *Hamilcar*, with a Carthaginian squadron, consisting of forty galleys, hovered about the coasts of *Sardinia*, and, not meeting with any Roman fleet to oppose him, ravaged all the country about *Olbia* and *Caralis*. The Sicilian banditti above-mentioned, about this time, did not only destroy with fire and sword a good part of *Brutium*, but likewise laid siege to the city of *Caulonia* ^q.

Hannibal, having taken up his winter-quarters near *Canusium*, used all possible means to excite the people of that city to a revolt from the Romans; which reaching the ears of *Marcellus*, he advanced to *Canusium*, encamped over-against *Hannibal*, and soon found means to draw him to a battle. The contending armies, being separated by the night, at first parted upon equal terms; but the next day, the encounter being renewed, *Hannibal* worsted the Romans. This extremely chagrined *Marcellus*, who hitherto had never received any disgrace from the Carthaginians; but now, besides the field of battle, lost near three thousand men, amongst whom were four centurions, and two military tribunes, together with six standards, that were taken by the enemy. Being therefore filled with indignation and resentment, he resolved to venture another engagement with *Hannibal*, who, on his part, seemed determined not to decline the challenge. *Marcellus* posted the left wing, and those cohorts, that, in the last action, had lost their colours, in front; the twentieth legion he placed to the right; and appointed *Cornelius Lentulus* and *C. Claudius Nero* to command both wings, whilst the main body was committed to his conduct. *Hannibal* posted the Spaniards in front, and disposed his other forces in the usual manner. The fight

^P POLYB. LIV. & APPIAN. ubi sup.
PLUT. in Marcel. OROS. l. iv. c. 18.

^q POLYB. l. x. LIV. l. xxvii. sub ipit. APPIAN. in Hannib.

was obstinate and bloody; the *Carthaginian* elephants overthrowing many of the *Roman* a standards, breaking the enemy's ranks, and treading under foot such a number of them, that their army must have been absolutely ruined, had not *Decimus Flavius*, a military tribune, advanced boldly against them, at the head of a party of dart-men, who wounding most of those huge animals by a shower of their *pila* discharged upon them, they turned upon their own men with such fury, that they were thrown into disorder; which enabled the *Romans* to drive *Hannibal* to his camp, after they had laid eight thousand *Carthaginians* dead upon the spot. *Marcellus* however lost above three thousand men in the action, and had almost all the rest wounded; inso-much that he found himself not capable of pursuing *Hannibal*, when his spies informed him, that he was retreating into *Brutium*. During these transactions, the *Hirpini*, b *Lucani*, and *Volscentes*, submitted to the consul *Fulvius*, delivering all the troops *Hannibal* had left in their cities for garrisons, into his hands. *Paſſius* and *Vitius* likewise, two of the principal noblemen amongst the *Brutii*, endeavoured to procure for their countrymen the same terms, that had been granted to their neighbours. *Q. Fabius*, the other consul, about the same time, took by storm *Manduria*, a city of the *Salentines*, making four thousand men therein prisoners of war. After this instance of success, *Fabius* sat down before *Tarentum*. As the *Carthaginians* had then no fleet in those seas, having sent all their galleys to the island *Corcyra*, in order to assist king *Philip*, then at war with the *Ætolians*, he found no difficulty in making his approaches by sea as well as by land. Whilst these things happened, *Hannibal* c advanced with a strong body of troops to *Caulonia*; which obliged the *Sicilian* forces above-mentioned to retire to an eminence at some distance from that town.

*Fabius takes
Tarentum.*

Fabius had no occasion to push on long the siege of *Tarentum*. An accident, that could not be foreseen, threw that place into his hands. It happened, that the commandant of the *Brutian* garrison, which *Hannibal* left for the defence of that place, fell desperately in love with a girl, whose brother was a soldier in the *Roman* army. This person being informed by his sister, in a letter, of the great interest she had with the commandant, he immediately communicated the matter to *Fabius*, who ordered him to go into the city as a deserter, and to try whether he could not, by his sister's influence, prevail upon her gallant to introduce the *Romans* into the town. d This was happily effected, without any great effusion of blood, since the *Tarentines* found themselves not able to make head against the *Romans*, after the *Brutians* had deserted them. *Nicox* and *Democrates*, two of the *Tarentine* leaders, died gloriously, on the bed of honour, fighting for the liberties of their country; and *Philomenes*, by whose agency *Tarentum* had been betrayed to *Hannibal*, was supposed to have thrown himself headlong from off his horse into a well, after the end of the action. *Carthalo*, who commanded the body of native *Carthaginians* in the place, was put to the sword, together with a good number of his men, as well as the greatest part of the *Tarentines*, and many even of the *Brutians* themselves, who, one would have thought, had merited better treatment. All authors agree, that the plunder taken here e was immense, and even equal to what *Marcellus* found in *Syracuse*. The number of slaves made prisoners amounted to thirty thousand. *Fabius* took care to dismantle *Tarentum*, and to demolish the wall, that separated the town from the citadel. About this time *Hannibal*, having, for a considerable term, surrounded the body of *Sicilian* banditti posted on the eminence near *Caulonia* above-mentioned, forced them to surrender at discretion.

*Asdrubal de-
feated by Sci-
pio in Spain.*

THE *Carthaginians* had this year three armies in *Spain*, commanded by three of their best generals, viz. *Asdrubal* the son of *Hamilcar*, *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, and *Mago*. *Edeco*, or *Edeſco*, a general of great fame amongst the *Spaniards*, abandoning the *Carthaginian* interest about the beginning of the summer, came over to *Scipio*. f His wife and children had been, for some time, in the *Roman* camp; but a regard to their safety did not so much induce him to act the part he had done, according to *Livy*, as that sincere affection for the *Romans*, with which *Scipio* had inspired all the *Spaniards*, by his great humanity, politeness, and condescension. *Indibilis*, *Mandonius*, and most of the other *Spanish* reguli, charmed with the same amiable qualities, joined *Scipio* with all their forces. By this accession of strength, that general found himself enabled to hazard an engagement with *Asdrubal* the son of *Hamilcar*, who lay encamped near the city of *Batula*, or, as *Polybius* calls it, *Bæcula*. *Scipio*

* POLYB. LIV. APPIAN. ZONAR. ubi sup.
ubi supra.

* Ibidem ibid. PLUT. in Fab. EUTROP. OROS. ZONAR.

a was impatient of delay, as fearing the junction of *Asdrubal* and his colleagues. The *Carthaginian* discovered the same eagerness for a battle on his part, as finding the *Roman* army to be daily reinforced by the accession of *Spanish* troops, and his own diminished in proportion, by the continual desertion of those troops. *Scipio*, upon his approach towards the *Carthaginian* camp, detached some parties of his *velites* to reconnoitre the enemy, who, having fallen in with some of their advanced guards, defeated them, pursued them to their camp, and then returned, without any loss, to their own army. Animated by this event, *Scipio*, the next day, attacked the *Carthaginians*, though *Asdrubal* had taken care to post himself upon an eminence in the midst of a plain, surrounded so by a river, as to form a peninsula, the preceding night, in a most advantageous manner. The *Carthaginians*, for some time, defended themselves with great bravery; but were at last totally routed, and forced to fly, according to *Livy*, with the loss of eight thousand men killed upon the spot, besides ten thousand foot, and two thousand horse, taken prisoners; though the same most consistent historian had just before informed us, that their retreat was cut off in such a manner, that it was impossible for any of them to escape. This blow, next to the bravery of the *Roman* troops, may be attributed to the violence of the *Carthaginian* elephants, which, being galled by the enemy's *pila*, recoiled upon the forces with which they were intermixed, and struck them with as much terror, as did the *Romans*. *Scipio* gave the *Carthaginian* camp up to his soldiers to be plundered, and released all the *Spanish* prisoners found there without ransom; but ordered the *Africans* to be sold for slaves. *Asdrubal*, rallying the remains of his shattered army, pursued his march towards the *Pyrenees*, having sent his elephants that way before the beginning of the engagement. The *Spanish* princes, who had entered into an alliance with *Scipio*, received considerable presents, for their gallant behaviour in the late battle; *Indibilis* in particular being ordered by the *Roman* general to pick three hundred horses out of those taken from the enemy, for his own use. Notwithstanding the glorious victory *Scipio* had gained, he thought proper to retire from *Betula*, and the *Saltus Castulonensis*; which gave the other two *Carthaginian* commanders an opportunity of joining *Asdrubal*. At a consultation held for that purpose, each of these generals had his particular province assigned him. *Asdrubal*, the son of *Hamilcar*, was to march into *Italy*, to assist *Hannibal*, with all the *Spanish* forces he could draw together; *Asdrubal*, the son of *Gisco*, was to take upon himself the command of the corps lately committed to *Mago's* conduct, and to retire into *Lusitania*; but industriously to avoid an engagement; and *Mago* was sent to the *Balearic* islands, with a large sum of money, to make new levies there. *Massinissa* had likewise a choice detachment of three thousand horse, being the flower of the cavalry, assigned him, in order to support the *Carthaginian* allies in *Hispania Citerior*, as well as to destroy the enemy's country there with fire and sword. As *Scipio*, by his generous and affable deportment, seemed to be in a fair way of winning the hearts of all the *Spaniards*, it was judged necessary to make these dispositions, that the *Spanish* soldiery, in the *Carthaginian* service, might be drawn immediately either into *Gaul*, or the remotest part of *Spain*, where the *Romans* had not, as yet, got any footing. This, it was hoped, would put an effectual stop to that general desertion, which then prevailed amongst those troops.

f ALL persons of penetration and attention, upon their perusal of the above account, will be naturally inclined to inquire, how it was possible for *Asdrubal* to have sent all the elephants away, with the train that attended them, towards the *Pyrenees*, if many of them remained in his camp, and occasioned a greater carnage amongst his troops there, upon the *Romans* forcing it; how these troops should have been hemmed in, and so surrounded on all sides, by a victorious enemy, that their retreat was intirely cut off, and yet that many of them, nay, the greatest part of them, should have made their escape; how *Asdrubal's* army should have been intirely ruined, and yet that *Scipio*, immediately after the action, should have been obliged to retire to *Tarraco*, which enabled the other two *Carthaginian* generals to join *Asdrubal*, and concert with him the operations of the remaining part of the campaign, which the *Romans*, above all things, ought to have prevented; lastly, what were the happy consequences of this defeat, which *Scipio* is said to have given the *Carthaginians*. In short, from the above-recited particulars, it appears, that, to use Sir

¹ POLYB. l. x. LIV. ubi sup. c. 19—23. APPIAN. in Iberic.

Walter Raleigh's witty expression, the Romans beat *Asdrubal* out of *Spain* into *Italy*, a there to join *Hannibal* with the most numerous *Carthaginian* army, that ever appeared in that country, (for so *Livy* represents it) had not a disaster prevented that junction. If *Polybius* countenanced such relations as these in any manner, (and even that most incomparable historian is not absolutely void of weakness and partiality) he is so far to be censured. But to proceed :

A party of Numidians cut off the famous Marcellus, and in per's the escorte that attended him.

THE next year, being the eleventh of the second *Punic* war, the *Carthaginians* threatened to ravage the coasts of *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*, with a fleet of above two hundred sail ; of which *Scipio* being apprised, he detached fifty galleys to cruise off the ports of *Sardinia*, and protect that island from all insults of the enemy. The consul *T. Quinctius Crispinus* sent for a large train of battering engines from *Sicily*, intending soon to form the siege of *Locri*, his fleet having already blocked that city up on the sea-side. But he laid aside that design on *Hannibal's* approach [to *Lacinium*, and on receiving advice, that his colleague *Marcellus* had drawn his forces from *Venusia*, in order to join him. *Hannibal*, being apprised, that both the consuls were encamped within three miles of one another, betwixt *Bantia* and *Venusia*, moved that way, pitching his tents at a small distance from them. Notwithstanding the summer was far advanced, the consuls wrote to *L. Cincius*, ordering him to come with a fleet from *Sicily* to *Locri*, a body of Romans from *Tarentum* being commanded to invest that city by land at the same time. This being discovered to *Hannibal* by some *Thurians*, he placed an ambuscade for that corps ; into which having drawn them, he put two thousand of them to the sword, took twelve hundred prisoners, and dispersed the rest. He afterwards decoyed the two consuls into another ambuscade of *Numidian* horse, together with *M. Marcellus*, son to one of them, and *A. Manlius*, both of them legionary tribunes, attended only by an escorte of two hundred and twenty horse, of which forty were *Fregellani*, and the rest *Etruscans*. The brave *Marcellus*, one of them, who had acquired such renown by the several advantages he got over *Hannibal*, lost his life, through the cowardice of the *Etruscans*, who fled at the first onset. But *Crispinus*, his colleague, with the two tribunes above-mentioned, *L. Arennius*, *M. Aulus*, two prefects of the Roman allies, and others, by their own bravery, and that of the *Fregellani*, made their escape in the manner we have already related ^a.

Hannibal obliges the Romans to raise the siege of Locri.

Mago, the *Carthaginian* commandant at *Locri*, found himself so pressed by *Cincius*, that he was upon the point of surrendering ; but receiving advice of the blow *Hannibal* had given the Romans, by the slaughter of *Marcellus*, he resolved to defend the place to the last drop of blood. Soon after, an express arrived from *Hannibal*, with an account, that the *Numidian* cavalry had already begun their march for *Locri* ; and that he himself, with the gross of the army, would follow them with all possible expedition. Upon the first appearance of the *Numidians*, *Mago* made a sally with his whole force upon the besiegers, and, after an obstinate dispute, the *Numidians* coming up in the nick of time, forced them to abandon their works, and leave all their battering engines, and other military machines, behind them ; so that *Hannibal*, upon his arrival at *Locri*, found no enemy to oppose him there. About this time, *Valerius*, the Roman admiral, after having ravaged the coast of *Africa*, attacked a *Carthaginian* squadron of eighty-three galleys off of *Capua*. The *Carthaginians*, not being able to withstand the efforts of the Romans, were soon obliged to sheer off, with the loss of eighteen ships ; which *Valerius* carried off in triumph. From thence steering for *Sicily*, he arrived in a short time, with an immense booty, at *Lilybæum* ^w.

The Carthaginians are guilty of a breach of faith with regard to Philip king of Macedon.

THOUGH the *Carthaginians* had lately sent a fleet to assist *Philip* against the Romans and *Ætolians*, which, in all probability, was at this time either cruising off of the island *Corcyra*, or riding at anchor in the port there, yet we do not find, that this fleet did any important service to that prince. It neither protected his coasts from the insults of the Roman and *Ætolian* privateers, nor enabled him to transport any forces to *Italy*, or any other country, that it might have been his interest to have invaded. The *Carthaginians* therefore by no means observed the treaty of alliance they had entered into with that prince ; which doubtless incensed him to such a degree, that he, for the future, broke off all correspondence with them. Be that as it will, it is certain he not only made a peace with the Romans exclusive of them,

^a POLYB. ubi sup. LIV. l. xxvii. c. 23—30. PLUT. in Marcel. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 16, 17. SEX. AUREL. VICT. in Marcel. VALER. MAX. l. v. c. 1. ^w LIV. ubi sup. PLUT.

a which was an apparent infraction of the late treaty, provided they had paid any regard to it, but likewise left them to cope with the Romans alone, both before and after his accommodation with that people; which was also contrary to the late treaty, upon the aforesaid supposition. But as the discussion of this point belongs more properly to the history of *Macedon*, we shall at present pass by every thing farther relating to it, and proceed to the *Carthaginian* affairs in *Italy* ¹.

Asdrubal, as we have lately observed, being obliged to abandon his camp near *Batula*, had afterwards a conference with the other two *Carthaginian* generals, wherein the operations of the campaign were settled. In pursuance of the plan then formed, *Asdrubal* advanced towards the *Pyrenees*, at the head of the forces assigned him, with all possible expedition. The *Pyrenees*, as far as we can collect from history, he crossed, without any great difficulty, though, if *Livy* may be credited, *Scipio* had detached a body of troops to dispute the passage of that ridge of mountains with him. As the silver-mines (Q) near *Batula* had supplied him with a very considerable quantity of treasure, upon his arrival in *Gaul*, he not only prevailed upon the *Gauls* to grant him a passage through their territories, but likewise to furnish him with a proper number of recruits. The *Ligurians* received him in the same manner, as would also the *Etruscans*, could he have advanced to their frontiers. *Asdrubal* therefore, meeting with as little opposition, and as many favourable circumstances, to facilitate and expedite his march, as he could hope for, arrived at *Placentia* sooner than either the *Romans*, or even his brother *Hannibal* himself, expected. But sitting down before this place, contrary to the rules of sound policy, and continuing the siege of it, he gave the *Romans* an opportunity of assembling all their forces to attack him, and at the same time, by his too great security, as well as the enterprize he had undertaken, prevented *Hannibal* from joining him, as he had proposed to do, upon the first news of his having passed the *Alps*. This indolence of *Hannibal* proceeded from a notion, that *Placentia* would not be soon reduced, and that therefore, though they should unite their forces, they could not speedily enter upon any military operation. Thus *Asdrubal* not only lost all the advantages he might have reaped from the friendship of the *Arverni*, and other *Gallie* nations, who had so greatly expedited his passage to *Italy*, by this single step, but likewise totally ruined the *Carthaginian* affairs in that country, as will soon most evidently appear ².

As soon as *Hannibal* moved out of his winter-quarters, he ordered a body of troops to march into the country of the *Salentines*, with an intention to ravage it, before the consul *Claudius* could take the field; but this was prevented by the conduct and bravery of *C. Hostilius Tubulus*, who attacked the *Carthaginians* with a body of light-armed troops, and intirely defeated them, killing four thousand of their men upon the spot. After this disaster, *Hannibal* retired into *Brutium*, to prevent his being hemmed in by the enemy, who began now to advance against him from several parts. In the mean time *Tubulus*, with his forces, joined the consular army under *Claudius* at *Venusia*. *Hannibal*, having drawn all his garrisons out of *Brutium*, and by this means reinforced his army, marched to *Grumentum* in *Lucania*, in order to recover some towns, that, through fear, had revolted to the *Romans*. As, immediately after the late junction, *Claudius* had sent a detachment, under the command of *Tubulus*, to reinforce the proconsul *Fulvius* at *Capua*, and, with the remaining corps, consisting of forty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, had himself gone in quest of *Hannibal*, he arrived at *Grumentum* soon after the *Carthaginian*, and encamped within five hundred paces of him. *Claudius*, by the stratagem formerly mentioned, and the bravery of *C. Aurunculeius*, tribune of the third legion, gave *Hannibal* another defeat here, cutting off eight thousand of his men, and taking seven

¹ POLYB. & LIV. ubi sup.

² LIV. ubi sup. c. 41—43.

(Q) *Polybius* tells us, that, near *New Carthage*, there was a silver mine so rich, that the *Carthaginians* extracted out of it every day twenty-five thousand drachms of silver. *Alester*, the discoverer of this mine, was, according to the same author, deified by the *Spaniards* after his death, for the service he thereby did his country. *Aristotle* and *Posidonius* intimate, that *Spain*, in the most early ages, abounded

with silver; insomuch that the *Phœnicians* exported vast quantities of that metal from thence, which they purchased for oil, and other trifles; nay, the first author assures us, that the *Phœnicians*, by this means, had not only immense quantities of plate, but that even the very anchors of their ships were made of silver. But of this more, when we come to the history of *Spain* (23).

(23) *Polyb. l. x. c. 10. Posidon. apud Diodor. Sic. l. v. Aristot. in mirab. auscult.*

hundred prisoners. Four elephants were likewise killed, and two taken, in the action. Nine military ensigns, and some plunder, also fell into the hands of the Romans, who, according to Livy, lost only two hundred men on this occasion. Hannibal, soon after this blow, decamped in the night, and, by leaving a few Numidian horse in his intrenchments to amuse the enemy, made good his retreat to Venusia; but here the consul came up again with him. At this place, in another rencounter, the Carthaginians lost two thousand men; upon which Hannibal retired, with great precipitation, to Metapontum, where he was joined by Hanno, and from thence made the best of his way to Canusium.

The consul
Claudius
moves towards
his colleague.

DURING these transactions, Asdrubal, being obliged to raise the siege of Placentia, began his march for Umbria. Of this the consul Claudius being informed by a letter, sent from that general to his brother Hannibal, which was intercepted near Tarentum, he put himself at the head of a detachment of seven thousand men, the very flower of his troops, and posted with incredible celerity to join his colleague Livius. Though no general was allowed to leave his own province, to go into that of another, by the Roman laws; yet in a conjuncture of so delicate and important a nature as this, when the safety, and even the very being, of Rome lay at stake, he thought himself at liberty to dispense with the established rules of war, for the welfare of his country. He had no sooner received the letter above-mentioned from L. Virginus, a legionary tribune, who had escorted the Carthaginian couriers with a Samnite detachment to him, and read it, than he sent it to the senate, at the same time dispatching his orders to the Larinates, Marrucini, Frentani, Pratutiani, &c. through whose territories he was to pass, to provide a sufficient quantity of provisions and carriages for his troops, that he might pursue his march without the least interruption. As nothing could save Rome, after the junction of the two Carthaginian armies, in order to prevent this, he judged it proper to strike such a bold and unexpected blow, as would terrify the enemy; which, he imagined, might be done, could he and his colleague vigorously charge Asdrubal with their united forces. This reflection determined him to make the movement mentioned here, after having left the command of the troops in the camp to Q. Cadius, one of his lieutenants.

And joins him.

Claudius gave not the least hint of his design to any of his officers, till he was got at such a distance from Hannibal, that the communication of it to the troops could not be of any ill consequence to him. He then only in general told them, "That he was leading them to certain victory; that his colleague wanted a reinforcement; that in war all depended upon reputation; that the bare rumour of their arrival would disconcert all the measures of the Carthaginians; and that the whole honour of this battle would fall to them." He marched with such expedition, that in six days he arrived at Sena, where Livius lay encamped within half a mile of the Carthaginians. Soon after his arrival, Asdrubal, taking a view of the Roman army, discovered several shields of an ancient make, that he had never seen before, many thin, lean horses, which had been greatly fatigued, and that the Roman army was apparently more numerous than the day before. By these, and several other circumstances, that able general suspected Claudius to have joined his colleague with a body of troops. This threw him into a sort of melancholy, as imagining, that Hannibal had been overthrown, and consequently that he came too late to support him.

The Romans
defeat Asdrubal upon the
banks of the
Metaurus.

BEFORE the arrival of Claudius, the prætor L. Portius Licinus was encamped, with some forces, at a small distance from the consul Livius. Immediately after that important event, a council of war was held, in which the three commanders presided. Livius gave his opinion, that an action, for some days, should be deferred, that Claudius's troops might have time to refresh themselves, after so tedious and fatiguing a march. Claudius himself entertained different sentiments, imagining, that nothing could prove more fatal to the republic, than the least delay to give the enemy battle at this critical juncture. His advice was complied with, and the signal of battle accordingly given. However, Asdrubal, under the apprehensions above-mentioned, caused a retreat to be sounded, and his army began to march in great disorder. Night overtaking him, and his guides deserting him, he was uncertain what way to go. He marched at random along the banks of the Metaurus, now the Metaro, and was preparing to cross it, when the united forces of the enemy came up with him. In this extremity, he saw it would be impossible for him to avoid coming to an engagement,

* Idem ibid. c. 43—45.

* POLYB. l. xi. sub init. LIV. ubi sup. c. 45—49. S. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. l. i. c. 1. ex. 9.

* Idem ibid. S. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. l. i. c. 2. ex. 9.

a and therefore did all things, which could be expected from the presence of mind and courage of a consummate warrior. He seized an advantageous post, and drew up his forces on a narrow spot, which gave him an opportunity of posting his left wing, composed of *Gauls*, and the weakest part of his army, in such a manner, that it neither could be attacked in front, nor charged in flank; and of giving his main battle, and right wing, consisting of *Spaniards*, all veteran troops, a greater depth than front. After this hasty disposition of his forces, he posted himself in the centre, and first moved to attack the enemy's left wing, commanded by the consul *Livius*, well knowing, that all was at stake, and that he must either conquer or die. The battle lasted a long time, and was obstinately disputed by both parties. *Asdrubal* b especially signalized himself in this engagement, and quite completed the glory he had acquired by a series of shining actions. He led on his soldiers, who were trembling, and quite despirited, against an enemy superior to them both in numbers and resolution. He animated them by his words, supported them by his example, and, with intreaties and menaces intermixed, endeavoured to bring back those who fled; till at last, seeing that victory declared for the *Romans*, and being unable to survive the loss of so many thousand men, who had quitted their country to follow his fortune, he rushed at once into the midst of a *Roman* cohort, and there died in a manner worthy the son of *Hamilcar*, and brother of *Hannibal* c.

c THIS victory, which *Livy* makes equal to that of *Cannæ*, was almost intirely owing to the bravery and activity of *Claudius*. That general flew like lightning from one part of the army to another, insomuch that he seemed to be in all places at once. Observing that the enemy's right wing, composed of *Spaniards* and *Ligurians*, the flower of *Asdrubal's* troops, charged the left of the *Romans* with such resolution, that fortune seemed to be on the point of declaring for the *Carthaginians* there, and that the enemy's elephants, after having thrown the *Roman* vanguard into confusion, and overturned the standards there, occupied the void space betwixt the two armies in such a manner, that it was difficult to discover to what party they belonged, their guides now not being capable of governing them, he cried out to his men in an angry tone, *To what purpose then have we made so long a march with such expedition?* d and immediately made an effort to possess himself of an eminence, that covered the *Gauls*, in order to penetrate to the enemy on that side; but, finding this impossible, he drew out a detachment of some cohorts from the right wing, with which wheeling about, in order to sustain *Livius*, he charged the *Spaniards* and *Ligurians* in front, in flank, and in rear, almost at the same time. This changed the face of affairs, especially as such an attack was unexpected, and made with the utmost fury. The *Spaniards* and *Ligurians* therefore, not being able to sustain so violent a shock, were soon put to the rout, and almost all cut to pieces; after which the *Gauls* were, for the most part, massacred without opposition. The leaders themselves destroyed most of the elephants, to prevent the destruction they would have occasioned amongst e their own troops, upon whom they turned all their rage, after they were wounded by the enemy. According to *Livy*, fifty-six thousand of *Asdrubal's* men fell in this bloody action, and near six thousand were taken prisoners; though *Polybius* makes the whole loss of the *Carthaginians* not to have exceeded ten thousand men. Be that as it will, the *Romans* seemed to have been weary of killing, since when a person told *Livius*, after the battle, that it would be an easy matter to cut off a body of *Cisalpine Gauls* and *Ligurians*, who had either not been in the fight, or escaped out of it, then flying in great confusion, with a small detachment of horse, he answered, *It is fit that some should survive, to carry the enemy the news of their defeat, and our bravery.* *Livy* affirms, that the *Romans* carried off an immense quantity of gold and silver, f as well as plunder of other kinds; but *Polybius* is silent on that head. This action proved decisive, since we may justly esteem it to have determined the fate of *Italy*, as the battle of *Zama* a few years afterwards did that of *Africa* d.

Hannibal received no intelligence of this blow, till *Claudius* advertised him of it, by throwing his brother *Asdrubal's* head into his trenches, immediately after he arrived at the *Roman* camp near *Canusium*. This inhumanity was the more inexcuse-

The victory almost intirely owing to the conduct and bravery of *Claudius*.

The inhumanity of *Claudius* censured.

c Ibidem ibid. FLOR. ubi sup. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 18. SIL. ITAL. l. xv. APPIAN. in Hannib. SUTON. in Tiber. CIC. in BRUT. FLOR. l. ii. c. 6. CORN. NEP. in Hannib. SEX. AUREL. VICT. in Claud. & AID. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 1. HORAT. l. iv. od. 4. OROS. l. iv. c. 18. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 9. S. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. l. ii. c. 3. ex 8. d POLLEB. & LIV. ubi sup. S. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. l. iv. c. 7. ex. 15. VAL. MAX. l. iii. c. 7. ex 4.

able, as *Hannibal* had given the *Romans* recent instances of a generous and noble disposition, by treating with the utmost decency, not to say tenderness and respect, the bodies of *Gracchus* and *Marcellus*. That treatment, in our opinion, demonstrates the great humanity of *Hannibal*, if not of the *Carthaginians* in general, on such occasions; as the savage barbarity of *Claudius* does that of the *Romans*. As *Claudius* sent two captives in chains, which, one should have imagined, would have been mortifying enough, to inform *Hannibal* of his brother's fatal overthrow, nothing can equal, vindicate, or even palliate, the ferity of that barbarian. All the glory he had acquired by his late conduct in the battle of *Metaurus*, which certainly ought not to be denied him, served only to render him more hateful and detestable, since nothing can be more monstrous, than such a contrast of qualities in the same person. ^b That the fact, here alledged against him, was real, is allowed by the most prejudiced *Roman* historians themselves, who seem to relate it with pleasure, and thereby reflect an eternal dishonour both upon themselves and their republic, as intimating, that they were all pleased with it, and consequently of the same disposition with *Claudius*. The justness of this reflection is confirmed by the high encomium *Valerius Maximus* passes upon the noble and humane behaviour of *Hannibal* hinted at, which ought to be looked upon as a severe reprehension of the conduct of *Claudius*. In short, we think, a more lively instance of the *Roman* disposition at this juncture, with regard to humanity and greatness of soul, than that just hinted at, does not occur in history. It is pity but we had the *Carthaginian* annals for this particular period; they would doubtless have set the *Romans* in their true and proper light ^c.

Hannibal
greatly affected
at the news of
his brother's
defeat and
death.

THE melancholy news imparted to him by *Claudius*, filled *Hannibal* with horror and sadness. He perceived, by this cruel stroke, the fortune of *Carthage*: It is done, said he, according to *Horace*, in that beautiful ode, where this defeat is described, *I will no longer send triumphant messages to Carthage! In losing Asdrubal, I have lost at once all my hope, all my good fortune!* After this fatal event, *Hannibal* retired to the extremity of *Brutium*, where, assembling all his forces, he remained, for a considerable time, in a state of inaction, the *Romans* not daring to disturb him, so formidable did they deem him alone, though every thing about him went to wreck, and the *Carthaginian* affairs seemed not far from the verge of destruction. ^d *Livy* tells us, it was a difficult thing to determine, whether his conduct was more wonderful in prosperity or adversity. Notwithstanding which, *Brutium* being at best but a small province, and many of its inhabitants being either forced into the service, or forming themselves into parties of banditti, so that a great part of it remained uncultivated, he found it a difficult matter to subsist there, especially as no manner of supplies were sent him from *Carthage*. The people there were as solicitous of preserving their possessions in *Spain*, and as little concerned at the situation of affairs in *Italy*, as if *Hannibal* had met with an uninterrupted course of success, and not the least disaster had befallen them since his first arrival in that country ^e.

The Carthaginians
were worsted
in Spain.

AFTER *Asdrubal's* departure for *Italy*, *Hanno* was sent to succeed him in *Spain*. ^e The body of troops this general brought from *Africa*, in conjunction with that *Mago* commanded in *Celtiberia*, formed a considerable army. These forces encamped in *Celtiberia*, and at some distance from them, in the same province, nine thousand *Celtiberians* had posted themselves. *Scipio* sent a detachment of ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse, under the command of *M. Syllanus* the proprætor, to attack the enemy, if an opportunity offered. The proprætor, receiving ample intelligence of the situation and disposition of both camps from some *Celtiberian* deserters, who conducted him to that of their countrymen, was thereby enabled to gain a signal advantage over the enemy. He surprised the *Celtiberians*, being, for the most part, new-raised men, putting many of them to the sword, and obliging the rest to disperse in ^f the adjacent woods, from whence they retired to their respective habitations. *Hanno* and *Mago*, towards the end of the action, advancing to their relief, were likewise defeated, and *Hanno* taken prisoner. *Mago*, with the cavalry, and a good part of the veteran infantry, made his escape, and, ten days afterwards, joined *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*. These two commanders, with their united forces, continued, for some time, in the neighbourhood of *Gades* ^g.

^e POLYB. LIV. FLOR. VAL. MAX. ZONAR. &c. ubi sup. S. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. l. ii. c. 9. ex. 2. ^f POLYB. l. x. LIV. l. xxviii. c. 12. APPIAN. in Hannib. HUR. ubi sup. ^g LIV. l. xxviii. sub init. APPIAN. in Iberic. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 20. OROS. l. iv. c. 18.

- a ACCORDING to some authors, *Scipio*, being apprised of *Asdrubal's* march for *Italy*, The Carthaginian affairs go to decay in Spain. had before sent a considerable reinforcement to the consul *Livius*, to enable him to make head against the *Carthaginian* forces under *Asdrubal* and *Hannibal*, provided neither of the consular armies could hinder their junction. But the greatest part of the *Roman* historians have omitted this circumstance; which seems to invalidate the authority of those writers in this particular. Be that as it will, *Scipio* had no sooner received intelligence of the enemy's defeat in *Italy*, than he put himself in motion, and began to meditate the intire conquest of *Spain*. His brother, *L. Scipio*, being detached with a body of ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, to take the city of *Oringis*, on the confines of *Lower Bætica*, executed his orders with great bravery, making the *Carthaginian* garrison, and three hundred of the inhabitants, who shut the gates against him, prisoners of war, with the loss only of ninety men. *Livy* says, that the *Roman* detachment killed two thousand of the enemy in the attack; and that *Lucius*, in order to ingratiate himself with the *Spaniards*, left the citizens in possession of the town, and all their effects. The territory of *Oringis* was extremely fruitful, and abounded with silver-mines. In the city itself, *Asdrubal* had long had a good number of troops, who had not a little harassed the *Romans* and their allies, by their frequent incursions into the mediterranean parts of the country. The *Carthaginians* therefore sustained a considerable loss by the reduction of that place. *Scipio* is said to have complimented his brother highly upon this conquest, telling him, that it was equal to the taking of *New Carthage*. That general, finding the season far advanced, and that he could make no impression upon the province in which *Gades* was seated, since *Asdrubal* had placed numerous garrisons in all the fortresses there, suspended the military operations till the following spring. However, *M. Valerius Lævinus* the proconsul, who commanded in *Sicily*, committed great ravages on the coasts of *Africa*, where he made a descent about this time. Having destroyed with fire and sword all the country about *Carthage* and *Utica*, he returned to *Lilybæum*, defeating, in his passage, a *Carthaginian* squadron of seventy galleys. Of these he took seventeen, sunk four, and dispersed the rest. Thus were the *Romans* victorious every-where this campaign, the *Carthaginians* not being able to cope with them either by sea or land^b.

THE next year, *Hannibal* sent a detachment of *Numidians* to observe the motions of the *Roman* army, under the command of the consuls *Q. Cæcilius* and *L. Veturius*, Lucania submits to the Romans. in the territory of *Cosentia*. That detachment, falling in with one of the enemy's parties, which had been plundering the country, after a short dispute, routed it, and carried off the booty to *Hannibal's* camp. But this small advantage did not make amends for the loss of *Lucania*, which submitted to the *Romans*. Nothing further worth relating happened this campaign betwixt the forces of the two contending republics in *Italy*^c.

- THE *Carthaginian* generals, that commanded this year in *Spain*, were *Mago* the son of *Hamilcar*, and *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*. These two commanders, in the spring, moved from *Gades*, where, it is probable, they had fixed their winter-quarters, with an army of fifty, or, as others will have it, seventy thousand foot, and four thousand five hundred horse. Advancing with all expedition towards the *Romans*, whom they were determined to engage, they at last took post in the plains of *Silpia*, at no great distance from them. *Scipio*, being extremely alarmed at the approach of so formidable a power, dispatched in all haste *Syllanus* to *Colcas*, a neighbouring prince, who had promised *Scipio* a body of auxiliary troops, to inform him of the enemy's motions. In the mean time he drew his forces out of *Tarraco*, and, being joined by some of his allies, advanced to *Castulo*, where he was soon met by *Syllanus*, with a reinforcement of three thousand foot, and five hundred horse, from *Colcas*. From thence he marched to *Batula*, or *Bacula*, with an army of forty-five thousand strong. *Mago* and *Masinissa*, at the head of the *Carthaginian* cavalry, fell upon the *Romans* as they were encamping, and had put them into disorder, had not *Scipio* placed some troops of his horse in ambuscade behind an eminence, near the spot upon which he intended to encamp. These, falling out upon the *Carthaginians*, obliged them at first to retire with precipitation; but, being afterwards duly supported, so pushed them, that they betook themselves to a downright flight. The light-armed

^b Liv. ubi sup. c. 4. APPIAN. in Libyc. S. JUL. FRONTIN. Strat. l. i. c. 3. ex. 5. ^c Liv. ubi sup. c. 11.

troops on both sides, for some time after this, skirmished with one another; but ^a without any considerable loss. Both *Asdrubal* and *Scipio*, for several days together, drew their forces out of their lines, ranged in order of battle, though *Asdrubal* appeared first in the morning, and retired the last in the evening. At length *Scipio*, resolving to give the *Carthaginians* battle, ordered his men to refresh themselves before day-break; and then sent his horse and light-armed troops to brave the enemy. *Asdrubal* posted the *Spaniards* in the wings, the elephants in front, and the *Carthaginians*, intermixed with the other *Africans*, in the centre. After having made this disposition, he advanced towards the enemy, his cavalry in the mean time keeping their horse in play. *Scipio* took care to protract the fight till towards noon, imagining, that the *Carthaginians* must wax faint by that time, as being intirely void of ^b sustenance, and consequently that he should break them without much difficulty. Accordingly then ordering his wings to advance, he attacked *Asdrubal's* *Spanish* auxiliaries in front with the legionaries, and in flank at the same time with the *velites*, sustained by several cohorts, which were commanded to wheel about for that purpose. The *Spaniards*, after some resistance, were routed, the *Carthaginian* and *African* forces not being able to support them, since the *Spaniards*, that formed *Scipio's* main body, kept them in awe by moving towards them. The elephants, as had frequently happened of late, occasioned greater confusion in the *Carthaginian* army, than in that of the enemy. Notwithstanding therefore *Asdrubal* did his utmost to animate his men, they were defeated, and pursued by the *Romans* to their camp, ^c which had then been taken, had not a violent storm cooled the ardour of the victors, and put an end to the action ^k.

Masinissa
abandons the
Carthaginian
interest.

THE night after the battle, *Asdrubal* caused his camp to be strengthened by some additional works, as expecting the next day another visit from the enemy. In the mean time *Attanes*, regulus of the *Turdetani*, with a considerable body of troops, went over to the *Romans*. Many other reguli followed this example; and two fortresses of note surrendered to *Scipio*, who made their garrisons prisoners of war. As the victory lately gained by *Scipio* had intirely alienated the minds of the *Spaniards* from the *Carthaginians*, *Asdrubal* thought proper to abandon his camp, and retire with precipitation towards the ocean, though he had just before so fatigued his wearied ^d and hungry troops, in order to render his camp inaccessible to the enemy. *Scipio*, being informed of this, immediately detached his cavalry after the *Carthaginian* general, who so harassed him in his retreat, that the legionaries at last came up with him, and, after a faint resistance, put all his men, except seven thousand, to the sword. However these, with *Asdrubal* at their head, gained an advantageous post, where, for some time, they defended themselves, till at last *Asdrubal*, finding them to desert in great numbers, abandoned them, and made his escape to *Gades*. In the mean time *Syllanus*, whom *Scipio* had left, with a detachment of ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, to block up the enemy's troops in the post above-mentioned, found means to draw *Masinissa* their commander off from the *Carthaginian* ^e interest. This unexpected event proved the total ruin of the *Carthaginians* in those parts, as will hereafter more fully appear. *Mago*, after the example of *Asdrubal*, flying to *Gades*, the remainder of the *African* forces either gradually dispersed themselves in the neighbouring provinces, or deserted to the *Romans*. *Masinissa*, after his late conference with *Syllanus*, by the connivance of that general, passed over into *Africa*, with some of the leading men of the *Massyli*, in order to dispose that nation to second his views. However, this was done in such a manner, as not to give any umbrage to the *Carthaginians*, nor induce that crafty people to entertain the least suspicion of the measures he was going to pursue ^l.

Scipio brings
over *Syphax*
to the Roman
interest.

Masinissa, to serve more effectually the party he intended soon to declare himself ^f in favour of, made but a short stay in *Africa*. Having prevailed on his subjects to concur with him in the execution of the project he had formed, he hastened to *Gades*, to confer with *Mago* and *Asdrubal* about the future operations. *Syllanus* likewise retired with his body of forces to *Tarraco*, where *Scipio* had fixed his head quarters. *Scipio*, soon afterwards passing into *Africa* with two quinqueremes, persuaded *Syphax*, king of the *Massyli*, to abandon the *Carthaginians*, and enter into an alliance with

^k POLYB. l. xi. LIV. l. xxviii. c. 12—16. APPIAN. in Iberic. S. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. l. ii. c. 1. ex. 1. & l. ii. c. 3. ex. 4. aliq; auctor, sup. laudat. ^l LIV. ubi sup. c. 15, 16. POLYB. l. xi. c. 21. APPIAN. in Libyc. FLOR. l. ii. c. 6. sub fin. VALER. MAX. l. vi. c. 9. ex. 7. POLYÆN. strat. l. viii. c. 16. ex. 7. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 10.

- a** Rome. *Aldrubal* was then at *Syphax's* court, and did his utmost to traverse the negotiation carried on betwixt the two powers; but without effect. The three chief cities of *Spain*, besides *Gades*, in alliance with, or subject to, *Carthage*, were *Illiturgi*, *Castulo*, and *Astapa*. *Illiturgi* the Romans took by storm, levelled it with the ground, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. *Castulo*, in which was a *Carthaginian* garrison, composed of the fugitives, that escaped the carnages in the late defeats, was betrayed by one *Crdubellus* to *Marcus*, and *Himilco* the commandant, with his whole corps, made prisoners of war. *Marcus*, then passing the *Betis*, which the *Spaniards* called *Cirtius*, possessed himself of two opulent towns, which surrendered at his approach. From thence he advanced to *Astapa*, and, after a warm dispute, made himself master of it in the manner already related. In the mean time *Mago*, having received a reinforcement from *Africa*, as well as of some *Spanish* troops levied by *Hanno*, made the proper dispositions for carrying on the war with vigour, notwithstanding the melancholy situation of his affairs. A body of *Roman* forces, encamped upon the *Sucro*, during these transactions, mutinied, a report of *Scipio's* death, that was industriously propagated, occasioning that commotion; but the mutineers being, by a seasonable punishment of some of their ringleaders, brought back to a sense of their duty, *Marcus* attacked four thousand of the enemy encamped upon the *Betis*, under the command of *Hanno*, forced their camp, and either took or killed the greatest part of them. The engaging *Syphax* to confederate with the
- c** *Romans*, was a very considerable point gained, though this was not effected without some difficulty. *Scipio* first sent *Lælius*, with five quinquereines, to make proposals to that prince, which he ordered him to back with magnificent presents. *Lælius* executed his commission with great dexterity, putting *Syphax* in mind of the advantages he had reaped from a former alliance with the *Romans*. Notwithstanding which, *Scipio*, as we have just observed, found himself obliged to visit in person that prince's court, where, by his uncommon address, if we will believe *Livy*, he defeated the intrigues of *Aldrubal*, and put the last hand to the treaty ^m.

- Soon after the reduction of *Astapa*, some deserters arrived at *Gades* from *Scipio's* camp. These fugitives promised that general, not only to deliver the city, together
- d** with the *Carthaginian* garrison and commandant, into his hands, but likewise to make him master of the enemy's whole fleet riding at anchor in the harbour there. *Scipio* therefore detached *Lælius* with a body of light-armed troops, assisted by a naval force of one quinquereine, and seven triremes, to put the conspirators in motion. In the mean time the conspiracy being discovered to *Mago*, before it was ripe for execution, he took care to seize the principals of it, and sent them on board a quinquereine, in order to transport them to *Carthage*. *Aldrubal*, the *Carthaginian* admiral, ordered the captain of this vessel to precede the rest of the fleet, he himself following at a small distance with eight triremes. Upon his approach to *Carteia*, he descried *Lælius's* squadron coming out of that port. The *Carthaginian* could not, for some
- e** time, determine whether or no it would be proper for him to attack the *Romans*; but this state of suspense gave *Lælius* an opportunity of coming up with him, which obliged him to hazard an engagement; in which being worsted, he made the best of his way towards the coasts of *Africa*, with only five triremes. However, *Lælius* missed his aim, since *Mago* had taken care to give him a proper reception, if he advanced to *Gades*; of which being apprised by the prisoners, he returned to *Carteia*, from whence he dispatched an express to *Marcus*, who was moving with a powerful corps to support him, to inform him of what had happened. Both these commanders therefore, judging the siege of *Gades* too difficult an enterprize to be undertaken at present, laid aside that design, and, in a short time, rejoined *Scipio* at *New Carthage* ⁿ.

THE disappointment the *Romans* had met with in their design upon *Gades*, together with the rebellion of the *Ilergetes*, and revolt of the legions above-mentioned, gave *Mago* hopes, that he should still be in a condition to make head against the enemy. He therefore wrote to *Carthage* for a speedy reinforcement, assuring the senate, that, if they would be active and expeditious at this juncture, they might recover what they had lost in *Spain*. To excite them to make a vigorous effort, he greatly exaggerated the misfortunes of the *Romans*, giving a melancholy account of the dangers that threatened them. In the mean time *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, being

^m Idem ibid. Vide & *Liv* ubi sup. c. 17—31.

ⁿ *LIV. POLYB. & APPIAN.* ubi sup.

offended

offended at the *Romans*, for not ceding to them the countries they had conquered, ^a and encouraged by the report of *Scipio's* death, pillaged the territories of the *Sedetani* and *Suessetani*, allies of *Rome*. Hearing afterwards of *Scipio's* severity to the ring-leaders of the revolting legionaries, who were *Romans*, they concluded, that *Spanish* revoltors must be excluded all hopes of pardon. Animated therefore by despair, they assembled a numerous army of *Celtiberians*, and advanced against *Scipio*. That general, moving at the head of his forces with great celerity towards them, at last found them posted in a plain, surrounded on all sides by mountains, and scarce capable of containing such a number of men. Having secured the defile leading into this valley, he detached *Lælius*, with the cavalry, to take a compass round the hills, and attack the enemy in rear, whilst he charged them in front with the legionaries. ^b This disposition being made, *Scipio* attacked the *reguli*, and gave them a total overthrow, putting almost their whole army to the sword. What became of them afterwards, our readers will find in a former part of this history ^c.

*Scipio holds a
conference with
Mafiniffa.*

THOUGH *Syllanus* and *Mafiniffa* had settled the preliminaries, yet, by several intervening accidents, the conclusion of a treaty betwixt the *Numidian* and the *Romans*, was deferred to this time. The chief obstacle to the signing of it was, that *Mafiniffa* could find no opportunity of having an interview with *Scipio*, which he ardently desired. *Scipio*, being informed of this, and that *Mafiniffa* was at *Gades*, took a journey thither, with a good escorte, purely out of a desire to have a conference with him. *Mafiniffa*, receiving intelligence of this from *Marcus*, prevailed ^c upon *Mago* to send him, with a detachment from the island of *Gades*, to ravage the neighbouring part of the continent; which enabled him to confer with *Scipio*. At their first interview, *Mafiniffa* told the *Roman* general, "That, from the time he
" had so generously and politely released his nephew, for which he was greatly
" obliged to him, he had conceived a sincere affection for him; that, ever since, he
" had wished for an opportunity of expressing his high regard for the people of
" *Rome*, which now the gods had blessed him with; that no foreigner could be more
" closely attached to them than he was; and that though he could not give sufficient
" proofs of this in *Spain*, where he was a stranger, yet if the *Romans* would transfer
" the war to *Africa*, where he had some interest, he would convince them of the ^d
" purity of his intentions, and at the same time answer for the success of the expedi-
" tion." Every thing being afterwards settled to the mutual satisfaction of both parties, *Mafiniffa*, in order to blind *Asdrubal*, plundered some part of the adjacent country, and then returned to *Gades*.

*Gades surren-
ders to the
Romans.*

THE *Carthaginians*, being disappointed in the diversion they expected from the mutiny of the legionaries, and the rebellion of the *Spaniards*, ordered *Mago* to abandon *Spain*, and sail with all possible expedition to *Italy*. That he might be enabled the more effectually to succour *Hannibal*, he received a large sum of money to make levies in *Gaul* and *Liguria*. Before he left *Gades*, he did not only oblige the citizens to bring all their gold and silver to him, but plundered all their temples. In his ^e passage to *Italy*, he made an attempt upon *New Carthage*; but was repulsed with great loss. From thence he sailed to the island *Pityusa*, where he met with a kind reception, receiving a plentiful supply of provisions, and a good number of recruits. Then he steered his course to the largest of the *Balearic* islands, that had a commodious haven; where endeavouring to put in, he was attacked by the natives in so violent a manner with their slings, that he found himself obliged to sheer off with considerable loss. However, proceeding to the lesser one near it, that was extremely fertile, tho' not so populous and powerful as the other, he entered the port, landed his men, encamped in a place of great strength, and possessed himself of the whole island without opposition. As the season was far advanced, he wintered here; to which he ^f was the more strongly induced by the good disposition of the natives, who expressed all imaginable zeal and affection for the *Carthaginians*, supplying him, during his stay amongst them, with a body of two thousand men. We must not omit observing, that the people of *Gades* shut their gates upon *Mago* after his repulse at *New Carthage*; for which affront he whipped and crucified their suffetes, who were sent to excuse that conduct to him; nor that they surrendered to the *Romans* soon after he had abandoned them ^g.

^a Idem ibid. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 10. Vide & Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 738, & seq. ^b Liv. POLYB.

APPIAN. ZONAR. ubi sup.

^c Liv. ubi sup. c. 36, 37. & ZONAR. l. ix. c. 10.

^d Liv. POLYB.

- a THE next summer, *Mago*, landing in *Liguria* with an army of twelve thousand foot, and two thousand horse, surprised *Genoa*. From thence he sailed to the coasts of the *Ligures Alpini*, to try whether he could not raise some commotions amongst them. The *Ingauni*, one of their cantons, were then at war with the *Epanterii*, a sort of highlanders, who likewise belonged to them. This gave *Mago* an opportunity of seizing upon the town and port of *Savo*, and stationing ten of his long ships there. The rest of his fleet he sent to *Carthage*, upon a rumour, that *Scipio* was going to transport a body of troops to *Africa*, in order to attack that capital. Then he joined the *Ingauni*, whose friendship he preferred to that of the other contending party; and, in concert with them, made the necessary dispositions for invading the common enemy. As his army soon grew very numerous by the accession of a strong body of *Gauls* and *Ligurians*, the *Romans* were greatly alarmed, and made the motions already mentioned. About this time, *Cn. Octavius*, who commanded in *Sardinia*, took eighty *Carthaginian* transports, laden with corn, and other provisions, for *Hannibal*, as *Cælius* will have it, or with booty taken in *Etruria*, and *Epanterian* captives, according to *Valerius Antias*, off of the coasts of that island. As the plague made great havock both in the *Carthaginian* and *Roman* armies this year in *Brutium*, and *Hannibal* had besides a famine to struggle with, nothing material happened the campaign we are now upon in those parts. *Livy* tells us, that the *Carthaginian* general, during his inaction this summer, erected an altar near the temple of *Juno Lacinia*, (*Polybius* says, a column or pillar near the town of *Lacinium*) upon which he engraved an account of all his great achievements in *Greek* and *Punic* letters. Our readers will find some observations upon this monument of antiquity, which, *Polybius* assures us, was extant in his time, in two of our former notes.

THE following year, advice was brought to *Carthage*, that an army formed of the *Ausetani*, *Ilergetes*, and several other *Spanish* nations, under the command of *Indibilis*, *Mandonius*, &c. had been intirely overthrown by the *Romans*. *Indibilis*, it seems, being encouraged by *Scipio's* departure out of *Spain*, had excited the people above-mentioned to a second revolt, imagining, that now an opportunity offered of rendering himself, with all the other *reguli*, independent both of the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*. To that end he assembled, in a few days, an army of thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, with which he advanced into the country of the *Sedetani*. Here the *Roman* generals, *L. Lentulus*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*, gave them a total defeat, putting above thirteen thousand of them to the sword, in which number was *Indibilis* himself, and taking eight thousand prisoners. *Mandonius*, and the other authors of this revolt, being delivered up to the *Romans*, received capital punishment, after a confiscation of all their effects; and then a peace was granted to the *Spaniards* upon reasonable terms. The particulars of the last action, as well as a more circumstantial account of the transactions this year in *Spain*, our readers will find in *Livy*, to whom, for their further satisfaction, we refer them.

- e AFFAIRS were scarce settled in *Spain*, when *Lælius* made a descent in *Africa* at *Hippo Regius*, and pillaged all the neighbouring territory. This so alarmed the inhabitants, that they dispatched messengers in all haste to *Carthage*, with advice, that *Scipio*, with the *Roman* fleet, was arrived on their coasts, and had landed at *Hippo* a strong body of forces. As a rumour had, for some time, prevailed at *Carthage*, that *Scipio* had already passed into *Sicily*, the people and senate were thrown into the utmost consternation by this melancholy news. The great revolution, that had happened in their affairs, the destruction of all their veteran troops, the incapacity of their youth for war, the defection of *Syphax*, *Masinissa*, and all their other allies, together with the fickleness and inconstancy of the *Africans*, from whom their auxiliary forces were to be drawn, afforded them a most dismal prospect, now their metropolis was threatened with a siege. However, when they received intelligence, that only *Lælius*, with an inconsiderable force, had put in at *Hippo*, in order to make an incursion upon their territories on that side, their fears began to subside. As soon therefore as they had recovered themselves from the panic they were thrown into, they began to make the necessary dispositions for their defence: they sent an embassy to *Syphax*, to attempt recovering that prince, as well as to several other *African reguli*, who shewed an inclination to side with the *Romans*: they remitted a

* POLYB. l. xl. LIV. ubi sup. c. 46. CÆLIUS & VALER. ANT. apud LIV. ibid. ZONAR. ubi sup. c. 11. APPIAN. in Libyc. Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 739. Vide & vol. vii. p. 9. not. (D). & p. 16. not. (G).
 * LIV. l. xxix. c. 2, 3. APPIAN in Iberic. Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 739.

sum of two hundred talents of silver to *Philip* king of *Macedon*, in order to engage a him to make a diversion either in *Italy* or *Sicily*: they dispatched orders to their generals in *Italy* to make all possible efforts to keep *Scipio* at home; and they sent *Mago* a reinforcement of six thousand foot, eight hundred horse, seven elephants; and twenty-five long ships, together with a large sum of money to make new levies, that he might advance nearer *Rome*, and join *Hannibal*. *Lælius*, having had a conference with *Masiniſſa*, wherein that prince gave fresh assurances of his sincere attachment to the *Romans*, and expressed an ardent desire to see *Scipio* in *Africa*, set sail for *Sicily*, where he safely arrived, with the immense booty got in this expedition.

*Mago receives
a reinforcement.*

IN the mean time the vessels, with the body of troops destined for *Italy* to reinforce *Mago*, sailed from *Carthage*, and, after a happy voyage, put into the port of *Savo*,^b where they joined the other *Carthaginian* squadron. *Mago*, upon their arrival, acquainted the chiefs of the *Gauls* and *Ligurians* with the reinforcement and welcome dispatches he had received from *Carthage*. He took occasion from hence to assure them, "That the chief end of his coming to *Italy* was to secure to them the enjoyment of their rights and privileges." To this he subjoined, "That though the state of *Carthage* would exert itself to the utmost, in order to obtain this desirable end, yet the success of its endeavours would depend upon them, as it was in their power to enable him to make a greater or lesser figure in the field; that as *Sp. Lucretius* and *M. Livius* would soon unite their forces, a strong body of auxiliaries would be necessary to oppose so formidable an army." To which the *Gauls* replied,^c "That as one *Roman* army was hovering about their frontiers, and another in *Etruria*, at a small distance from them, they could not come to so vigorous a resolution as their inclination prompted them to, since this would expose their country to the ravages of the enemy; but that however, underhand, they would give him all the assistance in their power. As to the *Ligurians*, they added, they were at liberty to act as they should think proper, since the *Roman* armies were too remote from their borders to have any influence upon their councils; and therefore it was but just, that they should openly take part in the war, and supply him with what number of recruits he wanted." The *Ligurians* being of the same sentiments, provided he allowed them two months time to raise men in, every thing succeeded according to his desire; for the *Gauls* privately sent him provisions, and, by virtue^d of the *Carthaginian* money, the new levies went on briskly in *Liguria*. But, notwithstanding these happy beginnings, *Mago* met with the same fate in *Italy*, that *Asdrubal* had done before in *Spain*, as will in a short time appear.

*Scipio takes
Locri.*

BOTH *Scipio*, and the *Roman* soldiery, expressed great impatience to attack the enemy in the heart of their dominions. The intelligence *Lælius* brought from *Masiniſſa*, excited the general to this, as the plunder he carried off with him from *Africa* did the troops. However, they were prevented from undertaking this expedition for the present, by a successful attempt upon the city of *Locri*. Some workmen, who had served in the *Carthaginian* garrison of one of the citadels there, being taken by a *Roman* party, and brought to *Rhegium*, offered to deliver up the place^e to him, provided they received a proper reward for the danger to which they should expose themselves. This being agreed to, the *Romans*, by the assistance of these traitors, made themselves masters of that citadel, in which they were employed; but the *Carthaginian* garrison in the other, commanded by one *Hamilcar*, defended itself with great bravery, till *Hannibal* advanced from the river *Butrotus* to its relief. Upon his approach, a warm action ensued, and the *Romans* would have been totally routed, notwithstanding *Scipio* came from *Masiniſſa* to their assistance, had not the people of *Locri* supported them; but this happening, and *Hannibal* being wounded by a scorpion, the *Carthaginians* thought proper to draw off. *Scipio*, after the action, finding both the town and the other citadel abandoned by the enemy, placed garrisons^f in them; and then immediately made the proper dispositions for carrying the war into *Africa*.

*Scipio lands in
Africa.*

DURING these transactions in *Italy*, the *Carthaginians* were under continual apprehensions of *Scipio's* making a descent in *Africa*. They had posted parties on every promontory and hill bordering upon the sea, to give them notice of the first appearance of the enemy, and were filled with terror upon the arrival of every express, for fear he should bring news of the enemy's landing. In this distress, it was the general

^e Liv. ubi sup. c. 3. 4. 5.

^f Idem ibid.

^w POLYB. l. xiii. LIV. l. xxix. c. 6—9. APPIAN.

- a opinion, that all possible attempts should be made to detach *Syphax* from the *Roman* interest; since both the senate and people thought, that a prospect of assistance from him would be the chief inducement to the *Romans* to invade their dominions in *Africa*. In order to accomplish this, a lucky incident intervened: *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, who was at *Syphax*'s court with *Scipio*, in order to negotiate an alliance with that prince, had a daughter of exquisite charms, named *Sophonisba*. At that time *Asdrubal* offered this young lady in marriage to *Syphax*, thinking this would be a means of uniting him with the *Carthaginians*. He therefore now, with the same view, waited again upon *Syphax*; and having inflamed him with a description of the beauty he was to have for his consort, sent for her thither from *Carthage*, to hasten the marriage. Amongst other things, it was stipulated on this occasion, that an offensive and defensive league should be concluded betwixt him and the *Carthaginians*, in consequence of which he should assist them with all his forces. *Asdrubal*, not satisfied with this, as being no stranger to the alliance he had formerly entered into with *Rome*; nor of the variable temper of the *African* barbarians, thought proper to put him upon a measure, which would prevent *Scipio*'s landing in *Africa*, and consequently hinder a future union betwixt him and the *Romans*. Whilst therefore he was in his first amorous transports, the *Carthaginian*, by means of his daughter's soothing arts and endearments, prevailed upon him to write a letter to *Scipio* in *Sicily* to the following effect: "That, as he had married *Asdrubal*'s daughter, his interest was inseparable
c " from that of the *Carthaginians*; that, besides this, he had concluded a solemn " treaty with that nation; that he therefore advised him not to set his foot in *Africa*, " because, in such case, he could not dispense with being neutral; that, if he offered " to move with his army to *Carthage*, he should find himself obliged, both out of " regard to his own native country, and that of his wife, to oppose him with all his " forces." This letter did not however produce the desired effect; for *Scipio* having, in answer to it, admonished him " to take care how he violated the laws of hospi- " tality with him, and the engagements entered into with the people of *Rome*," set sail with a formidable force for *Africa*, and landed at the *Fair Promontory* without opposition.
d It is intimated by *Appian*, that *Sophonisba* was betrothed to *Masinissa*, who was educated at *Carthage*, and a prince of the finest accomplishments. Animated by the passion he nourished for a lady of such attractive charms, according to the same author, he eminently distinguished himself on all occasions in *Spain* against the *Romans*; but this poor prince being stripped of his kingdom, and not in a condition, as was apprehended, to give any considerable assistance to the *Carthaginians*, *Sophonisba*, for the reason hinted at above, though in defiance of justice, honour and public faith, was given to *Syphax*. *Livy* is silent as to this particular, though that seems to us no sufficient argument against the probability of it; since *Masinissa*'s future long uninterrupted fidelity to the *Romans*, is a proof, that he was of a noble disposition, and therefore could not abandon his first friends the *Carthaginians* without some grievous provocation. Possibly the *Roman* historian's great regard for his hero *Scipio*, whose character, he might think, would a little suffer by a true relation of this fact, prevailed upon him to omit it. Be that as it will, *Masinissa* ever afterwards bore an implacable hatred to the *Carthaginians*, and contributed not a little to the destruction of their republic, as will most evidently appear in the sequel of this history. But to proceed to the war in *Africa*:

- As the *Carthaginians* had seen no *Roman* army in *Africa* for fifty years past, the alarm that *Scipio*'s descent occasioned over the whole country, was inexpressible. Where-ever that general moved, he scattered terror. The inhabitants of the open
f country retired into the towns with their effects; and *Carthage* in particular was extremely crowded on this melancholy occasion. The gates there were shut in the utmost hurry, detachments posted upon the ramparts to defend them, and parties ordered to patrol every night all over the city, to prevent a surprize; in short, the same dispositions were made, as would have been proper in case of an immediate siege. They had no commander of any repute, but *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, who had been defeated by *Scipio* in *Spain*, and was as unequal to that general in his military capacity, as his raw, undisciplined troops were incapable of opposing the *Roman* legionaries. Being apprised of *Scipio*'s arrival at *Utica*, with his fleet and land-forces,

The Carthaginians thrown into a great consternation upon the news of *Scipio*'s landing in *Africa*.

* POLYB. l. xiv. LIV. l. xxix. c. 23. APPIAN. in Libyc. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 20. POLYÆN. ubi supra.
† APPIAN. ubi sup. Vide & VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 13. EUTROP. l. iv. c. 11. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 11.

they detached *Hanno*, a young *Carthaginian* nobleman, to obstruct his landing, with a body of five hundred horse; who, falling in with a detachment of the *Roman* cavalry, sent by *Scipio* out to plunder, immediately attacked them; but, after a short dispute, he was cut off, with a considerable number of his men, and the rest dispersed. After this action, *Scipio* laid the country waste to the very gates of *Carthage*; and possessed himself of an opulent city in the neighbourhood of that place, which he pillaged, and made eight thousand of its principal citizens prisoners. These first instances of success greatly heightened the confusion, that had before begun to reign in *Carthage*, especially when it was known there, that *Masiniſſa* had joined *Scipio* with a body of two hundred, or, as others say, two thousand, *Numidian* horse. In this last article we have followed *Livy*; but, according to *Appian*, *Ajdrubal* and *Syphax* greatly caressed *Masiniſſa* at this time, in order to prevent the junction of his forces and the *Romans*, though, at the same time, they had resolved upon his destruction, as soon as *Scipio* should be driven out of *Africa*. This, continues the same author, *Masiniſſa* was not ignorant of, though, in order to overcome them at their own weapons, he pretended to be intirely reconciled to those two commanders, having been before at variance with them, for the reason above assigned. However, he privately informed *Scipio* of all their motions and designs. We might here give our readers an account of the family of *Masiniſſa*, as well as of the principal events that had happened to him before this period, together with a description of the kingdom his father governed; but all this we chuse to reserve for the history of *Numidia*.^c

*Masiniſſa de-
feats Hanno.*

In the room of the horse lately cut to pieces, or taken prisoners, a new and more numerous body of cavalry was raised with all possible expedition, and the command of it given to another *Hanno*, the son of *Hamilcar*, who advanced towards *Utica*, to observe the enemy's motions. But being too weak to undertake any thing against them, or even to prevent the adjacent country from being pillaged, he thought proper to remain inactive, till he was reinforced by some new levies, that his officers were making both in the *Carthaginian* territories, and those of the neighbouring princes independent of them. At last, finding his troops to amount to four thousand men, he took post in a town called *Salera*, fifteen miles from the *Roman* camp. Out of this place, *Masiniſſa*, who was sent to *Salera*, with a detachment of horse, by *Scipio*, for that purpose, found means to draw him; and then, in conjunction with a choice body of *Roman* cavalry, commanded by *Scipio* himself, that lay in ambuscade, charged him with such vigour, that he was put to flight, a thousand of his men falling in the action, and two thousand being either killed or taken prisoners in the pursuit. Most authors relate, that *Hanno* was slain; but *Cælius* and *Valerius Antias* affirm, that he fell into the enemy's hands. After this, *Scipio* put a garrison into *Salera*, and pushed on the siege of *Utica*. In the mean time *Ajdrubal* assembled an army of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse; but durst not approach the enemy, till the arrival of *Syphax*, who soon joined him with an army of fifty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. *Scipio*, being informed of this junction, raised the siege of *Utica*, after he had carried it on ineffectually for the space of forty days, and fixed his winter-quarters in such a manner, as to fear no insults of the enemy. This a little revived the drooping spirits of the *Carthaginians*, who now saw their own forces, in conjunction with those of *Syphax* their ally, superior to the *Romans* in the field.^e

*State of affairs
in Italy.*

In *Italy* this year, *Hannibal* gained an advantage over the consul *Sempronius*; but was himself soon after defeated by that general. The loss the *Carthaginians* sustained on this occasion, was above four thousand of their men killed on the field of battle, about three hundred taken prisoners, besides forty horses, and seven standards, that fell into the victors hands. *Hannibal*, upon this disaster, retired with his army to *Croton*. The other consul *Cetbegus* in the mean time kept *Etruria* in awe, and prevented *Mago* from approaching his brother *Hannibal*. As the *Etruscans* were generally disposed to a revolt, and kept a close correspondence with *Mago*, *Cetbegus* found it a difficult matter to execute the province assigned him. The *Brutians*, hearing of the great success of *Scipio* in *Africa*, for the most part abandoned the *Carthaginian* interest. Some of *Hannibal's* garrisons amongst them they put to the sword, others they expelled; and, in many places, where they could not openly declare for the *Romans*, they found means to inform the senate of their aversion to the *Carthagi-*

^a Liv. ubi sup. c. 28. POLYB. l. xiv. APPIAN. ubi sup. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 11. Vide & Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 743, 744. ^b Liv. ubi sup. c. 34, 35. APPIAN. ubi sup.

^a nians. In the mean time *Hannibal* came to *Petilia*, and expostulated with the citizens upon their sending ministers to *Rome*; but pretended to be satisfied with their conduct, when they strenuously denied this charge. However, to cut off all future grounds of suspicion, he put the principal inhabitants under arrest, committing them to the care of a guard of *Numidians*; and, disarming the citizens, left the defence of the place to the slaves. He treated other cities likewise with equal severity, *Thurii* in particular, with its district, which he gave up to his soldiers to be plundered, sparing only three thousand of the citizens, and five hundred peasants, whom he knew to be closely attached to the *Carthaginians*. These he transplanted to *Croton*, where he fixed his head-quarters, erected his principal magazine, and took care effectually

^b to cover it from all attempts of the *Romans* ^b.

Scipio having fortified his camp, the *Carthaginians*, notwithstanding their superiority, could find no opportunity of attacking him; so that both sides continued in a state of inaction, till the return of the spring. During the winter, *Scipio* attempted to draw off *Syphax* from the *Carthaginians*; but without effect. However, that prince offered to act in quality of mediator between the contending powers, provided *Scipio* would agree to this preliminary, viz. that both parties should recall their armies home; which, he intimated, would serve as a basis for a future treaty, and effectually secure the repose of their respective dominions. This proposal the *Roman* general, at first, rejected; but afterwards seemed to listen to it, in order to amuse

Scipio ^{seems}
Syphax and
Asdrubal.

^c the enemy, till he could find an opportunity of carrying his point. During the negotiation, *Scipio* was informed, that the *Carthaginian* camp, which consisted chiefly of wooden barracks, covered with boughs, was but very slightly fortified; and that the *Numidian* quarters, which were at some distance from the other, were intirely defenceless, the soldiers being only covered with mats, hurdles, dry leaves, and other such-like combustible materials. To which his spies added, that the troops observed no order or discipline, but lay in a careless manner without their trenches. This intelligence excited him to attempt forcing their camp by some stratagem, since he found himself too weak to come to a pitched battle with them, especially as the spot they were encamped upon was a smooth and open plain, extremely proper for their cavalry,

^d much superior to that of the *Romans*, to act in. Having maturely weighed these particulars, he sent ambassadors to the camp, to renew, as was given out, the conferences, but in reality to make such discoveries, as would favour the execution of his scheme. These ambassadors were attended by some of his veteran soldiers, disguised like slaves, who had orders to move about the camp, and observe all the avenues leading to and from it, its form and situation, how far *Asdrubal* was from *Syphax*, how all the posts were occupied, and whether it would be easier to surprise it in the day-time, or by night. Having informed himself of all these particulars, he immediately broke off the conferences, letting *Syphax* know, "That as his officers had,

"in a council of war, declared themselves averse to all pacific measures, and pressed

^e "him to push on the war with vigour, he found himself obliged, in compliance "with their desire, to pursue the military operations." Such a declaration could not but extremely mortify both *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*, who looked upon the treaty to be as good as concluded. However, they soon recovered themselves, and resolved to draw, if possible, the enemy out into the plain, where, they doubted not, they should be able to give a good account of them; or, if they should fail in the execution of this project, their intention was to besiege their camp both by sea and land; which they imagined themselves capable of doing. But *Scipio* took his measures so well, that he surprised them in the manner already related. *Lælius* and *Masiniſſa* burnt *Syphax's* camp, as *Scipio* himself did that of *Asdrubal*. Their army was intirely

^f ruined, only two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, with the two commanders, escaping out of so great a multitude. According to *Livy*, this complete victory was, in a great measure, owing to the wise dispositions of *Masiniſſa*. The scene exhibited on this melancholy occasion, *Polybius* tells us, was inconceivably dreadful; which indeed may easily be admitted, if we consider the terrible havock made of the *Carthaginian* and *Numidian* troops. *Appian* relates, that *Syphax*, having, some time before, shamefully abandoned the *Carthaginians*, when he had advanced as far as *Utica* to their assistance, under the pretext of repelling a foreign invasion, returned soon after to succour them, and endeavoured to bring over *Masiniſſa*, by promising to give him

^b *Liv.* ubi sup. c. 36. *Appian.* in *Hannib.* *Oros.* l. iv. c. 18.

which of his three daughters he pleased, and to fix him on the throne of the *Masæyli*.^a The same author tells us, that *Scipio* offered sacrifices to the deities *Audacia* and *Pavor*, that his troops might behave with bravery, and not be struck with any panic terrors in the night, since they were then to begin the attack. *Asdrubal* made his escape to *Anda*, where he rallied the remains of his shattered army, consisting chiefly of mercenaries and *Numidians*; and having, by his own authority, presented a good number of slaves with their freedom, and joined them to the others, he formed a considerable corps. *Syphax* retired to an advantageous post, about eight miles from the field of battle, which he possessed himself of. *Appian* relates, that *Asdrubal* was condemned to be crucified for his ill success; which is improbable, if what *Livy* says be true, viz. that, soon after the last disaster, he went to *Carthage*, in order to prevent the senate^b and suffetes from coming into any pacific measures. Be that as it will, the suffetes having convened the senate, three motions were made: first, that ambassadors should be sent to *Scipio*, to treat of a peace with that general; secondly, that *Hannibal* should be recalled out of *Italy*; thirdly, that, in imitation of the *Roman* resolution in adversity, they should depend upon themselves, and their allies, for the defence of their country, and therefore immediately reinforce their army, and apply to *Syphax* for further succours. This last, being backed by *Asdrubal*, and the *Barchine* faction,^c was carried; in consequence of which, the new levies went on briskly, and ministers were dispatched in all haste to *Syphax*, who was prevailed upon, by the intreaties and endearments of his beloved *Sophonisba*, to join *Asdrubal* with a large body of forces. In the mean time *Scipio* advanced to the walls of *Carthage*, and offered the citizens battle; which they thought proper to decline. As soon as *Asdrubal* had left *Anda*, it surrendered to the *Romans*. Two other towns of note likewise in that neighbourhood, which pretended to make resistance, *Scipio* carried by assault, and gave them up to his soldiers to be plundered. After this, he sat down again before *Utica*, and pushed on the siege of that place with the utmost vigour. In the mean time *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*, being joined by a good number of *Celtiberian* troops, upon a review of their army, found it to amount to thirty thousand strong, with which they moved towards *Scipio*, in order to attack him. That general, having received intelligence of their approach, and left a sufficient number of troops to defend^d his lines, rose from before *Utica*, and advanced to meet them. The *Roman* army was disposed in the usual manner. On the other side, *Asdrubal* posted his *Carthaginian* forces in the right wing, *Syphax*, with his *Numidians*, in the left, and the *Celtiberians* in the centre. The *Carthaginians* and *Numidians* were routed at the first onset; but the *Celtiberians*, being animated by despair, fought with such resolution, that they were almost all to a man killed upon the spot. As *Scipio* had treated them with the utmost lenity after their late revolt, they were sensible the black ingratitude to him, they were now guilty of, deserved no mercy, if they fell into his hands; and finding it impossible to escape by flight, they resolved to die in the field. The obstinacy with which they, for some time, maintained the dispute, gave many of the *Cartha-*^e *ginians* and *Numidians* an opportunity of saving themselves, who must otherwise have been inevitably cut off. The day after the battle, *Scipio* detached *Lælius* and *Masiniissa*, with the horse and light-armed troops, to pursue *Syphax* and *Asdrubal*; whilst he himself, with the main body, reduced most of the towns in the neighbourhood of *Carthage*.

Tunes abandoned as the approach of *Scipio*.

THE *Carthaginians* now looked upon their condition as desperate, expecting every moment to be besieged by *Scipio* with his victorious army. They therefore repaired the wall of the city, filled their magazines, and made all the other necessary dispositions for a vigorous defence. In the mean time the garrison of *Tunes* abandoned that city at *Scipio's* approach. Soon after the loss of this place, the *Carthagi-*^f *nians* sent a squadron of galleys to destroy the *Roman* fleet in the port of *Utica*; which they might have easily effected, had they not put into the harbour of *Ruscino* by the way, and staid a whole night there; which, together with their slow sailing, and the useless precaution of drawing up their fleet in order of battle, as though they had been to engage some formidable enemy, gave the *Romans* an opportunity of frustrating, in a great measure, their design. The great consternation the *Carthaginians* were thrown into by their late losses, prevented them from pursuing this enterprize with the expedition necessary to render it successful, since they imagined the *Romans*

^a LIV. l. xxx. c. 4—10. POLYB. l. xiv. APPYAN. in Libyc. DIO CASS. in excerpt. Valef. OROS. l. iv. c. 18. S. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. l. i. c. 1. ex. 3. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 20. ZONAR. ubi sup. c. 12.

a to be invincible by sea, as well as by land. However, they carried off six of the enemy's galleys; which, in the present situation of affairs, elated them as much, as formerly an important victory would have done. We are told by *Appian*, that *Hamilcar*, the *Carthaginian* admiral, surprising the *Roman* fleet at *Unca*, took one trireme, and six transports; that, immediately after this, *Hanno*, with a body of forces, attempted to raise the siege of *Utica*; but was repulsed with considerable loss; that however, *Scipio*, being tired with the long siege, or rather blockade, of that place, transported all his military machines to *Hippo*; and that having ineffectually played them upon that city likewise, he burnt them all as useless, ravaged some parts of the neighbouring provinces, and entered into an alliance with others. The same author b likewise intimates, that the *Carthaginians* attempted to corrupt the *Iberian* troops in the *Roman* service; but without success, their indirect practices being discovered to *Scipio* by the aruspices at repeated sacrifices. We might here give our readers all the particulars, besides those already mentioned, relating to the tragical exit of *Sophonisba*, as well as the great progress made by *Laelius* and *Masinissa* at this time in *Numidia*, did we not apprehend them more properly to belong to the *Numidian* history ^d.

IMMEDIATELY after the last defeat, the senate and suffetes of *Carthage* came to a resolution to recall *Hannibal* from *Italy*, upon whose veteran troops, and their fleet, together with the powerful assistance of *Syphax*, they were convinced, their preservation did absolutely depend. Their fleet therefore having, in the main, failed in c the important enterprize above-mentioned, *Syphax* being taken prisoner, his country conquered, and *Hannibal* as yet at a great distance, they had no other resource left, than to sue to *Scipio* for peace. To this they were farther excited, by that general's encamping again at *Tunes*, within sight of their capital. They therefore deputed thirty of their principal senators, who were selected for that purpose out of the centumvirate, to wait upon *Scipio*. Being introduced into the *Roman* general's tent, they all threw themselves prostrate on the earth, kissed his feet, (in conformity, as *Livy* observes, to the practice of their ancestors the *Tyrians*) and spoke to him in the most submissive terms. They accused *Hannibal*, and the *Barchine* faction, as the authors of all their calamities; they confessed themselves to have broken the peace concluded d betwixt them and the *Romans*, and that they deserved whatever punishment that nation should think proper to inflict upon them. They begged however, that their city, which had twice merited destruction, by the temerity of its citizens, might remain a monument of the *Roman* clemency, promising at the same time an implicit obedience to his commands. *Scipio* replied, "That though he had come into *Africa*, " not for peace, but conquest, which he had, in a manner, effected, yet, that all " nations might see the strict justice of the *Romans*, both in undertaking and con- " cluding their wars, he would grant them a peace upon the following terms:" that they should deliver up all the *Roman* prisoners and deserters to him; that they should recall their armies out of *Italy* and *Gaul*; that they should never set foot again in *Spain*; e that they should retire out of all the islands between *Italy* and *Africa*; that they should put the victors in possession of all their ships, twenty only excepted, which they should be allowed to keep for their own use; lastly, that they should give to the *Romans* five hundred thousand bushels of wheat, three hundred thousand of barley, and pay five thousand talents, or, as others will have it, five thousand pound weight of silver. He gave them three days to consider of these conditions; which they feigned a compliance with, in order to gain time till *Hannibal's* arrival. A truce being granted the *Carthaginians*, they immediately sent deputies to *Rome*, and at the same time dispatched an express to *Hannibal*, to hasten his return to *Africa*. *Appian* intimates, that, besides the articles above-mentioned, *Scipio* insisted upon a compliance with the two following: that *Masinissa* should not only keep possession of his own kingdom, but as many of *Syphax's* territories, as he should be able to conquer; and that the *Carthaginians* should not extend their dominions beyond the *Fossa Punica*. But these, and other points, wherein that author differs from *Livy* and *Polybius*, seem not so agreeable to truth, as what has been transmitted to posterity by those two celebrated historians ^e.

The Carthaginians sue to Scipio for peace.

DURING these transactions, *Mago* advanced into *Insubria*, where he met with the *Roman* forces under the command of *M. Cornelius* and *P. Quintilius Varus*. A general action soon happened between the two armies, wherein the *Carthaginians* were defeated. ^{Mago or thrown in Insubria.}

^d POLYB. LIV. APPIAN. ZONAR. ubi sup.

^e Ibidem ibid.

However, *Asdrubal's* elephants, by their noise, smell, terrible appearance, &c. with the *Numidian* horse, so pushed the *Roman* cavalry, and his *Carthaginian* infantry charged the legionaries with such bravery, that, had his *corps de reserve*, which consisted of *Gauls*, done their duty against the *triarii*, the *Romans* must have been overthrown. *Mago* performed the part of a consummate general, distinguishing himself greatly throughout the whole action; but being wounded in the thigh, he was obliged to be carried out of the battle, which threw his troops into such confusion, that a good part of them betook themselves to flight. Five thousand *Carthaginians* fell on the field of battle, and eighteen of their standards were taken. But this victory cost the *Romans* dear; for they lost two thousand three hundred men, besides the best part of the twelfth legion. *Mago*, after having made an excellent retreat by favour of the night, returned into the country of the *Ingauni*, which was one of the maritime parts of *Liguria*, where he met a courier bringing him orders to return directly to *Carthage*. The *Ligurians*, being informed of this, received the *Romans* with open arms; and *Mago*, embarking his troops, immediately set sail for *Carthage*; but his wound growing worse, upon his arrival on the coast of *Sardinia*, he expired^f.

Hannibal recalled from Italy.

THE *Romans* being thus every-where victorious, *Consentia*, *Uffugium*, *Vergæ*, *Besidia*, *Hetriculum*, *Syphaum*, *Argentanum*, *Dampetia*, and other towns of less note in *Brutium*, opened their gates to the consul *Cn. Servilius*. This was the situation of affairs, when *Hannibal* was commanded to return to *Africa*. *Valerius Antias* wrote, that, just before his departure, *Hannibal* was defeated by *Servilius* not far from *Croton*, and that, on this occasion, he lost five thousand men. But *Livy*, partial as he is, looks upon this as little better than a downright fiction. When the messengers from *Africa* informed *Hannibal* of the senate's pleasure, he expressed the utmost concern and indignation, groaning, gnashing his teeth, and being scarce able to refrain from tears. "Now, said he, those persons, who have long endeavoured to drag me out of *Italy*, by denying me proper supplies, send me direct and explicit orders to return home. *Hannibal* is not vanquished by the *Romans*, but by the senate of *Carthage*. *Scipio* has not so much reason to exult and plume himself at my being forced from *Italy*, as *Hanno*, who, for want of other means of effecting it, has completed the ruin of my family by the destruction of *Carthage*." As he had foreseen what would happen, he had prepared a proper number of vessels to transport his forces to *Africa*; which he did, after having massacred a body of *Italian* troops, that refused to accompany him, in the temple of *Juno Lacinia*. Such an instance of cruelty, at that time, was not so much to be wondered at, since *Hannibal* must have been exasperated almost to madness to see himself thus forced to quit a country he had been so long contending for. Never banished man, according to *Livy*, shewed so much regret in leaving his native country, as *Hannibal* did in going out of that of the enemy. He often turned his eyes wishfully to *Italy*, accusing gods and men for his misfortunes, and calling down a thousand curses, if we will credit the same author, upon himself, for his not having, after the battle of *Canna*, advanced to the walls of *Rome* at the head of his army, still reeking with the blood of its citizens. *Appian* writes, that *Asdrubal*, the *Carthaginian* admiral, committed unparalleled cruelties in all the cities allied with *Carthage*, before *Hannibal's* departure, permitting his men to ravish their virgins and matrons, and behaving in all respects to them, as the most inhuman enemy does to the inhabitants of all towns carried by assault. But as *Livy*, whose authority, in the main, we prefer to that of *Appian*, is silent as to this particular, we own ourselves inclined to pay no great regard to it.

The Carthaginians break the treaty Scipio granted them.

THE *Carthaginian* ambassadors, about this time, arrived at *Rome*, where they met with but a very indifferent reception. The conscript fathers, greatly dissatisfied with the excuses made by these ambassadors, in vindication of their republic, and the ridiculous offer of their adhering, in its name, to the treaty of *Lutatius*, thought proper to refer the decision of the whole to *Scipio*, who, being upon the spot, could best judge what suited the welfare of the state. However, the *Romans* plainly discovered, from the conduct of their ministers on this occasion, as well as the recalling of their troops home, that, notwithstanding their pretended desire of peace, the *Carthaginians* would be averse to an accommodation, as soon as they received intelligence of *Hannibal's* landing in *Africa*. They were confirmed in the sentiments they had entertained, by the news, which, in a few days, arrived at *Rome*, viz. that the *Cartha-*

^f POLYB. & APPIAN, ubi sup. LIV. l. xxx. c. 18. APPIAN, in Hannib.

^e POLYB. l. xv. LIV. ubi sup. c. 10, & seq.

^a *ginians*, in violation of the truce which they themselves had so earnestly desired, had seized a great number of ships on the coast of *Africa*, near the island *Ægimurus*, and even attacked the galley that carried the *Roman* ambassadors to *Carthage*, in the river *Bagrada*, within sight of *Scipio's* camp. Such a procedure could not but exasperate the two nations one against the other more than ever; the *Romans*, from the strong desire they must have had to revenge so black a perfidy; and the *Carthaginians*, from a persuasion, that they were not now to expect a peace. For the particulars of those infamous actions, as well as *Scipio's* great generosity and politeness to the *Carthaginian* ambassadors, notwithstanding such a flagrant violation of the law of nations, we must refer our readers to the *Roman* history ^b.

^b *Hannibal* had no sooner landed in *Africa*, than he sent out parties to get provisions for the army, and buy horses to remount the cavalry. He entered into a league with the regulus of the *Areacida*, a *Numidian* tribe not far from *Adrumetum*. Four thousand of *Syphax's* horse, then in the service of *Masinissa*, came over in a body to him; but as he did not think it proper to repose any confidence in them, he put them all to the sword, and distributed their horses amongst his troops. *Vermina*, one of *Syphax's* sons, and *Mesetulus*, another *Numidian* prince, likewise joined him with a very considerable body of horse. Most of the fortresses in *Masinissa's* kingdom either surrendered to him upon the first summons, or were taken by storm. *Narce*, a city of considerable note there, he made himself master of by a stratagem. *Tychæus*, a *Numidian* regulus, and faithful ally of *Syphax*, whose territories were famous for an excellent breed of horses, reinforcing him also much about the same time with two thousand of his best cavalry, *Hannibal* advanced to *Zama*, a town about five days march from *Carthage*, where he encamped. He thence sent out spies to observe the posture of the *Romans*. These being brought to *Scipio*, he was so far from inflicting any punishment upon them, which he might have done by the rules of war, that he commanded them to be led about the *Roman* camp, in order to take an exact survey of it, and then dismissed them. *Hannibal*, admiring the noble assurance of his rival, sent a messenger to desire an interview with him; which by means of *Masinissa* he obtained. The two generals therefore, escorted by equal detachments of horse, met at *Nadagara*, where, by the assistance of two interpreters, they held a private conference. *Hannibal*, after having flattered *Scipio* in the most refined and artful manner, and expatiated upon all those topics, that, he thought, could influence that general to grant his nation a peace upon tolerable terms, told him, that the *Carthaginians* would willingly confine themselves to *Africa*, since such was the will of the gods, in order to procure a lasting peace, whilst the *Romans* would be at liberty to extend their conquests to the remotest nations. He farther added, that, with regard to the sincerity of his intentions, since the *Romans* had lately, not without reason, suspected the *Punic* faith, he desired him to be fully convinced of it, and to rest assured, that the same constant and uniform disposition *Hannibal* had shewn in the prosecution of this bloody war, as long as the gods permitted it, would as eminently appear in the strict observation of a future peace; and that the *Romans* had the less reason to doubt of this, as the interest of the *Carthaginians* itself rendered such a conduct on their part absolutely necessary. *Scipio* answered, That the *Romans* were not prompted by ambition, or any sinister views, to undertake either the former or present war against the *Carthaginians*, but by justice, and a proper regard for their allies; that the *Carthaginians* had, before his arrival in *Africa*, not only made him the same proposals, but likewise agreed to pay the *Romans* five thousand talents of silver, restore all the *Roman* prisoners without ransom, and deliver up all their galleys; that the late perfidious actions of the *Carthaginians* ought to be so far from procuring them more favourable terms, that the *Romans* thought themselves authorized from thence to impose more rigorous conditions upon them; which if he would submit to, then a peace would ensue; if not, the decision of the dispute betwixt them must be intirely left to the sword ^c.

THIS conference betwixt two of the greatest generals the world ever produced thus ending without success, they both retired to their respective camps, where they informed their troops, that not only the fate of *Rome* and *Carthage*, but that of the whole world, was to be determined by them the next day. Accordingly in the morning,

The disposition of the Roman and Carthaginian armies at the battle of Zama.

^b LIV. l. xxx. c. 24, 25. APPIAN. in Libyc. Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 744, 745.
LIV. l. xxx. c. 29—32. APPIAN. in Libyc.

^c POLYB. l. xv.

both commanders drew up their armies in order of battle ; and, after endeavouring a to animate their men to make their utmost efforts, by all the motives to bravery that could be offered, they advanced towards each other with great resolution in the plains of *Zama*. *Scipio* posted the *hastati*, divided into small battalions, with proper spaces between them, in front ; after them, the *principes* divided in the same manner ; and the rear was brought up by the *triarii*. The *Italian* horse, under the conduct of *Lælius*, he placed in the left wing ; and the *Numidian*, commanded by *Masiniſſa*, in the right. By this disposition, which differed something from that which the *Romans* usually made, a proper precaution was taken against the violence of the enemy's elephants, which would otherwise have undoubtedly born down the *principes*. He ordered his light-armed troops, who were to begin the fight, to retire b into the void spaces between the battalions, if they found themselves overcharged by the enemy, or pushed by their elephants, the most expeditious part of them continuing their retreat, till they came behind the army, thereby giving an opportunity to their wounded, or more slow companions, of saving themselves in the interval between the *hastati* and *principes*, or that between the *principes* and *triarii*. *Hannibal*, on the other side, posted his elephants, eighty in number, in front ; behind them he placed his vanguard, consisting of *Ligurian*, *Gallic*, *Balearic*, and *Mauritanian* mercenaries ; then followed the main battle, composed of four thousand *Africans* and native *Carthaginians*, sustained by a body of four thousand *Macedonian* veterans, sent him by king *Philip* ; and, at a furlong's distance from them, moved those brave troops, that had served under him in *Italy*, forming his rear, in whom he reposed his chief confidence. The *Carthaginian* cavalry were opposed to *Lælius* ; and the *Numidian*, under *Tycheus*, *Meſetulus*, &c. to *Masiniſſa* ^k.

The battle of
Zama.

SOME time before the beginning of the action, the *Numidian* horse on both sides skirmished with inconsiderable loss. After which, pursuant to *Hannibal's* orders, the elephants advanced against the enemy ; but those distributed in the left wing, being frightened by the sound of the trumpets, and the other martial music, fell foul upon their own *Numidian* horse, and put them into disorder. *Masiniſſa* immediately took advantage of this confusion, and, without giving them time to recover themselves, charged them with such fury, that he drove them out of the field. The elephants, that d attacked the *Roman* light-armed troops, being likewise repulsed, and many of them wounded, recoiled in like manner upon the *Carthaginian* horse posted in the right wing, and made such an impression upon them, that they met with the same rough treatment from *Lælius*, that the *Numidians* had before done from *Masiniſſa*. In the mean time the infantry on both sides engaged with unparallelled bravery. *Hannibal's* mercenaries at first repulsed the legionaries ; but these last, being duly supported by the *principes*, not only recovered themselves, but routed the mercenaries, and pushed them on the *Carthaginians* ; which occasioned the defeat of both bodies, and, in a great measure, determined victory to declare for the *Romans*. The *corps de reserve*, formed of *Hannibal's* veterans, that had served under him in *Italy*, behaved with e inexpressible intrepidity and resolution ; but *Lælius* and *Masiniſſa*, returning from the defeat of the enemy's horse, bore down all before them, and obliged this phalanx, which before seemed impenetrable, to give way. They were therefore put to the rout, and the ground strewed with their dead bodies, most of them being killed either in the battle or the pursuit. *Appian* relates, that, during the heat of the action, *Hannibal* first engaged *Scipio*, and afterwards *Masiniſſa*, in single combat, wherein he had the advantage. According to the same author, the *Carthaginians* had twenty-five thousand men slain, and eight thousand taken prisoners. *Livy* and *Polybius* affirm, that twenty thousand of *Hannibal's* men were killed, and as many taken prisoners ; as likewise, that an hundred and thirty standards fell into the enemy's f hands. Some say, the *Romans* lost only two thousand men ; others, that two thousand five hundred *Romans*, and a greater number of *Masiniſſa's* soldiers, fell in this engagement. Be that as it will, *Scipio* got a complete victory, and made himself master of *Hannibal's* camp, where he found ten talents of gold, two thousand five hundred of silver, and an immense quantity of other booty. All the remarkable particulars of this action, omitted here, our readers will find in a former part of this work ^l.

^k *Iidem* *ibid*.

^l *POLYB. LIV. APPIAN. FLOR. AUREL. VICT. CORN. NEP. ubi sup. ZONAR. ubi sup. c. 14. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 23. PLUT. in Hannib. OROS. l. iv. c. 19. Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 746, 747.*

- a *Hannibal*, having escaped to *Thon*, was soon joined by some *Brutian* and *Spanish* fugitives, who had been too swift for their pursuers; but not caring to trust himself in their hands, he fled privately to *Adrumetum*. The surprising military genius of that most renowned general never more eminently displayed itself than at the battle of *Zama*, as we learn from *Polybius*, who greatly celebrates his conduct on that occasion. *Scipio* himself likewise, according to *Livy*, passed a high encomium upon him, on account of his uncommon capacity in taking advantages, the excellent arrangement of his forces, and the manner in which he gave his orders during the engagement; but being vastly inferior to the enemy in horse, and the state of *Carthage* obliging him, at no small disadvantage, to hazard a battle with the *Romans*, he met with the fate above-mentioned. Some consolation however it must have been to him to hear, that *Scipio* not only approved of his conduct, but openly declared, that he outshined himself in this glorious, though unfortunate, action ^m.

Hannibal's excellent conduct at that battle.

- THE senate of *Carthage*, hearing of *Hannibal's* arrival at *Adrumetum*, dispatched messengers to him, with orders to return to *Carthage*. He obeyed these orders, and advised his countrymen to conclude a peace with the *Romans* upon the terms they should think proper to prescribe them. To this they were the more strongly excited by the news they received of a defeat given *Vermina*, the son of *Sypbak*, their ally. This blow was very considerable, fifteen thousand of that prince's men being laid dead on the field of battle, twelve hundred made prisoners, and fifteen hundred *Nu- midian* horses, together with seventy-two military ensigns, taken. After this overthrow, the *Carthaginians* sent ten of their principal citizens, as ambassadors, to implore *Scipio's* clemency, who told them, with a haughty air, That they might meet with him at *Tunes*. However, thirty *Carthaginian* senators, selected out of the centumvirate, waiting upon *Scipio*, and suing for peace in the most submissive terms, that general thought proper to dictate to them the following conditions: 1. The *Carthaginians* shall be governed by their own laws, and remain in possession of all their *African* dominions. 2. The *Carthaginians* shall deliver up to the *Romans* all their deserters, fugitive slaves, prisoners of war, and all the *Italians*, whom *Hannibal* forced to follow him. 3. This shall be done within thirty days after the treaty is signed. 4. They shall also deliver up all their ships of war, except ten triremes, and all their tame elephants, and shall train up no more of those animals for the service. 5. The senate and people of *Carthage* shall not engage in any war, without the consent of the *Romans*. 6. They shall supply the *Roman* troops with corn, and pay their auxiliaries, till the return of the ambassadors they shall send to *Rome*. 7. They shall pay the *Romans*, in the space of fifty years, ten thousand *Euboic* talents, at equal payments. 8. They shall deliver up to *Scipio* an hundred such hostages as he shall chuse, the youngest of whom shall not be under fourteen, and the oldest above thirty years of age. 9. Neither the peace nor truce shall take place, till the *Carthaginians* have restored to the *Romans* the ships and effects taken from them during the last truce. 10. The *Roman* armies shall leave *Africa* within fifty days after the conclusion of the treaty. 11. The *Carthaginians* shall restore to *Masinissa* all they have usurped from him and his ancestors, and even enter into an alliance with him. 12. They shall never for the future make any levies in *Gaul* or *Liguria*. 13. They shall assist the *Romans* both by sea and land, whenever they are called upon so to do. These terms, which *Scipio* thought proper to grant the *Carthaginians*, in case the senate and people of *Rome* would ratify them, appeared so intolerable to the populace of *Carthage*, that they threatened to plunder and burn the houses of the nobility. But *Hannibal*, having assembled a body of six thousand foot, and five hundred horse, at *Maribama*, prevented an insurrection, and, by his influence, completed the accommodation. f However, *Gisco*, an enemy to the *Barchine* faction, made a speech to the senators, in order to dissuade them from accepting such a shameful peace. *Hannibal*, being highly incensed at his presumption, dragged him from his seat; which giving great offence, in order to vindicate, or, at least, to palliate, so precipitate an action, *Hannibal* made an apology for it to the following effect: "As I left your city at nine years of age, and did not return till after thirty-six years absence, I had full leisure to learn the military art, and flatter myself, that I have made good improvement in it; but, with regard to your constitution, it is no wonder that I am a

A peace concluded between the Romans and the Carthaginians.

^m POLYB. l. xv. LIV. l. xxx. c. 35. APPIAN. in Libyc.

“stranger to it, and therefore I must desire you to instruct me in every branch of it.” a
 He then insisted upon the necessity of concluding a peace; adding, “that they ought
 “to return the gods thanks for having disposed the *Romans* to grant them such
 “favourable conditions.” He likewise represented to the senators the importance
 of uniting in their suffrages; intimating, that it might be of fatal consequence to the
 state, if, by their divisions, they should throw more weight into the popular scale,
 which already did but too much preponderate. That whole venerable assembly
 therefore, in order to prevent the people from taking such an affair under their cog-
 nizance, came over to his opinion, and the terms proposed by *Scipio* were accepted.
 Ample satisfaction having been made the *Romans* for the outrages offered their mini-
 sters, and the infraction of the late truce, the *Carthaginians* dispatched an embassy, at b
 the head of which was *Ajdrubal*, surnamed *Ilædus*, or *The Kid*, to *Rome*. As he was
 an irreconcilable enemy to *Hannibal* and his family, he endeavoured to excuse the
 people of *Carthage*, by imputing the late rupture to the ambition of the *Barchine*
 faction, and extolled his own conduct, as well as that of *Hanno*, towards the *Romans*.
 He likewise expatiated upon the generosity, magnanimity, wisdom, and humanity
 of the *Romans*; whilst his companions endeavoured to move the senate to compassion,
 by exhibiting to their view the calamitous state of *Carthage* in the most lively colours.
 By these methods of persuasion, they not only prevailed upon the conscript fathers to
 grant them their request, but likewise to send two hundred of their prisoners then at c
Rome to *Scipio*, with orders that they should be restored, without any pecuniary con-
 sideration, as soon as he should receive from the *Carthaginians* their ratification of the
 treaty. The late truce for three months, which the *Carthaginians* obtained of *Scipio*,
 upon the return of their ambassadors, was changed into a perpetual peace, upon the
 terms that general had prescribed. They then, in pursuance of the treaty, delivered
 up to *Scipio* above five hundred ships, all which he burnt in sight of *Carthage*, to the
 inexpressible mortification of the inhabitants of that unfortunate city. They likewise
 delivered up into the hands of the *Romans* all their elephants, all the slaves, deserters,
 and prisoners of war. The number of these last amounted to above four thousand
 men. *Scipio* treated both the *Latin* and *Roman* deserters with extreme severity,
 ordering all the heads of the former to be struck off, and the latter to be crucified. d
 The public funds at *Carthage* being exhausted by so long and expensive a war, the
 senate found it vastly difficult to raise a sum sufficient for the payment of the first tax
 imposed by the treaty. This threw them into a melancholy silence, and many could
 not even refrain from tears. *Livy* tells us, that *Hannibal*, laughing on this occasion,
 was reproved by *Ajdrubal Ilædus*, for insulting his country in this the time of its
 affliction, which, he insinuated, was owing to his conduct. *Hannibal*, in reply,
 according to the same author, spoke to that august assembly to the following effect :
 “Were my heart as visible as my countenance, you would perceive, that this laugh-
 “ter, which has given such offence, flows not from an excess of joy, but from a
 “mind almost distracted with the public calamities; nor is even this laughter so e
 “unseasonable as your absurd and indecent tears. Then you ought to have wept,
 “when your arms were taken from you, your ships burnt, and you were prohibited
 “from engaging in any foreign wars. This was the mortal blow, that laid us pro-
 “strate. Do not imagine, that the *Romans*, out of any particular aversion to you,
 “have formed a scheme for your destruction. No great city can long enjoy any
 “repose. If it has no foreign, it will soon meet with a domestic enemy; as the
 “most robust constitutions, when free from all external morbid causes, are born
 “down by their own strength. You are only sensible of the public calamities, as
 “far as you have a personal concern in them; and the loss of your money only gives
 “you the most pungent sorrow. When therefore *Carthage* was made the spoil of f
 “the victor, when it was left disarmed and defenceless amidst so many powerful
 “*African* nations, who had at that time taken the field, not a groan, not a sigh
 “was heard. But now, when a capitation-tax is demanded, you lament and bewail,
 “as if all were lost. Alas! I greatly fear, that the subject of this day’s anxiety
 “and concern will soon prove the least of your misfortunes.” Thus ended the second
Punic war, one of the most remarkable mentioned in history, both on account of the
 vicissitudes of fortune discernible in it, and the immense quantity of blood and trea-
 sure it occasioned the consumption of. *Zonaras*, from some authors not now extant,
 tells us, it lasted only sixteen years; but *Livy* and *Polybius*, whose authority is more
 to be depended upon, make it to have included eighteen campaigns, and intimate g
 it

- a it to have been terminated eighteen years after *Hannibal* came to a rupture with the Romans^a.

THE year after the conclusion of the last treaty, *Hamilcar*, a Carthaginian captain, left in those parts either by *Ajdrubal* or *Mago*, excited the *Insubres*, *Cænomani*, and the *Boii*, together with the *Salvi*, *Ilvates*, and other cantons of *Liguria*, to make an irruption into the territories of the allies of *Rome*. Of this the senate immediately informed the state of *Carthage*, threatening at the same time to renew the war, if that infringer of the late treaty was not delivered up to them. What answer the Carthaginians returned to this menace, we no-where find; but the death of *Hamilcar*, who was soon after killed in a battle he fought with *Fulvius Purpureo* the prætor, put an end to all farther dispute betwixt the Carthaginians and the Romans on this head. The peace betwixt *Carthage* and *Rome* was scarce signed, when *Masinissa*, at the instigation of the Romans, unjustly made himself master of part of the Carthaginian dominions in *Africa*, under pretence, that those territories formerly belonged to his family. The Carthaginians, through the villainous mediation of the Romans, to which, by an article of the late treaty, they were obliged to have recourse, found themselves under a necessity of ceding those countries to that ambitious prince, and entering into an alliance with him. The good understanding afterwards betwixt these two powers continued many years; but at last *Masinissa*, through the intrigues and dark cabals of the Romans, as there is great reason to believe, violated the treaties subsisting betwixt him and the Carthaginians, and not a little contributed to the subversion of the African republic, as will soon most evidently appear^b.

THE following year, in the consulate of *Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Villius Tappius*, the Carthaginians sent fifty *Euboic* talents of silver to *Rome*, in pursuance of the late treaty; but the silver not being good, the quæstors refused it; and, upon examination, it being found wanting one fourth part, the Carthaginian ministers were obliged to borrow a sum of money at *Rome*, to make up the deficiency. At their request, an hundred of their hostages were released, and hopes given them, that the other hundred should soon be returned, provided they inviolably adhered to their late engagements. In the mean time, the remaining hostages desiring leave to be removed from *Norba*, which they represented as a place very inconvenient for them to reside in, the senate immediately sent them to *Signia* and *Ferentinum*. From hence they were removed to *Setia*, where their domestics occasioned a commotion, which had like to have proved of ill consequence to the Romans; but how this accident affected the state of *Carthage*, is no-where said. According to *Appian*, the trade of the Carthaginians began, even at this time, to flourish, notwithstanding all their shipping had so lately been, in a manner, destroyed. A glaring instance this of the surprising genius of that people for commerce, even in their most depressed and miserable condition^c.

NOT long after the transactions just hinted at, *Livy* tells us, that one *Hamilcar*, a Carthaginian general, commanded an army of *Gauls*, that was defeated by *Celbegus*, and that this general himself was taken prisoner in the action; but whether any, or how many, Carthaginian troops assisted the *Gauls* on this occasion, or what influence that event had upon the Carthaginian affairs, history informs us not. In the mean time *Hannibal* kept up his credit at *Carthage*. Notwithstanding he had failed in the execution of his grand and favourite scheme, the republic gave him the command of an army destined to act against some neighbouring African powers; and from *Cornelius Nepos* it seems probable, that he made some campaigns after the conclusion of the second *Punic* war. This gave such umbrage to the Romans, that, notwithstanding the Carthaginians made them a present of a golden crown, and thanked them in a most polite manner for the peace they had granted them, they refused to release the Carthaginian prisoners still detained in *Italy*. The senate indeed, at the request of the ambassadors, who came with the compliment to *Rome*, gave leave to the Carthaginian hostages still with them to reside in what city of *Italy* they pleased; and assured the ambassadors, that this instance of their republic's friendship was very acceptable to them. But, with regard to the prisoners, the conscript fathers frankly told them, that they could not dismiss them, as long as *Hannibal*, their most avowed and inveterate enemy, was at the head of an army in *Africa*. Upon this remonstrance, the Carthaginians recalled *Hannibal* home, and conferred upon him the office of præ-

^a POLYB. ubi sup. LIV. ubi sup. c. 36, & seq. APPIAN. FLOR. EUTROP. OROS. ZONAR. &c. ubi sup.
^b LIV. l. xxxi. c. 10, 11, 32. & l. xl. c. 34. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 15. APPIAN. in Libyc. ^c LIV. l. xxxii.
 c. 2. 26. ZONAR. ubi sup. c. 16. APPIAN. ubi sup.

tor ; which seems to have been an employment of great consideration and authority. ^a
 In this post *Hannibal* behaved so as to gain universal applause. He regulated the
 finances in such a manner, that, notwithstanding the deplorable state to which *Car-*
thage was reduced, considerable sums were laid up yearly for the public service, after
 the payment of the tax to the *Romans* imposed by the last treaty, and all other deduc-
 tions made. As such a laudable conduct must have been founded upon a reformation
 of many abuses, it undoubtedly drew upon him the hatred of many persons concerned
 in those abuses ; but neither this, nor the animosity of the old *Hannonian* faction,
 which was far from being extinguished, prevented him from pursuing the measures
 he thought necessary for the service of the republic with zeal and resolution. But he
 was not satisfied with putting the management of the finances upon a good footing. ^b
 He was equally impatient of rectifying the irregularities, which had crept into the
 administration of justice. As the judges exercised the most cruel rapine with impu-
 nity, disposing, in an arbitrary manner, of the lives, properties, and reputations of
 the citizens, without the least controul, since they held their offices for life, and
 mutually supported one another, *Hannibal* resolved to redress so crying an evil. He
 therefore, by his integrity, courage, and popularity acquired thereby, effected the
 passing of a law, whereby it was enacted, that the judges should be chosen annually ;
 with a clause, that none should continue in office beyond their year. This step greatly
 irritated the nobles and grandees, but extremely pleased the populace, of *Carthage*.
 His reputation and authority amongst the latter were raised to a higher pitch by the ^c
 method he made use of to complete the regulation of the finances above-mentioned.
 The public revenues had been embezzled by those, who had the management of
 them, and some of the leading men in the city. This obliged the senate and suffetes
 to think of levying the annual tribute due to the *Romans* upon the people ; which
 scheme *Hannibal* prevented from being put in execution, by detecting the frauds of
 the officers concerned in every branch of the public revenues, as well as the collusions
 of those possessed of the other lucrative posts. It is no wonder therefore, that persons
 of this complexion should exert their utmost malice to ruin a man, however laudably
 disposed to the public, who, they had the assurance to pretend, deprived them of
 their lawful property ; for in that light they considered their long continued peculation. ^d
 In order to gratify their resentment, they excited the *Romans* to pursue *Hannibal* to
 destruction. Accordingly *C. Servilius*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Q. Terentius Cul-*
leo were sent to *Carthage*, as was pretended, to accommodate all differences betwixt
 the *Carthaginians* and *Masiniſſa*, but, in reality, to ruin *Hannibal*, who, they asserted,
 carried on a secret intelligence with king *Antiochus*, in order to concert with him
 the proper measures for prosecuting the war against the *Romans*. *Hannibal*, upon their
 arrival, notwithstanding their specious pretexts, knew the subject of their commis-
 sion, and thought it prudent to submit to the necessity of the times. Having there-
 fore made all the proper dispositions for his departure, in order to blind his country-
 men, in the dusk of the evening, he went out of the city in a foreign dress, attended ^e
 only by two companions, ignorant of his design. That he might travel with the
 greater expedition, he had before ordered relays at proper places, by the assistance of
 which, passing the *Vocanian* district, he arrived at a castle, or palace, of his own
 between *Aebolla* and *Thapsus*. From hence he was waſted over in a vessel, that waited
 for him, to the island *Cercina*. Here he had recourse to a stratagem, to conceal his
 retreat from *Carthage* ; which had the desired effect. The populace of *Carthage*, the
 morning after his departure, were in a great ferment upon his abandoning the city.
 Some thought he was fled, others, that he had been assassinated by the *Roman* faction.
 However, at last time discovered the truth, the senate receiving certain intelligence,
 that he was seen in the island *Cercina*. No sooner did this news come to hand, than ^f
 the *Roman* ambassadors insisted upon the *Carthaginians* making a public declaration
 of their dislike of the project he was gone upon. In order to impose upon the masters
 of ships at that time in the island *Cercina*, he gave out, that the republic of *Carthage*
 had sent him their ambassador to *Tyre*. *Livy* tells us, that he was not so much
 affected with the prospect of his own unhappy fate, as with that of the calamities,
 which threatened his country. From *Cercina* he steered his course for *Tyre*, where, upon
 his arrival, he was treated with all the marks of distinction due to his exalted merit.
 After staying some days here, he set out for *Antioch*, and had a conference with
Antiochus's son at *Daphne*, where he was celebrating some solemn diversions. From
 hence he posted to *Ephesus*, where he met with a most kind reception from that ^g
 prince

- a prince himself, whom he determined to enter upon a war with *Rome*, after he had been, for some time, in a fluctuating condition on that head. *Tully* informs us, that, during his residence here, a philosopher, named *Phormio*, esteemed the best orator in *Asia*, expatiated in an harangue on the duties of a general, and the rules of the military art, before him; which charming the audience, *Hannibal* was asked his opinion of it. To which the *Carthaginian* frankly replied, "That, in his time, he had seen many old dotards, but none that came up to *Phormio*." *Stobæus* informs us, that this *Phormio* was a *Stoic* philosopher; and that when he undertook to prove, that a wise man only was fit to be a general, *Hannibal* laughed, as being convinced, that a skill in martial affairs was to be acquired, not by theory, but by practice.
- b The *Carthaginians*, being apprehensive, that, by *Hannibal's* intrigues, they might be embroiled with the *Romans*, thought proper to send them advice, that he was withdrawn to the court of *Antiochus*. This news not a little alarmed them; and the king might have turned so lucky an accident greatly to his advantage, had he known how to make a proper use of it.

- Hannibal's* constant opinion was, that *Italy* should be made the seat of the war. To enforce this, he observed to *Antiochus*, that *Italy* would supply a foreign invader both with a sufficient quantity of provisions, and a proper number of recruits; and that if the *Romans* were permitted to transport their *Italian* forces into any foreign country, no prince or state in the world could make head against them. He offered to sail to *Carthage*, and did not doubt but he should persuade his countrymen to take up arms against the common enemy, provided the king would trust him with the command of a fleet of an hundred ships, and a body of seventeen thousand land-forces on board. With these troops, he proposed making a descent in some part of *Italy*; whilst the king himself should assemble a numerous army, and put himself in a condition to advance to his relief, whenever it should be thought convenient. Had this salutary advice been followed, *Antiochus* would not have been obliged soon after to submit to such conditions of peace, as the *Romans* thought fit to impose upon him. But, notwithstanding that prince's wrong conduct, at first he approved very much of *Hannibal's* proposal; which induced that general to dispatch one *Ariston*, a *Tyrian*, to *Carthage*, in order to engage the senate there more strongly in his interest. To secure the fidelity of this person, *Hannibal* made him some valuable presents, after he had furnished him with proper instructions, and promised him great rewards in *Antiochus's* name, in case he happily executed his commission. *Ariston* was no sooner arrived at *Carthage*, than the people began to suspect the errand he came upon. As he associated only with the members of the *Barbantine* faction, the suspicions, that had been entertained, were turned into a violent presumption of his guilt; so that he was seized, and called upon to clear himself; but not having the good fortune to do this to the satisfaction of the dominant party; great debates arose in the senate concerning him. Some members of that august assembly were for treating him as a spy; but others thought this might be a bad precedent, as nothing could be proved directly against him; insinuating further, that as such an action could be considered in no other light than as a violation of the laws of hospitality, the *Tyrians* would not fail making reprisals upon the *Carthaginians* residing at *Tyre*, and other trading cities in their dominions. However, the determination of this affair was deferred till the next day; which gave the crafty *Tyrian* an opportunity of making his escape in the night, after he had fixed, in several public places, papers, which fully declared the occasion of his coming to *Carthage*. The senate, to shew how religiously they intended to observe the last treaty, immediately sent advice of this to the *Romans*.

- THE *Romans*, soon after the arrival of the express with this news, nominated *P. Sulpicius* and *P. Villius* their ambassadors to *Antiochus*, ordering them to take *Pergamus* in their way, that they might confer with *Eumenes*, who resided there, a violent enemy of *Antiochus*. *Sulpicius* was detained at *Pergamus* by an indisposition; but *Villius*, in pursuance of his orders, came to *Ephesus*, where he found *Hannibal*. He had many conferences with him, paid him several visits, and speciously affected to shew him a particular esteem on all occasions; but his chief aim, by all this insidious behaviour, was to render him suspected, and lessen his credit with the king; in which he succeeded but too well, as afterwards manifestly appeared. This we learn

^a POLYB. l. iii. LIV. ubi sup. c. 30. CORN. NEP. in Hannib. LIV. l. xxxiii. c. 32—35. & c. 46, 47. CIC. de orat. l. ii. n. 75, 76. STOB. SERM. 52. EUTROP. l. iv. c. 3. JUSTIN. l. xxi. c. 2. l. xxxiv. c. 59, 60.

both from *Livy* and *Polybius*; the latter of which historians represents this application of *Villius* to *Hannibal* as a premeditated design, in order to destroy his interest with king *Antiochus*; and the former owns, that the affair took the same turn as *Villius* might have had in view by the execution of such a design. However, the first author, for a very obvious reason, tells us, that the only end of *Villius's* conversation with *Hannibal* was to sound that general, and to remove any fears or apprehensions he might be under from the *Romans*. *Claudius*, and the *Libri Græci Aciliani*, according to *Livy*, affirmed, that *Scipio* was joined with *Sulpicius* and *Villius* in this embassy, and even transmitted to posterity some of the particulars that passed in conversation betwixt the *Roman* ministers and *Hannibal*. According to these authors, *Scipio* desired *Hannibal* to tell him, who, in his opinion, was the most celebrated general in history. To which the *Carthaginian* general replied, *Alexander* king of *Macedon*, because, with an inconsiderable body of troops, he had defeated most numerous armies, and extended his conquests into countries so widely distant, that it seemed impossible for any man even to traverse them. Being then asked, who was the next to him, he answered, *Pyrrhus*, who first understood the art of encamping to advantage; neither did ever any commander, continued he, make a more judicious choice of posts, or better understood how to draw up his forces, or was more happy in conciliating the affections and favour of mankind to him, as evidently appeared from the disposition of the *Italian* troops, who were more desirous of being under his government, than that of the *Romans*, though they had so long been subject to them. *Scipio* then demanding of him, whom he looked upon as the third captain, he made no scruple of mentioning himself. Here *Scipio* not being able to refrain from laughing, But what would you have said, added he, had you vanquished me? I would, replied *Hannibal*, have ranked myself above *Alexander*, *Pyrrhus*, and all the generals the world ever produced. *Scipio* was not insensible to this artful and delicate flattery; which, by giving him no rival, seemed to insinuate, that no captain was worthy of being put in comparison with him. This answer of *Hannibal* is much more probable and ingenious, than that mentioned by *Plutarch*, who makes that general to have given the first place to *Pyrrhus*, the second to *Scipio*, and to himself the third; which is low, jejune, and quite destitute of that elegance and vivacity, which *Livy's* relation, in conformity to *Hannibal's* character, is seasoned with.

Hannibal removes some suspicions Antiochus had entertained of him.

Antiochus, having entertained a suspicion of *Hannibal*, ever since his late conferences with *Villius*, would not, for some time, admit him into his councils. This slight, at first, *Hannibal* took no notice of; but afterwards, judging it expedient to inquire into the cause of such a sudden change in the king's conduct towards him, that he might have an opportunity of clearing himself, if any ill offices had been done him, he intreated that prince to discover to him the reason of his late coldness; which having learnt, he addressed himself to *Antiochus* in the following terms: "My father *Hamilcar*, *Antiochus*, obliged me, in my tender infancy, at the altar, to take an oath always to bear an implacable aversion to the *Romans*. Animated by this hatred, I have waged war with them six-and-thirty years; prompted thereto by it, I have abandoned my native country in times of peace, and taken sanctuary in your dominions; fired by it, should you frustrate my expectations, I will fly to every part of the globe, and endeavour to rouse up all nations against the *Romans*. If any of your favourites therefore would incense you against me, let him accuse me of some other crime. I hate mortally the *Romans*, and am equally hated by them. For the truth of this I appeal to the manes of my father *Hamilcar*, and all the deities, who were witnesses of my oath. So long therefore as you are disposed to come to a rupture with the *Romans*, you may rank *Hannibal* amongst your best friends. But, if any considerations should incline you to peace, I desire to be intirely excluded your councils." This speech, uttered with such force and energy, and expressive of so much sincerity, removed all the prejudices the king had imbibed; so that *Hannibal* was not only restored to favour, but preparations made to execute the scheme he had formed.

Antiochus deserts Hannibal.

THOUGH the king had come to a resolution to give *Hannibal* the command of part of his fleet, yet, by the intrigues of his ministers, the equipment of it was not only at first retarded, but even the expediency of putting the *Carthaginian* in that post debated in council. *Thoas* the *Ætolian* suggested, "That it was improper to weaken

^r LIV. l. xxxv. c. 14, & seq. POLYB. l. iii. p. 166, 167. PLUT. in Flamin. & in Pyrr. l. xxxv. c. 19. POLYB. l. xv. & l. iii. SEX. JUL. FRONTIN. Strat. l. i. c. 8. ex. 7. JUST. l. xxxi. c. 4, 5.

^s LIV. " the

- a " the king's fleet at that juncture, by undertaking, with part of it, an expedition
 " to *Africa*; that, in case his majesty's interest had rendered necessary such an expedition, no one would have been more improper than *Hannibal* to have conducted
 " it; that it was imprudent to repose so much confidence in an exile, a *Carthaginian*, whose fortune or genius might put every day into his head a thousand different projects; that the same *Hannibal* had already acquired, and which he considered as his peculiar inheritance, was too great for one, who acted under the king;
 " that the king alone ought to be looked upon as the general and conductor of the war; that, if *Hannibal* should lose either a fleet, or an army, the loss would be as great, as if a commander of less note had occasioned it; that if success attended
 b " his arms, not *Antiochus*, but *Hannibal*, would have the glory of all the victories ascribed to him; that supposing he should conquer the *Romans* in this war, what hopes could be entertained of *Hannibal*'s living peaceably as a subject under him; when he was scarce satisfied with the supreme power at *Carthage*? that his behaviour from his youth, having always in his mind grasped at universal empire, had not been such as could induce them to believe, that he would tamely submit to any superior in his old age; that however, if he could not overcome his fondness for *Hannibal*, he might make use of him as a counsellor and companion, but not as a general, &c." These malicious suggestions, the pure effect of envy, made such an impression upon *Antiochus*'s low and groveling mind, in which a sordid jealousy had extinguished all noble and generous sentiments, that he dropt the above-mentioned laudable design, an immediate execution of which only could, at that juncture, have effectually embarrassed the *Romans*. In the mean time the *Carthaginians* offered to supply the *Romans* with a thousand bushels of wheat, and five hundred thousand of barley, as a free gift; to equip a fleet at their own expence for their service; and to remit to *Rome* the whole remaining part of the sum imposed upon them by the late treaty immediately, though it would not have been due for many years to come by one of the articles of that treaty. The *Romans* gave their ambassadors a kind reception, and told them, " That they should only require from their
 c " principals the ships, that their late engagements obliged them to furnish; that they would pay ready money for whatever supplies of corn they should send them; and that the sum, due to them from *Carthage*, should be paid at equal payments, in the manner stipulated at the conclusion of the last peace." From this incident, we may form some sort of an idea of the incredible industry of the *Carthaginians*, as well as of their surprising genius for trade; since from hence it appears, that, notwithstanding they had been intirely exhausted by a long, bloody, and most expensive war, notwithstanding they had been stripped of the best part of their dominions by the *Romans* and *Masiniſſa*, notwithstanding they had been deprived, in a manner, of all their ships, and almost rendered incapable, to outward appearance, of applying themselves to any single branch of commerce, they yet found
 d " means, in ten or twelve years time, to become wealthy and powerful; which could only have been the effect of a flourishing and extensive trade. At what an exalted pitch of power therefore must they have arrived, had *Hannibal* either been duly supported in *Italy*, or contended with a nation of not such an inflexible resolution for the dominion of the world!

SOME time after this, *Antiochus* found his affairs in such a perplexed situation, that he was at a loss what measures to pursue. In this emergency, his ministers were obliged to have recourse to *Hannibal*, who, in abilities, infinitely outshone all other persons at his court, notwithstanding the late affront put upon him. That renowned general, forgetting the ill usage he had met with, appeared as much disposed to assist the distressed prince with his advice, as he would have been capable, had his plan of operations been executed, of supporting him before by his conduct, and personal bravery. In proof of which, he addressed himself to *Antiochus* in the following terms: " Had I been admitted into your councils ever since our arrival in *Greece*, I should have declared my sentiments, when an alliance with the *Achaëans*, *Boeotians*, and people of *Eubœa*, was brought upon the carpet, in the same manner as I shall this day, when we are to consider the expediency of a treaty with the *Thessalians*. You are, above all things, to invite *Philip* king of *Macedon* to enter into an alliance with you. As to the *Eubœans*, *Boeotians*, and *Thessalians*, they are not to be

Hannibal's advice to him,

¹ Liv. ubi sup. c. 42. & l. xxxvi. c. 4. APPIAN. in Libyc. Just. ubi sup. ² Liv. ubi sup. c. 7.

" regarded, since they court your friendship through fear. Upon the first appearance a
 " of a *Roman* army, they will change sides, and will be well received, as pretending
 " to have been over-ruled by a superior power, and acted against their natural incli-
 " nations through compulsion. Besides, the assistance those people can afford you, if
 " well affected, is inconsiderable; whereas *Philip* has lately shewn himself a match
 " for the *Romans*. You will likewise have the *Ætolians*, a state, that, in the late
 " war betwixt *Philip* and the *Romans*, caused the scale to preponderate in favour of
 " the latter, to act for you. I can therefore, provided you succeed in your negotia-
 " tion, insure you success. But, if *Philip* cannot be prevailed upon to join his arms
 " with ours, we may however prevent him from assisting the enemy. Your son b
 " *Seleucus* is now at *Lyfimachia*; let him advance, with the troops under his com-
 " mand, through *Thrace* to the confines of *Macedonia*, and lay them waste; which
 " will oblige the *Macedonian* monarch to employ all his forces in the defence and pro-
 " tection of his own dominions. You have now my opinion with regard to *Philip*.
 " And as to the war in general, had my advice been listened to, the *Romans* would,
 " before this time, have heard of greater exploits than the reduction of *Chalcis*, and
 " the castle of *Euripus*; even that *Etruria*, *Liguria*, and all *Cisalpine Gaul*, were in
 " a flame, and *Hannibal*, a name terrible to them, once more in *Italy*. However;
 " your affairs may still be retrieved; assemble all your land and sea forces, station
 " part of your fleet at *Corcyra*, in order to prevent the *Romans* from approaching
 " your frontiers; order the other part to hover about the coast of *Italy* facing *Africa* c
 " and *Sardinia*; and do you, at the head of your army, march into the territory of
 " *Byllis*. By these dispositions, you will provide for the security of *Greece*, and not
 " only make the enemy believe, that you have an intention to pass over thither, but
 " likewise be able actually to land all your troops there, should the situation of
 " affairs require it. However deficient I may be in other points, the vicissitudes of
 " fortune I have met with amongst the *Romans*, enable me to point out to you the
 " most effectual way of distressing them. In the execution of the plan I have sub-
 " mitted to your consideration, you may depend upon my assisting you with the
 " utmost zeal and activity. As to the rest, may the gods give you success in this;
 " and all your other undertakings!" The speech was received with general applause; d
 but none of his salutary admonitions listened to.

Hannibal de-
 feated in a sea
 engagement.

AFTER *Antiochus* was forced to abandon *Europe*, by the victorious arms of the
Romans, he retired to *Ephesus*. Here he, for some time, took up his residence,
 without any apprehensions of danger, his flatterers persuading him, that the enemy
 never durst pursue him into *Asia*. *Hannibal*, being now in great esteem at that
 prince's court, thought it but just to undeceive him in a point of such importance.
 He therefore told him, " That he did not so much doubt of an invasion of his *Asiatic*
 " dominions, as wonder, that the *Romans* were not already there; that it was easier
 " to transport an army from *Greece* into *Asia*, than from *Italy* into *Greece*; that the
 " *Romans* were as powerful by sea as by land; that a *Roman* squadron was seen, e
 " some time before, hovering about the promontory *Malea*; that he had received
 " intelligence of the departure of a fresh reinforcement of ships, and a new general,
 " from *Italy*." From whence he inferred, " That *Antiochus* must resolve either
 " to abdicate his throne, or oppose vigorously a people, who grasped at the empire
 " of the world." As this discourse of *Hannibal*, who was both the most able and
 faithful counsellor at the *Syrian* monarch's court, not a little affected the prince to
 whom it was directed, he made the necessary dispositions for his defence; but all
 his efforts proved unsuccessful. Even his fleet, under the conduct of the great *Han-*
nibal himself, was defeated by that of the *Rhodians*, commanded by *Eudamus*, off of
Sida, on the coast of *Pamphylia*, and miserably shattered. However, the *Rhodians* f
 suffered extremely in the action, sustaining almost as great a loss of men and ships as
Hannibal. The bad success of this engagement was intirely owing to the ill conduct
 of *Apollonius*, one of *Antiochus*'s admirals, who fled, with the squadron he commanded,
 almost in the beginning of the fight. Notwithstanding which, *Hannibal* made an
 excellent retreat, the enemy not being in a condition to pursue him. However, the
Rhodians detaching *Chariclitus* with twenty beaked ships to *Patara*, and *Megiste*, a
 small island, with a commodious port, in the sea of *Lycia*, prevented the junction of
Hannibal's shattered galleys with another *Syrian* squadron; which was a great morti-
 fication to the *Carthaginian*. In short, after a series of misfortunes, *Antiochus* found
 himself obliged to send *Zeufis*, the governor of *Lydia*, and his son *Antipater*, with a g
 carte

a *carte blanche*, to the Roman camp, in order to procure a peace upon any terms. The article chiefly insisted upon was, that *Hannibal* should be delivered up to the Romans; with which *Antiochus*, being unable to defend himself, was forced to comply. However, *Hannibal*, foreseeing what would happen, had taken care to retire in time to the island of *Crete*. It appears from *Scipio Nasica's* speech in *Livy*, that *Hannibal* was a general in the Syrian army at the battle of *Magnesia*; from whence, as well as from other circumstances, we have reason to believe, that he was present in all the principal actions, that happened between the Romans and *Antiochus* *.

Hannibal, upon his arrival in *Crete*, took sanctuary amongst the *Gortynii*; but having brought great treasure with him, and considering the avarice of the *Cretans*, b he judged it would be proper to have recourse to some stratagem, in order to secure himself, especially as he had reason to apprehend, that the *Cretans* were advertised of the riches he brought with him. He therefore filled several vessels with molten lead, just covering them over with gold and silver; which he deposited in the temple of *Diana*, in the presence of the *Gortynii*, with whom, he said, he trusted all his treasure. *Justin* tells us, that he left this there as a security for his good behaviour, and lived for some time very quietly in those parts. He however took care to conceal his riches in hollow statues of brass, which, according to some, he always carried along with him, or, as others will have it, exposed to view in a place of public resort, as things of little value. At last he retired to the court of *Prusias* king of *Bitbynia*, c with whom he found means to unite several neighbouring princes and states, and so formed a powerful confederacy against *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, a professed friend of the Romans. A rupture soon commenced betwixt them, which was followed by a great effusion of blood on both sides. During this war, *Hannibal* employed a stratagem of an extraordinary kind, in a sea-fight, to destroy *Eumenes*, which, he thought, would be of the utmost consequence to him. He put into earthen vessels a vast number of the most venomous serpents, which he ordered to be collected for that purpose, commanding the greatest part of his captains to attack *Eumenes's* ship, and throw these vessels on board him, whilst the rest stood on the defensive. The admiral-galley *Hannibal* discovered, by sending out a boat, with a letter to *Eumenes*; d which enabled the officers above-mentioned to attack it with great fury. *Eumenes* would have been either killed or taken, had he not sheered off, and been too swift for his pursuers. However, the other ships of *Pergamus* sustained the fight with great vigour, till the earthen vessels were thrown into them. At first they only laughed at this, and were very much surprised to find such weapons employed against them; but being surrounded with the serpents, which flew out of these vessels when they were broken, they found themselves seized with such horror, that they retired in confusion to their camp on the shore. *Nepos* tells us, that *Hannibal* promised a great reward to the person, that should kill *Eumenes*; that when the officer, whom he sent to him, came on board the admiral-galley, it was imagined he brought proposals of e peace; that *Eumenes*, instead of this, receiving a letter full of ridicule, could not conceive what was the end of such a commission; and that, irritated hereby, he immediately began the engagement. The same author likewise intimates, that *Hannibal* gave that prince several overthrows by land, and reduced him to great straits, more by force of genius, or dint of conduct, than superiority of strength *.

The Romans, receiving intelligence of the important services *Hannibal* had done *Prusias*, and of the influence he had at that prince's court, sent *T. Quintius Flaminius* f And poisons himself, in order to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans. thither as their ambassador. *Flaminius*, at his first audience, complained of the protection *Prusias* gave *Hannibal*, representing that famous general "as the most inveterate and implacable enemy the Romans ever had; as one who had ruined both his own country and *Antiochus*, by drawing them into a destructive war with "Rome." *Prusias*, in order to ingratiate himself with the Romans, immediately sent a party of soldiers to surround *Hannibal's* palace, that he might find it impossible to make his escape. The Carthaginian, having before discovered, that no confidence was to be reposed in *Prusias*, had contrived seven secret outlets in his palace, to evade the machinations of his enemies, even if they could carry their point at the *Bitbynian* court; which he was actually meditating, when the above-mentioned detachment arrived. Perceiving no possibility of escaping, he had recourse to the poison, which

* LIV. l. xxxvi. c. 41. l. xxxvii. c. 23—25. & l. xxxviii. c. 58—60. FLOR. l. ii. c. 8. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 20. w CORN. NEP. in Hannib. c. 9, 10. JUSTIN. l. xxxii. c. 4. LIV. l. xxxix. c. 51. GEORG. SYNCHEL. in chronograph. p. 285. VALER. MAX. l. iii. c. 7.

he had long kept for this melancholy occasion ; which taking in his hand, “ Let us, a
 “ said he, deliver the *Romans* from the disquietude, with which they have long been
 “ tortured, since they have not patience to wait for an old man’s death. *Flaminius*
 “ will not acquire any reputation or glory by a victory gained over a betrayed and
 “ defenceless person. This single day will be a lasting testimony of the degeneracy
 “ of the *Romans*. Their ancestors gave *Pyrrhus* intelligence of a design to poison
 “ him, that he might guard against the impending danger, even when he was at
 “ the head of a powerful army in *Italy*; but they have deputed a person of consular
 “ dignity to excite *Prusias* impiously to murder one, who has taken refuge in his
 “ dominions, in violation of the laws of hospitality.” Then he denounced dreadful
 imprecations against *Prusias*, and his kingdom, and invoked the gods presiding over b
 the sacred rights of hospitality ; after which, drinking off the poison he had prepared,
 he expired, at seventy years of age. *Cornelius Nepos* intimates, that *Hannibal* destroyed
 himself by a subtle (R) poison, which he carried about with him in a ring for that
 purpose. *Plutarch* relates, that, according to some writers, he ordered a servant to
 strangle him with a cloak wrapped about his neck ; and others will have it, that, in
 imitation of *Midas* and *Themistocles*, he drank bulls blood. Be that as it will, his
 death reflected an eternal ignominy and disgrace upon the *Romans*, whose insatiable
 thirst after empire had extinguished all generous sentiments, and every spark of virtue,
 in their minds *.

His character.

Thus died *Hannibal*, the greatest general perhaps, notwithstanding his misfor- c
 tunes, that any age ever produced ; a general, who would have utterly subverted
 the haughty *Roman* republic, had he not been sacrificed to the resentment of an envi-
 ous, wicked, and most abandoned faction. *Polybius* seems to make him a pattern for
 all succeeding commanders ; and *Livy*, notwithstanding his partiality, owns himself
 astonished at his wonderful conduct, after the defeat of his brother *Asdrubal*. No
 other general could have found means, after so terrible a blow, of maintaining him-
 self in one of the poorest spots of *Italy*, for several years, without any reinforcement
 of troops, or supplies of provisions, from *Carthage*. The perfect harmony kept up
 in his army, composed of such a variety of nations, viz. *Greeks*, *Africans*, *Spaniards*,
Gauls, *Carthaginians*, *Italians*, &c. differing in laws, manners, language, genius, and d
 almost every other particular, even after fortune had declared against him, and when
 they were in want both of money and provisions, was a full demonstration of his
 consummate abilities. The inviolable attachment of his new allies to him, when he
 was reduced to the necessity of making them sustain almost the whole burden of the
 war, by quartering his army upon them, and levying contributions in their respect-
 ive countries, clearly evinces the same thing. *Polybius* observes, that he over-reached
 most of the generals that opposed him ; but was himself never outwitted by any of
 them ; and seems to insinuate, that it would have been much more fatal to the *Car-*
thaginians to have lost him, than any of the armies he ever commanded : and indeed
 it sufficiently appears, from the preceding part of this history, that he was the life e
 and soul not only of the army, but likewise of the *Carthaginian* state. In fine, by
 his own surprising capacity, he carried on a war against the most martial people in
 the world many years, in a remote country, in spite of the violent opposition made
 by a powerful domestic faction, which refused him supplies of every kind, and thwarted
 him on all occasions. With regard to his political character, we shall only observe,
 that the secret intelligence he held with *Philip* king of *Macedon*, the wise counsels he
 gave *Antiochus*, the double regulation he introduced at *Carthage*, the potent confe-
 deracy he formed in favour of king *Prusias*, besides many other instances, that will
 occur to our readers, evidently prove him to have made as great a figure in the cabi-
 net, as the field. What we have already observed of his facetious disposition, and f

* *Liv.* ubi sup. & c. 65. *Plut.* in *Flamin.* *Corn. Nep.* & *Justin.* ubi sup. *Zonar.* ubi sup. c. 21.

(R) *Zonaras* relates, that *Hannibal* was under no
 apprehension of a sudden violent death, though he
 took such precautions to secure himself. This was
 occasioned by an answer the oracle gave him, when
 consulted on a certain emergency, viz. that he should
 die in *Libya*. However, adds that author, the pre-
 diction was fulfilled ; since the spot of ground, on

which he took the fatal draught, was called *Libya*.
Aurelius Victor tells us, that *Hannibal* died in a vil-
 lage of *Bithynia* called *Libyssa*, situated near the sea,
 where he was buried in a wooden coffin, with this
 inscription upon his tomb, *Here lies Hannibal*, and
 that this was still remaining in his time (24).

(24) *Zonar.* l. ix. c. 18. *Aurel. Vict.* in *Hannib.* sub fin.

- a. love for the muses, is confirmed by *Gellius* and others. His religious and moral conduct *Livy* paints in the blackest colours; but the testimony, as to this point, *Polybius* has given of him, the humanity with which he treated the bodies of *Marcellus* and *Sempronius Gracchus*, the high reverence he expressed for the gods on all occasions, his singular continence, and uncommon wisdom, his contempt of riches, the extraordinary temperance he was famous for, even in the midst of the greatest affluence, when he was at the head of the state of *Carthage*; these shining qualities, we say, and others, attested by the best authors, will not permit us to give any attention to the unfair representation of that prejudiced historian. *Polybius* however intimates, that he was accused at *Carthage* of avarice, and of cruelty at *Rome*; and that people
- b. were much divided in their sentiments concerning him. This cannot appear strange to any one, who considers, that, as he had many implacable enemies in both cities, he must, of course, have been drawn by some of them in the most disadvantageous light. But though, adds *Polybius*, we should allow some of the defects he has been charged with true, yet it would be but fair to conclude, that they ought rather to be attributed to the difficulties with which he was obliged to struggle during the course of so long and burdensome a war, than to his own natural disposition. Besides, he might be forced frequently to fall in with the inclinations of his officers, when they were opposite to his own, in order to excite them to a chearful discharge of their duty. These, it is reasonable to suppose, he could not always keep within proper bounds,
- c. considering the natural bent of his countrymen, any more than the soldiers, who fought under them. Be that as it will, *Polybius* looked upon *Hannibal* to have been a general of so noble and sublime a genius, that, in his opinion, had he at first attacked other powers, and reserved the *Romans* for the last nation to have contended with, he must have intirely overthrown their republic, and consequently rendered *Carthage* mistress of the world.

- It has been already observed, that, by one of the articles of the late treaty, the *Carthaginians* were to restore to *Masiniſſa* all the territories and cities he possessed before the beginning of the war. To these *Scipio* annexed part of *Syphax's* dominions, in order to reward the zeal and affection that prince had discovered for the
- d. *Romans* on all occasions, ever since the commencement of his friendship with them. After *Hannibal's* flight to *Antiochus*, and his emissary *Ariston's* escape, related above, the *Romans* began to look upon the *Carthaginians* with a suspicious eye, though, to prevent all distrust, the latter of these states had ordered two ships to pursue *Hannibal*, confiscated his effects, razed his house, and, by a public decree, declared him an exile. It was agreed likewise to notify to the *Romans* *Ariston's* commission, as well as escape, in order to shew their disapprobation of *Hannibal's* design, by the deputies they dispatched to *Rome*, to complain of *Masiniſſa's* unjust pretensions. That prince, being apprised, that *Carthage* was miserably rent by factions, and upon but very indifferent terms with the *Romans*, on account of the two events above mentioned, seized
- e. upon part of a maritime territory, which was extremely rich and fruitful, situated near the *Lesser Syrtis*, called *Emporia*. Both sides sent ambassadors to *Rome* on this occasion, to support the titles of their respective masters to the district in dispute. The *Carthaginians* alleged, "That this was within the limits of their *African* dominions, as settled by *Scipio*; and that this had been acknowledged by *Masiniſſa* himself, who, when he had pursued one *Apheires*, a *Numidian* prince, making an excursion out of his own territories, as far as the borders of *Cyrenaica*, would not pass through *Emporia*, without asking leave of the *Carthaginians*, looking upon it then as a territory, indisputably belonging to them." To which the *Numidian* ministers replied, "That what they so confidently advanced about *Scipio's* settling
- f. "the limits, was false; that the *Carthaginians*, in strictness and equity, ought only "to have the spot of ground, on which *Byrsa* stood, every other part of their *African* "dominions being taken from the natives by fraud and violence; that, as to the "district in question, they could not prove themselves to have been in possession of "it since the infancy of their republic, nay, that it had been any considerable time "under their jurisdiction; that the *Carthaginians* and *Numidians* had been masters

Disputes between the Carthaginians and Masiniſſa.

† AUL. GELL. noct. Attic. l. v. c. 5. POLYB. l. xi. & alib. LIV. l. xxviii. c. 12. & alib. pass. JUST. l. xxxii. c. 4. DIOD. SIC. l. xvi. & alib. in excerptis VALEſ. CORN. NEP. & AUREL. VICT. ubi sup. PLUT. in Hannib. in Marcel. in Flamin. & alib. VALER. MAX. POLYÆN. S. JUL. FRONTIN. pass. APPIAN. in Libyc. in Iber. & in Hannib. OROS. & ZONAR. pass. Vide etiam POLYB. in excerpt. legat. 33. LIV. l. xxv. c. 17. LUCAN. SIL. ITAL. pass. aliosq. quamplurim. scriptor. GRÆC. & Latin.

“ of it by turns, just as success attended their respective arms; and that they ^a hoped the senate would permit things to remain in their present situation.” Hereupon the conscript fathers thought proper to send *Scipio Africanus*, *C. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *M. Minutius Rufus*, to examine the controversy upon the spot. However, they returned without coming to any resolution, leaving the business in the same uncertain state in which they found it. Whether the commissioners acted in this manner of their own head, or by order of the senate, is not so certain, as that the interest of the *Romans* rendered a perfect harmony betwixt the contending parties then improper; for otherwise *Scipio*, who had deserved so well of both of them, could, by his own single authority, have put an end to the dispute ².

The Romans accommodate the differences between them.

Masinissa, not satisfied with the possession of the district he had so unjustly usurped, ^b over-ran a province, that his father *Gala* had taken from the *Carthaginians*, and *Syphax* from him, from whom it had returned to its former masters, through the charms and endearments of *Sophonisba*. The *Carthaginian* deputies pleaded the cause of their principals, and *Masinissa* his, before the *Roman* commissioners, with exceeding heat. The *Carthaginians* urged, that “ this territory was theirs, both by right of inheritance, and deed of gift.” On the other hand, *Masinissa* insisted, “ that it was formerly part of his father’s kingdom; that, in consequence of this title, he had taken possession of it; and that his pretensions were so indubitable, that he only feared, lest the modesty of the *Romans*, which might render them timorous of indulging a friend and ally in his just claims upon their common enemy, should ^c prove prejudicial to him.” The commissioners, in conformity to the disposition of their republic, referred this dispute, which happened ten years after the former, to the decision of the senate, and consequently left it undetermined. However, in the consulate of *L. Æmilius Paulus* and *Cn. Bæbius Tampilus*, the *Romans* effected an accommodation betwixt *Masinissa* and the *Carthaginians*, confirming the former in the possession of his unjust acquisitions, and restoring to the latter an hundred hostages they had, till that time, detained ^d.

Masinissa endeavours to embroil the *Carthaginians* with the *Romans*.

Masinissa, grasping at farther conquests, endeavoured soon after to embroil the *Carthaginians* with the *Romans*. In order to this, he concerted measures with the *Roman* ambassadors in *Africa*, to prejudice the conscript fathers against them. The latter did not scruple to affirm, that, to their certain knowledge, *Perseus* king of *Macedon*, with whom the *Romans* then were upon the verge of a war, had privately sent ambassadors to *Carthage*, to negotiate an alliance with that state; and that the senate was assembled by night in the temple of *Æsculapius*, to confer with them: whilst the former, in as strong a manner, asserted, that the *Carthaginians* had dispatched ministers to *Perseus*, to conclude a treaty with him. *Livy* seems to intimate, that the *Carthaginians* would not own this; but that the *Romans*, always attentive to the insinuations of their enemies, believed it to be true. The future conduct of that people towards *Carthage* renders *Livy*’s authority, in this point, indisputable ^e.

And makes an irruption into the province of *Tyica*.

Not long after this, *Masinissa* made an irruption into the province of *Tyica*, where ^f he soon possessed himself of above seventy, or, as *Appian* will have it, fifty towns and castles. This obliged the *Carthaginians* to apply, with great importunity, to the *Roman* senate for redress, their hands being so tied up by an article of the last treaty, that they could not repel force by force, in case of an invasion, without the consent of the *Romans*. The *Carthaginian* ministers at *Rome* represented the miserable condition of their republic in the most moving terms. They declared, “ That *Masinissa* was intirely void of honour; that, without the interposition of that august assembly, to whom they then addressed themselves, no limits could be prescribed to his cruelty, insolence, avarice and ambition. They therefore begged the conscript fathers either themselves to determine the point in debate betwixt ^g their principals and *Masinissa*; or to suffer the former to dislodge the latter from his conquests by force of arms; or lastly, if they were resolved to support the *Numidian* in all his unjust pretensions, to specify, once for all, what territories the *Carthaginians* were to cede to him, that they might know what hereafter they had to depend upon.” To this they subjoined, “ That, if the *Carthaginians* had incurred the displeasure of the *Romans* in any point inadvertently since the conclusion of the last peace, they begged they would punish them for the offence themselves, and not leave them exposed to the insults and vexations of *Masinissa*, since

^a POLYB. in excerpt. legat. 118. LIV. l. xxxiv. c. 61. APPIAN. in Libyc. & c. 34. Vide & APPIAN. ubi sup.

² Liv. l. xl. c. 17.

^b Liv. l. xli. c. 22.

“ they

- a " they preferred an utter extinction to the barbarities and depredations they were
 " forced to suffer from so merciless a tyrant." Then throwing themselves prostrate
 on the earth, they burst out into tears; which making a deep impression upon the
 senate in their favour, *Gulussa*, *Masinissa's* son, being then present, and called upon
 to vindicate his father's conduct, replied in terms to the following effect: " That
 " he had received no instructions from his father how to act in the present emergency,
 " since it could not be foreseen, that any thing would be laid to his charge; that
 " the *Carthaginians* had had several clandestine meetings by night in the temple of
 " *Æsculapius*, the object of whose consultations was kept secret from him, after which
 " deputies were dispatched to *Rome*; that the sole design of his father's sending
 b " him to *Rome* was, to intreat the senate not to pay any regard to the insinuations
 " of the common enemy against him, since the implacable hatred they bore him was
 " occasioned by the inviolable fidelity, with which he had so long been attached to
 " the *Romans*." The senate, after hearing both sides, answered, " That it would
 " be proper for *Gulussa* to set out immediately for *Numidia*, in order to acquaint his
 " father with the complaints of the *Carthaginians* against him; that he ought to send
 " deputies to *Rome*, to remove all difficulties that obstructed an accommodation
 " between him and them; that they would continue to serve him as they had hitherto
 " done, but not to the prejudice of the *Carthaginians*; that it was but just the antient
 " limits should be preserved; that the *Carthaginians* ought to be maintained in the
 c " possession of those territories, which the late treaty had allotted them." The
 deputies of both powers were then dismissed with the usual presents. The *Romans*
 were prompted to act after this perfidious manner, partly by that implacable hatred
 they bore the *Carthaginians*, and partly by the hopes of receiving succours from *Ma-*
sinissa in the *Macedonian* war, which they were just going to enter upon. The *Numi-*
dian answered their expectations; for he did not only supply them with corn, but
 likewise sent a body of troops, consisting of a thousand horse, and as many foot,
 with twenty-two elephants, under the command of his son *Misigenes*, to their assist-
 ance. However, this proceeded rather from a motive of policy than gratitude; for
 he considered, that if the *Romans* were victorious in this war, his affairs could but
 d remain in the same situation; whereas, should they be overcome, he doubted not
 reducing *Carthage*, and making himself master of *Africa* ^c.

- THE *Carthaginians*, notwithstanding the lamentable slavery under which they
 groaned, dispatched ambassadors to *Rome*, who acquainted the senate, " That their
 " state would immediately transport a million bushels of wheat, and five hundred
 " thousand of barley, into what part of the world the *Romans* pleased; that they
 " were sensible such a supply was not proportioned to those happy effects of the
 " *Roman* generosity and goodness, which their principals had so long experienced,
 " neither did it correspond with their inclinations; but that they hoped it would be
 " considered, by way of atonement for this defect, that, during the prosperity of
 e " both republics, in former times, they had given frequent instances of their being
 " true and faithful allies." *Masinissa's* ambassadors not only offered the same quan-
 tity of corn, but likewise to reinforce the *Roman* army with another body of twelve
 hundred horse, attended by twelve more elephants, and to obey all the senate's com-
 mands with the utmost alacrity. But neither could the *Carthaginians*, by such an
 abject and mean-spirited behaviour, a sufficient indication of that low and groveling
 mind, which seems to have been the distinguishing characteristic of their nation, pre-
 vail upon the *Romans* to discontinue their chicane. They spun out matters to a tedi-
 ous length, not permitting the ministers they employed to adjust all disputes betwixt
Masinissa and the *Carthaginians*, to arrive at a decision. By this conduct they enabled
 f the former to exhaust the latter, and consequently paved the way to the immediate
 destruction of a state, which to them, of all others, still appeared the most formi-
 dable ^d.

WHATEVER villainous designs the *Romans* might have formed, they affected to
 shew a great regard to the principles of justice and honour. They therefore sent
Cato, a man famous for committing enormities under the specious pretext of public
 spirit, to accommodate all differences betwixt *Masinissa* and the *Carthaginians*. The
 latter very well knew their fate, had they submitted to such a mediation, and there-
 fore appealed to the treaty, which had been concluded by *Scipio*, as the only rule, by

^c Liv. l. xlii. c. 23, 24. & c. 29. APPIAN. in Libyc. p. 37.
 APPIAN. in Libyc.

^d POLYB. ubi sup. Liv. l. xliii. c. 6.

which

which both their conduct, and that of their adversary, ought to be examined. This *unreasonable* appeal so incensed the righteous *Cato*, that he pronounced them a devoted people. As the intention of that *upright* person was not so much to forward the observation or conclusion of treaties, as to widen breaches, discover the strength and condition of *Carthage*, which was then very flourishing, notwithstanding the many blows it had received, and gratify the *Roman* ambition by all possible means, it is not so strange, that he should, even in the most absurd, though most virulent manner, press the senate, after his return home, to destroy that city. It is much more wonderful, that a *Frenchman* should censure this conduct, when it so exactly quadrates with that of a certain court, which he cannot possibly be a stranger to, for above a century past. However, as we have more than a *bare jealousy of the growing power*, as well as ambitious designs, of that court, we may, without offence, give it as our opinion, that, in order to secure the liberties of *Europe*, as well as to introduce public faith, justice, and honour once more into the world, it is necessary, *that the state represented by that court should be humbled, if not destroyed*.*

Masinissa de-
feats the Car-
thaginians.

SOME years before this time, *Carthage* was miserably rent by three potent factions. That devoted to the *Romans* was headed by one *Hanno*, a descendant, as may be supposed, of the person, who ruined his country by not supporting *Hannibal*; that in the interest of *Masinissa* by *Hannibal*, surnamed *Passer*; and that formed of the populace by *Hamilcar*, surnamed *Sannis*, and *Carthalo*. But, of late, two powerful parties had struggled for the dominion of the city, one of which, called the popular faction, prevailed over the other, composed of the grandees, and their adherents, and expelled forty of the senators. They retired to the court of *Masinissa*, to excite him to a war with the *Carthaginians*, who sent *Gulussa* and *Micipsa*, two of his sons, to *Carthage*, to solicit their return. However, the gates were shut upon them at their approach, lest the people, moved by the tears of those related to the exiles, should grant their request; nay, *Hamilcar*, surnamed *Sannis*, one of the *Carthaginian* generals, closely pursued *Gulussa*, and cut off some of his retinue. This occasioning a fresh rupture, *Masinissa* besieged *Oroscofa*, in violation of the last treaty. *Adrubal*, another *Carthaginian* general, advanced to the relief of *Oroscofa*, with an army of twenty-five thousand foot, and four hundred horse, and was immediately joined by a body of six thousand men, under the conduct of *Asasis* and *Suba*, two *Numidian* captains, who deserted from *Masinissa*. Animated by this accession of strength, *Adrubal* approached the *Numidian*, and skirmished successfully with some of the advanced guards. *Masinissa*, observing the eagerness of the *Carthaginian*, retired before him, as though he was afraid of his superior force, and insensibly drew him into a large and desolate plain, surrounded with precipices, and void of all kinds of sustenance. *Adrubal*, finding himself thus decoyed, possessed himself of several eminences, and prepared for an engagement; which immediately ensuing, and ending in favour of *Masinissa*, the *Carthaginians* sued for peace. In order to terminate their contests with that prince, the *Carthaginians* offered to yield up the territory of *Emporia*, to pay down two hundred talents of silver, and remit eight hundred more at a stipulated time to him. But *Masinissa* insisting upon the return of the exiles, they did not come to any decision. It is observable, that the *Roman* deputies, who arrived in the *Numidian* camp soon after the engagement, had orders to insist upon a peace, in case the *Carthaginians* defeated *Masinissa*; but to assure that prince of the continuance of their friendship, and push him on to the war, in case he was victorious. This they did, in order to complete the ruin of the *Carthaginians*. How, through the vindictive disposition of *Gulussa*, and the breaking out of the plague amongst them, the *Carthaginian* forces were almost utterly destroyed, our readers will find in a former part of this work, to which we must also beg leave to refer them for the particulars of the action just hinted at†.

Cato prevails
upon the Ro-
man senate to
declare war
against Car-
thage.

EVER since *Carthage* had rejected the mediation of the *Romans*, *Cato* had made his utmost efforts to prevail upon the conscript fathers to destroy that city. But *Scipio Nasica*, having a superior influence in the senate, had hitherto, notwithstanding the grievous provocation he met with from the *Carthaginians*, already related, prevented a rupture. However, the people of *Carthage*, knowing the *Romans* to be their inveterate enemies, and reflecting upon the iniquitous treatment they had met with from

* LIV. in epist. 47, 48, 49. APPIAN. ubi sup. c. 38. FLOR. l. ii. c. 15. VELL. PATERC. l. i. sub fin. PLUT. in Caton. Vide & histoire des Carthagin. par M. ROLLIN, tom. i. p. 421. † LIV. epist. 48. APPIAN. ubi sup. Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 769, 770.

- a them ever since the commencement of their disputes with *Masinissa*, were under great apprehensions of a visit from them. To prevent this, as much as in them lay, by a decree of the senate, they impeached *Adrubal* general of the army, and *Carthalo* commander of the auxiliary forces, together with their accomplices, as guilty of high treason, for being the authors of the war waged against the king of *Numidia*. They sent a deputation to *Rome*, to discover what sentiments were entertained there of their late conduct, and to know what satisfaction the *Romans* required. These ministers meeting with a cold reception, other deputies were dispatched, who returned with the same success. This made the unhappy citizens of *Carthage* believe, that their destruction was resolved upon; which threw them into the utmost despair.
- b And indeed they had but too just grounds for such a melancholy apprehension, the *Roman* senate now discovering an inclination to fall in with *Cato's* measures. It is said, that, in order to excite the conscript fathers to a vigorous resolution against the *Carthaginians*, that incendiary, after one of his most virulent speeches, threw out of the lapet of his robe, in the midst of the senate, some *African* figs, whose size and beauty observing the senators to admire; *Know*, said he, *that it is but three days since these figs were gathered; such is the distance between the enemy and us.* About the same time the city of *Utica*, being the second in *Africa*, and famous for its immense riches, as well as its equally capacious and commodious port, submitted to the *Romans*. As the possession of so important a fortress, which, by reason of its vicinity
- c to *Carthage*, might serve as a place of arms in the attack of that city, enabled the *Romans* to put the design they had been so long meditating in execution, immediately after this event, they declared war against the *Carthaginians*, without the least hesitation. In consequence of which declaration, the consuls *M. Manilius Nepos* and *L. Marcius Censorinus* were dispatched with an army and a fleet, to begin hostilities with the utmost expedition. The land-forces, destined to act against the *Carthaginians*, consisted of eighty thousand foot, and four thousand chosen horse; and the fleet of fifty quinqueremes, besides a vast number of transports. The consuls had secret orders from the senate, not to conclude the operations but by the destruction of *Carthage*, without which, the republic pretended, she could not but look upon all
- d her possessions as insecure and precarious. Pursuant to the plan they had formed, they landed the troops first at *Lilybaeum* in *Sicily*, from whence, after receiving a proper refreshment, it was proposed to transport them to *Utica* *.

- The answer brought by the last ambassadors to *Carthage* had not a little alarmed the inhabitants of that city; but they were not yet acquainted with the resolutions taken at *Rome*. They therefore sent fresh ambassadors thither, whom they invested with full powers to act as they should think fit for the good of the republic, and even to submit themselves, without reserve, to the pleasure of the *Romans*; but the most sensible persons amongst them did not expect any great success from this condescension, since the early submission of the *Uticans* had rendered it infinitely less meritorious than it would have been before. However, the *Romans* seemed to be, in some measure, satisfied with it, since they promised them their liberty, the enjoyment of their laws, and, in short, every thing that was dear and valuable to them. This threw them into a transport of joy, and they wanted words to extol the moderation of the *Romans*. But the conscript fathers immediately dashed all their hopes, by declaring the next instant, *Roman-like*, that this favour was granted them upon condition, that they would send three hundred young *Carthaginians* of the first distinction to the prætor *Fabius* at *Lilybaeum*, within the space of thirty days, and comply with all the orders of the consuls. *Gisco*, surnamed *Strytanus*, *Hamilcar*, *Mides*, *Gillicas*, and *Mago*, for so were the ambassadors called, durst not make the least remonstrance
- f against the severity of these conditions, but immediately set out for *Carthage*, to impart them to the senate there. That august assembly was filled with inexpressible concern, upon hearing the article relating to the hostages, which were considered as the flower, and the only hopes, of the noblest families in *Carthage*. They found themselves likewise extremely perplexed at the silence of the *Romans* with respect to the cities, of which no notice was taken in the concessions they seemed willing to make, and at the vague expression of *submitting to all the orders of the consuls*. However, being absolutely incapable of coping with so formidable an enemy, and, at that juncture, in want of almost every thing, *Mago Bretius*, in a brave and eloquent

The Romans demand three hundred hostages of the Carthaginians.

* LIV. APPIAN. PLUT. ubi sup. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 26. PLIN. l. xv. c. 18. FLOR. l. ii. c. 15.

speech, exhorted them, for the present, to obey. No scene can be conceived more a moving, than that exhibited by *Carthage*, when the hostages were delivered up: nothing was to be seen but tears, all parts, at the same time, echoing with groans and lamentations; but, above all, the unhappy mothers afforded a most mournful spectacle, bathing themselves in tears, tearing their dishevelled hair, beating their breasts, and yelling in such a manner, as might have moved the most savage hearts to compassion. When the fatal moment of separation was come, they accompanied their children to the ship, bid them a long, last farewell, persuaded, that they should never see them more, embraced them with the utmost tenderness, clasped them strongly in their arms, could not be prevailed upon to part with them, till they were forced away by the sailors; nay, many of them swam a long time after the ship, fixing their eyes immoveably upon it. As the ambassadors delivered them to the consuls, and they to *Fabius* at *Lilybæum*, before the thirty days were expired, they were not intirely without hopes of softening their hard-hearted enemy; but the consuls only told them, that, upon their arrival at *Utica*, they should learn the farther orders of the republic ^b.

And oblige
them to deliver
up all their
arms.

THOSE ministers no sooner received intelligence of the *Roman* fleet's appearing off of *Utica*, than they repaired thither, in order to know the fate of their city. The consuls however did not judge it expedient to communicate all the commands of their republic at once, lest they should appear so harsh and severe, that the *Carthaginians* would have refused a compliance with them. They first therefore demanded a sufficient supply of corn for the subsistence of their troops. Secondly, that they should deliver up into their hands all the triremes they were then masters of. Thirdly, that they should put them in possession of all their military machines. And, fourthly, that they should immediately convey all their arms into the *Roman* camp. As care was taken, that there should be a certain interval of time betwixt each of these demands, the *Carthaginians* found themselves ensnared, and could not reject any one of them, though they submitted to the last, which *Censorinus* insisted upon, notwithstanding the powerful reasons urged against it, with the utmost reluctance and concern ^c.

The Romans
command the
Carthaginians
so abandon
their city.

THE gaining of these points paved the way to the destruction of *Carthage*, though it reflected an eternal dishonour upon the *Roman* name. *Censorinus*, now imagining the *Carthaginians* not capable of sustaining a siege, commanded them to abandon their city, or, as *Zonaras* will have it, to demolish it, permitting them to build another eighty stadia from the sea, but without walls or fortifications. Both the ambassadors, before whom this fulminating decree was pronounced, and the people of *Carthage*, when they were apprised of it, by their gestures and complaints, demonstrated the greatest emotions of grief on this tragical occasion; but the *Romans* remained inflexible, not shewing the least regard to the tears and intreaties of a people, reduced to the extremes of despair. The ambassadors, at one time, supplicated the gods with the greatest fervor, as well as endeavoured, by all possible means, to excite the compassion of the *Romans*; and at another, they appealed to the avenging deities, whose severe eyes are ever open to fraud and villainy. The senators and people, upon receiving the report of the ambassadors, for some time, intirely abandoned themselves to despair; which was heightened by the frantic disposition of the women, whose children had been sent to *Rome*. In short, *Carthage* was nothing now but a scene of horror, madness, and confusion. The citizens cursed their ancestors for not dying gloriously in the defence of their country, rather than concluding such ignominious treaties of peace with their implacable enemies, which had been the cause of the deplorable condition, to which their posterity was then reduced. They likewise condemned themselves in the strongest terms, for having so tamely, as well as stupidly, delivered up their arms, and even blasphemously taxed the gods themselves with being the authors of all their misfortunes. However, nothing could make an impression upon the *Romans* in their favour. But as, in a former part of our history, we have expatiated largely upon this head, we shall only beg leave to observe farther here, that, when the first transports of grief were over, and their passions began to subside, they unanimously resolved to die upon the spot, rather than comply with the barbarous orders of the *Romans*; and, in consequence of this resolution, made the necessary dispositions for the defence of their capital city ^d.

^b POLYB. l. xxxiii. in excerpt. legat. 142. LIV. in epit. xlix. APPIAN. & FLOR. ubi sup. EUTHOR. l. iv. c. 10. ZONAR. ubi sup. c. 26. ^c POLYB. LIV. APPIAN. ubi sup. ZONAR. ubi sup. c. 27. Vide & Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 771, 772. ^d Ibidem ibid. FLOR. ubi sup. PAUL. OROS. l. iv. c. 22.

- a A certain polite ¹ author takes some pains to shew, that the *Romans* did not act agreeably to the maxims of justice and honour in the point before us; and consequently seems to insinuate, that some proof, besides the notoriety of the facts, is requisite to evince the iniquity of their conduct on the present occasion. This perhaps may be looked upon as an argument of some good nature, and delicacy of sentiments; but can never be deemed one of that boldness, and inflexible attachment to truth, essential to a good historian. A writer of this kind will paint every species of vice, particularly those of a most public and enormous nature, in their most proper, that is, in the most odious colours. He will esteem a person, who endeavours to palliate, or even touches but lightly upon any flagrant villainy, be the actors of it who they will, as one who either inwardly approves of it, or is afraid of exposing it; and consequently as one so far disqualified for transmitting to posterity the transactions of former ages. It is not sufficient, in our opinion, in order to express our detestation of that execrable perfidiousness and barbarity the *Romans* were guilty of, to say, "I can never believe, that so sensible, rational and just a man as *Polybius*, could have approved of the proceedings of the *Romans* on the present occasion.—We do not find here any of the characteristics, which distinguished the *Romans* antiently, that greatness of soul, that rectitude, that utter abhorrence of mean artifices, frauds, and impostures, which, as is somewhere said, formed no part of the *Roman* genius.—Why did not the *Romans* attack the *Carthaginians* by force? Why should they declare expressly in a treaty, that they allowed them the full enjoyment of their liberties and laws, and understand, at the same time, certain private conditions, which proved the intire ruin of both? Why should they conceal, under the scandalous omission of the word *city* in this treaty, the black design of destroying *Carthage*, as though, beneath the cover of such an equivocation, they could justly ruin it? In fine, why did the *Romans* not make their last declaration, till after they had extorted from the *Carthaginians*, at different times, their hostages and arms, that is, till they had absolutely rendered them incapable of disobeying their unjust commands? — *It is very dangerous to be possessed of so much power, as may enable one to commit injustice with impunity, and with a prospect of being a gainer by it. The experience of all ages shews, that states seldom scruple to commit injustice, when they think it will turn to their advantage.*" Our readers will here observe, that, with regard to the *Roman* nation in general, these reflections scarce carry with them more of satire than panegyric; and that, as to the very persons guilty of one of the greatest violations of public faith, attended with the most aggravating circumstances, that perhaps ever happened, he only seems to intimate, that they did not come up to the virtues of their ancestors; nay, he puts them upon a level with those at the head of other states. Such a palliation of one of the most atrocious public crimes to be met with in history, would be inexcusable in an author of any other nation than that to which he belongs; but as for his countrymen, if we suppose them to pay any deference to the conduct of their superiors for above a century past, it is as natural for them to talk in this strain now, as it was for the *Romans* to act the part they did at the time *Carthage* was destroyed.

In whatever light we view the villainous conduct of the *Romans* at this juncture, it must appear as the result of a complication of all the bad qualities, that can be inherent in any state. Perjury, cruelty, injustice, pride, meanness of spirit, and even cowardice itself, in the highest degree, are some of the principal of them. Neither can we conceive how it should enter into the head of the author just cited, as well as of many others, that even the ancestors of that profligate set of men we are now speaking of, were so eminent for their *rectitude, greatness of soul, and public spirit*, at least any of them but those, who flourished in the earliest times of the republic. Can any state, that is continually grasping at universal empire, and aims at nothing but enslaving all its neighbours, deserve such a shining character? And that the *Roman* republic had this solely in view, even almost from its very infancy, is evident from the most partial of its own historians. That *public spirit*, if any criminal passion deserves such a noble appellation, which serves only to cement the members of a community together, in order to enable them the more effectually to plunder and massacre all the rest of their species, is, at most, no better than that principle, which unites a gang of robbers and assassins; and whether the *Romans* in general were not,

¹ M. ROLLIN. in hist. des Carthagin. tom. i. p. 432, 433 & seq. à Amsterdam, 1733. Vide & orat. PONTII TALENTINI, apud Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 27.

from very remote times, actuated by such a *public spirit* as this, will easily be determined by those who have been but moderately conversant with their writers. The best therefore, in our opinion, that can be said of the *Romans* of the age we are now upon, is, that they were worse than any preceding generation of one of the most hypocritical, tyrannical, ambitious, and consequently worst nations, we read of in history. We must leave it to the consideration of our readers, whether their conduct has not been since equalled by that of a neighbouring nation, which has, for the best part of a century, been taught to distinguish between the *letter* and *spirit* of treaties, and which, with its liberty, seems to have lost the very notion of all public virtues.

The operations
of the Romans
against Car-
thage.

BUT to resume the thread of our history: the *Carthaginians*, having pacified *Asdrubal*, one of their generals, who, for some contumelious treatment, had advanced, at the head of twenty thousand men, almost to the gates of *Carthage*, in order to besiege it, reduced most of the open country to their obedience. *Asdrubal*, with his forces, posted himself advantageously before the town, supplying the inhabitants daily with vast quantities of provisions. At last the *Roman* army invested it, not doubting but it would fall an easy prey to them. *Manilius* attacked it by land, as *Marcus* did by sea; and both of them pushed on the siege with all the vigour they were capable of. But *Asdrubal* greatly retarded their approaches, by cutting off their parties sent to collect materials for framing the military machines; which he did, by drawing them insensibly into ambuscades prepared for that purpose. *Manilius* therefore could make no considerable impression on the city by land; and as *Marcus*, with the fleet, lay near the *stagnum* or great morass, the exhalations proceeding from thence, together with the heat of the season, infected the air, and carried off great numbers of his men. The garrison likewise repulsed the *Romans* in all the attacks they made, with the loss of abundance of men, and, by their vigorous sallies in the night, destroyed most of their works and battering engines. *Asdrubal* also, by his detachments, prevented their excursions, and intercepted their foragers; so that their cavalry was reduced to the utmost distress. As for *Masiniissa*, a misunderstanding betwixt him and the *Romans* hindered the junction of their forces; so that the consuls reaped no advantage from the troops of that ally. They therefore judged it expedient, at present, to draw off from before the town. *Marcus*, with the fleet, endeavoured to ravage the coasts of *Africa*; but not being able to execute his design, he attacked the island *Ægimurus*, which surrendered to him. In the mean time *Manilius* moved towards the sea-coasts, to favour, as should seem, the operations of *Marcus*; but finding him not in a capacity to undertake any thing, he returned to his former camp before the walls of *Carthage*, having been harassed in his march by *Himilco*, surnamed *Fabeas*, or, according to *Appian*, *Phameas*, general of the *Carthaginian* horse. However, the siege went on very slowly, *Asdrubal* closely attending him, and destroying great numbers of his men on one side, whilst the besieged made an equal havoc of them on the other, by their continual sallies. The *Romans* were only in possession of *Saxus*, *Leptis*, *Cbolla*, and *Utica*; so that they were not a little streightened for want of provisions. We are told by *Appian*, that *Censorinus* played one vast ram against the walls with six thousand foot, and another with a prodigious number of rowers, whose officers attended, doing their duty as if in an engagement; but, though a great breach was made, he could not storm the place, the *Carthaginians*, after having repulsed him, repairing it in the night. In what manner the *Carthaginians* afterwards burnt the *Roman* fleet, and *Scipio Æmilianus* saved the *Roman* army, when it was upon the very brink of destruction, may be learnt from *Appian*, as well as a former part of this history ^m.

In the mean time *Masiniissa*, drawing near his end, dispatched a courier to *Æmilianus*, to apprise him of it, and to desire him to divide the dominions he was possessed of betwixt his three sons, *Micipsa*, *Gulussa*, and *Mastanabal*, as well as to assist them with his advice. This *Scipio* executed in the most prudent and equitable manner, as we shall see in the *Numidian* history. Whilst this was transacting, *Manilius* reduced the strong city of *Texaga*, and gave the enemy a great defeat there, putting twelve thousand of them to the sword, and taking six thousand prisoners. Some other places of strength he likewise made himself master of before the conclusion of the campaign ⁿ.

^m LIV. APPIAN. FLOR. PLUT. AUREL. VICT. de vir. illust. §8. EUTROP. OROS. ZONAR. ubi sup. Univ. hist. vol. iv. p. 773, 774. ⁿ POLYB. in excerpt. Valef. p. 175. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 2. APPIAN. ZONAR. OROS. ubi sup.

a THE Carthaginians, about this time, sustained a considerable loss by the desertion of Phameas, one of their best commanders, who went over to the Romans, after he had had an interview with Æmilianus, at the head of a body of two thousand two hundred horse. As he was an officer of great capacity, he did not a little contribute to the destruction of Carthage. For the particulars of this transaction, we must refer our readers to Appian ^o.

Phameas deserts the Carthaginians.

THE next campaign, the consul Calpurnius Piso, and his lieutenant Mancinus, conducted the war in Africa. The Carthaginians were so strong this year, that they obtained several advantages over the Romans, and, towards the close of it, obliged them to raise the siege of Hippo Zaritus, which they had carried on the whole summer, after having burnt all their military machines. As for the siege of Carthage, that, for the present, seemed to be at a stand. The besieged applied to Andrius, who pretended to be the son of Perseus king of Macedon, for assistance, or at least for a diversion in their favour, by pursuing the war he was then engaged in against the Romans with vigour. In order the more strongly to excite him to this, they promised him powerful supplies both of money and ships. However, they received no assistance from that quarter, the reason of which, as well as all the most important events of this campaign, our readers will find related in another place ^o.

The Carthaginians obtain some advantages over the Romans.

THE Carthaginian army, having been reinforced the preceding year with a body of eight hundred Numidian horse, whose leader Bitbyas had prevailed upon them to desert Gulussa, and the accession of some other troops from Carthage, began to move very early out of its winter-quarters. As it had been observed, that neither Micipsa nor Mastanabal, Masinissa's other sons, had sent any supplies to the enemy, either of money or arms, notwithstanding they had, for a long time past, promised them such supplies, the Carthaginians resumed their former courage, scoured the open country, and put all their places of strength in the best posture of defence. The advantages they had gained at Neberis and Hippo, and the enemy's inability to push on the siege of Carthage, though the city was, in a manner, dismantled, and the inhabitants disarmed, inspired them with a resolution to defend themselves to the last drop of blood. They sent ambassadors to Micipsa, Mastanabal, and the independent Mauritanian princes, in order to form a powerful alliance against the Romans, insinuating to those princes, that, should the African republic be once subverted by that haughty people, they must soon expect to meet with the same fate. Asdrubal, the Carthaginian general without the town, about this time, desiring the command of the troops within the city, possessed by another Asdrubal, Gulussa's nephew, accused him falsely of a design to betray the republic into that prince's hands. The innocent person was so thunder-struck with the accusation, which came intirely unlooked for, that he had nothing to offer in his own defence; so that he was instantly dispatched upon the spot, without any further process ^p.

Bitbyas, with a body of Numidian horse, comes over to the Carthaginians.

SOON after Piso, with a body of troops, reduced some of the inland towns, leaving Mancinus, with the other part of the army, to continue the siege of Carthage. Mancinus, observing one part of the wall, which, by reason of its rocky situation, seemed inaccessible, not guarded, found means to scale it, and take post in the town, with three thousand five hundred men. But the Carthaginians not only prevented any ill consequences from this lodgment, but likewise cut off his retreat, and so surrounded him, that he must either have been destroyed, or starved to a surrender, had not Æmilianus in the critical moment relieved him. This so disheartened the Carthaginians, that they abandoned several posts; which encouraged Æmilianus to make an attack upon Megara, a part of the city, which our readers will find already described. This was begun at midnight, by a select body of troops, who had provided themselves with axes, levers, and scaling-ladders, being led by the general himself. They advanced several stadia without the least noise; but at last gave a sudden and general shout, which struck the enemy, who did not expect a visit at so unreasonable an hour, with terror. However, recovering themselves, they opposed the assailants with such bravery, that Æmilianus found it impossible to mount the ramparts; but at last perceiving a tower very near the walls, and of an equal height with them, but without the city, abandoned by its guards, he detached thither a party of choice troops, who, by the help of pontons, made a lodgment on the walls, from whence

Æmilianus takes Megara.

^a APPIAN. ubi sup. Vide & LIV. epit. l. EUTROP. l. iv. c. 10. & ZONAR. ubi sup. ubi supra. ZONAR. ubi sup. c. 29, 30.

^o APPIAN. ubi sup. LIV. epit. l. ZONAR. ubi sup. c. 30.

descending into *Megara*, they immediately broke down the gates. Upon which *Æmilianus* entering with four thousand of the flower of his troops, the enemy found themselves obliged to retreat to *Byrsa*, in as great a consternation as if the whole city had been taken, being followed even by the forces, that were encamped without the town. *Asdrubal*, finding the next morning what had happened, was extremely chagrined; and, either to gratify his resentment, or to reduce the besieged to a state of desperation, that they might behave with a greater degree of resolution in the defence of the place, massacred all the *Roman* prisoners he had taken, in the manner we have already related ^a.

And fortifies his camp.

WHILST *Asdrubal* was thus venting his fury upon the *Roman* captives, and even murdering many *Carthaginian* senators, who had been so brave as to oppose his tyranny, *Æmilianus* was busy in drawing lines of circumvallation and contravallation cross the isthmus, which joined the peninsula, whereon *Carthage* stood, to the continent of *Africa*. That part of these lines, which fronted the city of *Carthage*, was strengthened by a wall twenty-five stadia long, and twelve foot high, flanked at proper distances with towers and redoubts; and on the middle tower was erected a very high wooden fort, from whence could be seen whatever was doing in the city. The enemy, who were within a dart's cast of it, made their utmost efforts to put a stop to the work; but as the whole army was employed upon it day and night without intermission, it was finished in twenty-four days. The *Carthaginians* were doubly incommoded by this work; first, as it secured the *Roman* forces against their sallies; and secondly, as *Æmilianus* thereby cut off all provisions from them; which distressed them exceedingly. *Bitthas* indeed, who had been sent out to collect corn before *Æmilianus* made himself master of *Megara*, arrived soon after the consul had perfected his lines; but he durst not venture to attack them. However, he found means to convey by sea some small quantities to *Asdrubal*, who distributed what he received amongst his troops, without any regard to the inhabitants. That general seems to have been induced to this by the opposition he met with from the senators, who, being highly incensed at his enormous cruelty to the *Roman* prisoners, as it precluded them from all hopes of mercy, and, instead of encouraging, disheartened the troops, cried out, *That such an unjustifiable proceeding was highly unseemable at a juncture, when they were ready to sink under the pressure of the public calamities.* A famine therefore ensued, which not a little contributed to the destruction of the city ^b.

The Carthaginians again worsted.

THE besieged found themselves already reduced to great straits; but the progress *Æmilianus* had lately made in an attempt to stop up the mouth of the old harbour by a mole, that of the new one being already shut up by the *Roman* fleet, afforded them a much more melancholy prospect, than any thing that had yet happened to them. Being extremely alarmed, they resolved to take such measures, as might, if possible, defeat the enemy's design. Setting therefore all hands to work, with an industry scarce to be paralleled, they dug a new basin, and opened a communication with the sea; which enabled them to make head against the enemy once more upon that element; for, with the same diligence, they fitted out a fleet of fifty quinqueremes, with a vast number of other vessels, built chiefly of the old materials found in their magazines. This amazing work was completed so suddenly, and with such an impenetrable secrecy, that *Æmilianus* entertained not the least suspicion of it, till he saw their squadron appear at sea. Then his surprize was so great, thinking it impossible, that so weak an enemy should, as it were, in an instant become so formidable, that, *Appian* believes, the *Carthaginians* might have totally ruined the *Roman* fleet, had they immediately attacked it. This seems to have been no unreasonable supposition, because, as no such blow was expected, and every man otherwise employed, the *Carthaginians* would have found the *Roman* vessels destitute of rowers, soldiers and officers. However, two days after, both parties came to an action, and being greatly animated, the one by the hopes of preserving every thing dear and valuable to them, the other of finishing a conquest, which had cost them such an immense quantity of blood and treasure, they exerted themselves in an extraordinary manner. During the heat of the action, the *Carthaginian* brigantines, gliding along under the large *Roman* ships, broke to pieces many of their sterns, rudders, and oars; and, if at any time they found themselves pushed, they retreated with surprising swiftness, and returned ^c.

^a POLYB. in excerptis Valerii, p. 179. APPIAN. & ZONAR. ubi sup. Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 775.
^b Idem ibid.

- a immediately to the charge. The dispute continued with equal success till the evening, when the *Carthaginians* thought proper to retire, not under any apprehension of the enemy's superiority, but in order to renew the engagement with greater advantage early the next morning. Their lighter vessels, being extremely swift and numerous, soon occupied the harbour, and, by their multitude, shut up the mouth of it; so that those of a larger size were excluded from thence, and obliged to take shelter under a very spacious terrace, which had been thrown up against the walls to unload goods, and on the side whereof a small rampart had been raised during this war, to prevent the enemy from possessing themselves of it. Here the fight began again early the following day with more vigour than ever, and continued till late at night; but
- b at last, by the conduct and bravery of five galleys of *Sida*, the *Carthaginians* were obliged to retire, and sail for shelter to the city. The next morning *Æmilianus* attacked the terrace; but was repulsed with prodigious slaughter by the besieged, who burnt all his military machines. However, he afterwards carried it by assault, and having fortified it, ordered a wall to be built close to those of the city, and of equal height with them. When this was finished, he commanded four thousand men to mount it, and discharge showers of darts and javelins upon the enemy, in order both to insult and annoy them. As the troops on each side were upon a level, there was scarce a dart thrown but what did execution. The last action concluded the military operations of this campaign.
- c In order the more effectually to cut off supplies of every kind from the besieged, *Æmilianus* formed a design to reduce the places of strength the *Carthaginians* had still in their hands, particularly *Nepheris*, where they had a numerous body of forces strongly encamped, commanded by *Diogenes*, one of *Asdrubal's* intimate friends, who, by means of the new basin above-mentioned, sent continual convoys of provisions to *Carthage*. The reduction of the other places he effected by detachments commanded by persons that he could confide in; but that of the latter was accomplished by a body of troops under the conduct of *Lælius*, supported by *Guthusa's* *Numidian* horse. By the activity of these last, and the violence of the *Numidian* elephants, the whole *Carthaginian* army, consisting of eighty-four thousand men, was either cut to pieces, or taken prisoners, except four thousand, who dispersed themselves in the neighbouring villages. This happened before *Æmilianus* resumed the operations against the city of *Carthage*, and induced the *Africans*, who were kept in awe by *Diogenes*, to abandon the *Carthaginians*.
- d Soon after *Æmilianus* formed two attacks, one against *Byrsa*, and the other against the *Cotbon*. Having possessed himself of the wall, which surrounded the port or *Cotbon*, he threw himself into the great square of the city, that was near it; but the night not permitting him to penetrate farther, he ordered his soldiers to remain there till morning under arms. At break of day he received a reinforcement of four thousand men from the camp, who, notwithstanding all the efforts of their officers to the contrary, plundered the temple of *Apollo*, which was immensely rich, and divided the booty amongst themselves, before they could be prevailed upon to advance against the enemy. *Æmilianus*, by the occupation of this square, and possession of the wall, being master of every part of the city, but *Byrsa* or the citadel, attempted to force his way to this last with inexpressible bravery. The *Carthaginians* having been greatly weakened by a famine, insomuch that they had been obliged to feed, for some time, upon human flesh, and had scarce strength to handle their arms, he, in six days, effected this. However, in the contest he lost a vast number of men, and gained his point with the utmost difficulty. Most of those who had fled into *Byrsa*, were so intimidated at the approach of the *Roman* army, that they surrendered upon the proconsul's granting them their lives. *Asdrubal*, the commandant, soon after abandoned the rest of them, and put himself into the hands of the *Romans*. His wife could not survive such an instance of perfidiousness, cowardice, and inhumanity; and therefore, with nine hundred *Roman* deserters, to whom *Æmilianus* had denied mercy, committed herself, as well as her children, to the flames, that destroyed both the citadel, and the famous temple of *Æsculapius* upon it. *Appian* tells us, that, before she acted this tragedy, she appeared in splendid attire, with her children, upon the walls, and addressed herself to *Scipio* in terms to the following effect: "May the gods, *Roman*, be propitious to you, who act according to the rules of war; but may you, and

* *Iidem* *ibid* & *Liv.* in *epit.* li. *Florent.* l. ii. c. 15.

† *Liv.* & *Appian.* *ubi supra.*

"the genius of *Carthage*, take vengeance of that miscreant *Asdrubal*, the betrayer a
 "of his wife, children, country, and religion!" Then turning to *Asdrubal*, who stood
 by *Æmilianus*, "Abandoned villain, said she, and most cowardly of mortals! both
 "I, and these my children, shall be soon buried in these flames; but as for you,
 "great general of *Carthage*, what a splendid triumph will you be reserved to grace!
 "What tortures may you not expect to suffer!" This put a period to the state
 of *Carthage*, and consequently to the dispute for the empire of the world, which had
 continued, almost without intermission, betwixt two of the most famous republics
 to be met with in history, for the space of an hundred and eighteen years. What
 instructions the conscript fathers at *Rome* sent the proconsul, in relation to the total
 demolition of *Carthage*, and how, in consequence of these instructions, that unfortu- b
 nate city was intirely razed, the cities confederated with it dismantled, as well as
 those that had declared for the *Romans* rewarded, and the whole country appertain-
 ing to it turned into a province, together with many other particulars relative to the
 catastrophe we are now upon, our readers will find recited at large in the *Roman*
 history".

He carries off
 an immense
 quantity of
 plunder to
 Rome.

Thus fell *Carthage*, in the consulate of *C. Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Mummius*,
 about a hundred and forty-six years before the commencement of the christian æra;
 a city, whose destruction ought to be attributed more to the intrigues of an aban-
 doned faction, composed of the most profligate part of its citizens, than to the power
 of its villainous rival, however formidable it might at that time appear. The trea- c
 sure *Æmilianus* carried off, even after the city had been delivered up to the soldiers to
 be plundered, according to the *Roman* military law, was so immense, that it exceeded
 all belief, *Pliny* making it amount to four (S) millions four hundred and seventy thou-

* *Iidem* *ibid.* ut & *ZONAR.* *ubi sup.* Vide etiam *VALER. MAX.* l. iii. c. 2. *OROS.* l. iv. c. 23. *FLOR.*
 & *AUREL. VICT.* *ubi sup.* *EUTROP.* l. iv. c. 12. *Univ. hist.* *ubi sup.* p. 778, 779.

(S) This was not the only treasure *Æmilianus*
 met with now in *Carthage*. According to *Sallust*,
 he preserved from the flames several valuable libra-
 ries, which he presented to the sons of *Micipsa*.
 The works of all the most noted *Phœnician* and *Pu-
 nian* authors were undoubtedly included in these col-
 lections, some of the principal of which, besides
 those already mentioned, were the following:

1. *Dius*, a celebrated *Phœnician* historian, a frag-
 ment of whose work, relating to the friendly inter-
 course betwixt *Salomon* and *Hiram* king of *Tyre*, has
 been preserved to us by *Josephus*, in the eighth
 book of his antiquities, and the first of his treatise
 against *Apion*.

2. *Eumachus*, a *Carthaginian* writer, cited by
Phlegon, who, amongst other things, related, that,
 whilst the *Carthaginians* were drawing a line round
Africa Propria, they discovered two human skele-
 tons, deposited in two coffins, of an enormous size.
 One of these, according to *Phlegon*, was twenty-three
 cubits long, and the other twenty-four. The age
 in which this author lived, has not been hitherto
 discovered.

3. *Hieronymus Ægyptius*, who, according to *Fre-
 culphus Lexoviensis*, a chronological historian, that
 lived near nine hundred years ago, wrote a history
 of *Phœnicia*. For a further account of him, we
 must refer our readers to *Vossius*.

4. *Hestianus Milesius*, a compiler of *Phœnician* hi-
 story, taken notice of by *Josephus*, in the tenth book
 of his *Jewish antiquities*.

5. *Hyssicrates*, a native, as should seem, of *Phœ-
 nicia*, who composed a history of that country in
 the *Phœnician* language. A *Greek* translation of this
 author, done by one *Chatus*, if not the original
 itself, was extant in the time of *Tatian*. He is like-
 wise taken notice of by *Eusebius*, in the tenth book

of his *Præparatio evangelica*.

6. *Iolaus*, a compiler of *Phœnician* history, whose
 works are all lost, except a few fragments, which
 seem intirely fabulous. From what *Bochart*, *Ges-
 ner*, and *Vossius*, have related of him, the loss of
 his performance is not greatly to be regretted.

7. *Atachus* or *Moschus*, a *Phœnician*, who wrote
 the history of his own country in his mother-tongue.
Chatus above-mentioned translated this piece into
Greek. *Josephus*, *Tatian*, and *Athenaus*, supply us
 with the short account we have of him.

8. *Moschus Sidonius*, a native of *Sidon*, who, ac-
 cording to *Strabo*, seems to have been the founder
 of the atomical philosophy.

9. *Procles*, a *Carthaginian* historian, some of whose
 fragments have been preserved to us by *Pausanias*.

10. *Sanchoiatho*, a *Phœnician* historian, who, ac-
 cording to the most received opinion, lived a little
 before the siege of *Troy*. He extracted his history,
 which was written in the *Phœnician* language, partly
 from the records of cities, and partly from the sa-
 cred writings deposited in temples. *Philo* of *Byblus*,
 who, according to *Suidas*, lived in the reign of *Ha-
 drian*, translated this history into *Greek*, some ex-
 tracts of which we find in the first book of *Euse-
 bius's Præparatio evangelica*. *Suidas* informs us,
 that he wrote one treatise of the religious institut-
 ions of the *Phœnicians*; another of *Hermes's* physio-
 logy; and a third of the *Egyptian* theology. *Por-
 phyrus* makes him to have been of *Berytus*; but he
 was of *Tyre*, if we will give credit to *Athenaus*.

11. *Theodotus*, a writer of *Phœnician* history,
 whose performance *Chatus* translated into *Greek*.
 Our readers will find every thing relating to him,
 that antiquity has supplied us with, in *Bochart* and
Vossius (25).

(25) *Strab.* l. xvi. & *alib.* *Joseph. antiq.* & *cont. Apion. pass.* *Euseb. in præp. evang. pass.* *Hestianus*
Milesius apud Joseph. in antiq. Judaic. l. iii. *Phlegon Trallian. de reb. mirabil. c. 18.* *Athen. deipnosoph. l. iii.*
iv. & alib. *Tatian. in oras. advers. gens. Voss. de ars. histor. c. 7. & de hist. Græc. l. iii.* *Gesn. in biblioth.*
& Bochart. in Chan. Suid. pass. Porphy. advers. christian. l. iv. Vide etiam *Voss. de hist. Græc.* *Bochart.*
in Chan. Casaub. animadv. in Athen. Reines. hist. Jul. Christ. Hendr. de repub. Carthagin. pass. alijsq.
script. quamplurim.

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a find pounds weight of silver. The iniquity of the Roman conduct at the commencement, as well as through the whole course, of this war, is acknowledged by *Velleius*, and other historians, who cannot be suspected of the least partiality in favour of the *Carthaginians*. In fine, *Rome*, though, in a manner, mistress of the world, could not imagine herself in a state of security, as long as even the name of *Carthage* remained; so true is it, that a rivetted antipathy, fomented by long and bloody wars, continues even after all cause for fear is removed, and does not cease, till the object that occasions it is no more. The *Romans* ordered it never to be inhabited again, denouncing dreadful imprecations against those, who, contrary to this prohibition, should attempt to rebuild any part of it, especially *Byrsa* and *Megara*. However, all persons who b desired it, were admitted to see *Carthage*, nothing affording *Emilianus* a higher satisfaction, than to have people view the ruins of a city, which had contended with *Rome* for superiority such a series of years. The *Carthaginian* prisoners, sent to *Rome*, were distributed in the various provinces of *Italy*, as already related. In confirmation of what we have advanced above concerning the duration of *Carthage*, we must here beg leave to observe, that *Synellus* asserts this city to have stood seven hundred and forty-eight years, which almost intirely corresponds with sir *Isaac Newton*, *Salmasius*, *Petavius*, &c. and therefore may be considered as an additional argument in favour of what those great men have offered on that head *.

c ABOUT twenty-four years after this stately metropolis had been laid in ashes by *Emilianus*, pursuant to the orders of the senate, C. *Gracchus*, tribune of the people, in order to ingratiate himself with them, undertook to rebuild it, and, to that end, conducted thither a colony of six thousand *Roman* citizens. The workmen, according to *Plutarch*, were terrified by many unlucky omens, at the time they were tracing the limits, and laying the foundations of the new city; which the senate being informed of, would have suspended the attempt: but the tribune, little affected with such prefaces, continued carrying on the work, and finished it in a few days. From hence it seems probable, that only a slight kind of huts were erected, especially since we are told by *Velleius*, that *Marius*, after his flight into *Africa*, lived in a poor, mean condition amidst the ruins of *Carthage*, consoling himself by the sight of so d astonishing a spectacle, and himself at the same time serving, in some measure, as a consolation to that ill-fated city. But whether *Gracchus* executed his design, as *Plutarch* intimates, or the work was intirely discontinued, in compliance with the senate's orders, as *Appian* suggests, it is certain this was the first *Roman* colony, that ever was sent out of *Italy* *.

Carthage afterwards rebuilt by the Romans themselves.

Appian relates, that *Julius Cæsar*, having landed his forces in *Africa*, to put an end to the war with *Pompey's* adherents there, saw, in a dream, an army composed of a prodigious number of soldiers, who, with tears in their eyes, called him; and that, struck with the vision, he wrote down in his pocket-book the design he formed, on this occasion, of rebuilding *Carthage* and *Corinth*; but that being murdered soon after e in the *curia* at *Rome* by the conspirators, he was not able to execute it. However, says the same author, *Augustus Cæsar*, his adopted son, finding this memoir amongst his papers, built a city at some small distance from the spot on which antient *Carthage* stood, which he called by the same name, in order to avoid the ill effects of those imprecations, which had been vented at the time of its destruction. Thither he sent a colony of three thousand men, who were soon joined by considerable numbers from the neighbouring towns. But this notion, however it may have been received by *Appian*, is not so consistent with what we find advanced by *Strabo*, who intimates, that both *Carthage* and *Corinth* were rebuilt at the same time by *Julius Cæsar*. It is certain this last author, who flourished in the reign of *Tiberius*, affirms *Carthage* f in his time to have been equal, if not superior, to the largest city in *Africa*; which can scarce be admitted, if we suppose it to have been built by *Augustus*, after the conclusion of all his wars; and, till that time, it is not natural to suppose him to have built it. Be that as it will, *Plutarch* follows *Strabo*, and therefore, in opposition to *Appian*, gives a sanction to his authority. *Pliny* mentions it as a very considerable colony in his days, though the town then was not of so large an extent, as

And, after various turns of fortune, is at last razed by the Saracens.

* *PLIN. nat. hist. l. xxxiii. c. 11. VELL. PATERC. l. i. DIOD. SIC. l. xxvi. in excerpt. VALEF. POLYB. in excerpt. legat. cxviii. APPIAN. ubi sup. LUC. AMPEL. in lib. memorial. c. 46. GEORG. SYNCCELL. in chronograph. p. 293. Vide D. AUGUST. de civ. Dei, iii. 41. & Universi. hist. vol. vi. p. 718, 719. AUG. de civ. Dei, iii. 21. THEMIST. in orat. x. de pac. ad Valent. alioq; mult. * APPIAN. ubi sup. PLUT. in Gracch. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 19. LIV. in epit. lx.*

that destroyed by *Æmilianus*. *Solinus* gives us to understand, that the town built by *a Gracchus* was called *Junonia*, and, for some time, of little note, agreeable to what we have hinted above. However, he informs us, that, in the consulate of *M. Antonius* and *P. Dolabella*, it made such a figure, that it was esteemed the second city in the *Roman* dominions; which, in our opinion, adds some weight to the last observation of *Strabo*. It was looked upon as the capital of *Africa* for several centuries after the commencement of the christian æra. *Maxentius* laid it in ashes about the sixth or seventh year of *Constantine's* reign. *Genferic*, king of the *Vandals*, took it *A. C.* 439. but, about a century afterwards, it was re-annexed to the *Roman* empire by that renowned commander *Belisarius*. At last the *Saracens*, under *Mohammed's* successors, towards the close of the seventh century, so completely destroyed it, that b no other traces or footsteps of it are now to be discovered, than those we have already taken notice of in the first section of the *Carthaginian* history *y*.

y APPIAN. in Libyc. sub fin. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 833. PLUT. in Cæf. DIO CASS. l. xliii. & l. lii. PLIN. l. v. c. 4. SOLIN. c. 27. EUTROP. l. iv. c. 21. OROS. l. v. c. 12. Univerf. hift vol. vi. p. 663. MERMOL. l. ii. c. 9, 10. D. BERN. ALDRET. in var. act. guedat. de Efpán. Afric. y otras provinc. l. iv. c. 25. p. 619. 620.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

The history of the Numidians, to the conquest of their country by the Romans.

SECT. I.

Description of Numidia.

^a **T**HE limits of the region, called *Numidia*, have been differently defined by the The limits of Numidia. ancient geographers. *Pliny* gives that name to the tract lying between the rivers *Tusca* and *Ampsaga*; which includes the *Numidia Nova* of *Ptolemy*, together with the district of the *Cirtesi*. *Mela* affirms it to have extended from the river *Molochath* or *Mulucba*, to the borders of *Africa Propria*, which he seems to have fixed at a small distance from the city of *Cirta*. But its boundaries are certainly the best ascertained by *Strabo*, who, in conformity with what has been advanced by *Polybius*, *Livy*, and *Dio*, makes it to have comprehended the kingdoms of the *Massyli* and *Masæsyli*, the last of which was bounded on the west by the *Mulucba*, as the first was on the east by the *Tusca*. *Dionysius Afer*, *Silius Italicus*, and *Appian*, as well as the ^b former historians, add no small weight to *Strabo*; for which reason, our readers will permit us to give a geographical description of *Numidia* upon the plan he has laid down ^a.

Numidia then was limited on the north by the *Mediterranean*; on the south by *Numidia had* *Catalia*, or part of *Libya Interior*; on the west by the *Mulucba*, which separated it *different bounds* from *Mauritania*; and on the east by the *Tusca*, a boundary it had in common with *assigned it as* *Africa Propria*. If we suppose *Malva*, *Malvana*, *Mulucba*, *Molochath*, and the present *Mullooïab* of the *Algerines* to be the same river, and the modern *Zaine* to correspond with the ancient *Tusca*, as the learned and ingenious *Dr. Shaw* seems to have rendered probable, this tract was above five hundred miles in length, *Twunt*, the ^c western *Algerine* frontier, about fifty miles to the east of the former river, being in $0^{\circ} 16'$ W. long. from *London*, and *Tabarka*, the ancient *Tabraca*, upon the latter, in $9^{\circ} 16'$ to the east of that city. The breadth cannot be so easily ascertained; but, supposing it to have been nearly the same with that of the present kingdom of *Algiers*, as there is good reason to apprehend it was, in the narrowest part it must have been about forty miles, that being the distance near *Tlemjan* from the desert or *Sabara* to the sea-coast, and above a hundred in the broadest, *Fijel* being in N. lat. $36^{\circ} 55'$, and *Lowlaiab*, situated amongst the mountains of *Atlas*, in $34^{\circ} 50'$. In the *Carthaginian* times, *Numidia* contained two considerable nations, the most powerful of which, according to *Strabo*, was called the *Massyli*, and the other the *Masæ-* ^d *fyli* or *Massæfyli*. The country inhabited by the *Massæfyli* is, by some authors, esteemed a part of *Mauritania*; but *Polybius*, *Livy*, and *Strabo*, whose authority will bear down that of all other writers in the point before us, are of another opinion. However, that it was considered as appertaining to *Mauritania* in after-ages by the *Romans*, we learn from *Dio*, who not only intimates this, but likewise asserts, that it had the name of *Mauritania Casariensis* given it by the emperor *Claudius* ^b.

^a PLIN. l. v. c. 3. PTOL. l. iv. c. 2. POMPON. MEL. l. i. c. 6. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 570. POLYB. l. iii. c. 33. LIV. l. xxiv. c. 48. & l. xxviii. c. 17. DIO CASS. l. xli. p. 171. DIONYS. PERIEG. vet. 187. SIL. ITAL. l. xvi. ver. 170, & 183. APPIAN. in civil. l. iv. p. 995, & alib. ^b PLIN. MEL. STRAB. PTOL. &c. ubi sup. DIO CASS. l. ix. p. 671. IS VOIS. in Mel. ubi sup. DR. SHAW'S geographical observations of Algiers, c. 1.

The extent of
Numidia.

Numidia, including *Numidia Propria*, or the country of the *Massyli*, and *Mauritania Casariensis*, or that of the *Massyli*, extended from $34^{\circ} 50'$ to 37° N. lat. and from $10^{\circ} 15'$ W. to $9^{\circ} 16'$ E. of London. *Ptolemy* is as inaccurate and erroneous in his geography of this country, as we have before shewn him to be in that of *Africa Propria*; for he places *The Great Promontory* in 35° , and the *Ampsaga* in $31^{\circ} 45'$ N. lat. and so in proportion of the interjacent places, whereby that part of the coast is laid down nearly in an E. S. E. direction; whereas, according to the latest observations, to the *Promontorium Apollinis* it is N. E. and from thence to the *Ampsaga*, inclining to the N. In short, according to the same observations, *Ptolemy* differs so widely from the truth in the whole, that those places, which he has fixed in a southern inclination, should have had a northern one; and *The Great Promontory*, which he has placed $3^{\circ} 13'$ to the northward of the *Ampsaga*, is really $1^{\circ} 37'$ S. of it. Several places likewise of this country he has put five degrees farther south, than, in fact, they are found to be. The region formerly possessed by the *Massyli*, from the most accurate observations of the moderns, in conjunction with the hints given us by the antients, seems to have extended itself from $34^{\circ} 50'$ to 37° N. lat. and from $6^{\circ} 30'$ to $9^{\circ} 16'$ E. long. from London. From hence the situation and extent of the *Massylian* kingdom may likewise be easily determined.

The country of
the Massyli.

THE country of the *Massyli*, *Numidia Propria*, or, as some authors call it, *Terra Matagonitis*, was separated from the proper territory of *Carthage* by its eastern boundary the river *Tusca*, and from the kingdom of the *Massyli*, or *Mauritania Casariensis*, if we will believe *Pliny*, by the *Ampsaga*. It seems to correspond with that part of the province of *Constantina* lying between the *Zaine* and the *Wad el Kibeer*, which is above an hundred and thirty miles long, and more than an hundred broad. The sea-coast of this province is, for the most part, mountainous and rocky, answering appositely enough to the appellation given it by *Abulfeda*, viz. *El Adwab*, the high or lofty. It is far from being equal in extent to the territories that formed the kingdom of the *Massyli*, though this nation is represented as less potent than the *Massyli* by *Strabo*. We shall only mention such of the principal places seated in it, as have been taken the greatest notice of by the antients, the bounds we have prescribed ourselves obliging us, at present, to pass over all the rest.

Cirta.

THE capital city of this province, or rather kingdom, was *Cirta*, a place of very considerable note amongst the antients. It stood about forty-eight miles from the sea, and at a small distance from the *Ampsaga*. According to *Strabo*, it was a fortress of great strength, and abundantly supplied with all necessaries, as well as much improved, through the great care of *Micipsa*, who invited a good number of *Greeks* to come and reside in it. *Mela* and *Pliny* intimate, that it was likewise known by the name of *Sittianorum Colonia* in their time, and in its most flourishing state, when under the dominion of *Syphax*. The latter name it received from the colony settled there by *P. Sittius*, who, having been of singular service to *Caesar* in the *African* war, received a great extent of territory in those parts, which formerly belonged to *Manasses*, one of *Juba's* confederates, from that prince, as we learn from *Appian* and *Dio*; for which reason we find it called *Cirta Julia* by *Ptolemy*, who names the territory adjacent to it, the district of the *Cirtesi*, which he separates from *Numidia*, making it to include the cities of *Vaga*, *Miraum*, *Lares*, *Ætara*, and *Azama*. That *Cirta* was one of the largest, as well as strongest, cities of *Numidia*, is evident both from the extent of its ruins, which are still to be seen, and the commodiousness of its situation; for the greatest part of it was built upon a kind of peninsular promontory, inaccessible on all sides, except towards the south-west. This promontory was a mile in circumference, inclining a little to the southward, but terminating in a precipice of a northern direction, and above an hundred fathom in perpendicular. Here a beautiful landscape arose from a most agreeable variety of vales, mountains, and rivers, which extended themselves to a great distance. To the eastward the prospect was bounded by an adjacent range of rocks, much higher than the city; but, towards the south-east, the country was more open, entertaining the citizens of *Cirta* with a distant view of the high mountain, called at present *Ziganeab*, as well as those large and fertile eminences, whose modern name is *Seedy Rougeise*. The peninsular promontory above-mentioned, in the direction we are now upon, was separated from the neighbouring plains by a deep, narrow valley, perpendicular on both sides, where a rivulet, that seems to have been

* *PROL. & SHAW*, ubi sup.

* *STRAB. l. ii. PLIN. MEL. PROL. ubi sup. ABULFED. in geogr. ex tractat. V. C. I. Gagnier. SHAW, ubi sup. c. 7. & alib.*

- a a branch of the *Ampfaga*, the modern *Rummel* of the *Algerines*, conveyed its stream, and over which there was formerly a bridge of most excellent workmanship. The isthmus, near which stood the principal gate of the city, is about half a stadium broad, being intirely covered at present with a series of broken walls, cisterns, and other ruins, continued down to the river, and carried on from thence over a small plain parallel to the valley above described. The most eminent fragments of antiquity still remaining are, 1. A particular set of cisterns near the centre of the city, being about twenty in number, and forming an area of fifty yards square. 2. The aqueduct, whose remains, though in a much more ruinous condition than the cisterns, sufficiently demonstrate the wealth, public spirit, and magnificence of the *Numidian* princes, who held their residence here. 3. Part of a large and noble edifice, four of whose bases, seven foot in diameter, still in their places, seem to have formed part of the portico. This stands upon the brink of a precipice to the northward, and is the place where the *Turkish* garrison of *Constantina* is always posted. That name was given *Cirta* in the reign of *Constantine the Great*, who repaired and adorned it, according to *Aurelius Victor*. *Cirta* was the metropolis of *Masinissa's* dominions, that prince himself, his father *Gala*, and several other kings of the same family, residing there, as we learn from *Polybius*, *Livy*, and others. *Strabo* informs us, that *Micipsa* took care to render it so large, populous, and flourishing, that, in his time, it could send into the field an army of twenty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse.
- c its name it appears to be a city of a very high antiquity, and founded by the *Phœnicians*, even before *Dido's* arrival in *Africa*; for *Cirta* or *Certa* seems to have signified city in the *Phœnician* language when *Hercules* built *Carteia*, about the time that he first came into these parts, as we learn from *Hesychius*, who tells us, that one of his names was *Melicerta*, i. e. king of *Certa*, *Cirta*, or the city. We have likewise already observed, that the *Canaanites* or *Phœnicians*, when expelled their native country by *Josbua*, fled into *Numidia*; and that several proper names of places here were *Phœnician*; nay, we have, from some good authors, rendered it probable, that the *Phœnicians* settled in *Numidia* and *Mauritania* long before the *Israelites* dispossessed them of the land of *Canaan*. It may not be improper to add, that the ancient *Cirta* was
- d much larger than the modern *Constantina*, which is about 6° 36 east of *London*, and in north latitude 36° 20 s.

Vaga, a large city, according to *Ptolemy*, a few miles east of *Cirta*. *Plutarch* ^{vaga} calls it *Baga*, and *Sallust* *Vacca*; which is the name likewise given it by *Silius*, *Pliny*, and *St. Austin*. The *Romans* placed a strong garrison here under the command of *Turpilius*, as we learn from *Sallust* and *Plutarch*.

Lares, a town south-east of *Cirta*, taken notice of by *Ptolemy*, which some think ^{Lares} different from that in the itinerary called *Laribus Colonia*, or, according to *Schottus*, *Laribum Colonia*. This place is mentioned by *Sallust*, and other antient authors s.

- Azama*, a town which *Ptolemy* makes to be fifteen days journey distant from *Car-* ^{Azama}
e *thage*, lying south-east of *Cirta*. Some authors imagine this to be the same with *Zama*, a large and magnificent city, and famous for the signal defeat *Hannibal* received near it. But this is rendered improbable by *Livy* and *Polybius*, who fix *Zama* on a spot at least two thirds nearer *Carthage*. *Miraum* and *Atara*, the other two places in the district of the *Cirtesi*, taken notice of by *Ptolemy*, are so obscure, that it is sufficient just to have mentioned them ^a.

- ABOUT eighteen miles from the *Ampfaga*, at the western bottom of the *Sinus Nu-* ^{Collops Mag-}
midicus, or, as it is now called, the gulf of *Stora*, stood the *Cullu*, or *Collops Magnus*, ^{rus}
of *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*. There is nothing remaining at present of this antient city, but a few miserable houses, and a small fort. The modern name is *Cull*, which, as well
f as the antient, might be derived from a small port before it, *Culla* in *Arabic* and *Phœnician* signifying a fort. At the eastern extremity of the same gulf was the *Ruficada* of *Ptolemy*, the *Sgigata* or *Stora* of the moderns. A few cisterns, converted at present into magazines for corn, are the only tokens of antiquity discernible in it:

* STRAB. l. xvii. p. 572. MEL. ubi sup. PLIN. l. v. c. 3. DIO CASS. l. xliii. sub init. APPIAN. in CIVIL. l. iv. p. 956. LIV. l. xxx. c. 12, & alib. SALLUST. in Jugurth. SIL. ITAL. l. iii. vet. 259, & alib. PTOL. geogr. l. iv. c. 3. SHAW ubi sup. c. 8. Vide etiam PLUT. in Mario, p. 409. HESYCH. apud Bochart. in Chan. l. ii. c. 2. & Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 666. ^f SALLUST. PLUT. & PTOL. ubi sup. Vide etiam D. AUGUST. cont. Donatist. l. iii. c. 6. ^g SALLUST. in Jugurth. c. 90. PTOL. ubi sup. D. AUGUST. cont. Donatist. l. vi. c. 28. ^h POLYB. l. xv. c. 5. LIV. l. xxx. c. 29. SALLUST. in Jugurth. c. 57. HIST. in B. Afr. c. 91. PLIN. l. v. c. 4. PTOL. ubi sup. & inscript. vet. apud Gruter. p. 364.

The ancient geographers have fixed it fifty or sixty *Roman* miles from *Cullu*; whereas ^a in reality it was not above thirty. The adjacent rivulet seems to be the *Tafas* of *Vibius Sequester*¹.

Tacatua. NOT many miles to the north-east stood the *Tacatua* of *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and the itinerary, the *Tuckush* of the *Algerines*, at present a pleasant village, with a fruitful country round about it. At some distance from it, in an eastern direction, was the *Sulluco* or *Collops Parvus* of *Ptolemy*, the modern small port of *Tagoileite*².

Hippo Regius. AT the western extremity of the gulf of *Hippo*, upon the river *Armua*, was the city of *Hippo Regius*, a place we have had occasion to mention frequently in the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* history. Upon the spot of ground formerly occupied by that city, a great heap of ruins is still to be seen. According to *Leo Africanus*, the city of *Bona*, ^b or, as the *Moors* call it, *Blaid el Aneb*, *Town of Fugebs*, from the plenty of them gathered in the neighbourhood, about a mile farther to the north, was built out of these ruins. This seems to be confirmed by the name *Bona*, which is undoubtedly a corruption of *Hippo* or *Hippona*. It is probable, that *Bona* has the same situation that *Ptolemy's* *Aphrodisium* had, since he places it fifteen miles to the north of *Hippo*. The ruins of *Hippo* take up a space about half a league in circumference, consisting, as usual, of large broken walls and cisterns. This city was called *Hippo Regius*, because it was, for some time, the seat of the *Numidian* kings, as *Silius Italicus* informs us. And indeed its commodious situation both for hunting and commerce, the salubrity of the air its inhabitants breathed, the delightful prospect they enjoyed, which took ^c in the sea, a spacious harbour, a variety of mountains covered with trees, and plains diversified with rivers, fountains, and fertile spots of ground, in a most beautiful manner, all at once, demonstrate this city to be as worthy of such an honour, as any other in the *Numidian* dominions. We have before shewn the word *Hippo* to be of *Phanician* extraction, which is a proof, that the ancient inhabitants were of the same origin. We shall reserve the description of *Bona* for the history of *Algiers*, to which it will more properly belong³.

Tabraca. *Thabraca* or *Tabraca* was a maritime city of *Numidia Propria*, seated on the western bank of the *Tusca*. *Mela*, *Juvenal*, *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and *St. Austin*, all make mention of it. *Pliny* insinuates, that it was a *Roman* colony in the latter ages. The ruins of ^d it are still remaining, and out of them has sprung the modern *Tabarca*, where there are several broken walls and cisterns, with a small fort and garrison of *Tuniseens*. *Bochart* says, that *Thabraca* was a *Phanician* word, and equivalent to the *Latin* *Fron-dosa*, which, he shews, might be properly enough applied to this place, from that verse of *Juvenal*:

Quales umbriferos ubi pandit Tabraca saltus.

Sat. x. ver. 194^m.

Naragara. *Naragara* or *Nadagara*, a very ancient town, situated at a considerable distance south-west of *Tabraca*, on the confines of *Africa Propria*. Here, towards the conclu- ^e sion of the second *Punic* war, *Scipio* is said to have encamped for the benefit of the water, *Hannibal* at the same time taking post upon an eminence four miles distant from him. *Polybius* seems to have called this place *Margaron*. It is supposed, that some fragments of an aqueduct, and other traces of this ancient city, are still to be seen⁴.

Sicca. SOMEWHERE in this tract we are to look for *Sicca*, *Sicca Venerea*, or, as some will have it, *Venerca*. But, as we have taken notice of this place elsewhere, as well as the lewd custom prevailing in it, and as its situation cannot, with any precision, be ascertained, we shall drop all further particulars relating to it⁵.

Thirmida. *Thirmida*, a town of this province, where *Hiempsal*, according to *Sallust*, lost his life; but whether it stood on the borders of the *Massyli*, or remote from them, for ^f want of sufficient light from history, we shall not take upon us to determine⁶.

Sutbul. *Sutbul*, a city where that prince's treasure was deposited, as we are informed by the same historian. It should seem probable from some hints he gives, that it could not be very remote from *Thirmida*⁷.

¹ PLIN. l. v. c. 3. SOLIN. c. 26. VIB. SEQUEST. de flumin. PTOL. ubi sup. & Itinerar. ANTONIN. SHAW ubi sup. c. 7. ² PLIN. PTOL. Itiner. & SHAW, ubi sup. ³ STRAB. l. xvii. p. 572. LIV. l. xxix. c. 3. PLIN. & MEL. ubi sup. SIL. ITAL. l. iii. ver. 259. PROCOP. de bell. Vandal. l. ii. c. 4. J. LEO AFRICAN. p. 211. SHAW ubi sup. & Geogr. Nubiens. p. 88. ⁴ PLIN. l. v. c. 3. POMP. MEL. l. i. c. 7. PTOL. ubi sup. J. LEO AFRICAN. p. 287. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 24. SHAW ubi sup. ⁵ POLYB. l. xv. LIV. l. xxx. c. 29. SHAW ubi sup. ⁶ Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 697. Vide & SALLUST. PLIN. & PTOL. ubi sup. ⁷ SALLUST. in Jugurth. c. 12. ⁸ Idem ibid. c. 37.

- a *Madaura*, a city, as may be inferred from St. *Austin*, in the neighbourhood of *Madaura*, *Sicca Veneria*, *Tagaste*, and *Hippo Regius*. It was famous for the birth of *Apuleius* the Platonic philosopher; which is all we can say of it^r.

- As for *Sava*, *Gemellæ*, *Calama*, *Lambesa*, *Theveste*, *Tadutti*, *Sigus*, *Tipasa*, *Simislu*, *Sava*, &c. *Lamasba*, and an infinite number of other obscure places, mentioned chiefly, it not solely, by *Ptolemy*, the *Itinerary*, *Peutinger's* table, the *Notitia*, *Ætolicus*, *Orosius*, and others, who lived below that period of time, to which we must here confine ourselves, as they cannot improve our idea of any single fact or circumstance relative to the history we are now upon, our readers will not only excuse a description, but even a bare enumeration of them. It will be sufficient, in order to complete our geographical description of this province, to give a succinct account of the most remarkable mountains, promontories, rivers, fountains, islands, and some of the principal curiosities of it, to which we shall beg leave to promise a word or two concerning the mediterranean part of it^s.

- We have already observed, that the sea-coast of this province was, for the most part, mountainous and rocky. To which we shall add, that the inner or mediterranean part was diversified with a beautiful interchange of hills and plains, which grew less capable of culture, in proportion as it approached the *Sabara*. In many places, for several leagues together, nothing was to be seen but a solitary desert, void both of all animals, and every thing proper for their support; in others fruitful districts, abounding with gardens producing great plenty of the most delicious pomgranates, apples, &c. afforded a most delightful prospect to travellers. But the natural history, both of *Numidia Propria*, and *Mauritania Casariensis*, our readers may expect in a proper place^t.

- The first ridge of mountains we shall take notice of, is that upon the borders of *Gætulia*, which terminated the country between the parallels of *Sitifi* and *Cirta*, called by the ancients *Buzara*. 2. That called *Thambes*, extending itself as far as *Tabraca*. 3. The *Mamptarus* of *Ptolemy*, upon the frontiers of *Gætulia*, which separated that country, or the *Sabara*, from the *Mauritania Sitifensis*. 4. The *Mons Audus* of *Ptolemy*, or the *Mons Aurafius* of the middle age, known at present amongst the Turks by the name *Jibbel Aurefs* or *Eurefs*. All of which will hereafter be minutely described^u.

- The first promontory that falls under our observation is the *Tritum* of *Strabo*, and the *Metagonium* of *Mela*, about six leagues to the eastward of the *Ampsaga*, called at present the *Sebba Rous*, or *Seven Capes*, by the *Algerines*. 2. The *Hippi Promontorium* of *Ptolemy*, the *Mabra* of the sea-charts, about twenty leagues east of the former. It goes now among the *Algerines* by the name *Ras el Hamrab*, i. e. *The Red Cape*, and has the ruins of two small buildings upon it. 3. Scarce a league distant from the *Hippi Promontorium*, to the northward, is the *Stoborrum Promontorium* of *Ptolemy*. This was in the gulf of *Hippo*, and about a league from the city of that name^v.

- Of the rivers which water *Numidia Propria*, the most remarkable are the following: 1. The *Ampsaga*, which separated this region from that of the *Masæyli* or *Mauritania Casariensis*. That river fell into the sea about six leagues to the west of *Cullu*, and is at present named the *Wed el Kibeer*, or *Great River*; which very well tallies with the signification of the word *Ampsaga*, *Aphsah* importing in Arabic *broad, large, ample*, &c. At present it appears to be made up of the following branches: The *Wed el Djabab*, *River of Gold*, whose source is at *Kasbaite*, a heap of ruins sixty miles to the south-west; the rivulet of *Jimmeelab*, in the same direction nearly with the *Wed el Djabab*, but at a little more than forty miles distance; the *Wed el Hammam*, twenty miles to the west of *Constantina*; the *Wed el Sigani*, fifteen miles to the south-west from *Physgeab*; and the springs of *Hydrab*, about half that distance to the south-east. The modern geographers have generally conducted the channel of their *Ampsaga* towards the gulf of *Cullu*; whereas the *Wed el Kibeer*, which truly answers to the *Ampsaga* of the ancients, has no such direction, but falls into the sea six leagues to the westward. *Cellarius* seems to fix its source in that ridge of mountains, by *Ptolemy* called *Buzara*, upon the borders of the *Sabara*; which

^r APUL. MADAURENS. in metamorphos. l. xi. de Platon. philos. l. iii. & in spol. D. AUG. in confes. l. ii. c. 3. ^s Vide PTOL. Itinerar. ANTONIN. PEUTING. tab. NOTIT. ÆTHIC. OROS. &c. ^t ABULFED. & SHAW, ubi sup. ^u PLIN. PTOL. & SHAW, ubi sup. ^v MEL. l. i. c. 7. STRAB. l. xvii. PTOL. & SHAW, ubi sup.

runs counter to the latest and most accurate observations. 2. The *Armua* of *Pliny*,^a the modern *Sei-boufe*, which emptied itself into the western extremity of the gulf of *Hippo*. This frequently lodges great quantities of roots and trunks of trees on the neighbouring shore, and, by reason of the low situation of the adjacent country, occasions frequent inundations. 3. The *Rubricatus* of *Ptolemy*, or *Ma-fragg* of the *Algerines*, has its fountains on some hills, that lie at a little distance to the south of *Hippo*, its mouth being about four leagues easterly from that of the *Armua*. *Bochart* thinks, that the word *Rubricatus* is a *Latin* one, equivalent to the *Punic* or *Phœnician* *Sifara*, i. e. *Red* or *Purple*; and that both the river and lake so called deduced their name from that dye, the preparation of which the *Africans* and *Carthaginians* were so famous for; which notion seems to be confirmed by *Pliny* and *Dioscorides*, but particularly by *Herodotus*, who informs us, that the *Zygantes*, the antient inhabitants of this country; besmeared themselves with a liquid substance of that colour. We are told, that the mouth of this river is at present generally stopped up with a high bank of sand, raised by the north and north-east winds; so that it is seldom open, but after long and heavy rains. 4. The *Tusca*, called now the *Zaine*, the boundary of this province on the side of *Africa Propria*. It is said, that, in the language of the neighbouring *Kabyles*, or remains of the old *Africans*, the word *Zaine* denotes an oak-tree, and consequently approaches pretty near in signification to *Tabraca*, the *Phœnician* name of the frontier town upon this river above-mentioned. The *Zaine* has its source in the adjacent mountains; which is contrary to what *Leo* has advanced.^c

Fountains.

ALL the most noted fountains of this tract are reducible to two heads: 1. Those to which the principal rivers owe their origin, that have been just touched upon. And, 2. That in the neighbourhood of *Zama*, whose waters, if drunk copiously, rendered the voice loud and sonorous, according to *Pliny* and *Vitruvius*. This extraordinary quality, if *Bochart* may be credited, gave name both to the fountain and the town; for *Zamar*, *cecinit, sonorus fuit*, and in *Pibel* *Zimmer, canere fecit, sonorum esse fecit, &c.* plainly allude to it. The elision of the R was very common in oriental words adopted into other languages; as in *Vacca* from *בקר Bacar*, *Misa* from *מוסר Musar*, *Mappa* from *מפר Mapar*, &c. The town of *Zamar* was situated near the source of the *Ampfaga*; and if we suppose it to have occupied the same spot of ground that *Marmol's* *Zamor* or *Zamora* does, *Bochart's* etymon will appear extremely probable. *Zama* was the city in which king *Juba* resided, and was levelled with the ground by the *Romans*, according to *Strabo*.^d

THE only islands, as far as we can recollect, that were ever supposed to have been adjacent to this region, were, 1. The *Insula Naxica* or *Pithecusa* of *Scylax*, opposite to *Collops Magnus*, which we apprehend rather to have belonged to *Europe* than *Africa*. 2. The island of *Tabraca* near the mouth of the *Zaine*, or *Tusca*, now in the possession of the *Genoese*, who pay an annual rent for it to the regency of *Algiers*.^e

Curiosities of this province.

THE principal curiosities of *Numidia Propria* are, 1. The large marshy plain between *Blaid el Aneb* and *Hippo*, with the river *Booemab*, which hath a bridge of *Roman* workmanship upon it. 2. The *Roman* inscriptions found dispersed all over this province. 3. The rich lead mines in the mountains of *Beni Boo-Taleb*. 4. The lukewarm springs, bubbling within a large square basin of *Roman* workmanship, which seem to be the *Aqua Calida* or *Aqua Tibilitana* of the antients, lying about ten leagues to the south-west of *Hippo Regius*, and sixteen to the east of *Cirta* or *Constantina*. To which we might add several others, did we not reserve them for the natural history of the kingdom of *Algiers*.^f

The limits and extent of the Regio Mafafylorum.

THE limits and extent of the *Regio Mafafylorum* of *Strabo*, or the *Mauritania Casariensis* of *Dio*, being that tract lying between the *Mulucha* and *Ampfaga*, is already ascertained, by the determination of those of *Numidia* in general, and *Numidia Propria*, or the country of the *Maffyli*, in particular. The length indeed of the former province much exceeded that of the latter; but its breadth was not considerable, being at a mean only about twenty leagues, except in that part, which bordered upon the confines of the *Maffyli*. It lay betwixt 34° 30' and 37° N. lat. and extended

^a HERODOT. l. iv. PLIN. l. v. c. 3. & l. xxxv. c. 6. DIOSCORID. l. v. PTOL. ubi sup. STRABO, MEL. SOLIN. ubi sup. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 24, & alib. J. LEO AFRICAN. p. 287. Geogr. Nubiens. & SHAW pass.
^b PLIN. l. xxxi. c. 2. VITRUV. l. viii. c. 4. STRAB. l. xvii. MARMOL in descript. d'Afr. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 24. ^c SCYLAX CARYAND. petiopl. edit. Oxon 1698. SHAW ubi sup. p. 142. MARMOL l. v. c. 54. ^d PTOL. & SHAW ibid.

- ^a from 1° 15' W. to 6° 30' E. long. from *London*, including that part of the country of the western *Moors* bounded on the west by the *Mullooia*, and on the east by the mountains of *Trara*, the provinces of the kingdom of *Algiers* called *Tlemsan* and *Titterie*, together with the eastern part of that going by the name of *Constantina*. The principal cities (A), rivers, mountains, promontories, &c. we shall touch upon in the concise manner possible ².

Igilgili, a town of this tract, about seven leagues to the westward of the *Ampfaga*, *Igilgili*, where, according to *Pliny*, *Augustus* planted a *Roman* colony. *Ptolemy* places this town half a degree to the southward of *Saldæ*, in a situation contrary to that of the modern *Fijel*, which lies twelve miles more to the northward, though *Dr. Shaw* takes this place to be the *Igilgili* of the antients. It is scarce to be doubted but this town was much older than the time of *Augustus*, because the name *Igilgili*, which *Pliny* intimates it to have had in the *Augustan* age, was apparently not of *Roman* extraction ³.

Saldæ, another place where *Augustus* planted a *Roman* colony. *Ptolemy* makes it *Saldæ*; to be two degrees distant from *Igilgili*, and the itinerary ninety-three miles; which is false, if, with the traveller above-mentioned, we admit the modern *Boujeiah* to be the antient *Saldæ*. As there is no manner of affinity betwixt the names *Boujeiah* and *Saldæ*, and the city, which goes by the former name, is but thirteen leagues from *Fijel*, the supposed *Igilgili* of the antients, perhaps our sagacious readers will be inclined to believe them two different towns; which sentiment we own ourselves disposed to entertain ^b.

Rufazus, another *Augustan* colony west of *Saldæ*, taken notice of by *Pliny*, *Pto-* *Rufazus*. *lemy*, and the itinerary. We remember not this place to be famous in history for any remarkable transaction that happened in or near it ^c.

Rufucurium, a city in the neighbourhood of the former, that was highly distin- *Rufucurium*. guished by the emperor *Claudius*, who conferred great honours upon it, as we are informed by *Pliny* ^d.

Rusconium, another *Roman* colony, that owed its origin to *Augustus*, seated near *Rusconium*; the mouth of the *Serbes* or *Serbetis*. *Ptolemy* calls it *Rustonum*; but we apprehend, that he ought to be corrected by *Pliny*. In the itinerary we find it named *Rusguniæ Colonia*. It has been imagined, that a small castle on cape *Temenduse* or *Metasus*, fifteen miles east of *Algiers*, in situation answers pretty nearly to it; because *Icosium*, which is supposed to have corresponded with the present *Algiers*, and *Rusconium*, had the same distance, and were placed in the same direction, according to the itinerary. If this be admitted, *Rusconium* had a *Colbon*, some traces of which are still remaining; and the modern *Dellys* occupies the very spot of ground *Rufucurium* stood upon. The three towns last-mentioned, from their names, seem to have been originally *Libyan* or *Phœnician* ^e.

Icosium, whose situation has just been determined, may seem to have taken up the *Icosium*; space on which *Algiers* was afterwards built, both from the consideration already offered, and from some *Roman* inscriptions found in this last city, taken notice of by *Gramaye* ^f.

Tipasa, a *Roman* colony, mentioned by *Ptolemy* and the itinerary; but the town *Tipasa*. was probably of higher antiquity than the conquest of *Numidia* by the *Romans*. It was forty-seven miles from *Icosium*, in a north-east direction; which is an additional argument in favour of *Algiers*'s being the antient *Icosium*, and likewise evinces, that the present *Tefessad* is the *Tipasa* of the old geography ^g.

^a POLYB. LIV. STRAB. MEL. PLIN. SOLIN. APPIAN. PTOL. DIO CASS. &c. ubi sup. SHAW, ibid. ^b PLIN. J. v. c. 2. PTOL. & SHAW, ubi sup. ^c Ibidem ibid. ^d Ibidem ibid. ^e Ibidem ibid. ^f Itinerar. ANTONIN. PLIN. PTOL. SHAW, ubi sup. & p. 88. ^g PLIN. PTOL. Itinerar. SHAW, ubi sup. GRAM. Afr. illust. l. vii. c. 1. Geogr. Nubiens. p. 82. J. LEO. AFRICAN. p. 204. ^h PTOL. PLIN. Itinerar. SHAW, &c. ubi sup.

(A) It is probable, that *Miltine*, a town mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus*, must have been near the confines of *Mauritania Casariensis*, or in that province; but the particular spot it occupied, we cannot take upon us to determine. It seems probable, from what we find hinted of it by *Diodorus*, to

have been a place of considerable force, and situated in a populous country. As for the cities of *Tocas*, *Phellina*, *Maschala*, *Acris*, &c. they seem to have had their situation near the borders of *Africa Propria*. For a confirmation of this, we must refer our readers to a former note (1).

(1) *Univ. hist.* vol. vi. p. 808. not. (Y), (Z), & p. 809.

Jol.

THE next city of consequence on the sea-coast, to the westward, was *Jol*, the seat a of the younger *Juba*, who, out of the great veneration he had for *Augustus*, gave it the name of *Cæsarea*, according to *Eutropius*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*. That it had a port, and an island lying in the mouth of it, we are assured by *Strabo*; which gives us good grounds to suppose, that the modern *Sherbell* answers to the *Jol* or *Julia Cæsarea* of the antients. The large circuit, and sumptuous remains of an old city at *Sherbell*, together with its situation, and many other concurring circumstances, serve likewise to render extremely probable such a supposition. For a full and ample description of the port or *Cotbon*, and all other particulars of note relating to *Sherbell*, some of which were doubtless applicable to the *Numidian Jol*, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the observations of the ingenious traveller so frequently b cited. We shall only add, that a colony was settled here by the emperor *Claudius*; and that *Bochart* affirms the word *Jol*, in the oriental languages, to signify *high* or *lofty*; which agrees with the situation of the place, and consequently proves, that it was either founded by the *Oriental*s, or by some of their descendants *.

Canucius.

THE *Canucius* of *Ptolemy*, *Gunugi* of *Pliny*, and *Gunugus* of the itinerary, answering to the *Bresk* of the *Algerines*, stood about nine miles to the westward from *Jol*. Though this place was formerly famous, on account of a *Roman* colony planted in it by *Augustus*, it is now uninhabited, the violences committed by the neighbouring *Kabyles* not permitting people of any nation to make a settlement in it *.

Cartenna.

Cartenna, a very considerable city, situated, as should seem, near the mouth of c the river *Cartennus*, where *Augustus* settled the soldiers of the second legion. *Ptolemy* indeed places it some leagues more westerly; but the position he assigns many of his towns, is so extremely erroneous, that he deserves no credit, when any shadow of an argument can be offered against him. Now, *Cartenna*, in the *Phœnician* language, signified the city of *Tenna*; and we find a promontory some leagues to the eastward, at this day called the cape of *Tennes*, and a town named *Tnis* or *Tennis* not far distant from it. It was not unusual amongst the most antient founders of cities to build them upon the banks of rivers, and to give those rivers the names d of the new-built towns. Of this the city and river of *Camicius* in *Sicily*, to omit many others that might be produced, is a sufficient proof. That *Tenna*, *Tennes*, or *Tanas*, was a local proper name in *Numidia*, is not only evident from the cape above-mentioned, but from the *Tanas*, which was a river of this country, though its course cannot, for want of sufficient light from history, be ascertained. Whether *Tenna* or *Tennis* was the proper name of the founder, or derived from the nature of the soil, as the learned traveller we are so much obliged to seems to insinuate, we shall not take upon us to determine. However, we hope that ingenious gentleman will not take it amiss, if we dissent from him, when he derives *Tanis*, the name of a most antient and illustrious city of *Egypt*, from *ἡν τιν*, clay, and makes this city to have been the same with *Pelusium*; for *Tanis*, in *Hebrew* letters, is *ינז* *Tzaan*, or *Zaan*, and the word itself *Egyptian*, whose signification is intirely unknown. As e for the city, it was, according to the itinerary of *Antoninus*, at least forty-four *Roman* miles from *Pelusium*, and consequently must have been different from it. We have deduced the word *Cartenna* from the *Phœnician* language, because it appears from *Procopius* and *Eusebius*, not to mention other writers, that the *Phœnicians* sent colonies into this country in the most early times *.

Arsenaria.

ON the western banks of the *Cartennus*, the antients place *Arsenaria*, a town where, if *Pliny* may be credited, a *Latin* colony was planted under some of the first *Roman* emperors. As the last-mentioned author makes it to be three *Roman* miles from the sea, it is probable the modern *Arzew* answers to it *.

Quiza.

THE next maritime town of note, in a western direction, is the *Quiza Xenitana*, f *Quiza Colonia*, or *Quiza Municipium*, of *Ptolemy*, *Mela*, *Pliny*, and the itinerary. Dr. *Shaw* will have *Geeza* to be the antient *Quiza*; which, as the situation assigned this last was immediately after the *Portus Magnus*, is not improbable *.

Siga.

Siga, an ancient city of great repute, situated at the mouth of an harbour, and upon a river of the same name. According to *Pliny*, *Syphax's* palace was here, which,

* STRAB. l. xvii. p. 571. PLIN. l. v. c. 2. EUTROP. l. vii. c. 10. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 24. SHAW, ubi sup. c. 3. ^b PTOL. Itinerar. SHAW, ubi sup. ^c PLIN. & PTOL. ubi sup. SALLUST. in Jugurth. c. 90. PSAL. lxxviii. 12. EUSEB. chron. p. 11. PROCOPI. de bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 10. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 29. HYDE in Perisf. p. 23. SHAW, p. 36. * PLIN. ubi sup. & SHAW, p. 28. ^d MEL. PLIN. PTOL. Itinerar. SHAW, ubi sup.

- a together with the city itself, was demolished in the time of *Strabo*. However, it was afterwards rebuilt, and a colony settled there, as we are informed by *Ptolemy*. Dr. *Shaw* believes, that the *Tafna* answers to the river, and *Tackumbreet* to the town, of *Siga*. It appears from *Scylax*, that both the city and river were known in his time, the former of which he calls *Sigum*. It was the last maritime place of eminence of this region, being at no great distance from the *Malva*, which our learned traveller has, with a good appearance of truth, endeavoured to prove the same river with the *Molechatb* and *Mulucha* ^m.

- THE first mediterranean cities worthy our notice, to the west of the *Ampfaga*, ^{Sitifi and Satafi.} were *Sitifi* and *Satafi*, sixteen miles from one another. For a further account of which, our readers may have recourse to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Ptolemy*, and other ancient writers. By their names, they seem to have been founded by the *Phœnicians* ^a.

Auzia or *Auzea*, a city of great antiquity, if, with *Menander Ephesus*, we suppose it to be the African city of that name founded by *Ithobaal* king of *Tyre*. *Tacitus* tells us, that it was built in a small plain, surrounded on all sides with barren forests of a vast extent. The ruins of this city are called by the neighbouring *Arabs* *Sour Gussan*, the walls of the antelopes, a great part whereof, flanked at proper distances with little square towers, is still remaining ^o.

- Tubusuptus* or *Tubusittus*, a town mentioned by *Ptolemy* and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, ^{Tubusuptus.} which *Lipsius* takes to be the *Tubusicus* besieged by *Tacfarinas*, according to *Tacitus*. From what *Marcellinus* has hinted, it seems to have been situated near the *Mons Ferratus* ^p.

As *Nababurum*, *Vitaca*, *Uffara*, *Vazagad*, *Ausum*, *Robonda*, *Zaratha*, *Chizala*, *La-* ^{Nababurum, &c.} *mida*, *Vasana*, *Pbloryia*, and many other towns, together with every thing relating to them, are long since buried in oblivion, we shall pass them over in silence, and proceed to the principal promontories, mountains, rivers, &c. of this province, which it will be necessary for our readers to have a general idea of, in order to understand those accounts of the transactions happening in it, that have been transmitted down to us by the ancient historians ^q.

- d THE first promontories, that present themselves to our view, are the *Audus* and *Vabar* of *Ptolemy*. The *Afbounemonker* of the *Algerines* seems to answer to *Vabar*, having some traces of old ruins still remaining upon it. 2. The *Promontorium Apollinis* of *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, the *Nackos* of the *Moors*, and cape *Tennes* of the modern geographers. It deduces its name *Nackos*, i. e. *The bell*, from the figure of the grotto in the lower part of it, and is in almost 2° E. long. from *London*. 3. The *Promontorium Magnum* of *Ptolemy* was a large and conspicuous cape near 1° E. of the *Malva* or *Mulucha*. This is at present called by sailors *Cape Hone*, and by the inhabitants *Ras Hunneine* and *Mellack*. It lies about four leagues to the north-east of *Twunt*, and is a continuation of the mountains of *Trara* ^r.

- e AMONGST the mountains of note in the *Numidia Maficiflorum* may be ranked that high knot of eminences, which at present distinguish themselves to the southward of the plains of *Sudratab*, being probably the beginning of that chain of mountains, called by the ancients mount *Atlas*. 2. The *Zalacus* of *Ptolemy*, which seems to have had the same position as the present mount *Wannashreefe*. 3. Mount *Maletubalus*, upon the frontiers of *Gætulia*. This is in the *Sabara*, and, if we remember right, has not had its modern name brought into *Europe*. 4. The *Durdus* of *Ptolemy*, lying between the mountains of *El Callab* and *Trara*. 5. The *Mons Pbrurasus*, immediately succeeding *Maletubalus*. 6. The *Montes Chalcorycbii*, near the country of the ancient *Herpiditani*, between mount *Durdus* and the *Malva* or *Mulucha* ^s.

- f THE most remarkable rivers taken notice of by the ancients were, 1. The *Audus*, ^{The rivers.} placed by *Ptolemy* at the bottom of the *Sinus Numidicus*, no traces of which are now to be seen. 2. The *Sifaris*, called at present by the *Moors* and *Algerines* the *Manfoureab*, whose water was probably of a red colour in ancient times; for that the name imports, as has been already observed. 3. The *Niffava*, known at this day by the name of the river of *Boujeiab*, because it empties itself into the sea a little to the east-

^m SCYLAX CARYAND. STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. ubi sup. SHAW, p. 19, 20, 21. ⁿ PTOL. ubi sup. AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xxviii. sub fin. & l. xxix. c. 23. D. AUGUST. epist. cxxii. ^o TACIT. annal. l. iv. JOSEPH. antiqu. Jud. l. viii. c. 7. PROCOPIUS. ubi sup. c. 10. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 24. SHAW, p. 81. ^p PLIN. & POLYB. ubi sup. TACIT. an. iv. c. 24. AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xxix. c. 24. JUST. LIPS. in Tacit. ubi sup. ^q PLIN. PTOL. Itinerar. &c. ^r PLIN. PTOL. &c. ubi sup. SHAW pass. ^s Idem ibid.

ward of that city. It consists of a number of rivulets, falling into it from different directions, and has its source at *Jibbel Deera*, seventy miles up into the country to the W. S. W. 4. The *Serbelis*, now the *Yffer*, a large river, whose mouth is about eight leagues from *Temenduse*, and lieth something nearer *Rusgunia* than *Rusuccura*. We are told, that its sources are from the mountainous district to the S. S. W. that the westernmost branch of it is called *Sburffa*, after the name of the neighbouring *Arabs*; and the other *Wed el Zeitoune*, i. e. *The river of olives*, from the vast quantity of that fruit produced in the adjacent territory. 5. The *Savus*, a river falling into the sea near *Pliny's Icosion*, which our learned traveller takes to have had the same situation as the *Algiers* of the moderns. If this be admitted, the *Hameese* bids fairest for the ancient *Savus*, especially as *Leo* calls this very river *Sesiaia*, a word nearly approaching to *Savus*. 6. The *Chinalaph* of *Ptolemy* is the most noted river of the *Algerines*, who call it *Sbelliff*. It ariseth in the *Sabara*, at the distance of eighty miles to the south-east. The fountains which form its source, from their number and contiguity, are known amongst the *Arabs* by the name *Sebbiene Aine*, or *Sebaoun Aoun*, *The seventy fountains*. A minute description of this river our readers will find in a proper place. 7. The *Cartennus*, to which, it is supposed, the stream formed by the *Sikke* and the *Habrah* answers. *Marmol* calls a river in this situation *Cirat*; which may give some countenance to the aforesaid supposition. 8. The *Flumen Salsum*, at present called the *Wed el Mailab*, is a stream something less than the *Cberwell*, as it passeth by *Oxford*. 9. *Affara*, a river mentioned by *Ptolemy*, which may possibly be the same with the *Iffer* of *Abulfeda*. The *Iffer* is one of the four branches, that form the *Tafna*, which our readers may find described in that curious piece we have so often referred them to.

The islands appertaining to it.

THE only islands that deserve our attention are, 1. The *Acra* of *Scylax*, an island, that forms the modern port of *Harshgoone*, under which vessels of the greatest burden may lie in the utmost safety. 2. The *Tres Insulae* of *Antoninus*, situated about ten miles from the *Mulucha*, to the north-west of that river.

Its curiosities.

THE chief curiosities worthy of notice are: 1. The ruins of a *Roman* city, called at present *Cassir*, among the *Beni Grobberry*, to the northward of *Jibbel Asroone*; upon the mountains adjacent to which the *Algerines* frequently dig up large pipes of lead, supposed to have been formerly employed in conveying the excellent water those parts produced to *Saldæ*. 2. The rivulet of salt-water, which glides through the valley *Dammer Cappy*, i. e. *The iron gate*. 3. The large salt-pits, five miles to the southward of *Arzew*. 4. One of the fountains of the *Habrah* at *Nisrag*, where the water bursts out with a surprising noise and rapidity; as also the hot bath, and several ancient cisterns upon a branch of the *Habrah*, when it arrives within eight leagues of the sea. 5. *Wanashreefe*, a high rugged mountain, generally covered with snow, and remarkable for its mines of lead-ore, many flecks and sparks of which being brought down by the river *Wed-el-Fuddab*, and left upon the banks of it exposed to the sun, gave occasion to the name *Wannashreefe*. 6. The *Jibbel Miniss*, an intire mountain of salt. 7. The *Aqua Calida Colonia* of the antients, the *Hammam* or *Bath* of *Mereega* of the moderns. All of which, with many others that we cannot touch upon here, will be accurately described in that branch of the modern history, to which they properly belong.

* Ibid. & J. LEO AFRICAN. p. 205.

■ SCYLAX CARYAND. Itinerar. ANTONIN. & SHAW, ubi sup.

ω Geogr. Nubiens. J. LEO AFRICAN. & SHAW, pass.

SECT. II.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, customs, arts, &c. of the Numidians.

The antiquity of the Numidians.

ALL the authors, famous for their researches into antiquity, agree, that the tract extending from the isthmus of *Suez* to the lake *Tritonis*, was chiefly peopled by the descendants of *Misraim*; and that the posterity of his brother *Put*, or *Pbut*, spread themselves over all the region betwixt that lake and the *Atlantick* ocean. It is certain *Herodotus* gives great countenance to this notion; for he tells us, that the

Libyan

- a *Libyan Nomades*, whose territories, to the west, were bounded by the *Triton*, agreed in their customs and manners with the *Egyptians*; but that the *Africans*, from that river to the *Atlantic* ocean, differed almost in all points from them. *Ptolemy* mentions a city called *Putea* near *Adrumetum*; and *Pliny* a river of *Mauritania Tingitana*, known by the name of *Fut.* or *Pbut*; which seems to confirm the above-mentioned supposition. The district adjacent to this river we find mentioned by some authors under the appellation of *Regio Pbutensis*; which plainly alludes to the name *Pbut*. That word signifies *scattered* or *dispersed*; which very well agrees with what we find related of the *Numidians* by *Mela* and *Strabo*; so that we may, without any scruple, admit the *Aborigines* of this country to have been the descendants of *Pbut*. *Aldrete*, b *Gaspar Varreiro*, and others, think, that some remains of *Pbut* are still discernible in the modern *Fez*; which notion, after a perusal of those writers, our readers will perhaps think proper to espouse. However, it appears from *Eusebius*, *Procopius*, *St. Austin*, and others, that the *Aborigines* were not the only ancient inhabitants of *Numidia*, since the *Phœnicians*, in almost the earliest ages, sent colonies thither. But tho' both these nations descended from *Ham*, they yet differed in many particulars, as we shall have frequent occasion to observe^a.

- Polybius*, as has been already observed, informs us, that the *Carthaginians* once ^{Their government.} possessed all that part of *Africa*, extending from the confines of *Cyrenaica* to the pillars of *Hercules*; but this, we apprehend, is to be understood of the sea-coast of that vast tract: for it sufficiently appears from *Polybius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Livy*, and other ancient historians, that the interior *Numidia*, at least a considerable part of it, was independent on the *Carthaginians*. It is true, the *Numidians* always assisted the *Carthaginians* in their wars; but most of these forces were upon the footing of mercenaries, or of auxiliary troops, sent in pursuance of solemn engagements entered into by the princes to whom they belonged. This might be proved by a great number of passages drawn from the authors just mentioned, were it in any manner necessary. The *Carthaginian* form of government therefore undoubtedly prevailed in every part of *Numidia* subject to the state of *Carthage*, though, in others, absolute monarchy took place. No one can doubt of this, who considers, that not only the kingdom d of *Anteus*, including this country, as well as *Mauritania Tingitana*, and consequently that of his conqueror *Hercules*, was despotic, but likewise that *Iarbas*, *Gala* (B), *Syphax*, *Masinissa*, and other later princes, ruled here with an unlimited sway. The old eastern governments also, from whence that of *Numidia* was derived, put the point here insisted upon beyond dispute. As to the interior of this government, or the particular political maxims, that formed the basis of it, we are intirely in the dark, the most authentic ancient historians not supplying us with the least hint relative thereto^b.

- WHETHER or no any of the independent princes of *Numidia* were legislators, or, ^{Laws.} if so, what particular laws they enacted for the good of their subjects, history informs us not. The *Carthaginian* laws had, without doubt, their proper force amongst all e the *Numidians* under the dominion of *Carthage*. Could *Isidore* be relied upon, some laws of the *Medes* and *Persians* might possibly have been observed in several districts of this country, since he seems to intimate, that those nations, in ancient times, planted a colony in *Numidia*, at least, that there was an intercourse betwixt them and the *Numidians*. *Sallust* likewise more than insinuates the same thing, since he affirms, that the *Persians* sailed hither before the *Phœnicians*, when, intermixing with the *Gatullians*, they, in conjunction with that people, formed the *Numidian* nation. To which

^a HERODOT. l. iv. c. 186, 187. PTOL. l. iv. c. 1. PLIN. l. v. c. 1. EUSEB. de loc. Hieron. in tradit. Hebr. EUSTATH. in Hex. ISID. in orig. l. ix. c. 2. POMP. MELA, l. i. c. 8. STRAB. l. ii. Genes. x. 6. BOCHANT. Phal. l. iv. c. 33. BERNARD ALDRET. var. antiguedad. de Espan. l. iii. c. 6. p. 358. GASPAR VARREIRO in lib. de Ophir. EUSEB. chron. p. 11. PROCOF. ubi sup. D. AUGUST. in exposit. epist. ad Rom. sub init. Vide & Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 666. ^b POLYB. LIV. DIOD. SIC. SALLUST. FLOR. APPIAN. JUSTIN. VIRG. SERV. SIL. ITAL. LUCAN. EUTROP. OROS. ZONAR. CEDREN. aliq. quamplurim. pass. Vide & Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 664. & alib. pass.

(B) We are informed by *Appian*, that there were many *reguli*, or heads of tribes, in the country of the *Masæyli*, not much unlike the *emirs* of the present *Arabs*, who enjoyed a sort of sovereignty over their respective tribes, but yet acknowledged *Syphax* for their chief. It can scarce be doubted, but that

Syphax's government, with respect to these princes, was despotic, otherwise he could not have brought such numerous armies into the field. What has here been observed of *Syphax*, was undoubtedly true of the other kings of the *Masæyli*, as well as those of the *Masæyli* (2).

(2) *Appian. in Libye. c. 6. p. 10. edit. Tol. Amst. 1670.*

that author subjoins, that neither being able to find any materials here for building ^a of houses, nor to carry on any commerce with the *Spaniards*, by reason of their different languages, and the great sea betwixt them, the *Persians* built them huts, tents, or cottages, of the bottoms of their ships inverted, which they removed from place to place; and that, from this circumstance, they called themselves *Numidæ*, a word which, in the *Persic* tongue, alluded thereto. But this relation being inconsistent with itself, and the notion couched therein intirely repugnant to the whole stream both of sacred and profane antiquity, our readers will not scruple to reject it ^c.

Religion.

As the first *Numidians*, in common with all the other *Indigenæ* of that vast tract between the borders of *Egypt* and the *Atlantic* ocean, were called *Libyans*, we may infer from *Herodotus*, that the principal gods they sacrificed to were the *Sun* and ^b *Aëon*. This is a convincing proof of their high antiquity, as clearly evincing, that the migration of the first colony, which peopled this country, preceded the introduction of image-worship into the pagan world. It is likewise an argument, that this colony did not consist of *Persians*, since the *Sun* only was their principal deity. Some of these *Numidians* also might probably worship *Triton*, *Minerva*, and *Neptunus* (C), especially those near the confines of *Africa Propria*, as the same author seems to suggest. That part of this nation subject to *Carthage*, it is reasonable to presume, paid divine honours to the *Phœnician* and *Greek* deities, that were the objects of the *Carthaginian* worship, of which we have already given so full and ample an account. It appears from *Herodotus*, that *Hephestus*, or *Vulcan*, was an ^c *Egyptian* deity worshipped at *Memphis*; but whether or no the *Numidians* held him in any veneration, or indeed had any knowledge of him; we must leave others to decide ^d.

Language.

FROM what has been just offered, our readers will allow it probable, that *Misraim* and *Phut*, with their descendants, moved together into *Africa*; and that their posterity inhabited contiguous regions; nay, if any credit may be given to *Herodotus*, and other authors of the best repute, they agreed, for many ages, in most particulars. *Herodotus* seems to intimate, that in his time, or at least not long before it, the people, inhabiting that tract afterwards called *Numidia*, went by the general name of *Libyans*; and that the *Numidians* were then possessed of the country situate between ^d the frontiers of *Egypt* and the river *Triton*, since he tells us, that the nation occupying that region were called *Libyan Nomades*, in contradistinction to the *Libyans*, who extended themselves from thence to the westward, as far as the *Atlantic* ocean. This observation we remember not to have been made by any other author. However, it seems to be of considerable consequence; for it bids fair to prove, that the kingdoms of the *Massyli* and *Masseyli*, though of a very early date, were not called *Numidia*, till after, or at least a little before, the time of *Herodotus*; and that this name was occasioned by an irruption of a great body of the *Libyan Nomades* into the countries to the westward of the *Triton* about the period above-mentioned. In confirmation of this notion, it may be observed, that no mention is made of the *Numidians* by any ^e of the *Greek* or *Roman* historians, till about the time of *Herodotus*; which is a presumptive argument, that they made no considerable figure, and consequently did not possess territories of so large an extent then as afterwards. Though therefore it can scarce be doubted, but that *Numidia Propria* and *Mauritania Cæsariensis* were at first peopled by *Phut*'s descendants, it is probable, that neither of those provinces were called *Numidia* till the age of *Herodotus*, or at least not long before that age, when the *Libyan Nomades*, or *Numidians*, passed into them. However, in conformity to what has been asserted above, we must remind our readers, that the *Phœnicians*, in the most early ages, and after them the *Carthaginians*, planted colonies here. *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Strabo*, by intimating, that the *Numidians* of their time ^f

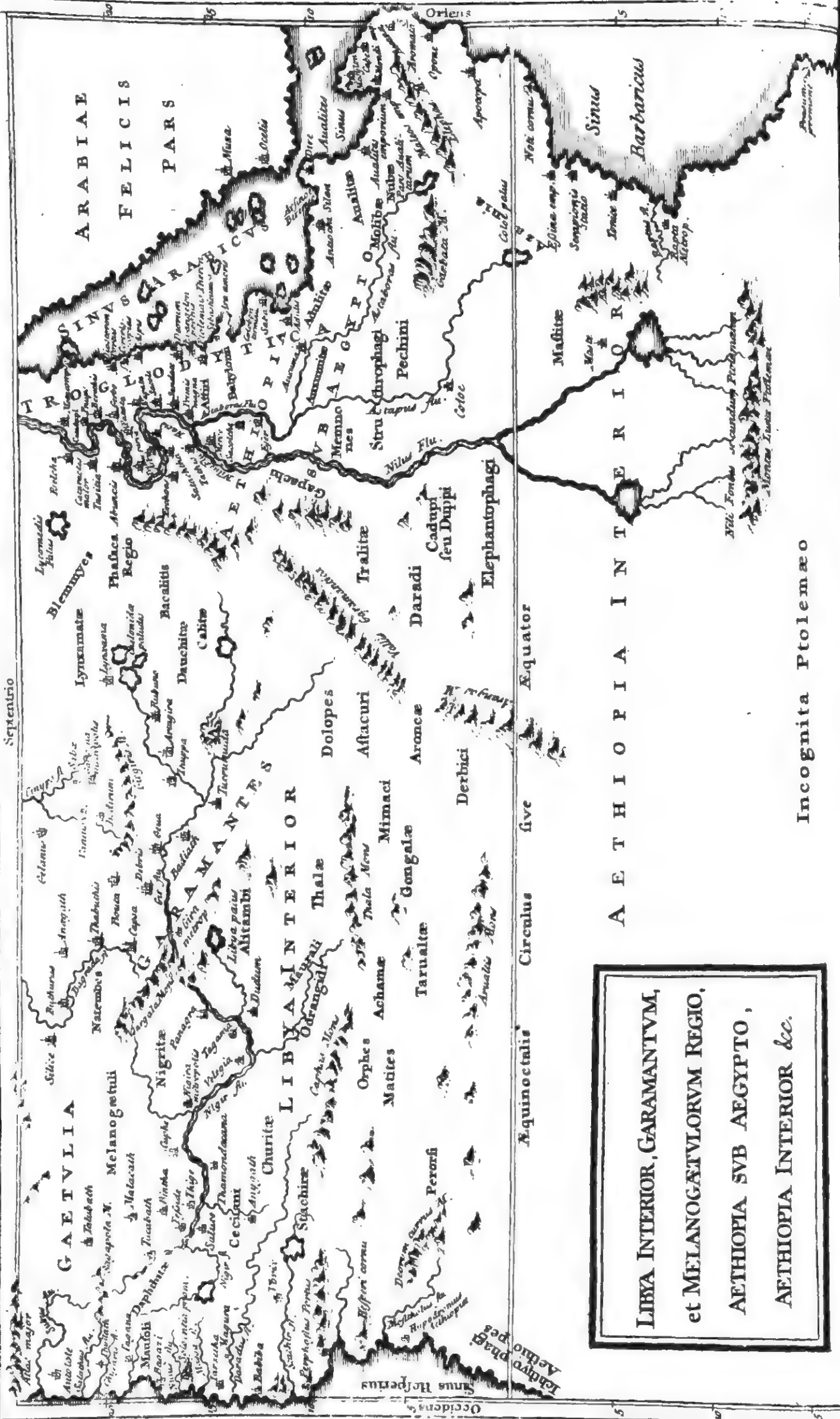
^c ISIDOR, in orig. l. ix. c. 2. SALLUST, in Jugurth. Vide & BERNARD, ALDRET. en var. antigüedad. de Espan. &c. l. iii. c. 17. p. 387, 388. ^d HERODOT. l. iv. Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 688, 691. Vide etiam HERODOT. l. iii. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 12. & l. ii. c. 3.

(C) Father Delrio thinks, that the *Nephtuim* of *Moses* was either the great ancestor, or nation, of the *Numidians*. If so, it is very possible, that *Neptune*, one of the great gods of *Africa*, might have deduced his name from thence. This notion seems

to be countenanced by St. *Jerom*, who reads it *Neptuim*; which is almost intirely the same word with *Neptunus*, after the rejection of the *Latin* termination US. *Albrete*, a person of most profound erudition, comes into this opinion (3).

(3) P. Delrio apud Aldret. l. iii. c. 6. ut & ipse Aldret. ibid.

over 20° 119.



LIBYA INTERIOR, GARAMANTIVM,
et MELANOGETVLORVM REGIO,
AETHIOPIA SVB AEGYPTO,
AETHIOPIA INTERIOR &c.

Incognita Ptolemæo

- a agreed in some points with the *Libyan Nomades* of *Herodotus*, add some weight to the hypothesis we have just offered to the consideration of the learned. From all which particulars we may conclude, that the languages spoken in *Numidia* were,
1. That of the *Libyan Nomades*, which, from many authors, appears to have been nearly related to the old *Egyptian*.
 2. The *Cartaginian*.
 3. The *Phœnician*.
 4. That of *Pbut's* immediate descendants, who at first came there, which, in some points, might have differed from all the rest.
- That the tongue prevailing, in part of *Numidia* at least, was different from the *Phœnician* and *Cartaginian*, is evident from *Sallust*, and others. However barbarous the *Numidians* might have been, some of them used letters, not very unlike those that made up the *Punic* alphabet, as
- b appears from the legends of several antient *Numidian* coins* (D).

WITH regard to the customs of the *Numidians*, our readers will neither expect nor desire us to be prolix on that head: neither the limits we have prescribed ourselves, nor the materials left us by the antients, will permit this. In order therefore to form a general idea of these customs, it will be sufficient to observe, that the principal of them were the following:

1. THE *Numidians* were divided into tribes, nomes, cantons, or hordes, in the same manner as the *Arabes Scenitæ*, and not very unlike the present *Tartars*; excepting that the latter form their villages, or encampments, of carts, like their ancestors the antient *Scythians*; whereas the circular *dou-wars* of the *Numidians* were composed of their *mapalia*, with which the *bhyms*, or tents, of the modern *Bedoweens* nearly correspond. *Mela*, *Strabo*, *Virgil*, *Pliny*, and others, put this point beyond dispute. The *mapalia*, or *Numidian* tents, were secured from the heat and inclemency of the weather by a covering only of such hair-cloth as our coal-sacks are made of. They were all of the same form, oblong, resembling the inverted bottom of a ship, in conformity to the description *Sallust* has given us of them. A whole tribe or horde encamped together, and, having consumed all the produce of one fruitful spot, removed from thence to another, as is the custom of their posterity the *Bedoweens* at this day. As this part of *Africa* consisted of dry and barren sandy deserts, interspersed with fruitful spots, (for which reason *Strabo* compares it to a leopard's skin) such a way of life was absolutely necessary for those who did not live in cities. Hence it appears, in conjunction with what we have observed of their language, that *nome*, agreeable to what we find advanced by *Diodorus Siculus*, *St. Cyril*, *Epiphanius*, *Eusebius*, and others, must have been either an *Egyptian* or *Syriac* word, signifying *part*, *portion*, *division*, &c. and not of *Greek* extraction, as some absurdly pretend; to which add *ידא* or *yeda*, *place*, *limits*, *country*, &c. and the name *Numidia* is formed in a much more rational and apposite manner, than it is possible for it to be upon the principles of those persons, who suppose it deduced from a language intirely unknown to the *Numidians*†.

2. THOSE *Numidians* who lived in fixed habitations, for the most part dwelt in small cottages, raised either with hurdles, daubed over with mud, or built out of some such slight materials, in the same manner as the *gurbies* of the *Kabyles* are erected at this day. The roofs were undoubtedly covered with straw or turf, supported by reeds or branches of trees, as those of the *gurbies* are. The *Numidians*, at least those of *Phœnician* extraction, called these habitations *magaria*, an explication of which word has been already given. The very learned and accurate *Dr. Shaw* informs us,

* HERODOT. l. iv. PLIN. l. v. c. 3. SOLIN. c. 26. STRAB. l. ii. & l. xvii. SALLUST. in Jugurth. Vide etiam BOCHART. Phal. l. iv. c. 33. BERNARD. ALDRET. ubi sup. l. iii. c. 26. SPON. miscel. erudit. antiq. fol. Lugd. 1685. p. 146. BEG. thes. Brand. vol. i. VAL. MAX. l. i. c. 1. HERODOT. l. i. & l. iv. PHIL. JUD. de vit. Mos. l. i. LIBAN. progym. POMP. MEL. c. 9. STRAB. l. xvii. VIRG. georg. iii. PLIN. & SOLIN. ubi sup. DIONYS. Aſ. ver. 184. LUCAN. pass. Vide etiam FEST. AVIEN. ver. 277. SAL. in Jugurth. DIOD. SIC. l. i. p. 35. EUSEB. præp. evang. l. iii. p. 57. EPIPHAN. & CYRIL. apud Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 24. VAL. SCHIND. lex. pent. in voc. ידא & alib. ALDRET. ubi sup. l. iii. c. 17. & SHAW. ubi sup. p. 286—291.

(D) This likewise appears from the letter *Bomilcar* wrote to *Nabdalsa* or *Nadabalsa*, a *Numidian* nobleman of the first rank; which being delivered into the hands of *Jugurtha*, occasioned the death

of *Bomilcar*, and many others, as we learn from *Sallust*. What we have here advanced, is likewise countenanced by *Livy*, and other authors (4).

(4) Sallust. in Jugurth. c. 73, 74. Liv. aliq; script. apud D. Bernard. Aldret. in var. antiquedat. de Eſſan. Afric. y or. prævenc. l. iii. c. 33. p. 467. Vide & Val. Max. l. i. c. 1.

that the towns or villages formed of these huts, are at present built upon eminences, a and called by the *Kabyles*, who inhabit them, *daskkras* &c.

They rode with-
out bridles. 3. THE *Numidians* rode without saddles, and many of them without bridles, whence *Virgil* calls them *Numidæ infræni*. As their principal strength consisted in their cavalry, and they were inured to the management of horses from their infancy, they found this no difficult thing. The custom we are now upon suggests to us the meaning of the word *Metagonium* (E), the proper name of a promontory, as likewise of the country of the *Massyli*, as has been observed above. It is undoubtedly equivalent to *מֵתֵג יוֹנִיבֵב* *meteg ionibb*, or *meteg ioniab*, one that lays aside, or that hath laid aside, his bridle. This is a much more natural etymology, than any that can be drawn from the Greek tongue ^b.

They had many
wives, concu-
bines, &c. 4. ACCORDING to *Strabo*, they had many wives, concubines, and consequently many children, as the *Oriental*s had, tho', in other respects, they were very temperate and abstemious. Their manner of fighting and encamping we have already taken notice of; and therefore to touch upon that head here, would be intirely superfluous ^b.

The king's bro-
ther succeeded
to the crown in
Numidia. 5. THE king's next brother, not his eldest son, succeeded him in *Numidia*, particularly in the country of the *Massyli*. This we learn from *Livy*, who, in proof of what he asserts, tells us, that *Gala*, the father of *Masiniſſa*, was succeeded by his next brother *Deſalces* ^k.

The diet of the
Numidians. 6. THEIR diet consisted chiefly of herbs, grain, pulse, water, &c. and they abstained almost intirely from wine; flesh was sometimes, though not so frequently, used. To this, as well as the moderate degrees of heat and cold of their climate in summer and winter, *Appian* seems to attribute their long lives, and the large share of health they enjoyed. In conformity to nature and experience, that author assures us, that the summers in *Numidia* were not near so hot as in *India* and *Ethiopia* ^l.

They use only a
whip or rod on
horseback. 7. THE *Numidians*, particularly the *Massyli*, did not only ride without saddles and bridles, but likewise all sorts of accoutrements, as we learn from what *Appian* relates of *Masiniſſa*, as well as from many other authors. This they did, in order to rush upon their enemies, or prey, with the greater force and fierceness. However, they made use of a rod or whip, with which they easily managed their horses, though in the midst of the hottest engagements ^m.

Are clad in
loose garments. 8. MANY of the poorer sort of people in *Numidia* went almost naked; but the *Numidians* of any fashion wore their garments loose, not making use of a sash or girdle. In this particular they agreed with the *Carthaginians*, and most of the other *Africans*. Hence that of *Virgil* ⁿ:

Hic Nomadum genus, & distinctos Mulciber Afros, &c.

Eminent for
their skill in
throwing of
darts, &c. 9. THEY were eminent for their skill in hurling the javelin, and throwing of darts, which they discharged in vast numbers upon the enemy. As they seldom or never failed doing great execution, this rendered them very formidable ^o.

Fight in the
night-time. 10. WE are told, that the *Massyli*, when at war with their neighbours, for the most part, chose to come to a general action in the night-time ^p.

Desertion no
crime amongst
them. 11. DESERTION was no crime amongst the *Numidians*, who, after the first defeat, were at liberty to return home, or continue in the army, as they pleased ^q.

12. IN fine, there must have been a great variety of customs in *Numidia*, as it was inhabited by many different nations, that were opposite to one another in many particulars, one of which *Diodorus* calls the *Asphadelodians*, who were probably of a dif-

^k VIRG. ÆN. i. & SERV. in loc. SALLUST. ubi sup. ISIDOR. orig. l. xv. c. 22. PLIN. SOLIN. ubi supra. ALDRET. ubi sup. l. ii. c. 2. SHAW ubi sup. Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 662. Vide & FEST. CHARIS. & SIL. ITAL. l. ii.

^l VIRG. ÆN. iv. ver. 41. LIV. apud Hendreich. in Carthag. p. 359. SERV. in Virg. ubi sup. aliq; mult. Vide SCHIND. lex. pent. in voc. מֵתֵג & יוֹנִיבֵב. ^m STRAB. l. xvii. SALL. in Jugurth.

ⁿ LIV. l. xxix. c. 29. ^o APPIAN. in Libyc. c. 6, 39, & 64. STRAB. l. xvii. LUCAN. l. iv. LIV. l. xlv. OPPIAN. de venat. l. iv. MARTIAL. l. ix. HERODIAN. l. vii. STRAB. l. xvii. Vide & LIV. l. iv. l. viii. & l. xi. ^p VIRG. ÆN. l. viii. ver. 724. SERV. in loc. SIL. ITAL. l. i. PLAUT. in Pœnul. act. v. sc. 2. TERTUL. de pall.

^q APPIAN. in Libyc. SALLUST. in Jugurth. HERODIAN. l. vii. ^r NIC. DAMASCEN. in excerptis Valef. p. 518, 519. ^s SALLUST. in Jugurth.

(E) It appears from *Martial* and *Lucan*, that the custom of riding without bridles prevailed more amongst the *Massyli* than the *Maslyli*. Now, the country of the *Massyli* was the *Terra Metagonis*, as has been already observed; which not a little supports the etymon we would give of *Metagonium* (f).

(f) *Martial*. l. ix. *Lucan*. l. iv.

a ferent cast from the rest, since he informs us, that they were as black as the *Ethiopians*. According to *Hellanicus*, this poor people, being a tribe or canton of the *Libyan Nomades*, had nothing but a cup, a pitcher, and a dagger or knife, which they constantly carried about with them, their small *mapalia* being made of *asphodelus*, great quantities of which they took care in the summer-time to be provided with, in order to have always then an agreeable shady retreat. This circumstance undoubtedly gave occasion to the name *Diodorus* calls them by, and is the chief thing, that we find remarked of them by the antient historians^r.

THE *Numidians*, that inhabited the open country, being a barbarous, rude, and illiterate people, it would be ridiculous to expect any traces of arts or sciences amongst b them. The *Carthaginians* and *Phœnicians* indeed, who were very civilized, polite, and ingenious nations, formed, as there is reason to believe, no small part of the inhabitants of the most considerable cities and towns; but we have already treated amply of the arts and sciences they were famous for. However, the proper *Numidians* seem to have been eminent for their skill in managing horses (F), and knowledge in some branches of the military art. Some knowledge likewise of the *Egyptian* theology, polity, and philosophical notions, we cannot well suppose them to have been destitute of, since their ancestors had, for a series of generations, an intercourse with the posterity of *Misraim*; but as to the extent of any knowledge of this kind amongst them, we are intirely in the dark. The present *Kabyles* and *Bedoweens*, according to c Dr. *Shaw*, spend their time chiefly in making *bykes*, or woollen blankets, and *burnooses*, as they call cloaks or upper garments, in an employment not unlike to which possibly some of the antient rustic *Numidians* might have been engaged, especially since he imagines the *Kabyles* to be the remains of the old *Africans*. As for the chronology of the *Numidians*, if they had any, it is sufficient to observe, that it must have agreed in the main with that of the nations they were derived from, and contiguous to, viz. the *Carthaginians*, *Phœnicians*, and most early *Egyptians*. In one point however they differed from most, if not all, other nations; for they computed their time by nights, and not by days, if any credit may be given to a fragment of *Nic. Damascenus*^s.

^r DIOD. SIC. l. xx. HELLANICUS apud Athen. in deipnosoph. l. ii. Vide etiam Univerf. hist. vol. vi. pass.
^s NIC. DAMASCEN. in excerpt. Valef. p. 520, 521. SHAW, ubi sup. Vide etiam quamplurim. ex auctor. supra laudat.

(F) These horses were very small, but extremely swift, and easily managed, according to *Livy* and *Strabo*. They were satisfied with little food, bore hunger and thirst a long time with great patience, and underwent incredible fatigues. As they had an ugly gait, a stiff neck, and threw their head forward, the *Numidian* horseman made but a ridiculous figure

before the time of action; but always behaved well during the heat of the engagement. *Livy* seems to intimate, that, in *Hannibal's* time, some of the *Numidian* cavalry used bridles, and were heavy-armed troops, wearing coats of mail, swords, shields, and lances; which is countenanced by *Polybius*, *Sallust*, and others (6).

(6) *Appian*. & *Strab.* ubi sup. *Liv.* l. xxi. c. 44, 46. l. xxii. c. 48. *Polyb.* l. iii. c. 65. *Sil. Ital.* l. iv. *Sallust.* in *Jugurth.* *Isidor.* orig. l. xviii. c. 12. & alib. *Juvenal.* scholiast. *Appian.* in *Libyc.* *Liv.* l. xxiii. c. 29. Vide & *Polyb.* apud *Justum Lipsium*, in tract. de milis. Rom. us & ipsum *Lipf.* ibid. l. iii. dial. 7 & 8.

SECT. III.

The history of the *Numidians*, from the earliest accounts of time, to the conquest of their country by the Romans.

d NUMIDIA, being pretty remote from *Egypt*, as well as that part of *Libya* contiguous to it, seems to have been but thinly peopled before the first arrival of the *Phœnicians* there. When this happened, we cannot precisely determine; but, according to *Eusebius*, who is followed by *Bochart*, and other authors of good reputation, it must have been above three hundred years before the foundation of *Carthage*. For *Aristotle* relates, that the *Phœnician* historians made *Utica* to be two hundred eighty-seven years older than *Carthage*; and *Eusebius* affirms *Hercules*, surnamed *Diodas* or *Desanaus*, i. e. the *Phœnician Hercules*, to have been extremely famous all over *Africa* this very year, and to have conquered *Antæus* in the farthest part of *Mauritania* near *Zilis* and *Tingis*, about fifty years before. Sir *Isaac Newton* however, not without reason, fixes this event nearer the time of the *Trojan* war. *Sallust*, *Florus*, and *Orosius* likewise, inform us, that this *Hercules*, whom *Sallust* calls *Libys*, built *Capfa*.

When the Phœnicians came first into Numidia.

From whence we may infer, that either the kingdom of *Antæus* included *Numidia*, a and even *Africa Propria*, or else that *Hercules* over-ran these countries after he had conquered *Mauritania*; the former of which notions appears to us the most probable. We must defer touching upon the war betwixt *Hercules* and *Antæus*, till we come to the history of the *Mauritanians*, tho' the consequences of that war extended to the nation we are now upon ^a.

No accounts of the Numidian affairs for several of the earliest centuries now remaining.

THE transactions of *Numidia*, during many of the earliest centuries, have, for a long series of ages, been buried in oblivion. It is probable however, that as the *Phœnicians* were masters of a good part of it, they were recorded, and not unknown in the *Carthaginian* times. King *Iarbas* probably reigned here, as well as in *Africa Propria*, if not in *Mauritania*, and other parts of *Libya*, when *Dido* began to build *Byrsa*; but we have elsewhere taken notice of all the principal particulars relating to that prince, handed down to us by the antients. It appears from *Justin*, that, about the age of *Herodotus*, the people of this country were called both *Africans* or *Libyans*, and *Numidians*; which seems to imply, that the latter name was not then of very long standing, and consequently to countenance what we have advanced above concerning the incorporation of the *Libyan Nomades* with these (G) *Africans* or *Libyans*. *Justin* likewise intimates, that, about this time, the *Carthaginians* vanquished both the *Moors* or *Mauritanians*, and *Numidians*, who had leagued together against them; the consequence of which was, that the former were excused paying the tribute, which had been exacted from them ever since *Dido's* arrival in *Africa* by the latter. As for the part the *Numidians* acted in all the wars betwixt the *Dionysii*, *Agathocles*, &c. and the *Carthaginians*, we have already been so copious on that head, that our readers will not expect us to expatiate upon it here ^b.

The Carthaginians treat the Micanian Numidians with great severity.

AFTER the conclusion of the first *Punic* war, the *African* troops carried on a bloody war three years against their masters the *Carthaginians*. The most active of all others in this rebellion, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, were the *Micanian Numidians*. This so incensed the *Carthaginians*, that, after *Hamilcar* had either killed or taken prisoners all the mercenaries, he sent a large detachment to ravage the country of those *Numidians*. The commandant of that detachment executed his orders with the utmost rigour and severity; for he plundered all that district in a terrible manner, and crucified all the prisoners, without distinction, that fell into his hands. This filled the rest with such indignation and resentment, that both they, and their posterity ever afterwards, bore an implacable hatred to the *Carthaginians*. The conduct of the *Numidians* in the *Carthaginian* service, during the first *Punic* war, was such as merited the highest applause, as our readers will plainly perceive by consulting a former part of this history ^c.

Syphax defeated twice by Masinissa.

IN the consulate of the younger *Fabius* and *Sempronius Gracchus*, *Syphax*, king of the *Masæsyli*, entered into an alliance with the *Romans*. This induced *Gala*, king of the *Masæsyli*, to conclude a treaty with the *Carthaginians*, in consequence of which his son *Masinissa* marched at the head of a powerful army to give *Syphax* battle. Being reinforced in his march by a body of *Carthaginians*, as soon as he came up with the *Masæsyli*, he engaged them. The fight was sharp and bloody; but at last *Masinissa* carried the day, putting thirty thousand of the *Masæsyli* to the sword, and driving *Syphax* into the country of the *Maurusii*, or *Mauritania*. This, for the present, gave a check both to the progress of *Syphax's* arms, and the towering projects of the *Romans*. However, the *Masæsylian* monarch found means, some time after, to assemble another formidable army of *Masæsylians* and *Mauritanians*; which was likewise defeated and dispersed by *Masinissa*. But the face of affairs in this country was soon afterwards greatly changed ^d.

A brief account of Masinissa's affairs before he entered into an alliance with the Romans.

Gala dying whilst his son *Masinissa* was acting at the head of the *Numidian* troops sent to the assistance of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, his brother *Desalces*, according to

^a ARISTOT. de mirabil. EUSEB. in chron. FLOR. l. iii. c. 1. SALLUST. in Jugurth. OROS. l. v. c. 15. Vide BOCHART. in præfat. ad Chan. ^b GEORG. CEDREN. hist. compend. p. 140. JUSTIN. l. xix. c. 2. APPIAN. in Libyc. sub init. Univers. hist. vol. vi. pass. ^c DIOD. SIC. l. xxvi. in excerptis Valesii. Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 849, & seq. & alib. pass. ^d LIV. l. xxiv. c. 47, 48, 49. APPIAN. in Libyc.

(G) The *Numidians*, particularly the *Masæsyli*, lived upon herbs, roots, flesh, milk, cheese, &c. in conformity to what *Herodotus* relates of the *Libyan Nomades*, as we learn from *Appian* and *Strabo*. This

adds no small weight to the hypothesis we have ventured here to submit to the consideration of the learned (7).

- a the established order of succession in *Numidia*, took possession of the *Massylian* throne. That prince dying soon after his accession, *Capusa*, his eldest son, succeeded him. But he did not long enjoy his high dignity; for one *Mezetulus*, a person of royal extraction, but an enemy to the family of *Gala*, found means to excite a great part of his subjects to a revolt; which enabled him to form a considerable corps, and to bring *Capusa* to a general action; which ending in his favour, and *Capusa*, with many of the noblesse, being slain, he obtained the *Massylian* crown, as the fruit of his victory. However, he did not think proper to assume the title of king, contenting himself with that of guardian or protector to *Lacumaces*, the only surviving young prince of the blood, whom he graced with the royal title. To support himself in his usurpation, he married the widow of *Desfalces*, who was *Hannibal's* niece, and consequently of the most powerful family in *Carthage*. In order to attain the same end, he sent ambassadors to *Syphax*, to conclude a treaty of alliance with him. In the mean time *Masiniſſa*, receiving advice of his uncle's death, of his cousin's slaughter, and of *Mezetulus's* usurpation, immediately passed over to *Africa*, and went to the court of *Bocchar*, king of *Mauritania*, to solicit succours. *Bocchar*, sensible of the great injustice offered *Masiniſſa*, gave him a body of four thousand *Mcors* to escorte him to his dominions. His subjects, having been apprised of his approach, joined him upon the frontiers with a party of five hundred men. The *Moors*, in pursuance of their orders, returned home, as soon as *Masiniſſa* reached the confines of his kingdom; notwithstanding which, and the small body that declared for him, having accidentally met *Lacumaces* at *Tbapsus* with an escort going to implore *Syphax's* assistance, he drove him into the town, which he carried by assault, after a faint resistance. However, *Lacumaces*, with many of his men, found means to escape to *Syphax*. The fame of this exploit gained *Masiniſſa* great credit, insomuch that the *Numidians* flocked to him from all parts, and, amongst the rest, many of his father *Gala's* veterans, who pressed him to make a speedy and vigorous push for his hereditary dominions. *Lacumaces* having joined *Mezetulus* with a reinforcement of *Massylians*, which he had prevailed upon *Syphax* to send to the assistance of his ally, the usurper advanced at the head of a numerous army to offer *Masiniſſa* battle; which
- d that prince, though much inferior in number, did not decline. Hereupon an engagement ensued, and, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, *Masiniſſa*, by his own conduct and bravery, and the valour of his troops, gained a complete victory; the immediate consequence of which was a quiet and peaceable possession of his kingdom, *Mezetulus* and *Lacumaces*, with a few that attended them, flying into the territories of *Carthage*. However, looking upon his present situation as precarious, he offered to declare *Lacumaces* the heir apparent to the crown, and treat him in a manner suitable to his high rank, provided he would immediately make his submission to him; and, after having pardoned *Mezetulus*, and restored to him every thing that he had forfeited by his treasonable conduct, to take him into favour, if
- e he would acknowledge him as his sovereign. Both of them readily complied with the proposal, and immediately returned home; so that the tranquillity and repose of *Numidia* would have been then settled upon a solid and lasting foundation, had not this been prevented by *Asdrubal*, who was then at *Syphax's* court. He insinuated to that prince, who was disposed to live amicably with his neighbours, "That he was greatly mistaken, if he imagined *Masiniſſa* would be satisfied with his hereditary countries; that he was a prince of much greater capacity and ambition, than either his father *Gala*, his uncle *Desfalces*, or any other of his family; that he had often discovered in *Spain* marks of a most rare and uncommon merit; and that, in fine, unless this rising flame was extinguished before it came to too great a head,
- f "both the *Massylian* and *Carthaginian* states would be infallibly consumed by it." *Syphax*, alarmed by these suggestions, advanced with a numerous body of forces into a district, which had long been in dispute between him and *Gala*, but then in the possession of *Masiniſſa*. This brought on a general action between those two princes, wherein the latter was totally defeated, his army dispersed, and he himself obliged to fly to the top of mount *Balbus*, attended only by a few of his horse. Such a decisive battle at the present juncture, before *Masiniſſa* was fixed in his throne, could not but put *Syphax* into possession of the kingdom of the *Massyli*. *Masiniſſa* in the mean time made nocturnal incursions from his post upon mount *Balbus*, and plundered all the adjacent country, particularly that part of the *Carthaginian* territory contiguous
- g to *Numidia*. This district he not only thoroughly pillaged, but likewise laid waste with

with fire and sword, carrying off from thence an immense booty, which was bought^a by some merchants, who had put into one of the *Carthaginian* ports for that purpose. In fine, he did the *Carthaginians* more damage, not only by committing such dreadful devastations, but by massacring and carrying into captivity vast numbers of their subjects on this occasion, than they could have sustained in a pitched battle, or one campaign of an open and legal war. *Syphax*, at the pressing and reiterated instances of the *Carthaginians*, sent *Bocchar*, one of his most active commanders, with a detachment of four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, to reduce this pestilent gang of robbers, promising him a great reward, if he could bring *Masinissa* either alive or dead. *Bocchar*, watching an opportunity, fell upon them unawares, as they were straggling about the country without any order or discipline; so that he took many^b prisoners, dispersed the rest, and pursued *Masinissa* himself, with a few of his men, to the top of the mountain where he had taken post. As he looked upon the expedition to be in a manner ended, he did not only send many head of cattle, and the other booty that had fallen into his hands, to *Syphax*, but likewise all the forces, except five hundred foot, and two hundred horse. With this detachment he drove *Masinissa* from the summit of the hill, and pursued him through several narrow passes and defiles, as far as the plains of *Clupea*, where he so surrounded him, that all the *Massylians*, except four, were put to the sword, and *Masinissa* himself, after having received a dangerous wound, escaped with the utmost difficulty. As this was effected^c by crossing a rapid river, in which attempt two of his four attendants were drowned in the sight of the detachment that pursued him, it was rumoured all over *Africa*, that *Masinissa* had been swallowed by the stream; which gave inexpressible pleasure to *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*. For some time he lived undiscovered in a cave, where he was supported by the robberies of the two horsemen, that had made their escape with him; but, having cured his wound, he boldly began to advance towards his own frontiers, giving out publicly, that he intended once more to take possession of his kingdom. In his march he was joined by about forty horse, and, soon after his arrival amongst the *Massyli*, so many people flocked to him from all parts, that out of them he formed an army of six thousand foot, and four thousand horse; with which he did not only reinstate himself in his dominions, but likewise laid^d waste the borders of the *Massyli*. This so irritated *Syphax*, that he immediately assembled a body of troops, and encamped very commodiously upon a ridge of mountains between *Cirta* and *Hippo*. His army he commanded in person, and detached his son *Vermina*, with a considerable force, to take a compass, and attack the enemy in rear. In pursuance of his orders, *Vermina* set out in the beginning of the night, and took post in the place appointed him, without being discovered by the enemy. In the mean time *Syphax* decamped, and advanced towards the enemy, in order to give them battle. When he had possessed himself of a rising ground, that led to their camp, and concluded that his son *Vermina* must have formed the ambuscade behind them, he began the fight. *Masinissa* being advantageously posted, and his^e soldiers distinguishing themselves in an extraordinary manner, the dispute was long and bloody; but *Vermina* unexpectedly falling upon their rear, and, by this means, obliging them to divide their forces, which were scarce able before to oppose the main body under *Syphax*, they were soon thrown into confusion, and forced to betake themselves to a precipitate flight. All the avenues being blocked up, partly by *Syphax*, and partly by his son, such a dreadful slaughter was made of the unhappy *Massyli*, that only *Masinissa* himself, with seventy horse, escaped to the *Lesser Syriis*. Here he remained, betwixt the confines of the *Carthaginians* and *Garamantes*, till the arrival of *Lælius*, and the *Roman* fleet, on the coast of *Africa*. What happened immediately after his junction with the *Romans*, our readers will find related at large^f in a part of this work, to which it more properly belongs.

Some farther particulars relating to *Syphax* and *Masinissa*.

We have already observed, that the *Carthaginians* lost *Masinissa* by depriving him of his dear *Sophonisba*. That lady was versed in various branches of literature, excellently well skilled in music, the greatest beauty of that age, or perhaps any other, and of such exquisite charms in every respect, that, according to a grave author, either her bare voice, or a sight of her, was sufficient to captivate the most rigid and severe philosopher. *Masinissa* therefore could never forgive the mortifying affront put upon him by the state of *Carthage*, when her father *Adrubal*, in violation

^a Liv. l. xxix. c. 29—34. APPIAN. in Libyc. Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 739, & seq.

- a of the laws of honour and public faith, was commanded to give her to *Syphax*. The *Carthaginians* however endeavoured to fix that prince in their interest, and, in order to this, prevailed upon *Syphax* to restore him his dominions. *Masiniſſa*, to have his full revenge both of *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*, feigned himself intirely satisfied with so generous a cession, and outwardly expressed all imaginable zeal and affection for them, though at the same time he was under-hand with the *Romans* meditating their ruin. *Asdrubal* had either some private intelligence, or entertained a suspicion, of this; which induced him to lay an ambuscade for *Masiniſſa* after his arrival in *Africa* from *Spain*, which that prince happily escaped. *Syphax* in the mean time acted much such a part as *Masiniſſa*; for he assured the *Romans* of an inviolable attachment to their interest, though he had entered into the strictest engagements with the *Carthaginians*, at the earnest solicitations of his wife, whose charms he found himself incapable of resisting. The consequences, both of his conduct, and that of his rival *Masiniſſa*, have been already related at large. It will be sufficient therefore in this place to observe, that, by the assistance of *Lælius*, *Masiniſſa* reduced *Syphax's* kingdom; that, according to *Zonaras*, he and *Scipio* so far outwitted *Hannibal* before the memorable battle of *Zama*, that, by a stratagem, they deprived him of some advantageous posts, which, with a solar eclipse happening during the heat of the action, and not a little intimidating the *Carthaginian* troops, greatly contributed to the victory the *Romans* obtained; and that, at the conclusion of the second *Punic* war, he was amply rewarded by the *Romans* for the important services he had done them. As for *Syphax*, after the loss of his dominions, he was kept in confinement for some time at *Alba*, from whence being removed in order to grace *Scipio's* triumph, he died at *Tibur* in his way to *Rome*. *Zonaras* adds, that his corpse was decently interred; that all the *Numidian* prisoners were released; and that *Vermine*, by the assistance of the *Romans*, took peaceable possession of his father's throne. However, part of the *Masælyian* kingdom was before annexed to *Masiniſſa's* dominions, in order to reward that prince for his singular fidelity and close attachment to the *Romans*, as has been already observed^f (H).

- As an account of all the principal transactions, in which *Masiniſſa* was concerned between the second and third *Punic* wars, has been already extracted from the best antient historians, we cannot here pretend to touch upon any of them, without being guilty of a repetition. Nothing therefore is further requisite, in order to complete the history of this famous prince, than to exhibit to our readers view some points of his conduct towards the decline, and at the close, of life; the wise dispositions made after his death by *Æmilianus*, in order to the regulation of his domestic affairs; and some particulars relating to his character, genius, and habit of body, drawn from the most celebrated *Greek* and *Roman* authors^g.

- By drawing a line of circumvallation round the *Carthaginian* army under *Asdrubal*, posted upon an eminence, *Masiniſſa* cut off all manner of supplies from them; which introduced both the plague and a famine into their camp. As the body of *Numidian* troops employed in this blockade was not near so numerous as the *Carthaginian* forces, it is evident, that the line here mentioned must have been extremely strong, and consequently the effect of great labour and art. The *Carthaginians*, finding themselves reduced to the last extremity, concluded a peace upon the following terms, which *Masiniſſa* dictated to them: 1. That they should deliver up all deserters. 2. That they should recall their exiles, who had taken refuge in his dominions. 3. That they should pay him five thousand talents of silver, within the space of fifty years. 4. That their soldiers should pass under the *jugum*, each of them carrying off only a single coat. As *Masiniſſa* himself, though between eighty and ninety years of age,

Masiniſſa forces the *Carthaginians* to conclude a peace with him upon his own terms.

^f APPIAN. in Libyc. c. 6. LIV. l. xxx. c. 43. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 11, 12. POLYAN. strat. l. viii. c. 16. ex. 7. Univerf. hist. vol. iv. p. 748. ^g Univerf. hist. vol. iv. & vi. pass.

(H) This seems to be countenanced by the epitomizer of *Livy*, who gives us sufficiently to understand, that *Syphax's* family, for a considerable term after the conclusion of the second *Punic* war, reigned in one part of *Numidia*; for he intimates, that *Archebarzanes*, *Syphax's* grandson, and probably *Vermine's* son, hovered, with a powerful army of *Numidians*, about the *Carthaginian* frontiers, a

few years before the third *Punic* war broke out, in order, as should seem, either to cover them, or enable the *Carthaginians* to make an irruption into *Masiniſſa's* territories. *Cato* however pretended, that these forces, in conjunction with those of *Carthage*, had a design to invade the *Roman* dominions, which he urged as a reason to induce the conscript fathers to destroy the *African* republic (2).

conducted the whole enterprize, he must have been extremely well versed in fortification, and other branches of the military art. His understanding likewise he must have retained to the last. This happened a short time before the beginning of the third *Punic* war^a.

Masiniſſa diſ-
gusted at the
Romans.

SOON after, the consuls landed an army in *Africa*, in order to lay siege to *Carthage*, without imparting to *Masiniſſa* their design. This not a little chagrined him, as it was contrary to the former practice of the *Romans*, who, in the preceding war, had communicated their intentions to him, and consulted him on all occasions. When therefore the consuls applied to him for a body of his troops to act in concert with their forces, he made answer, "That they should have a reinforcement from him, when they stood in need of it." It could not but be provoking for him to consider, that, after he had extremely weakened the *Carthaginians*, and even brought them to the brink of ruin, his pretended imperious friends should come to reap the fruits of his victory, without giving him the least intelligence of it^b.

He dies.

HOWEVER, his mind soon after returned to its natural bias, which was in favour of the *Romans*. Finding his end approaching, he sent to *Æmilianus*, then a tribune in the *Roman* army, to desire a visit from him. What he proposed by this visit, was to invest him with full powers to dispose of his kingdom and estate, as he should think proper, for the benefit of his children. The high idea he had entertained of that young hero's abilities and integrity, together with his gratitude and affection for the family into which he was adopted, induced him to take this step; but, believing that death would not permit him to have a personal conference with *Æmilianus* upon this subject, he informed his wife and children, in his last moments, that he had impowered him to dispose, in an absolute manner, of all his possessions, and to divide his kingdom amongst his sons. To which he subjoined, "I require, that whatever *Æmilianus* may decree, shall be executed as punctually, as if I myself had appointed it by my will." Having uttered these words, he expired, at above ninety years of age^c.

Some particu-
lars relating to
his character.

THIS prince, during his youth, had met with strange reverses of fortune, as appears from several preceding parts of this history. However, says *Appian*, being supported by the divine protection, he enjoyed an uninterrupted course of prosperity for a long series of years. His kingdom extended from *Mauritania* to the western confines of *Cyrenaica*; from whence it appears, that he was one of the most powerful princes of *Africa*. Many of the inhabitants of this vast tract he civilized in a wonderful manner, teaching them to cultivate their soil, and to reap those natural advantages, which the fertility of some parts of their country offered them. He was of a more robust habit of body than any of his contemporaries, being blessed with the greatest health and vigour, which was doubtless owing to his extreme temperance, and the toils he incessantly sustained. We are informed by *Polybius*, that sometimes he stood upon the same spot of ground from morning till evening, without the least motion, and at others continued as long in a sitting posture. He would remain on horseback for several days and nights together, without being sensible of the least fatigue. Nothing can better evince the strength of his constitution, than his youngest son, named *Stembal*, *Sthemba*, or *Stembanus*, who was but four years old at his decease. Tho' ninety years of age, he performed all the exercises used by young men, and always rode without a saddle. *Pliny* tells us, that he reigned above sixty years. He was an able commander, and much facilitated the reduction of *Carthage*. *Plutarch* from *Polybius* observes, that the day after a great victory won over the *Carthaginians*, *Masiniſſa* was seen sitting at the door of his tent, eating a piece of brown bread. *Suidas* relates, that, to the last, he could mount his horse without any assistance. According to *Appian*, he left a numerous well-disciplined army, and an immense quantity of wealth (I), behind him^d.

Masiniſſa,

^a APPIAN. in Libyc. c. 40. 41. ^b Idem ibid. c. 55, 56. LIV. & POLYB. pass. ^c APPIAN. ubi sup. c. 63, 64. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 2. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 37. p. 464, 465. Univers. hist. vol. vii. p. 100. ^d Univers. hist. vol. iv. & vii. pass. APPIAN. in Libyc. c. 63. VAL. MAX. ubi sup. STRAB. l. xvii. POLYB. in fragm. p. 1013. edit. Casaub. 1619. PLIN. l. vii. c. 40. PLUT. in comment. an sen. gerend. sit resp. p. 791. CIC. de senect. SUID. in voc. Masardans. VAL. MAX. l. viii. c. 13. POLYB. in excerpt. Valel. p. 175. LIV. epit. l. ZONAR. aliq; plur.

(I) We are farther told, that *Masiniſſa* always went bare-headed, even though the weather was never so severe; and that, in his extreme old age, he could sit on horseback for four-and-twenty hours

together, without being in the least fatigued. Some authors say, that he was a pious prince, and sent back to *Melita* or *Malta* a large quantity of ivory, which had been brought him from thence out of

Junio's

- a *Masiniſſa*, before his death, gave his ring to his eldeſt ſon *Micipſa*; but left the diſtribution of all his other (K) effects and poſſeſſions amongſt his children, as has been juſt obſerved, intirely to *Æmilianus*. Of fifty-four ſons, that ſurvived him, only three were legitimate, viz. *Micipſa*, *Guluffa*, and *Maſtanabal*. *Æmilianus*, arriving at *Cirta* after he had expired, divided his kingdom, or rather the government of it, amongſt theſe three, though to the others he gave conſiderable poſſeſſions. To *Micipſa*, who was a prince of a pacific diſpoſition, and the eldeſt ſon, he aſſigned *Cirta*, the metropolis, for the place of his reſidence, in excluſion of the others. *Guluffa*, the next to him, being a prince of a military genius, had the command of the army, and the tranſacting of all affairs, relating to peace or war, committed to his care. And *Maſtanabal*, or, according to *Livy* and *Salluſt*, *Maſtabal*, the youngeſt, had the adminiſtration of juſtice, an employment ſuitable to his education, allotted him. They enjoyed in common the immense treaſures *Masiniſſa* had amaſſed, and were all of them dignified by *Æmilianus* with the royal title. After he had made theſe wiſe diſpoſitions, that young nobleman departed from *Cirta*, taking with him a body of *Numidian* troops, under the conduct of *Guluffa*, to reinforce the *Roman* army, that was then acting againſt the *Carthaginians* ^m.

Æmilianus
divides his
kingdom and
effects amongſt
his three ſons,
Micipſa, *Guluffa*,
and *Maſtanabal*.

- b *Maſtanabal* and *Guluffa* died ſoon after their father, as appears from the expreſs testimony of *Salluſt*. We find nothing more remarkable of theſe princes, beſides what has been already related, than that the latter continued to aſſiſt the *Romans* in the third *Punic* war; and that the former was pretty well verſed in the *Greek* language. *Micipſa* therefore became ſole poſſeſſor of the kingdom of *Numidia*. In his reign, and the conſulate of *M. Plautius Hyppſæus* and *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, according to *Oroſius*, a great part of *Africa* was covered with locuſts, which deſtroyed all the produce of the earth, and even devoured dry wood; but at laſt they were all carried by the wind into the *African* ſea, out of which being thrown in vaſt heaps upon the ſhore, a plague enſued, which ſwept away an infinite number of animals of all kinds. In *Numidia* only perished eight hundred thouſand men, and in *Africa Propria* two hundred thouſand: amongſt the reſt, thirty thouſand *Roman* ſoldiers quartered in and about *Utica*, for the defence of the laſt province. At *Utica* in particular the mortality raged to ſuch a degree, that fifteen hundred dead bodies were carried out of one gate in a day. *Micipſa* had two ſons, *Adberbal* and *Hiempſal*, whom he educated in his palace, together with his nephew *Jugurtha*. That young prince was the ſon of *Maſtanabal*; but his mother having been only a concubine, *Masiniſſa* had taken no great notice of him. However, *Micipſa*, conſidering him as a prince of the blood, took as much care of him, as he did of his own children ⁿ.

Maſtanabal
and *Guluffa*
die ſoon after
their father
Masiniſſa.

- c *Jugurtha* poſſeſſed ſeveral eminent qualities, which gained him univerſal eſteem. He was very handſome, endued with great ſtrength of body, and adorned with the fineſt intellectual endowments. He did not devote himſelf, as young men commonly do, to a life of luxury and pleaſure. He uſed to exerciſe himſelf, with perſons of his age, in running, riding, hurling the javelin, and other manly exerciſes, ſuited to the martial genius of the *Numidians*; and, though he ſurpaſſed all his fellow-ſportsmen, there was not one of them but loved him. The chace was his only delight; but it was that of lions, and other ſavage (L) beaſts. *Salluſt*, to finiſh his character, tells us, that he excelled in all things, and ſpoke very little of himſelf ^o.

So

^m APPIAN. ubi ſupra, c. 63, 64. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 2. LIV. ubi ſupra. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 27. p. 464, 465. ATHEN. deipnoſoph. l. vi. ⁿ SALLUST. in Jugurth. c. 5. LIV. epit. l. APPIAN. in Libyc. OROS. l. v. c. 11. ^o SALLUST. ubi ſup. FLOR. l. iii. c. 1.

Juno's temple, as a preſent by his admiral. It is added, that he cauſed inſcriptions in *Numidian* letters to be engraven on ſome of the pieces of this ivory, importing, that he willingly returned it, as ſoon as he knew it belonged to the goddeſs. *Valerius Maximus* ſays, that, not being able to repoſe any confidence in any of his children, officers, &c. he endeavoured to ſecure himſelf from the attempts of his enemies by a guard of dogs. He ſuſtained as many toils, at near ninety years of age, as any man in his dominions. His ſubjects he trained up in the military art, inſtead of permitting them to plunder and ravage the country, as had frequently happened

before his time. The inſcriptions above-mentioned are a further proof, that the *Numidians* had an alphabet of their own (9).

(K) It is ſaid, that *Masiniſſa* was ſerved in earthenware, after the *Roman* faſhion; but all the ſtrangers at his table in plate. The ſecond ſervice, or deſert, was adorned with golden baſkets, in conformity to the *Italian* cuſtom, ſo ingeniouſly worked, that they reſembled thoſe made of twigs, ruſhes, &c. *Greek* muſicians likewiſe attended his entertainments (10).

(L) *Salluſt* ſeems to intimate, that many of the natives of *Numidia* were deſtroyed by theſe wild

(9) Cic. de ſeneſc. Val. Max. l. i. c. 1. l. viii. c. 13. & l. ix. c. 13. (10) Ptol. comment. l. viii. apud Athen. deipnoſoph. l. vi.

beaſts;

Micipsa jealous
of his nephew
Jugurtha.

So conspicuous an assemblage of fine talents and perfections at first charmed a Micipsa, who thought them an ornament to his kingdom. However, he soon began to reflect, that he was considerably advanced in years, and his children in their infancy; that mankind naturally thirsted after power; and that nothing was capable of making men run greater lengths than a vicious and unlimited ambition. These reflections soon excited his jealousy, and determined him to expose Jugurtha to a variety of dangers, some of which, he entertained hopes, might prove fatal to him. In order to this, he gave him the command of a body of forces, which he sent to assist the Romans, who were at that time besieging Numantia in Spain. But Jugurtha, by his admirable conduct, did not only escape all these dangers, but likewise won the esteem of the whole army, and the friendship of Scipio, who sent a high character of him to his uncle Micipsa. However, that general gave him some prudent advice in relation to his future conduct, observing, no doubt, in him certain sparks of ambition, which, if lighted into a flame, he apprehended, might, one day, be productive of the most fatal consequences P.

Jugurtha's perfidiousness and cruelty.

BEFORE this last experiment, Micipsa had endeavoured to find out some method of taking him off privately; but his popularity amongst the Numidians obliged that prince to lay aside all thoughts of this nature. After his return from Spain, the whole nation almost adored him. The heroic bravery he had shewn there, his undaunted courage, joined to the utmost calmness of mind, which enabled him to preserve a just medium between a timorous foresight and an impetuous rashness, a circumstance rarely to be met with in persons of his age, and, above all, the advantageous testimonials of his conduct given by Scipio, attracted an universal esteem; nay, Micipsa himself, charmed with the high idea the Roman general had entertained of his merit, changed his behaviour towards him, resolving, if possible, to win his affection by kindness. He therefore adopted him, and declared him joint heir with his two sons (M) to the crown. Finding, some few years afterwards, that his end approached, he sent for all three to his bed side, where, in presence of the whole court, he desired Jugurtha to recollect with what extreme tenderness he had treated him, and consequently to consider how well he had deserved at his hands. He then intreated him to protect his children on all occasions, who, being before related to him by the ties of blood, were now, by their father's bounty, become his brethren. In order to fix him the more firmly in their interest, he likewise complimented him upon his bravery, address, and consummate prudence. He further insinuated, that neither arms nor treasures constitute the strength of a kingdom, but friends, who are neither won by arms nor gold, but by real services, and an inviolable fidelity. "Now where, continued he, can we find better friends than in brothers? And how can that man, who becomes an enemy to his relations, repose any confidence in, or depend upon strangers?" Then addressing himself to Adherbal and Hiempsal, "And you, said he, I injoin always to pay the highest reverence to Jugurtha. Endeavour to imitate, and, if possible, surpass his exalted merit, that the world may not hereafter observe Micipsa's adopted son to have reflected greater glory upon his memory than his own children." Soon after, Micipsa, who, according to Diodorus, was a prince of an amiable character, expired. Though Jugurtha did not believe the king to speak his real sentiments with regard to him, yet he seemed extremely pleased with so gracious a speech, and made him an answer suitable to the occasion. However, that prince at the same time was determined within himself to put in execution the scheme he had formed at the siege of Numantia, which was suggested to him by some factious and abandoned Roman officers, with whom he there contracted an acquaintance. The purport of this scheme was, that he should extort the crown by force from his two cousins, as soon as their father's eyes were closed; f

P SALLUST. ubi sup. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 9.

beasts; for he says, that the Numidians were so healthy, and of such robust constitutions, that almost all of them attained to old age, except those who either fell in war, or were devoured by wild beasts, scarce any disease ever proving fatal to them (11).

(M) Diodorus Siculus relates, that tho' Micipsa had

many children, his three favourite sons were Adherbal, Hiempsal, and Micipsa. The same historian likewise adds, that he was the most clement of all the Numidian monarchs; and that he sent for a great number of Greeks, eminent in all branches of literature, particularly philosophy, by whose instructions he became a most celebrated philosopher (12).

(11) Sallust. in bell. Jugurth.

(12) Diod. Sic. in excerpt. Valer. p. 385, 386.

which,

- a which, they insinuated, might easily be effected by his own valour, and the venality of the *Romans*. Accordingly, a short time after the old king's death, he found means to assassinate *Hiempsal* in the city of *Tbirmida*, where his treasures were deposited, and drive *Adberbal* out of his dominions. That unhappy prince found himself obliged to fly to *Rome*, where he endeavoured to engage the conscript fathers to espouse his quarrel; but, notwithstanding the justice of his cause, they had not virtue enough effectually to support him. *Jugurtha's* ambassadors, by distributing vast sums of money amongst the senators, brought them so far over, that a majority palliated his inhuman proceedings. When those ambassadors therefore declared, that *Hiempsal* had been killed by the *Numidians*, on account of his excessive cruelty; that
- b *Adberbal* was the aggressor in the late troubles; that he was only chagrined, because he could not make that havock amongst his countrymen he would willingly have done; and intreated the senate to form a judgment of *Jugurtha's* behaviour in *Africa* from what he had shewn at *Numantia*, rather than from the suggestions of his enemies, by far the greatest part of the senate discovered themselves prejudiced in his favour. A few however, that were not lost to honour, nor abandoned to corruption, insisted upon bringing him to condign punishment; but, as they could not prevail, he had the best part of *Numidia* allotted him, and *Adberbal* was forced to rest satisfied with the other ^a.

- Jugurtha*, finding now by experience, that every thing was venal at *Rome*, as his
- c friends at *Numantia* had before informed him, thought he might pursue his towering projects without any obstruction from that quarter. He therefore, immediately after the last division of *Micipsa's* dominions, threw off the mask, and attacked his cousin by open force. As *Adberbal* was a prince of a pacific disposition, and almost in all respects the reverse of *Jugurtha*, he was by no means a match for him. The latter therefore pillaged the former's territories, stormed several of his fortresses, and overran a good part of his kingdom without opposition. *Adberbal*, depending upon the friendship of the *Romans*, which his father, in his last moments, assured him would be a stronger support to him than all the troops and treasures in the universe, dispatched deputies to *Rome*, to complain of these hostilities. But, whilst he lost his time in sending thither fruitless deputations, *Jugurtha* overthrew him in a pitched battle, and
- d soon after shut him up in *Cirta*. During the siege of this city, a *Roman* commission arrived there, in order to persuade both parties to an accommodation; but finding *Jugurtha* untractable, the commissioners returned home, without so much as conferring with *Adberbal*. A second deputation, composed of senators of the highest distinction, with *Æmilius Scaurus*, president of the senate, at their head, landed some time after at *Utica*, and summoned *Jugurtha* to appear before them. That prince at first seemed to be under dreadful apprehensions, especially as *Scaurus* reproached him with his enormous crimes, and threatened him with the resentment of the *Romans*, if he did not immediately raise the siege of *Cirta*. However, the *Numidian*, by his address,
- e and the irresistible power of gold, as was afterwards suspected at *Rome*, so mollified *Scaurus*, that he left *Adberbal* at his mercy. In fine, *Jugurtha* had at last *Cirta* surrendered to him, upon condition only, that he should spare the life of *Adberbal*; but the merciless tyrant, in violation of the laws of nature and humanity, as well as the capitulation, when he had got possession of the town, ordered him to be put to a most cruel death. The merchants likewise, and all the *Numidians* in the place capable of bearing arms, he caused, without distinction, to be put to the sword ^f.

- EVERY person at *Rome*, inspired with any sentiments of humanity, was struck with horror at the news of this tragical event. However, all the venal senators still concurred with *Jugurtha's* ministers in palliating his enormous crimes. Notwithstanding which, the people, excited thereto by *Caius Memmius* their tribune, who bitterly inveighed against the venality of the senate, resolved not to let so flagrant an instance of villainy go unpunished. This disposition in them induced the conscript fathers likewise to declare their intention to chastise *Jugurtha*. In order to this, an army was levied to invade *Numidia*, and the command of it given to the consul *Calpurnius Bestia*, a person of good abilities, but rendered unfit for the expedition he was to go upon by his insatiable avarice. *Jugurtha*, being informed of the great preparations making at *Rome* to attack his dominions, sent his son thither to avert the impending storm. The young prince was plentifully supplied with money, which he had

He bribes the
Roman senate,
and massacres
Adberbal.

He corrupts
Bestia and
Scaurus.

^a SALLUST. & FLOR. ubi sup. EUTROP. l. iv. c. 26. OROS. l. v. c. 15. ^f Ibidem ibid. Liv. ep. lxiv.

orders to distribute liberally amongst the leading men. But *Bestia*, proposing to a himself great advantages from an invasion of *Numidia*, defeated all his intrigues, and got a decree passed, ordering him and his attendants to depart *Italy* in ten days, unless they were come to deliver up the king himself, and all his territories, to the republic by way of dedition; which decree being notified to them, they returned, without so much as having entered the gates of *Rome*; and *Bestia* soon after landed with a powerful army in *Africa*. For some time he carried on the war there very briskly, reduced several strong-holds, and took many *Numidians* prisoners. But, upon the arrival of *Scaurus*, whose character has been already given in the *Roman* history, a peace was granted *Jugurtha* upon advantageous terms. That prince coming from *Vacca*, the place of his residence, to the *Roman* camp, in order to confer with *Bestia* and *Scaurus*, and the preliminaries of the treaty being immediately after settled between them in private conferences, every body at *Rome* was convinced, that the prince of the senate and the consul had sacrificed to their avarice the good of the republic. The indignation therefore of the people in general displayed itself in the strongest manner. *Memmius* also fired them with his speeches. It was therefore resolved to dispatch the prætor *Cassius*, a person they could confide in, to *Numidia*, to prevail upon *Jugurtha* to come to *Rome*, that they might learn from the king himself which of their generals and senators had been seduced by the pestilent influence of corruption. Upon his arrival there, he found means to bribe one *Babius Salca*, a man of great authority amongst the plebeians, but of insatiable avarice, by whose assistance he escaped with impunity; nay, by the efficacy of gold, he did not only elude all the endeavours of the people of *Rome* to bring him to justice, but likewise enabled *Bomilcar*, one of his attendants, to get *Massiva*, an illegitimate son of *Micipsa*, assassinated in the streets of *Rome*. That young prince was advised by many *Romans* of probity, well-wishers to the family of *Masiniissa*, to apply for the kingdom of *Numidia*; which coming to *Jugurtha's* ears, he prevented the application by this execrable step. However, he was obliged to leave *Italy* immediately. He departed *Rome* with passing that severe reflection upon the venality of its infamous citizens already mentioned.

Obliges the Roman army to pass under the jugum, and quit *Numidia*.

Jugurtha had scarce set foot in *Africa*, when he received advice, that the senate had disannulled the shameful peace concluded with him by *Bestia* and *Scaurus*. Soon after, the consul *Albinus* transported a *Roman* army into *Numidia*, flattering himself with the hopes of reducing *Jugurtha* to reason before the expiration of his consulate. In this however he found himself deceived; for that crafty prince, by various artifices, so amused and imposed upon *Albinus*, that nothing of moment happened that campaign. This rendered him strongly suspected of having betrayed his country after the example of his predecessors. His brother *Aulus*, who succeeded him in the command of the army, was still more unsuccessful; for, after rising from before *Suthul*, where the king's treasures were deposited, he marched his forces into a defile, out of which he found it impossible to extricate himself. He therefore was obliged to submit to the ignominious ceremony of passing under the jugum, with all his men, and to quit *Numidia* intirely in ten days time, in order to deliver his troops from immediate destruction. The avaricious disposition of the *Roman* commander prompted him to besiege *Suthul*, the possession of which place, he imagined, would make him master of all the wealth of *Jugurtha*, and consequently paved the way to such a scandalous treaty. However, this was declared void as soon as known at *Rome*, as being concluded without the authority of the people. The *Roman* troops retired into *Africa Propria*, which they had now reduced into the form of a *Roman* province, and there took up their winter-quarters.

Defeated by Metellus.

In the mean time *Caius Mamilius Limetanus*, tribune of the people, excited the plebeians to inquire into the conduct of those persons, by whose assistance *Jugurtha* had found means to elude all the decrees of the senate. This put the body of the people into a great ferment; which occasioned a prosecution of the guilty senators, that was carried on, for some time, with the utmost heat and violence. *Lucius Metellus* the consul, during these transactions, had *Numidia* assigned him for his province, and consequently was appointed general of the army destined to act against *Jugurtha*. As he perfectly disregarded wealth, the *Numidian* found him superior to all his temptations; which was a great mortification to him. To this he joined all the other virtues, which constitute the great captain; so that *Jugurtha* found him in all respects

* *Iidem* *ibid.*

* *SALLUST. FLOR. EUTROP. OROS. ubi sup.*

- a inaccessible. That prince therefore was now forced to regulate his conduct, according to the motions of *Metellus*, with the greatest caution, and exert his utmost bravery, in order to compensate for that hitherto favourable expedient, which now began to fail him. *Marius*, *Metellus*'s lieutenant, being likewise a person of uncommon merit, the Romans reduced *Vacca*, a large, opulent city, and the most celebrated mart in *Numidia*; defeated *Jugurtha* in a pitched battle; overthrew *Bomilcar*, one of his generals, upon the banks of the *Muthullus*; and, in fine, forced the *Numidian* monarch to take shelter in a place rendered almost inaccessible by the rocks and woods with which it was covered. However, *Jugurtha* signalized himself in a surprising manner, exhibiting all that could be expected from the courage, abilities, and attention of a consummate general, to whom despair administers fresh strength, and suggests new lights. But his troops could not make head against the Romans; they were again worsted by *Marius*, though they obliged *Metellus* to raise the siege of *Zama*. *Jugurtha* therefore, finding his country every-where ravaged, his most opulent cities plundered, his fortresses reduced, his towns burnt, vast numbers of his subjects put to the sword, and taken prisoners, began to think seriously of coming to an accommodation with the Romans. His favourite *Bomilcar*, in whom he reposed the highest confidence, but who had been gained over to the enemy by *Metellus*, observing this disposition, found it no difficult matter to persuade him to deliver up his elephants, money, arms, horses, and deserters, in whom the main strength of his army consisted, into the hands of the Romans. Some of these last, in order to avoid the punishment due to their crime, retired to *Bocchus* king of *Mauritania*, and listed in his service. But *Metellus* ordering him to repair to (N) *Tifidium*, a city of *Numidia*, there to receive farther directions, and he refusing a compliance with that order, hostilities were renewed with greater fury than ever. Fortune now seemed to declare in favour of *Jugurtha*: he retook *Vacca*, and massacred the Roman garrison, though *Turpilius*, the commandant, found means to make his escape. However, soon after a Roman legion seized again upon it, and treated the inhabitants with the utmost severity. About this time, one of *Mastanabal*'s sons, named *Gauda*, whom *Micipsa*, in his will, had appointed to succeed to the crown, in case his two legitimate sons and *Jugurtha* died without issue, wrote to the senate in favour of *Marius*, who was then endeavouring to supplant *Metellus*; the occasion and effect of which solicitation has already been related. That prince, having his understanding impaired by a declining state of health, fell a more easy prey to the base and infamous adulation of *Marius*, who, after having soothed his vanity, assured him, that, as he was the next heir to the crown, he might depend upon being fixed upon the *Numidian* throne, as soon as *Jugurtha* was either killed or taken, which must in a short time happen, when he once appeared at the head of the Roman army with an unlimited commission. Soon after, *Bomilcar* and *Nabdalsa* formed a design to assassinate *Jugurtha*, at the (O) instigation of *Metellus*; but this being detected, *Bomilcar*, and most of his accomplices, suffered death, as our readers will find in another part of this work. The plot however had such an effect upon *Jugurtha*, that he enjoyed afterwards no tranquillity or repose. He suspected persons of all denominations, *Numidians* as well as foreigners, of some black designs against him. Perpetual terrors sat brooding over his mind; insomuch that he never got a wink of sleep, but by stealth, and often changed his bed in a low, plebeian manner. Starting from his sleep, he would frequently snatch his sword, and break out into the most doleful cries. So strongly was he haunted by a spirit of fear, jealousy, and distraction.

- Jugurtha*, having destroyed great numbers of his friends, on suspicion of their having been concerned in the late conspiracy, and many more of them deserting to the Romans and *Bocchus* king of *Mauritania*, found himself, in a manner, destitute of counsellors, generals, and all persons capable of assisting him in carrying on the war.

Overthrown a second time by him.

* *Idem ibid.* Liv. epit. lxx. Plut. in Mar. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 11.

(N) This city seems to have been situated either upon the borders of *Africa Propria*, or in that province, since *Metellus* distributed his troops in winter-quarters there, after the conclusion of the campaign (13).

(O) *Frontinus* relates, that *Metellus* endeavoured to secure *Jugurtha*'s person, not to assassinate him, which, he insinuates, might have been more easily effected. But as this runs counter to *Sallust*, who is superior, in point of authority, to *Frontinus*, this historical fragment deserves not much credit (14).

(13) *Sallust. in bell. Jugurth.*

(14) *S. Jul. Frontin. strat. l. i. c. 8 ex. 3.*

This

This threw him into a deep melancholy, which rendered him dissatisfied with every a thing, and made him fatigue his troops with a variety of contradictory motions. Sometimes he would advance with great celerity against the enemy, and at others retreat with no small swiftness from them. Then he resumed his former courage; but soon after despaired either of the valour or fidelity of the forces under his command. All his movements therefore proved unsuccessful, and at last he was forced by Metellus to a battle. That part of the Numidian army Jugurtha commanded, behaved with some resolution; but the other fled at the first onset. The Romans therefore intirely defeated them, took all their standards, and made a few of them prisoners. Not many of them were slain in the action, since, as Sallust observes, the Numidians trusted more to their heels than their arms for safety in this engagement *.

Metellus takes
Thala.

Metellus pursued Jugurtha and his fugitives to Thala, a place we have formerly described. His march to this place, being through vast deserts, was extremely tedious and difficult; but being supplied with wooden vessels of all sizes taken from the huts of the Numidians, which were filled with water brought by the natives, who had submitted to him, he invested that city. He had no sooner sat down before it, than a most copious shower of rain, a thing very uncommon in those deserts, proved a great and seasonable refreshment to his forces, who, animated thereby, as though the gods had declared for them, prepared to attack the town with such vigour, that Jugurtha, with his family, and treasures deposited therein, thought proper to abandon it. After a brave defence, it was reduced, the garrison, consisting of Roman c deserters, setting fire to the king's palace, and consuming themselves, together with every thing valuable to them, in the flames. Jugurtha, being now reduced to great extremities, retired into Gatulia, where he formed a considerable corps. From thence he advanced to the confines of Mauritania, and engaged Bocchus, king of that country, whose daughter he had married, to enter into an alliance with him; in consequence of which, having reinforced his Gatulian troops with a powerful body of Mauritians, he turned the tables upon Metellus, and obliged him to keep close within his intrenchments. Sallust informs us, that Jugurtha bribed Bocchus's ministers to influence that prince in his favour; and that having obtained an audience, he insinuated, that, should Numidia be subdued, Mauritania must be involved in its d ruin, especially as the Romans seemed to have vowed the destruction of all the thrones in the universe. In support of what he advanced, he produced several instances very apposite to the point in view. However, the same author seems to intimate, that Bocchus was determined to assist Jugurtha against his enemies by the slight the Romans had formerly shewn him. That prince, at the first breaking out of this war, sent ambassadors to Rome, to propose an offensive and defensive alliance to the republic; which, though of the utmost consequence to it at that juncture, a few of the most venal and infamous senators, who were abandoned to corruption, prevented from taking effect. This undoubtedly wrought more powerfully upon Bocchus in favour of Jugurtha, than the relation he stood in to him; for both the Moors and Numi- e dians adapted the number of their wives to their circumstances, so that some had ten, twenty, &c. to their share. Their kings therefore were unlimited in this particular, and of course all degrees of affinity, resulting to them from marriage, had little force. It is observable, that the posterity of those ancient nations have the same custom prevailing amongst them at this day †.

And endeavours
to draw
off Bocchus
from the inter-
est of Jugurtha.

SUCH was the situation of affairs in Numidia, when Metellus received advice of the promotion of Marius to the consulate. What effect this news had upon that excellent, tho' much injured, commander, has been already observed. But, notwithstanding the injurious treatment he met with on this occasion, he generously endeavoured to draw f off Bocchus from Jugurtha, though this would facilitate the reduction of Numidia for his rival. To this end ambassadors were dispatched to the Mauritanian court, who intimated to Bocchus, " That it would be highly imprudent to come to a rupture with the Romans without any cause at all; that he had now a fine opportunity of concluding a most advantageous treaty with them, which was much preferable to a war; that, whatever dependence he might place upon his riches, he ought not to run the hazard of losing his dominions by embroiling himself with other states, when he could easily avoid this; that it was much easier to begin a war, than to end it, which it was in the power of the victor alone to do; that, in fine, he would

* SALLUST. LIV. PATERC. OROS. ubi sup. EUTROP. ubi sup. c. 27. Vide & BERN. ALDRET. ubi sup. p. 400, 401, & seq.

† Ibidem ibid. STRAB. l. xvii.

- a “ by no means consult the interest of his subjects, if he followed the desperate fortunes of *Jugurtha*.” To which *Bocchus* replied, “ That, for his part, there was nothing he wished for more than peace; but that he could not help pitying the deplorable condition of *Jugurtha*; that if the *Romans* therefore would grant that unfortunate prince the same terms they had offered him, he would bring about an accommodation.” *Metellus* let the *Mauritanian* monarch know, that it was not in his power to comply with what he desired. However, he took care to keep up a private negotiation with him till the new consul *Marius*’s arrival. By this conduct he served two wise ends; for, first, he prevented thereby *Bocchus* from coming to a general action with his troops; which was the very thing *Jugurtha* desired, as hoping that this, whatever the event might be, would render a reconciliation betwixt him and the *Romans* impracticable. Secondly, this inaction enabled him to discover something of the genius and disposition of the *Moors*, a nation, of whom the *Romans*, till then, had scarce formed any idea, which, he imagined, might be of no small service, either to himself or his successors, in the future prosecution of the war.

- Jugurtha*, being informed, that *Marius*, with a numerous army, was landed at *Utica*, advised *Bocchus* to retire, with part of the troops, to some place of difficult access, whilst he himself took post upon another inaccessible spot with the remaining corps. By this measure, he hoped the *Romans* would be obliged to divide their forces, and consequently be more exposed to his efforts and attacks. He likewise imagined, that, seeing no formidable body appear, they would believe the enemy in no condition to make head against them; which might occasion a relaxation of discipline, the usual attendant of a too great security, and consequently produce some good effect. However, he was disappointed in both these views; for *Marius*, far from suffering a relaxation of discipline to take place, trained up his troops, which consisted chiefly of new levies, in so perfect a manner, that they were soon equal in goodness to any consular army that ever appeared in the field. He also cut off great numbers of the *Gatullan* marauders, defeated many of *Jugurtha*’s parties, and had like to have taken that prince himself prisoner near the city of *Cirta*. These advantages, though not of any great importance, intimidated *Bocchus*, who now made overtures for an accommodation; but the *Romans*, not being sufficiently satisfied of his sincerity, gave no great attention to them. In the mean time *Marius* pushed on his conquests, reducing several places of less note, and at last resolved to besiege *Capſa*. That this enterprize might be conducted with the greater secrecy, he suffered not the least hint of his design to transpire, even amongst any of his officers. On the contrary, in order to blind them, he detached *A. Manlius*, one of his lieutenants, with some light-armed cohorts, to the city of *Lares*, where he had fixed his principal magazine, and deposited the military chest. Before the lieutenant left the camp, that he might the more effectually amuse him, he intimated, that himself, with the army, should take the same route in a few days; but, instead of that, he bent his march towards the *Tanais*, and, in six days time, arrived upon the banks of that river. Here he pitched his tents for a short time, in order to refresh his troops; which having done, he advanced to *Capſa*, and made himself master of it, in the manner we have already related. As the situation of this city rendered it extremely commodious to *Jugurtha*, whose plan of operations, ever since the commencement of the war, it had exceedingly favoured, he levelled it with the ground, after it had been delivered up to the soldiers to be plundered. The citizens likewise, being more strongly attached to that prince than any of the other *Numidians*, on account of the extraordinary privileges he indulged them with, and, of course, bearing a more implacable hatred to the *Romans*, he put to the sword, or sold for slaves. The true motive of the consul’s conduct on this occasion seems here to be assigned, though we are told by *Sallust*, in conformity to the *Roman* genius, that neither avarice nor resentment prompted him to so barbarous an action, but only a desire to strike a terror into the *Numidians* (P).

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† SALLUST. VEL. PATERC. & PLUT. ubi sup. Univers. hist. vol. v. p. 21.
PLUT. EUTROP. OROS. ubi supra.

‡ SALLUST. LIV. FLOR.

(P) *Sallust* does not only inform us, that the *Numidians* lived after much the same manner as the *Libyan Nomades* of *Herodotus*, but likewise that they were called *Nomo-Numida*; which seems to confirm
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what we have hinted above concerning the etymon of the word *Numidia*. He likewise tells us, that these *Nomo-Numida* increased so exceedingly, that they overstocked their original country; and therefore
M m fore

Jugurtha pre-
sails upon
Bocchus to
assist him.

THE *Numidians*, ever after this exploit, dreaded the very name of *Marius*, who a now, in his own opinion, had eclipsed the glory of all his predecessor's great achievements, particularly the reduction of *Thaba*, a city, in strength and situation, nearly resembling *Capfa*. Following his blow, he gradually presented himself before most of the places of strength in the enemy's country, many of which either opened their gates, or were abandoned, at his approach, being terrified with what had happened to the unfortunate citizens of *Capfa*; others, taking by force, he laid in ashes; and, in short, filled the greatest part of *Numidia* with blood, horror, and confusion. The operations of the campaign were concluded by the reduction of a castle, that seemed impregnable, seated on the *Mulucha*, where *Jugurtha* kept part of his treasures (Q). In the mean time *Jugurtha*, not being able to prevail upon *Bocchus*, by b his repeated solicitations, to advance into *Numidia*, where he found himself greatly pressed, was obliged to have recourse to his usual method of bribing the *Mauritanian* ministers, in order to put that prince in motion. He also promised him a third part of his kingdom, provided they could either drive the *Romans* out of *Africa*, or get all the *Numidian* dominions confirmed to him by treaty^a.

They are both
defeated by
Marius, upon
which Bocchus
delivers up Ju-
gurtha to the
Romans.

So considerable a cession could not fail of engaging *Bocchus* to support *Jugurtha* with his whole power. The two (R) *African* monarchs therefore, having joined their forces, surprised *Marius* near *Cirta*, as he was going into winter-quarters. The *Roman* general was so pushed on this occasion, that the barbarians thought themselves certain of victory, and doubted not but they should be able to extinguish the *Roman* name c in *Numidia*; but their incaution and too great security enabled *Marius* to give them a total defeat, which was followed four days after by so complete an overthrow, that their numerous army, consisting of ninety thousand men, by the accession of a powerful corps of *Moors*, commanded by *Bocchus's* son *Volux*, was intirely ruined. *Sylla*, *Marius's* lieutenant, most eminently distinguished himself in the last action, which laid the foundation of his future greatness. *Bocchus*, now looking upon *Jugurtha's* condition as desperate, and not being willing to run the risk of losing his dominions, clapped up a peace with *Rome*. However, the republic gave him to understand, that he must not expect to be ranked amongst its friends, till he had delivered up into the consul's hands *Jugurtha*, that inveterate enemy of the *Roman* name. The *Mau-* d *ritanian* monarch, having entertained a high idea of an alliance with that state, resolved to satisfy it in this particular, and was confirmed in his resolution by one *Dabar*, a *Numidian* prince, the son of *Massugrada*, and descended, by his mother's side, from *Masiniissa*, who, being closely attached to the *Romans*, and extremely agreeable to *Bocchus*, on account of his noble disposition, had defeated all the intrigues of *Aspar*, *Jugurtha's* minister. Upon *Sylla's* arrival at the *Mauritanian* court, the affair there seemed to be intirely settled. However, *Bocchus*, who was for ever projecting new designs, and, like the rest of his countrymen, in the highest degree perfidious, debated within himself, whether he should sacrifice *Sylla* or *Jugurtha*, who were both then in his power. He was a long time fluctuating with uncertainty, and combated e by a contrariety of sentiments. The sudden changes, which displayed themselves in his countenance, his air, and his whole person, evidently shewed how strongly his mind was agitated; but at last he returned to his first design, to which the bias of his mind seemed naturally to lead him. He therefore delivered up *Jugurtha* into the hands of *Sylla*, to be conducted to *Marius*, who, by that successful event, happily ter-

^a SALLUST. FLOR. PLUT. ubi sup. S. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. l. iii. c. 9. ex. 3.

fore a great multitude of them were obliged to make an irruption into the country afterwards from them called *Numidia*, where they settled. This piece of history the same writer assures to have been extracted from some *Punic* books belonging to king *Hiempsal*. From whence it may be inferred, that what has been advanced by *Herodotus* concerning the irruption of the *Libyan Nomades* into *Numidia*, is probably true, since it is attested by the *Punic* writers themselves, though it must be owned, that where these authors contradict *Herodotus*, and the generality of the best historians, such a degree of credit is not due to them (15).

(Q) Notwithstanding the immense treasures *Jugurtha* had been in possession of, so late as some years after the death of *Gala*, father to *Masiniissa*, a great part of the *Numidians*, all those at least inhabiting the open country, had no gold or silver money. However, they were not very sensible of this defect, since it was supplied by their flocks and herds, as we are informed by *Livy* (16).

(R) *Frontinus* says, that *Jugurtha* never began a battle with the *Romans* till towards evening, that, if he should happen to be defeated, he might escape by favour of the night (17).

(15) *Herodot. ubi sup. l. iv. Sallust. in bell. Jugurth. Frontin. strat. l. iii. c. 1. ex. 13.*

(16) *Liv. l. xxix. c. 31.*

(17) *S. Jul.*

- a minated this dangerous war. The kingdom of *Numidia* was now reduced to a new form: *Bocchus*, for his important services, had the country of the *Masseyli*, contiguous to *Mauritania*, assigned him, which, from this time, took the name of *New Mauritania*. *Numidia Propria*, or the country of the *Masseyli*, was divided into three parts, one of which was given to *Hiempsal*, another to *Mandrestal*, both descendants of *Masiniissa*, and the third the *Romans* annexed to *Africa Propria*, or the *Roman* province, adjacent to it. What became of *Jugurtha*, after he had graced *Marius's* triumph (S), at which ceremony he was led in chains, together with his two sons, through the streets of *Rome*, our readers will find related at large in a former part of this work ^b.
- b *Jugurtha's* two sons survived him, but spent their lives in captivity at *Venusia*. ^{Transfusions in Numidia after the death of Jugurtha.} However, one of them, named *Oxyntas*, was, for a short time, released from his confinement by *Aponius*, who besieged *Acerra* in the war between the *Romans* and the *Italian* allies. That general brought this prince to his army, where he treated him as king, in order to draw the *Numidian* forces off from the *Roman* service. Accordingly those *Numidians* no sooner heard, that the son of their old king was fighting for the allies, than they began to desert by companies; which obliged *Julius Cæsar*, the consul, to part with all his *Numidian* cavalry, and send them back into *Africa*. Some few years after this event, *Pompey* defeated *Cneus Domitius Ahenobarbus*, and *Hiarbas*, one of the kings of *Numidia*, killing seventeen thousand of their men upon the spot. Not satisfied with this victory, that general pursued the fugitives to their camp, which he soon forced, put *Domitius* to the sword, and took *Hiarbas* prisoner. He then reduced that part of *Numidia* which belonged to *Hiarbas*, who seems to have succeeded *Mandrestal* above-mentioned, and gave it to *Hiempsal*, a neighbouring *Numidian* prince, descended from *Masiniissa*, who had always opposed the *Marian* faction. For a particular account of the treacherous reception *Hiempsal*, or his son *Mandrestal*, gave young *Marius*, *Cetbezus*, *Leptorius*, and others of the same party, when proscribed by *Sylla*, and forced to seek an asylum at his court, we must refer our readers to *Plutarch* and *Appian* ^c.
- d *Suetonius* informs us, that a dispute happened at *Rome* between *Hiempsal* and one *Masintba*, a noble *Numidian*, whom, it is probable, he had, in some respect, injured, when *Julius Cæsar* first began to make a figure in the world. This is a plain demonstration, that *Numidia* was, at that time, in reality, subject to the *Romans*, since the subjects there could then apply to the *Romans* for redress, even from their sovereign. The same author adds, that *Cæsar* warmly espoused the cause of *Masintba*, and even grossly insulted *Juba*, *Hiempsal's* son, when he attempted to vindicate his father's conduct on this occasion. He pulled him by the beard, than which a more unpardonable affront could not be offered an *African*, and reproached him with being a tributary dependent prince. In short, he screened *Masintba* from the insults and violence of his enemies; from whence a reason may be assigned for *Juba's* adhering so closely afterwards to the *Pompeian* faction ^d. ^{Cæsar treats Juba in a very indecent manner.}
- e In consequence of the indignity *Cæsar* had offered *Juba*, and the disposition it had occasioned, that prince did *Cæsar* great damage in the civil wars betwixt him and *Pompey*. By a stratagem he drew *Curio*, one of his lieutenants, to a general action, ^{Juba defeats Curio, one of Cæsar's lieutenants.}

^b SALLUST. ubi sup. LIV. epit. lxxvi. PLUT. in Mar. & in Syll. DIO CASS. l. xliii. APPIAN. de bell. civ. FLOR. EUTROP. & OROS. ubi sup. PLIN. l. v. c. 2. STRAB. l. xvii. Vide & Univers. hist. vol. v. p. 27, 28, 29, 30, &c. VEL PATERC. l. ii. c. 12. ^c APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. i. p. 376. & 388. LIV. ep. lxxvii. PLUT. in Mar. in Syll. & in Pomp. ^d SUET. in Jul. Cæs. c. 71.

(S) According to *Plutarch*, *Marius's* triumph happened on the first day of *January*, which began the year amongst the *Romans*, when *Jugurtha* was exposed to the view of the people. The populace were extremely pleased with that sight, the *Numidian*, by his valour and conduct, having rendered himself terrible to the *Romans*; nay, *Florus* intimates, that he was looked upon by them as a second *Hannibal*. *Plutarch* adds, that the day he was led in triumph, he fell distracted; that, when he was afterwards thrown into prison, whilst some tore off his cloaths, and others his golden pendent, with which they pulled off the tip of his ear, he was greatly

discomposed; and that yet, full of horror, when he was cast naked into the dungeon, he forced a smile, crying out, O heavens! how intolerably cold is this bath of yours! In this place he struggled for some time with extreme hunger, and then expired. The barbarous death he was put to, notwithstanding his own inhuman disposition, will remain an eternal monument of the *Roman* cruelty and ingratitude. *Mithridates* therefore justly reproached the lords of the world with their infamous barbarity to the grandson of *Masiniissa*, a prince that contributed as much to the destruction of their only rival *Carthage* as either of the *Africans* (18).

(18) *Juss. l. xxxviii. c. 6. Plut. in Mario.*

which

which it was his interest at that time to have avoided. He caused it to be given out a all over *Africa Propria* and *Numidia*, that he was retired into some remote country at a great distance from the *Roman* territories. This coming to *Curio's* ears, who was then besieging *Utica*, it hindered him from taking the necessary precautions to prevent a surprize. Soon after, the *Roman* general receiving intelligence, that a small body of *Numidians* was approaching his camp, he put himself at the head of his forces, in order to attack them, and, for fear they should escape, began his march in the night, looking upon himself as sure of victory. Some of their advanced guards he surprised asleep, and cut them to pieces, which still further animated him. In short, about day-break he came up with the *Numidians*, whom he attacked with great bravery, though his men were then fasting, and vastly fatigued by their forced and precipitate march. In the mean time *Juba*, who, immediately after the propagation of the rumour above-mentioned, had taken care to march privately, with the main body of the *Numidian* army, to support the detachment sent before to decoy *Curio*, advanced to the relief of his men. The *Romans* had met with a great resistance before he appeared; so that he easily broke them, killed *Curio*, with a good part of his troops, upon the spot, pursued the rest to their camp, which he plundered, and took many of them prisoners. Most of the fugitives, who endeavoured to make their escape on board the ships in the port of *Utica*, were either slain by the pursuers, or drowned. The remainder fell into the hands of *Varus*, who would have saved them; but *Juba*, who arrogated to himself the honour of this victory, ordered them c all to be put to the sword * (T).

Caesar over-
throws Scipio,
Juba, and La-
bienus.

THIS victory infused new life and vigour into the *Pompeian* faction, who there-upon conferred great honours upon *Juba*, and gave him the title of king of all *Numidia*. But *Caesar* and his adherents declared him an enemy to the state of *Rome*, adjudging to *Bocchus* and *Bogud*, two *African* princes intirely in their interest, the sovereignty of his dominions. *Juba* afterwards, uniting his forces with those of *Scipio*, reduced *Caesar* to great extremities, and would, in all probability, have totally ruined him, had he not been relieved by *Publius Sittius* (U). That general, having

* *Cæs. de bell. civil. l. ii. c. 7, 8.* *Dio. l. xli. ad ann. U. C. 705.* *FLOR. l. iv. c. 2.* *APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. 2. p. 455.* *S. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. l. ii. c. 5. ex. 40.*

(T) *Caesar*, who gives us the particulars of this action, intimates, that *Sabura*, *Juba's* general, receiving continual reinforcements from his master, who kept at a small distance from him, at last overpowered the *Romans*, though they behaved with great bravery; that *Sabura* cut off *Curio's* retreat, by posting some parties of his horse upon several eminences near the field of battle; that, in consequence of this, almost the whole *Roman* corps, commanded by *Curio*, was cut to pieces; and that part of the body of troops left with the quaestor *Rufus* to guard the camp, made their escape to *Sicily*. In other points, for the most part, he agrees with *Dio*, whom we have here chosen to follow. *Appian* insinuates, that this defeat happened near the banks of the *Bagrada*; that *Juba* caused a rumour to be industriously propagated, that he was returned home, to repress the courtes of some neighbouring nations, who frequently made incursions into his dominions, and had only sent *Sabura*, with a small body of troops, to observe the enemy. This, adds the same author, occasioned the destruction of almost two intire *Roman* legions, with a body of horse, velites, and slaves. *Appian* also relates, that, upon the news of *Curio's* overthrow, *Flamma*, the *Roman* admiral, fled, without taking any of the runaways on board; that many of them, with *Pollio*, a *Roman* commander, so crowded some merchant-ships, in order to make their escape on board them, that they immediately sunk, whilst others were thrown over board for the sake of the money they brought with them; and lastly, that *Juba*, having placed a great number of the unhappy prisoners, that fell in-

to his hands, upon the walls of *Utica*, caused them to be pierced with darts. Though *Varus* did his utmost to prevent this inhuman massacre, he could not prevail. After the end of the action, *Curio's* head was cut off, and carried, as an agreeable present, to *Juba* (19).

(U) *Appian* gives us the following account of this *P. Sittius*: Being accused of a certain crime at *Rome*, he abandoned that city before his trial came on, and assembled a body of *Italians* and *Spaniards*, with which he passed over into *Africa*. Upon his arrival there, he found the reguli of that country engaged in bloody wars amongst themselves. Sometimes he assisted one of these princes, and sometimes another, victory always declaring for him, whose interest he espoused. This rendered his name terrible to the *Moors* and *Numidians*, inasmuch that he easily made the scale preponderate in favour of *Caesar*, and was rewarded by that general, after the reduction of *Africa*, with a large extent of territory formerly belonging to one *Manasses*, a *Numidian* prince, who had assisted *Juba*. The other part of this district was given to *Bocchus*. *Sittius* settled the troops, who had distinguished themselves under his conduct, here; but was afterwards cut off by treachery. This was effected by *Arabio*, *Manasses's* son, who, after *Julius Caesar's* death, sent six thousand *Africans* to assist *S. Pompeius* in *Spain*. These *Africans*, returning home some time after, disciplined after the *Roman* manner, enabled *Arabio* to dispatch *Sittius*, and likewise to drive *Bocchus* out of the territory he had usurped from him (20).

(19) *Cæs. de bell. civil. l. ii. c. 7, 8.* *Appian. de bell. civil. l. ii. c. 455, 456.*
l. iv. c. 620, 621.

(20) *Appian. ibid.*

- a formed a considerable corps, consisting of *Roman* exiles, and *Mauritanian* troops sent him by *Bocchus*, according to *Dio*, or, as *Cæsar* will have it, *Bogud*; made an irruption into *Gætulia* and *Numidia*, whilst *Juba* was employed in *Africa Propria*. As he ravaged these countries in a dreadful manner, *Juba* immediately returned with the best part of his army, to preserve them from utter destruction. However, *Cæsar*, knowing his horse to be afraid of the enemy's elephants, did not think proper to attack *Scipio* in the absence of the *Numidian*, till his own elephants, and a fresh reinforcement of troops, hourly expected, arrived from *Italy*; which accession of strength, he imagined, would enable him to give a good account, both of the *Roman* forces, with which he was to cope, and the barbarians. In the mean time *Scipio* dispatched reiterated expresses to (W) *Juba* to hasten to his assistance, but could not prevail upon him to move out of *Numidia*, till he had promised him the possession of all the *Roman* dominions in *Africa*, if they could from thence expel *Cæsar*. This immediately put him in motion; so that, having sent a large detachment to make head against *Sittius*, he marched with the rest of his troops to assist *Scipio*. However, *Cæsar* at last overthrew *Scipio*, *Juba*, and *Labienus*, near the town of *Thapsus*, and forced all their camps. As *Scipio* was the first surprised and defeated, *Juba* fled into *Numidia*, without waiting for *Cæsar*'s approach; but the body of *Numidians* detached against *Sittius*, having been broken and dispersed by that general, none of his subjects there would receive him. Abandoned therefore to despair, he sought death in a single combat with *Petreius*, and, having killed him, caused himself to be dispatched by one of his slaves^f (X).

- After this decisive action, and the reduction of *Africa Propria*, *Cæsar* made himself master of all *Numidia Propria*, which he reduced to a *Roman* province, appointing *Crispus Sallustius* to govern it in quality of proconsul, with private instructions to pillage and plunder the inhabitants, and, by that means, put it out of their power ever to shake off the *Roman* yoke. However, *Bocchus* and *Bogud* still preserved a sort of sovereignty in the country of the *Masæsyli* and *Mauritania*, since the former of those princes, having deserted *Cæsar*, sent an army into *Spain* to assist the *Pompeians*; and the latter, with his forces, determined victory to declare for *Cæsar* at the ever memorable battle of *Munda*. *Bogud*, afterwards siding with *Antony* against *Octavius*, sent a body of forces to assist him in *Spain*; at which time the *Tingitanians* revolting from him, *Bocchus*, with an army composed of *Romans* in the interest of *Octavius*, who passed over from *Spain* into *Africa*, and his own subjects, possessed himself of *Mauritania Tingitana*. *Bogud* fled to *Antony*, and *Octavius*, after the conclusion of the war, honoured the inhabitants of *Tingi* with all the privileges of *Roman* citizens. He likewise confirmed *Bocchus* king of *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, or the country of the *Masæsyli*, in the possession of *Tingitania*, which he had conquered, as a reward for his important services. In this he imitated the example of his great predecessor *Julius Cæsar*, who divided some of the fruitful plains of *Numidia* among the soldiers of *P. Sittius*, who had conquered great part of that country, and appointed *Sittius* himself sovereign of that district. *Sittius* (Y), as has been intimated above, having taken *Cirta*, killed *Sabura*, *Juba*'s general, intirely dispersed his forces, and either cut off, or taken prisoners, most of the *Pompeian* fugitives, that escaped from the battle of *Thapsus*, highly deserved to be distinguished in so eminent a manner. After *Bocchus*'s death, *Mauritania* and the *Masæsylian* *Numidia* were, in all respects, considered as *Roman* provinces, according to *Dio*; which seems to evince, that the hostilities *Bocchus* committed against *Carinas*, whom *Octavius* had appointed governor of *Spain*, mentioned by *Appian*, were not attended with any bad consequences,

Cæsar reduces Numidia to the form of a province.

* A. HIRT. de bell. African. c. 3. 4. 5. & seq. APPIAN. ubi sup. l. iv. p. 620, 621. DIO, l. xliii. PLUT. in Cat. & Cæf.

(W) *Juba*, according to *Dio*, pretended to assist *Pompey*, not out of a motive of resentment, but because he was a defender of the senate and people of *Rome*. But princes frequently, in the place of the real cause, substitute the pretext (21).

(X) *Hirtius* intimates, that *Juba* killed *Petreius* in this combat, and was himself afterwards dispatched by his slave. *Orosius* relates, that *Petreius* run him-

self through with his sword; and that *Juba* hired a person to kill him; but *Appian*, *Entropius*, and *Dio*, assure us, that they slew each other (22).

(Y) We learn from *Hirtius*, that *Sittius*, or, as he calls him, *Sitius*, greatly distressed *Juba* before the battle of *Thapsus*, by possessing himself of a castle situated on a hill, where that prince had a very considerable magazine (23).

(21) *Dio*, l. xlii.

(22) *Appian*. de bell. civil. p. 490. *Oros.* l. vi. c. 16. sub fin. *Entrop.* l. vi. c. 23.

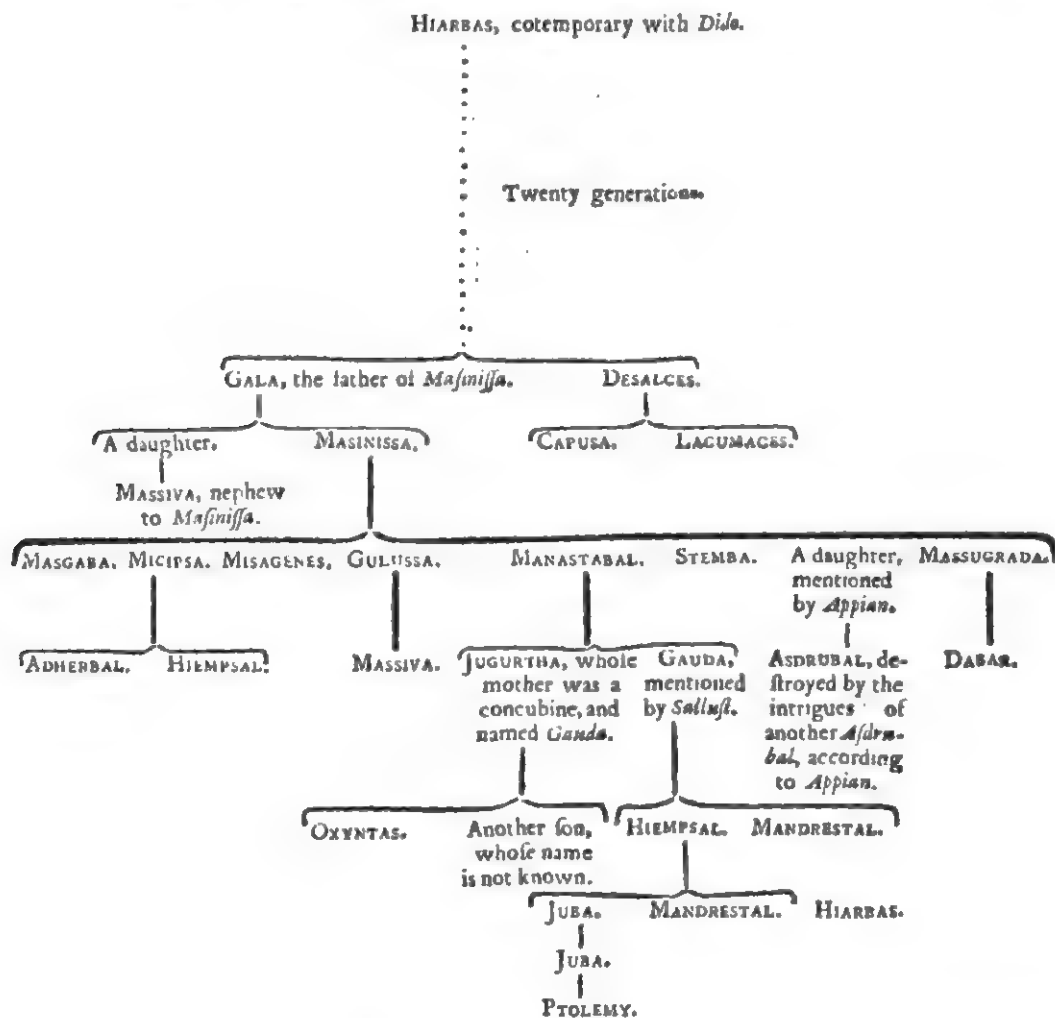
Dio, l. xliii.

(23) *A. Hirt.* de bell. Afric. c. 5.

either to himself or the Romans, since he continued on the throne of the *Masæsylian* ^a *Numidia* and *Mauritania* as long as he lived. What happened to *Bogud* after he was driven out of his dominions, as also a brief account of the younger *Juba* (Z), his son *Ptolemy*, and *Tacfarinas*, who gave the Romans no small trouble in the reign of *Tiberius*, with other remarkable particulars relating to the period and country we are now upon, our readers will naturally expect to find in the history of the *Moors* or *Mauritanians* ^b.

^a A. HIRT. ubi sup. & de bell. Alex. APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. ii. Auct. comment. de bell. Hisp. Dio, l. xliii. xlii. l. STRAB. l. iii. FLOR. ubi sup.

(Z.) As *Masiniſſa's* family makes so considerable a figure, both in the Roman and Carthaginian history, it will not be amiss to exhibit to our readers view as full an account of it as can be drawn from antiquity; which, we hope, will not be unacceptable to them.



We have placed *Hiarbas*, cotemporary with *Dido*, at the head of this family, since we find a prince of it called *Hiarbas*, taken notice of by *Plutarch*, as

likewise because it appears from *Stephanus Byzantinus* and *Eusebius*, that the *Mazys*, *Hiarbas's* subjects, were Numidians (24).

(24) Liv. Appian. Sueton. Sallust. Dio Cass. Cas. Hirt. Plut. Justin. Steph. Byzant. Euseb. aliiq; script. plurim.

MARRIS MEDITERRANEI

five INTERVI PARS

SALES

GARDINER

OCFANS

ATLAN-

TICVS

Fortunate Inf.

11

LIBYAN INTERIOR

Deferta pleraque

Tropicus Canceri

MAVRETANIA,

NVMEDIA:

GÆTVELIA &c.

Meridius

C H A P. II.

The history of the Mauritanians, to the intire reduction of their country by the Romans.

S E C T. I.

Description of Mauritania.

^a **M**AURITANIA, or, as it is called by *Strabo*, *Maurusia*, and the country of the *Maurusii*, was bounded on the east by the *Malva* or *Mulucba*; on the west by the *Atlantic* ocean; on the south by *Gætulia*, or *Libya Interior*; and on the north by the *Mediterranean*. This kingdom, being reduced to a Roman province in the reign of *Claudius*, had the name of *Mauritania Tingitana* given it by that prince, as we are informed by *Dio*. From *Pliny*, and some inscriptions in *Gruter*, it likewise appears, that it was called by the *Romans* at that time, as well as afterwards, simply *Tingitania*, from its principal city *Tingi*, in order to distinguish it from *Mauritania Cæsariensis*. If we may judge from what has been already observed of *Numidia* and *Africa Propria*, the antients were not over-accurate in their descriptions of this country. However, all their faults cannot be discovered, much less corrected, since no modern accounts of the kingdoms of *Fez* and *Morocco*, answering nearly to the *Tingitania* of the antients, can be intirely depended upon. All that can be done, is to make use of the best lights, that have been hitherto afforded us ^a.

Description of Mauritania.

THOUGH *Tingitania*, or *Mauritania Tingitana*, then was considerably broader than *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, the corresponding parts of mount *Atlas*, or the confines of *Gætulia*, lying more to the southward, yet *Pliny* and *Martianus*, according to the latest observations, exceed the truth, when they affirm the greatest breadth of the *Mauritania* to be four hundred and sixty-seven, or four hundred and seventy-three miles. The length of this region we may make a tolerable estimate of, by observing, that the *Malva* or *Mullooïab*, its eastern limit, about 1° 15' W. of *London*, is something above two hundred and forty miles distant from the *Atlantic* ocean. Some of the modern geographers make the kingdom of *Fez* to be two hundred and seventy miles long, and that of *Morocco*, from cape *Non* to the mountains which divide it from *Segetmeffa*, above three hundred and seventy; but this computation, with respect to the ancient *Tingitania*, is undoubtedly more erroneous than that of *Pliny*, which amounts only to an hundred and seventy miles. The longitude and latitude of the southern limits of *Tingitania* cannot be ascertained, for want of a proper light from the old geographers; but *Septa*, the present *Ceuta*, its most advanced city to the northward, is about 35° 58' N. latitude, and about 6° W. longitude from *London*. The ^c *Al-Magreb Al-Achsa* of *Abulfeda* includes the *Maurusia* of *Strabo*, or the country we are now upon, and part of *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, as it extends from the *Atlantic* ocean, which he calls the sea *Almobit*, to *Tlemsan*. We must not omit observing, that *Ptolemy* places the *Atlas Major*, his southern boundary of this kingdom, at a vast distance from the southern limits assigned it by *Pliny*, in the deserts of *Gætulia* or *Libya Interior*. But it appears, from what has been already advanced, as well as the best relations of modern travellers, that this ridge of mountains, if real, could not have appertained to *Tingitania* ^b.

Limits and extent of Mauritania.

^a STRAB. l. xvii. p. 570. DIO CASS. l. ix. p. 771. PLIN. l. v. c. 2. Vet. inscript. apud GRUTER. p. 481. n. 7. PTOL. geogr. l. iv. c. 1. ^b STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. ubi sup. MARTIAN. de duab. Mauritan. Geogr. Nubiens. in clim. 3. ISM. ABULFED. ex tradit. V. Cl. Joan. Gagnier. MARMOL en l'Afrique, l. iv. J. LEO Afric. pass. L'Afrique en plusieurs cartes nouvelles, &c. par le sieur SANSON D'ABBEVILLE, &c. à Paris, 1683. Nouvelle methode pour apprendre la geographie univers. par le sieur DE LA CROIX, &c. à Paris, 1705. LUYTS introd. ad geograph. Traj. ad Rhen. 1692. Atl. geogr. vol. iv. MOLL's geogr. in the kingd. of Morocco and Fez. SHAW's geograph. observations relating to the kingdom of Alg. p. 9. See also MOREY, and a new geographical dictionary published at Lond. 1737.

Whence so
called.

Mauritania and *Maurusia* are names of this region derived from the *Mauri*, an ^a ancient people inhabiting it, frequently mentioned by the old historians and geographers. Authors are not agreed amongst themselves about the origin of this word. *Sallust* affirms it to be a corruption of the word *Medi*; but this is by no means probable. *Dr. Hyde* deduces it from מעברי *Mabri* or *Mav'ri*, one that lies near the passage, as he thinks the streights of *Hercules* might properly enough be called. *Isidorus Hispalensis* and *Manilius* think the name ought to be derived from the black, dark, swarthy colour of the people to which it was applied; but none of these etymons seem so easy and natural as that of *Bochart*, who makes *Maurus* to be equivalent to מאור *Maur*; or, as an elision of gutturals in the oriental languages is extremely common, *Maur*, i. e. one from the west, or a western person, since *Mauritania* was west of *Carthage* and *Phœnice*. However, in our opinion, it would sound better still, should we say, one that comes from the end, or utmost limit, of *Africa*, or the boundary of our voyages, as both the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians*, for several ages, might have said of the *Tingitanians*; for the streights or pillars of *Hercules* limited the western voyages of those nations for a considerable period of time, as is evident from a variety of the best authors. It is not improbable, that this country, or at least a good part of it, was first called *Pbut*, since it appears from *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and *St. Jerom*, that a river and territory not far from mount *Atlas* went by that name. From the *Jerusalem Targum* it likewise appears, that part of the *Mauri* may be deemed the offspring of *Lud* the son of *Misraim*, since his descendants, mentioned ^c Gen. x. are there called מריסאי *Mauri* or *Mauritani*. We have already evinced, that this region, as well as the others to the east of it, had many colonies planted in it by the *Phœnicians*. *Procopius* tells us, that, in his time, two pillars of white stone were to be seen there, with the following inscription in the *Phœnician* language and character upon them: *We are the Canaanites, that fled from Joshua the son of Nun, that notorious robber.* *Ibnu Rachib*, or *Ibnu Raquiq*, an *African* writer cited by *Leo*, together with *Evagrius* and *Nicephorus Callistus*, asserts the same thing. How, in after-ages, that vast tract, extending from the borders of *Egypt* to the *Atlantic* ocean, came to be called *Barbary*, our readers will be informed in another place ^c.

THE *Mauritanians*, according to *Ptolemy*, were divided into several cantons or ^d tribes. The *Metagonitæ* were seated near the streights of *Hercules*. The *Succosii*, or *Cocosii*, according to *Berti*us, took up the coast of the *Iberian* sea. Under these two petty nations, the *Masices*, *Vernes*, and *Verbicæ* or *Vervicæ*, settled themselves. The *Salisæ* or *Salinsæ* were situated lower, towards the ocean; and still more to the south the *Volubiliani*. The *Maurensii* and *Herpiditani* possessed the eastern part of this country, which was terminated by the *Mulucha*. The *Angaucani* or *Iangaucani*, *Nestiberes*, *Zagrensii*, *Baniubæ*, and *Vacuatæ*, extended themselves from the southern foot of *Ptolemy's Atlas Minor* to his *Atlas Major*; which is all that he has intimated of them. *Pliny* mentions the *Baniuræ*, whom father *Hardouin* takes to be *Ptolemy's Baniubæ*; and *Mela* the *Atlantes*, whom he represents as possessed of the western ^e parts of this region. The names of the different clans of *Numidians* we have postponed, till we come to the history of the *Gutulians*, since the latter nation was so intermixed with the former towards the *Roman* times, that it is difficult to determine to which of them some clans belong ^d.

Tingis.

Tingis or *Tingi*, the metropolis, as should seem, of *Tingitania*, was a city of great antiquity. According to *Mela*, *Solinus*, and *Pliny*, *Antæus*, cotemporary with *Hercules*, and conquered by him, laid the first foundations of it. *Procopius* seems to intimate, that *Tingi* was built before the time of *Joshua*, since he tells us, that the *Gergesites*, *Jebusites*, and other *Canaanitish* nations or tribes, erected a castle in a city, where *Tingis*, or, as he calls it, *Tigisis*, stood. *Dr. Hyde* therefore is mistaken, when ^f he affirms *Procopius* to have asserted, that the *Gergesites*, *Jebusites*, &c. were the founders of *Tingis*. *Pliny* insinuates *Antæus* to have had a palace at *Lixus* or *Lixos*, though he tells us, that the giant was buried at *Tingis*. This seems likewise confirmed

^a POLYB. l. iii. c. 33. SALLUST. in Jugurth. pass. HIRT. de bell. African. Liv. l. xxi. c. 22. & alib. STRAB. l. xvii. TACIT. pass. HORAT. LUCAN. SIL. ITAL. & al. quæ plurim. script. Græc. & Latîn. HYDE in Perist. p. 48. MANIL. l. iv. ISIDOR. HISPALENS. l. ix. c. 12. & l. xiv. c. 5. VAL. SCHIND. lex. pent. in voc. לוד *Lud* & מריסאי *Mabri* vel *Mav'ri*. TARG. HIÉROSOL. in Gen. c. x. Esai. c. xlii. D. HIERONYM. in Esai. c. xli. PROCOP. de bell. Vandal. l. ii. c. 10. p. 257. EVAGR. l. iv. c. 18. NICEPH. CALLIST. l. xvii. c. 12. THEOPHAN. in hist. miscel. IBNU RAQUIQ. apud J. Leo African. part. v. ALDRET. l. iii. c. 15. ^d MEL. l. i. c. 4. PLIN. & PROL. ubi sup. HARDUIN. in Pun. ubi sup. SALLUST. in Jugurth. & ALDRET. l. iii. c. 31.

- a by *Plutarch*, who adds, that his sepulchre was still remaining there in the time of *Sertorius*, who, paying no regard to the tradition that prevailed amongst the inhabitants, caused it to be opened, and took out of it a corpse sixty cubits long. *Bochart* thinks, that the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians* called it *Tingir*, *Tiggir*, *Tagger*, &c. which, in their language, signified an *emporium*: and it must be owned, that the situation of *Tingis* was extremely commodious for carrying on a general trade; which we may, from this circumstance, reasonably presume the *Tingitanians* did, especially as *Pliny* seems to insinuate, that to some branches of commerce they actually applied themselves. *Bochart's* notion therefore receives some weight from these considerations, as also from the modern name of this city, *Tangier*, which we cannot help believing to have been of *Phœnician* extraction. If we suppose the antient *Tingis* to have occupied the spot on which *Tangier* at present stands, it was very near the streights of *Hercules*, at the bottom of a gulf of the western shore. We are informed by *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*, that the *Romans* drew a colony from this place into the neighbourhood of *Carteia*, a town on the other side the streights; on which account *Pliny* absurdly calls it *Julia Traducta*, that name being properly applicable to the colony deduced from thence to *Spain*, to which *Strabo* gives the appellation of *Julia Joza*, of the same import with the former, *Joza*, in *Syriac*, *Chaldee*, *Arabic*, and *Phœnician*, being equivalent to the *Latin Traducta*. We find it likewise named by *Ptolemy* and *Marcianus* simply *Transducta*. Some writers will have *Ptolemy* to have called *Tingis* *Cæsarea*; but this is a controverted point. However, that geographer seems to have looked upon *Tingis* as the most noted and usual proper name of the city we are now upon. *Tangier*, supposed to be the antient *Tingis*, is in 6° 30' W. longitude from *London*, and in N. latitude 35° 56' ^d.
- b
- c

Zelis or *Zilis*, a maritime city in the neighbourhood of *Tingis*, situated near a river *Zelis* of the same name. The inhabitants of this city were transported to *Spain*, as we learn from *Strabo*, and a colony of *Romans* or *Italians* transplanted thither, as should seem, in their room, according to *Pliny*. The kings of *Mauritania*, after the planting of that colony, exercised no jurisdiction over *Zelis*, it being under the dominion of the *Roman* governor of *Spain*. Some authors imagine, that the modern *Arzilla* answers to *Zelis*; which if we admit, it stood about seventy miles from the streights of *Hercules*. *Marmol* says, that *Arzilla* was built by the *Romans*; but this we must not give credit to, if it should be thought proper to countenance the aforesaid supposition; for if *Zelis* did not owe its origin to the *Indigene* of this country, it was undoubtedly of *Phœnician* extraction ^e.

- Lixus* or *Lixos* seems to have been a place of considerable repute in the earliest ages, *Lixus*. since, according to *Pliny*, *Antæus* had a palace, and therefore probably resided here. This circumstance renders it likely, that *Lixus* was superior to *Tingis* itself in point of antiquity. But some authors seem to have confounded these two cities, as we shall find, by comparing the names given the former by *Artemidorus*, *Eratosthenes*, and *Strabo*, with *Pliny*. However, we are inclined to prefer the authority of *Eratosthenes* to that of the others in this point, since it is supported by *Pliny*. *Lixus* therefore and *Tingis*, in consequence of this preference, we must look upon as two different cities. *Pliny* relates, that *Hercules* vanquished *Antæus* near this place, which he makes to have been in the neighbourhood of the gardens of the *Hesperides*, and thirty-two miles distant from *Zelis*. The same author intimates, that a *Roman* colony was settled here likewise by *Claudius*. As *Lixus* was called by different writers *Linx*, *Linga*, *Tinga*, *Tingi*, in all probability it was mistaken by some ancient historians or geographers for *Tingis*; and therefore *Pliny* might be imposed upon by some of the authors he extracted his materials from, when he affirmed *Antæus* to have had his royal palace at *Lixos*, since it is more natural to suppose, that he resided at *Tingis*. The learned *Aldrete* asserts the word *Lixus* to be derived from לחישו *lachifu*, or נחבא לחישו *nabara lachifu*, incantation, or the river of incantation. In support of this sentiment he observes, with the antients, that the town stood near the banks of a river of the same name; and that such wonderful things had been related of *Antæus*, as well as his tomb, by
- e
- f

^d POMP. MEL. l. ii. c. 9. PLIN. ubi sup. SOLIN. c. 24. PROCOF. & HYDE ubi sup. PLUT. in SERTOR. STRAB. l. iii. & alib. PLIN. MEL. PTOL. MARTIAN. & al. apud Bochart. in Chan. l. i. c. 24. MOLL. DE LA CROIX, &c. ubi sup. Vide & CURIUS. CELLAR. geogr. ant. l. ii. c. 1. l. iv. c. 7. ut & ISAAC. Voss. atq; JACOB. GRONOV. in Mel. l. ii. c. 6. ^e STRAB. l. xvii. p. 569. PLIN. l. v. c. 1. PTOL. geogr. l. iv. c. 1. ANTONIN. in itiner. ALDRET. ubi sup. l. iv. c. 8. Vide & CELLAR. l. iv. c. 7. p. 933. edit. Lips. 1732.

various authors, that, to all those who believed them, he must appear as a magician. ^a *Bochart* derives it from *wh* a lion, because such animals were common in *Mauritania*. But it may be further observed in favour (A) of *Aldrete*, that the inhabitants of this country were supposed to have an uncommon skill in forcery and magic, as appears not only from *Virgil* and *Silius*, but likewise from what we find related of *Sidius Geta* by *Dio*. The river *Lixus* is mentioned both in the *periplus* of *Hanno*, and that of *Scylax*, as also by *Ptolemy* and *Stephanus*. *Pliny* seems to turn this river into an æstuary, which, by its winding course, he makes to resemble a dragon or serpent, intimating that it gave rise to the fable of the dragon guarding the golden apples of the *Hesperides*. Some learned men will have the present *Larache* to be the ancient *Lixus*; and it must be owned, that the situation of that place gives great countenance ^b to such a supposition ^f.

Thymaterion. AT some distance from *Lixus*, to the southward, *Hanno*, in his *periplus*, says he built a city, which he called *Thymiatæron*. In *Scylax* the name is *Thymiatærias*; and in *Stephanus*, *Thymiatæria*. *Bochart* believes the *Punic* name to have been *דומאטבריא* *Dumatbiria*, i. e. a city situated in a plain. *Hanno* himself justifies this etymology, as the reader will find, by consulting his *periplus*; for which reason he will not scruple giving his assent to it. Though this city was situated on the sea-coast, somewhere to the south of *Lixus*, the spot, on which it stood, cannot now be precisely determined ^g.

Sala. *Pliny* mentions *Sala*, a town near a river of the same name, not far from the ^c *Atlantic* ocean, at a considerable distance from *Lixus*. All that he observes of this town is, that the district adjacent to it was desert, infested with vast herds of elephants, and the excursions of the *Autololes*, a tribe of *Gætulians*. The situation, as well as name of, this place, sufficiently indicates it to be the modern *Sallee*, a city famous for its corsairs, who sometimes commit great depredations in the *Mediterranean* ^h.

Rutubis. THE port of *Rutubis*, where, it is probable, a town stood, was two hundred and thirteen miles south of *Lixus*. At some distance from this were the *Mons Solis*, the port of *Myfocaras*, the promontories of *Hercules* and *Usadium*, and the frontiers of the *Autololes*. These frontiers terminated *Mauritania* to the south; and *Ptolemy* has ^d undoubtedly carried them much farther in that direction, than is consistent with truth. As for *Tamusiga*, *Suriga*, and other obscure places mentioned by that geographer, extending still farther to the south, it is sufficient just to have taken notice of them. Thus much for the principal maritim towns of *Tingitania*, bordering on the coast of the *Atlantic* ocean ⁱ.

Exiliffi. THE first maritim town to the eastward of *Tingis*, seems to be the *Exiliffa* of *Ptolemy*. *Marmol* takes the *Ceuta* of the moderns to correspond with this place, as it does likewise, in all probability, with the *Septa* and *Arx Septensis* of *Procopius*. That author, together with *Isidorus Hispalensis*, and others, insinuates this name to have been derived from the seven hills, called the *Septem Fratres* by *Mela*, in its neighbour- ^e hood. *Exiliffa*, *Septa*, or *Ceuta*, was a place of great note and eminence in the time of the *Goths*, as we shall see, when we come to the history of that nation ^h.

Rusadir. *Rusadir*, a city and haven, taken notice of by *Pliny*, not far from the country of the *Masæfyli*. *Ptolemy* calls it *Ryffadirum*; and, from the itinerary, there seems to have been a *Roman* colony settled in it. Some authors will have *Melila* or *Melilla*, lately in the possession of the *Spaniards*, to be the *Rusadir* or *Ryffadirum* of the anti- ents. If so, it stood upon a plain at the bottom of a gulf, and was commanded by a mountain on the west side ⁱ.

^f HANNO CARTHAG. in peripl. PLIN. ubi sup. ARTEMIDOR. & ERATOSTH. apud Strabon. l. xvii. ut & ipse STRAB. ibid. & alib. DIO, l. ix. VIRO. SIL. ITAL. POMP. MEL. SUID. &c. apud Aldret. l. iv. c. 9. ut & ipse ALDRET. ibid. SCYLAX. CARYAND. in peripl. PTOL. ubi sup. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 37. Vide Is. CASAUB. in Strab. ubi sup. ^g HANNO, SCYLAX, STEPH. BYZANT. BOCHART. ubi sup. ^h MEL. & PLIN. ubi sup. PTOL. ibid. Vide J. LEO AFRICAN. MARM. CELLAR. MOLL, DE LA CROIX, &c. ⁱ PLIN. PTOL. ubi sup. ut & POLYM. apud Plin. ibid. ^k MEL. PTOL. & MARM. ubi sup. PROCOP. de bell. Vandal. l. ii. ISIDOR. HISPALENS. l. xv. c. 1. Vide etiam ANTONIN. MARTIAN. alioq; apud Aldret. l. iii. c. 31. ^l PLIN. l. v. c. 2. PTOL. ubi sup. ANTONIN. itinerar. MARMOL, DE LA CROIX, MOLL, &c.

(A) In order to strengthen this conjecture, *Aldrete* observes, that the word *Tingin*, in *Arabic*, approaches pretty near the signification of *Lixus*; an observa-

tion, which, we believe, has escaped all other writers (1).

1) Vide *Aldret. in loc. citat.*

- a THE first inland town, meriting any attention, near the frontiers of the *Masæyli*, *Ascurum*. was the *Ascurum* of *Hirtius*. According to that author, this place was of some consequence, since *Bogud*, king of *Mauritania Tingitana*, had a strong garrison in it, which falling out upon a body of the *Pompeians*, repulsed them with great slaughter, driving many of them into the sea, and the rest on board their ships. No traces of this city, as far as we can recollect, are now remaining ^m.

Molochath, or *Mulucha*, and *Galapha*, which *Ptolemy* places in *Tingitania*, must belong to *Numidia*, if the (B) *Molochath*, *Mulucha*, and *Malva*, be the same river, as Dr. *Shaw* has rendered probable; and therefore we shall say nothing more of them here ⁿ.

- b *Herpis*, a town upon the *Mauritanian* bank of the *Mulucha*, lying at a considerable distance from the city *Molochath* in a northern direction. As to any further particulars of this place, we are intirely in the dark ^o.

Mela ranks *Volubilis*, *Gilda*, and *Prisciana*, amongst the principal inland towns of *Tingitania*. *Ptolemy* says, that *Volubilis* was one of the most noted places of this country; and the itinerary makes it a *Roman* colony. From various authors it appears to be the *Fez* of the moderns. *Gilda* is taken notice of likewise by *Stephanus*, as a city of good repute. They were all situated in the heart of the country; but the spots of ground, occupied by them, cannot, with precision, be ascertained. However, *Marmol* asserts, that *Mequinez* answers to *Gilda*, which he corruptly calls

- c *Silda* ^p.

A little to the south of *Volubilis* stood the *Tocolosida* of *Ptolemy*. According to *Marmol*, *Amergue*, a city three leagues from the river *Eguile*, in the province of *Habat*, answers to the ancient *Tocolosida*; but, as that author is very inaccurate, we cannot, in this particular, intirely depend upon him ^q.

THE *Trifidis* of *Ptolemy*, according to that geographer, could not be far from the neighbourhood of *Tocolosida*. *Marmol* says, that it was built by the *Romans*, which we can scarce believe, upon a rising ground. The same author intimates, that *Aben Gezer*, in his geography, will have it to have been built by the giants, some of whose bones, of an enormous size, he asserts to have been taken out of several ancient

- d tombs in his time.

Gontiana stands south-west of *Tocolosida*, near the river *Sala*, and not far from mount *Atlas*. *Marmol* informs us, that a small town, by the *Moors* called *Gamaa*, upon the road between *Fez* and *Mequinez*, is the ancient *Gontiana*; as likewise, that this place, though strong by nature, has, for some time, been almost intirely depopulated and demolished ^r.

Banasa, *Banassa*, or *Banasa Valentia*, was seated in the neighbourhood of the river *Subur*, at a very considerable distance, in a northern direction, from *Gontiana*. *Pliny* seems to intimate, that *Banasa* was seventy-five miles from *Lixus*, thirty-five from *Volubilis*, and as many from the *Atlantic* ocean. That author, in the same place, says, that *Babba*, which *Ptolemy* calls *Babba Julia Campestris*, was an inland town, forty miles from *Lixus*; and that *Augustus* planted a *Roman* colony there. This likewise the curious may find confirmed by the legends on some antique coins exhibited by *Goltzius* ^s.

Chalce or *Chalca*, a city of *Mauritania Tingitana*, mentioned by *Scylax* and *Hecataeus*; but in what part of that region we are to look for it, cannot now be determined. *Ptolemy* takes notice of a town called *Carcome* or *Carcoma*; which *Bochart* will have to be the *Chalce* of *Scylax* and *Hecataeus*, since those two words are of the same import in the *Syriac* and *Greek* languages. They signify *brass* or *copper*;

^m HIRT. de bell. African. c. 23.

Alg. p. 10—16.

BYZANT. de urb.

ubi sup.

^o PTOL. ubi sup.

ANTONIN. itinerar.

^p Idem ibid.

ⁿ PTOL. ubi sup. SHAW'S geogr. observ. relat. to the kingd. of

^q PTOL. ubi sup. MEL. l. ii. ex emend. IC. Vossii. STEPH.

^r PTOL. & MARMOL,

^s PLIN. & PTOL. ubi sup. GOLTZ. apud Cellar. l. iv. c. 7.

(B) This appears from *Florus* and *Frontinus*, who affirm the fortress of *Mulucha* to have been in *Jugurtha's* dominions, and consequently in *Numidia*, *Sallust* likewise confirms this, when he gives us an account of the siege and reduction of that place by the *Romans* in the *Jugurthine* war. From *Cellar*

ius, in conformity to the old geographers, it seems probable, that *Galapha* was south-east of *Mulucha*; and therefore, that what has been observed of the former, holds more strongly with regard to the latter (1).

(1) Flor. l. iii. c. 1. S. Jul. Frontin. strat. l. iii. c. 9. ex. 3. Sallust. in Jugurth. Cellar. geograph. ant. l. iv. c. 7.

which seems to intimate, that this place was near some copper-mine, from whence it deduced its name: and that there was a famous copper-mine in *Tingitania*, appears from *Strabo*. *Ptolemy* makes his *Carcoma* to be not very remote from *Jol*, or *Julia Cæsarea*, but betwixt it and *Gades*. However, the inaccuracy of that geographer in many points, will not permit us to infer from thence, that this place, which he asserts to be a maritim city, is to be sought for in *Mauritania Cæsariensis*. On the contrary, we can scarce doubt of its having appertained to *Tingitania*, from what we find advanced by *Strabo*. To what has been said we may add, that *Polybius* censures *Polybistor*, for affirming *Chalcea* to be the proper name of a *Libyan* city, since, according to him, the copper-mine above-mentioned only was so called¹.

Calamintha. *Calamintha*, a town of *Libya*, probably of *Mauritania*, taken notice of by *Herodotus* and *Hecataeus*, whose situation is unknown. However, *Bochart* has ventured to assert, that it stood on an eminence or rising-ground. This notion has been suggested to him by the word itself; for he looks upon *Calamintha* to be equivalent to the *Syriac* or *Phœnician* גלמית *galmûtha*, an eminence, or a city built upon an eminence. From hence he likewise infers, that it must have been of a *Phœnician* original².

Marmol's inaccuracy. We must here beg leave to inform our readers, that *Marmol* has discovered his inaccuracy, not to say ignorance, in many particulars; for he has either corrupted several of *Ptolemy's* names of cities, or assigned names, pretended to be taken from *Ptolemy*, to several places, that are not to be found in his geography, as will appear to every one, who will be at the trouble to compare these two authors. His comparative geography is likewise frequently not to be relied upon; for which reason we have made but few extracts from him. As for *Vobrix*, *Tbicath*, *Ceuta*, and many more inconsiderable towns mentioned by the ancient geographers, which are scarce ever taken notice of in history, may, all traces of which are, in a manner, lost, we have thought proper to pass them over in silence; neither are we apprehensive, that, for this, it will be deemed necessary to make any apology³.

Rivers of Tingitania. THE first river of *Tingitania*, if it does not appertain to *Numidia*, is the *Malva*, *Malvana*, *Chylemath*, *Molochath*, or *Mulucha*; for it went by all these names. That these names denoted the same river, will appear from a careful examination of what the old geographers have advanced on this head. *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy*, give the same situation to the *Chylemath* and *Mulucha*, making it the common boundary of *Numidia* and *Tingitania*. *Strabo* also affirms his *Molochath* to separate the country of the *Masæyli*, i. e. *Numidia*, from *Mauritania*, i. e. *Tingitania*; and lastly, the author of the itinerary, who was cotemporary with *Ptolemy*, positively asserts, that the *Malva*, or *Malvana*, limited the two *Mauritanias*, i. e. *Tingitania*, and that part of *Numidia* joining to it. From whence, as it does not appear from history, that the limits of those two kingdoms were ever changed, but, on the contrary, probable that they never were, we may fairly infer, that the above-mentioned variety of names points out one and the same river, the *Mullooïab* of the present western *Moors*. 2. The next river, meriting any attention, is the *Tbaluda*, *Tatuda*, or *Tamuda* of *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy*, which emptied itself into the *Mediterranean* considerably nearer the streights than the former. *Pliny* represents this as navigable, and consequently as a considerable river. The different names given it by different geographers, seem to countenance what we have just offered in relation to the *Mulucha* (C). 3. The river *Zelis* or *Zilia*, near the city of the same name, already mentioned. 4. The *Lixus*, already taken notice of, when we gave some account of the city so called. *Scylax*, in his *periplus*, mentions a river not far from the *Lixus*, but betwixt

¹ SCYLAX CARYAND. in periplus. HECAT. perieg. apud Steph. Byzant. de urb. STRAB. & PTOL. ubi sup. POLYB. & HERODOT. apud Steph. & BOCHART. ubi sup. ² HERODOT. & HECAT. apud Steph. Byzant. de urb. BOCHART. ubi sup. ³ PTOL. & MARMOL. pass. Vide etiam ALDREY. l. iii. c. 31. p. 457.

(C) *Ptolemy's* *Vallona* discharged itself into the sea not far from the narrowest part of the streights of *Gibraltar*, near the place where the town *Alcazar Saguir*, as *Marmol* calls it, or, according to *Moll*, *Alcazar Quivir*, i. e. the great palace, at present stands. It appears to us not improbable, that the present rivers *Sabon*, *Gueron*, *Ommirabib*, and *Sus*,

answer to the *Subur*, *Sala*, *Duns*, and *Cusa*, of *Ptolemy*. Our readers may possibly be of the same opinion, when they have diligently examined *Ptolemy's* geographical description of that part of *Mauritania* contiguous to the *Atlantic* ocean, and maturely weighed what has been advanced in a former note (3).

(3) *Ptol.* *Marmol.* *Moll.* &c. ubi sup.

a it and the streights, which, *Salmasius* thinks, ought to be called *Adonis*; but as to its course, or indeed any particulars at all relating to it, we are intirely in the dark. 5. The *Subur*, a large and navigable river, fifty miles from the *Lixus*. It passed by the city of *Banaja*, as has been lately observed. 6. The *Sala*, which took its course, according to *Pliny*, near the confines of the *Sabara*. 7. The *Duus*, *Cafa*, *Ajama*, *Phibuth*, and other rivers either in, or upon the borders of *Libya Interior* (D), recited by *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, &c. are intirely unknown to us, as indeed they were to those geographers themselves * (E).

THE chief capes or promontories of *Tingitania* were the following: 1. The *Me-* Promontories.
tagonitis of *Ptolemy*, and the *Metagonium* of *Strabo*. This promontory, *Marmol* tells
b us, in his time was called cape *Cajafa*, having a town of the same name built upon
it. *Strabo* intimates, that a considerable extent of territory, whose soil was of a dry
and sandy nature, in the neighbourhood of this promontory, went by the same name
amongst the *Mauritanians*. This was different from the *Terra Metagonitis* of *Pliny*,
and the *Metagonium* of *Mela*, near the mouth of the *Ampaga*. For their farther satis-
faction on this head, we must refer our curious readers to the learned *Lucas Holstenius*,
who has favoured the world with a particular account of both the *Metagonia*, in his notes
upon *Ortelius*. 2. The *Sestiarium promontorium* of *Ptolemy*, or the *Ruffadi* of the *Iti-*
nerary. 3. The *promontorium Oleastrum*, so called, according to some, from the
prodigious number of wild olives growing upon it. 4. The *Phæbi promontorium*.
c 5. The cape *Cotes*, *Cottes*, or *Ampelusia*, not far from *Tingis*, taken notice of by
Mela, *Ptolemy*, and *Strabo*. The moderns call it cape *Spartel*. From *Mela* and *Bochart*
it appears, that *Cotes* and *Ampelusia* were words of the same import in the *Phœnician*
and *Greek* languages; and that they were deduced from the grapes the promontory
abounded with. 6. *Mons Solis*, *Promontorium Herculis*, and *Ufadium*, of which *Pto-*
lemy has handed down to us nothing but the bare names †.

AMONGST the principal mountains of *Mauritania Tingitana* we are to rank, 1. Mountains.
Abyle, *Abyla*, *Abila*, *Abina*, *Abinna*, or *Abenna*, for such a variety of names it had,
a mountain on the *African* side of the streights of *Hercules*, called, by the antients,
one of *Hercules's* pillars. *Abinna* and *Abenna* seem to have been names given it by
d the *Arabs*, and the others it received from the *Phœnicians*. They were all derived
from its height, as has been clearly evinced by *Aldrete* and *Bochart*. It has been men-
tioned by *Strabo*, *Mela*, *Ptolemy*, *Silius Italicus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Festus Aven-*
nus, and others. If we are not mistaken, it is now called, by our countrymen, *Apes*

* STRAB. MEL. PLIN. PTOL. ubi sup. & alib. ANTONIN. itinerar. SCYLAX CARYAND. in peripl. ex emend. Claud. Salmasii. † STRAB. MEL. PLIN. PTOL. ubi sup. LUCAS HOLSTENIUS ad Ortel. p. 121. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 24.

(D) To these may be added, from *Ptolemy*, 1. Mount *Diur*, which might possibly have been near the river of the same name. 2. Mount *Phocra*, extending from the *Atlas Minor* to *Rufadir*, between the promontories *Metagonitis* and *Sestiarium*. The modern name of this mountain, or rather ridge of mountains, is *Jibbel el Hadith*, i. e. the mountain of iron, according to *Ortelius*. 3. The *Dardus*, already mentioned in the history of *Numidia* (4).

(E) That *Ptolemy* knew little of the geography of this part of *Mauritania*, is generally acknowledged; but will most evidently appear from several circumstances, which we shall beg leave to throw together here: 1. *Darod*, or *Darodus*, is evidently the same name with *Dorath*, which *Ptolemy* makes to be the name of a town upon the *Diur*; as therefore that river, which is the southern limit of the kingdom of *Sus*, is at this day called *Darod*, or *Darodus*, by the *Moors*, it must be allowed, that *Ptolemy's Dorath*, not far from the borders of *Gatulia*, was a river, and probably that which he calls *Diur*. 2. As this was the southern limit of the country we are now upon, supposing it to extend as far to the southward as even the present kingdom of *Sus* does, the river *Phibuth* must be to the north of it, and not to the south, as *Ptolemy* asserts; agreeably hereto, *Marmol* makes *Ten-*
ssi, the next river to the *Darodus*, in a northerly situ-

ation, to be the *Phibuth* of *Ptolemy*. 3. As the mouth of the *Dardus* lies in about twenty-eight degrees north latitude, about four degrees and a half from the tropic of *Cancer*, it must have been in nearly the same latitude with *Ptolemy's Promontorium Ufadium*, and, consequently, much farther to the southward than he extends the *Diur*. 4. Even the *Promontorium Ufadium*, the *Mons Solis*, *Portus Mylocaras*, *Portus Herculis*, *Tamusga*, and all the other places he has fixed to the south of the *Diur*, either are to be placed to the northward of it, or else, in ancient times, belonged to *Libya Interior*, and not *Tingitania*. 5. From *Marmol*, *Gramaye*, and some of the most accurate modern observations, it appears, that the towns of *Swiga* and *Vala*, rivers *Una*, *Agua*, *Sala*, &c. to which *Ptolemy* assigns a southern situation, in respect of the *Diur*, or *Darodus*, are really north of it.

Some of our readers may possibly imagine, that *Ptolemy's Daradas*, or *Daras*, which he places in about fifteen degrees north latitude, was the same river as the modern *Darod*, or *Darodus*, which in *Mr. Senex's* map of *Africa* is likewise called *Dras*. But admitting this supposition, *Ptolemy* will be out in the parallel he assigns it about thirteen degrees; which is a greater error than any of the preceding (5).

(4) Ptol. ibid. Ortel. aliiq; geograph. (5) Marmol. Gramaye, De la Croix, Mouette, Dapper, Moll, aliiq; male.

Hill; an appellation which very well agrees with what has been related of it by the ^a antients, or, at least, the country adjacent to it. 2. The *Septem Fratres* of *Mela*, and the *Heptadelpbi* of *Ptolemy*, almost contiguous to *Abyla*. 3. Mount *Cotta*, not far from the *Lixus*. 4. That remarkable chain of hills called mount *Atlas*, which, according to *Orosius*, separated the fruitful land from the barren, or, in the style of the natives, the *Tell* from the *Sabara*. The antients likewise inform us, that these mountains were known by the names *Dyris*, *Adyris*, *Dyrim*, and *Adderim*, i. e. great, high, lofty, or the Southern limit, as mount *Atlas* is generally esteemed to be with respect to *Tingitania* and *Numidia*. However, Dr. *Shaw* assures us, that the part of this long-continued ridge of mountains, which fell under his observation, in height could not stand in competition either with the *Alps* or *Apennines*. He tells us, ^b that if we conceive a number of hills, usually of the perpendicular height of four, five, or six hundred yards, with an easy ascent, and several groves of fruit and forest-trees, rising up in a succession of ranges one behind another; and that if to this prospect we here-and-there add a rocky precipice of a superior eminence, and difficult access, and place upon the side or summit of it a mud-walled *Dashkrab*, or village of the *Kabyles*; we shall then have a just and lively idea of these mountains, without paying any regard to the nocturnal flames, melodious sounds, or the lascivious revels, of such imaginary beings, as the antients have, in a peculiar manner, attributed to this place ^c.

Ports.

THE chief ports of this country were, 1. The *Rusadir* of *Pliny*, or *Ryffadirum* ^c of *Ptolemy* already mentioned. The *Itinerary* makes the town here a Roman colony, and tells us, that the neighbouring promontory was from thence denominated cape *Ruffadi*. 2. That at the bottom of the *Sinus Emporicus*, where there seems to have been a town furnished with inns, warehouses, and all manner of accommodations for the *Phœnician* merchants, who frequented this place from almost the earliest ages to the time of *Augustus*. *Pliny* calls the bay the *Sinus Saguti*, which *Bochart* would willingly have read *Sinus Saguri*; since that lesson would enable him to deduce the word from סגור, *sachur*, *mercator*, the *n* being frequently, amongst the *Oriental*s, pronounced as the *s*, of which he produces some instances, and consequently to assign it the same signification as *Emporicus*. 3. *Cotes*, *Cottes*, or *Cotta*, a port or bay mentioned by *Scylax*, which may possibly have been in the neighbourhood of cape ^d *Cotta* above-mentioned; and if so, that author has not given it a right situation, since he places it between cape *Mercury* and the streights of *Hercules*. 4. *Rusibis*, or *Rutubis*, an harbour taken notice of by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, in the south-western part of *Mauritania*, between the rivers *Cusa* and *Diur*. 5. *Mysocaras*, a port some miles to the south of *Rusibis*, not far from the river *Phibuth*. This was the last southern port of *Mauritania*, mentioned by the antients, being almost contiguous to the northern confines of *Gatulia* ^a.

Islands.

WE shall now proceed to the principal islands, on the coast of *Tingitania*, which were known to the old geographers: 1. The *Tres Insulæ* of the *Itinerary* already mentioned, where there is now good shelter for small vessels, were situated to the ^e north-west of the *Mulucha*, at the distance of ten miles. 2. *Gezira*, or rather *Jezzeirab*, a small island in the river *Lixus*, about three leagues, according to *Marmol* and *Leo*, from the sea, and thirty from the city of *Fez*. *Pliny* tells us, that in his time this island abounded with olives; and intimates, that the antients placed the gardens of the *Hesperides* here. He farther relates, that there was an altar, sacred to *Hercules*, still remaining in it when he wrote. *Aldrete* believes, that this island, by the frequent inundations of the river, was, in process of time, laid intirely under water, and at last converted into that lake called, by the *Spaniards*, *Laguna grande*, or the great lake, a little above the city and harbour of *Larache*. 3. *Ptolemy's Pana* and *Erythia* (F), two small obscure islands in the *Atlantic* ocean, opposite to the

^a *Iidem* *ibid.* *FESTUS AVIENUS*, *SIL. ITAL.* *AMMIAN. MARCELLIN.* *OROSIUS*, *PHILOSTRATUS*, *EUSTATHIUS*, *TZETZES*, *aliqui*; *mult.* *vid. et ALDRETE*. l. ii. c. 2. *Scalib.* *SCHIND BOCHART.* & *SHAW*, *ubi sup.* ^b *SCYLAX*, *PLIN.* *PTOL.* *ANTONIN.* *itinerar.* *ubi sup.* *et alib.* *BOCHART.* *ubi sup.* *AGRIP.* *comment.* *apud PLIN.* l. v. c. 1.

(F) The island *Erythia* is now called *Mogador*, and has a castle in it of considerable strength. This is defended by a garison of two hundred men, who are posted there to secure the gold mines in the neighbouring country, from which 'tis about five miles distant (6).

(6) *Moll, de la Croix, &c.*

a tract between his *Major* and *Minor Atlas*. 4. The *Insulæ Purpurariæ*, which *Pliny* assures us faced the country of the *Autololes*. The natives of these islands were famous for dying that colour called the *Gætulian purple*, which brought great advantage to king *Juba*, who, according to the same author, first discovered them. Father *Hardouin* asserts, that they are the islands called at this day *Madera* (G) and *Porto Santo*, being induced thereto by *Pliny*, who places them betwixt the *Streights* and the *Fortunate Islands*. 5. The *Insulæ Beatæ* (H), or *Fortunatæ*, of *Statius Sebojus*, *Juba*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*. *Ptolemy* gives these islands too southern a situation, affirming them to lie on the coast of *Libya Interior*, whereas they are in the same parallel with the

(G) *Madera*, or, as the *Spaniards* call it, *Madeira*, is an island of the *Atlantic ocean*, betwixt thirty-two and thirty-three deg. north lat. about sixty miles broad, seventy-five long, and an hundred and eighty in circumference. Though it seems to have been known to the antients, yet it lay concealed for many generations; and was at last discovered by the *Portuguese*, commanded by *Don Juan Zurco*, and *Don Tristano Vaz*, A. D. 1419. Others maintain, that one *John Machin*, an *Englishman*, discovered it in the year of our Lord 1344. Be that as it will, the *Portuguese* took possession of it in the year above-mentioned, and are still almost the only nation inhabiting it. The modern name *Madera*, or *Madeira*, was derived from the vast store of wood with which it was stocked; the *Portuguese*, at their first landing, finding it little better than a thick forest. In order therefore to render the ground capable of cultivation, they set fire to this wood, which, according to their writers, occasioned a conflagration of seven years continuance. It is now very fertile, producing, in great abundance, the richest wine, sugar, the most delicious fruits, especially oranges, lemons, and pomegranates, together with corn, honey, and wax. It also abounds with boars and other wild beasts, as likewise with all sorts of fowls, besides numerous groves of cedar-trees. The air of *Madera* is more temperate than that of the *Canaries*; and consequently its condition cannot be inferior to that of any of those islands. The towns are *Monchico*, *Santa Croce*, and *Funchal*, its metropolis, so called from the prodigious quantity of *feniel* at first found growing in its neighbourhood. It is now the see of a bishop, who is suffragan to the archbishop of *Lisbon*; and the seat of a *Portuguese* governor. Notwithstanding father *Hardouin's* opinion, some authors make it the *Cerne*, or *Cerne Atlantica*, of the antients. If this be admitted, it was famous for the production of those hawks so well known in *Maffylia*, according to *Pliny*. As that author places this *Cerne* in the *Atlantic ocean*, and from the circumstance just mentioned it appears to have been not remote from *Maffylia*, such a sentiment cannot well be deemed intirely groundless. Whichever of these notions we espouse, *Madera* seems formerly to have appertained to *Mauritania*.

Porto Santo lies at a small distance from *Madera*, and is under the jurisdiction of the same bishop and governor as *Madera*. It is only eight miles in compass; but the soil is extremely fruitful. 'Tis remarkable, that this island produces the best honey and wax in the world.

Besides the two aforesaid islands, there is another, called by the *Spaniards* *Isla Desierta*, i. e. the *desolate island*, seven miles distant from the eastern coast of *Madera*. But this being inconsiderable, on account of the sterility of its soil, and its small extent, it is sufficient just to have mentioned it (7).

(H) The *Fortunate Islands*, or, as they are at present called, the *Canary Islands*, are seven in number. They lie to the southward of *Madera*, west of the southern coast of *Mauritania*, and betwixt twenty-

seven and thirty degrees north lat. Their names are *Palma*, *Hierro*, *Gomera*, *Teneriffe*, *Gran Canaria*, *Fuerteventura*, and *Lanzarote*. *Palma* and *Hierro* lie most to the west. Their soil is rich; they have good pasture-ground, produce excellent wine, sugar, &c. and abound in fruit. They have each of them a town of the same name. The first is seven leagues long, six broad, and twenty-two in circumference; the latter ten leagues long, seven broad, and twenty-six round. *Hierro* has a commodious haven; and *Palma* a volcano that emits vast quantities of sulphureous matter, as we learn from *Juan Nunez de Pena*. On the western point of *Hierro* most modern geographers place the first meridian. *Gomera*, situated to the south of *Palma*, is very fruitful, affording plenty of grain, apples, sugar, and wine, with pastures for numerous herds of cattle. It takes up twenty-two leagues in compass, and has a considerable town of the same name, besides a very capacious harbour. *Teneriffe*, to the east of *Hierro*, is said to be sixty miles long. In it there is a famous mountain, called the *Pico of Teneriffe*, frequently covered with snow; which renders it probable, that this island was *Pliny's Nivaria*, and *Ptolemy's Ninguaria*. The *Pico* is an ascent of about fifteen miles, and five in perpendicular height. We are told, that when these islands were discovered by *M. Jean de Betancourt*, a *French* gentleman, for *Don Juan* king of *Castile*, in 1405, the inhabitants of *Teneriffe* were under several kings, who lived in caves; and that they kept the bodies of their ancestors dried like mummies. The towns in it are, *St. Christopher de la Laguna*, *Santa Cruz*, *Rosava*, or *Oratava*, *Rialejo*, and *Garachico*. *Canaria*, or *Gran Canaria*, had the same name amongst the antients, as we learn from *Pliny*; so that 'tis probable it was not given by the *Spaniards*, as some writers suggest; as likewise, that some knowledge of it has been retained all along from the *Roman* times, since the name assigned it by the *Romans* has been preserved to the present times. It is eleven leagues broad, twelve long, thirty-eight in compass, and about thirty from cape *Bofador*. Its situation is east of *Teneriffe*, and its capital city *Palma*, *Palmas*, or *Canaria*. In fertility it equals, at least, if it does not exceed, any of the others. *Fuerteventura* is east of *Gran Canaria*, and about twenty-five leagues from the continent of *Africa*. 'Tis likewise fruitful, and has four towns, *Tarafala*, *Lanagala*, *Pozo Negro*, and *Fuerteventura*. *Lanzarote*, north of the former, and in all points answering to the rest, has three towns, *Cayas* or *Lanzarote*, *Puerto de Naos*, and *Puerto de Cavallos*. Though the seven are the principal islands that go under the name of the *Canaries*, yet there are several others in their neighbourhood of less note; as the *Isla de los Lobos*, situated between *Fuerteventura* and *Lanzarote*; the *Salvatica* lying farther towards the north-west; besides *Rocca*, *Gratiola*, *Santa Clara*, and *Alagranza*, on the north of *Lanzarote*. They are all subject to the king of *Spain*; and *Canaria* is the see of a bishop, subject to the metropolitan of *Se-*

(7) *Plin. l. x. c. 8. l. vi. c. 3. & alib. Vide etiam Marmol, Dav. Voss. ad Mel. Moll, Pory, & Hakluyt, tom. ii. p. 2, &c.*

the southern part of *Mauritania*, according to *Strabo* (1) ; which seems to tally with ^a the best modern accounts and observations. The antients did not agree in fixing the number of these islands ; *Marcellus* made them ten ; seven of which he affirms to have been sacred to *Proserpina*, and the other three to *Pluto*, *Ammon*, and *Nep- tune*. *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, from *Juba*, relate, that there were six of them ; and *Sebosus*, as well as *Plutarch*, only two. One of them *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* call *Ombros*, *Ombrios*, and *Pluvialia* ; the former author, two others *Junonia* ; the latter, *Junonia*, and the inaccessible island. The other three *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, according to *Isaac Vossius*, named *Capraria*, *Canaria*, and *Ninguaria*, or *Nivaria*. *Ombrios* was uninhabited, and desti- tute of water at all times, but when it rained ; from which circumstance it derived its name. This island produced a sort of canes, some of which were black, and others ^b white ; out of the former the *Mauritanians* expressed a liquor of a bitter taste ; and out of the latter a pleasant kind of drink. In one of the *Junonia's* there was a small temple, built of stone. *Capraria* abounded with monstrous lizards. *Nivaria* was always covered with snow ; and *Canaria* over-run with dogs of an enormous size, two of which were presented to king *Juba*. From hence they had their names assigned them. They all abounded with apples, and other sorts of fruit, as well as honey, and all kinds of birds. Their rivers were full of the *Siluri*, a kind of shad- fish, &c. In short, the antients so highly esteemed them, on account of their happy climate, salubrious air, and fertile soil, that they styled them *the fortunate islands*, and fixed here their *Elysian fields* ^b.

Curiosities.

^c **CURIOSITIES**, most worthy observation, were, 1. The vines, grapes, reeds, &c. towards the confines of *Libya Interior*, of a most prodigious and incredible size, mentioned by *Strabo*. 2. The trees growing in the island *Ombrios*, or *Pluvialia*, and the liquor extracted from them ; which some learned men have imagined to be the sugar-canes and molossus of the moderns. 3. The river, in the southern parts of *Tingitania*, which overflowed all the adjacent country, and fertilized it in the same manner as the *Nile* did *Egypt* ; for, that there was such a river in this district, appears from the best modern observations compared with *Strabo*. 4. The several remarkable ruins of *Roman* antiquities still remaining. 5. The narrow descent of many fathom deep, a few miles from *Tangier*, which leads into a sort of cave, from ^d whence are passages into subterraneous apartments, designed undoubtedly by the antients as repositories for their dead, there being found in them many urns and statues with *Punic* inscriptions upon them. We shall reserve all other curious parti- culars for the history of the *Sbarifs* in *Fez* and *Morocco* ^c.

^b PTOL. ubi sup. & l. iv. c. 6. PLIN. l. vi. c. 32. STATIUS SEBOSUS, & JUBA apud PLIN. ibid. STRAB. sub init. MARCELLUS in Æthiopic. apud PROCLUM, l. i. in TIMÆ. PLUT. in SERTOR. SOLIN. c. 24. IS. VOSS. ad MEL. l. iii. c. 10. & JACOB. PERIZON. ad ALIAN. l. iii. c. 18. Vide etiam JOAN. HARDUIN. ad PLIN. ubi sup. & ALDRET. l. iv. c. 9. ^c STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. ubi sup. I. LEO AFRICAN. MARMOL, DE LA CROIX, MOLL, &c.

vil. Canaria formerly produced a sort of dates, and pine-apples, in considerable plenty, according to *Pliny*. In the rivers also of these islands grew the plant *papyrus*, as in the *Nile*, if the same author may be credited. From the custom of preserving the bodies of their ancestors, in the manner above-mentioned, it seems probable, that the antient inhabitants of *Teneriffe* were either a colony of the *Ethiopians*, or descended from the first progenitors of that people ; since, that such a custom prevailed in very early times amongst them, we learn from *Diodorus Siculus* (8).

(1) The best modern observations tally with *Strabo*, if, with that author and *Ptolemy*, we extend ^{the}

southern limits of *Mauritania* as far to the south- ward as within three degrees, or less, of the tropic of *Cancer* ; but if, with the moderns, we will not allow it to reach beyond the mouth of the *Darodus*, in nearly twenty-eight degrees north latitude, the *Insula Fortunata* will seem to have partly apper- tained to *Gatulia*. For our part, we are inclined to believe, that part of the kingdom of *Sus* and *Me- rocco*, particularly the province of *Guzula*, or *Gez- ula*, together with the district contiguous to the town of *Messa*, belonged to the *Gatulians*, as will be rendered probable when we come to the history of that people (9).

(8) *Diod. Sic. l. iii. p. 148. Ed. Rhodoman. Plin. l. vi. c. 32. Hakluyt, Herbert, Moll, Atl. geogr. &c.*
(9) *Vid. Strab. Plin. Ptol. De la Croix, Moll, alioq; geogr. sup. laudas.*

S E C T. II.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, customs, arts, &c. of the Mauritanians.

THAT the descendants of *Pbut* first peopled *Mauritania*, as well as the tract between the *Triton* and the *Mulucba*, has been already observed from various authors. That the *Phanicians* likewise planted colonies here in very early ages, appears from the testimonies already produced. To which we may add, that from *Hirtius*, *Appian*, and *Dio*, as explained by *Aldrete*, it may be inferred, that the *Arabs* are to be ranked amongst some of the most ancient inhabitants of this country. Their authority is supported by that of the *African* historians, or rather a tradition of the *Africans*, as we learn from *Leo* and *Marmol*. The *Mauritanians* bordering on the confines of *Gatulia*, particularly those in the neighbourhood of the *Pbarusii*, who were probably intermixed with them, might have been the progeny of the *Persians*, whom several authors of repute affirm to have settled here in very remote times. As the *Egyptians*, in the reign of *Ammon*, conquered the *Atlantides*, a nation seated on mount *Atlas*, we may look upon them likewise as progenitors of the ancient *Mauritanians*. Should it be admitted, that any number of *Persians* ever fixed their habitations in so remote a region, 'tis likely, that they either attended *Hercules* in his *Libyan* expedition, as several writers assert, or formed part of the body of *Arabs* above-mentioned; for that they came by sea, in the manner related by *Salust*, is utterly improbable. Be that as it will, that the *Pbarusii* deduced their origin from the *Persians*, seems to be insinuated by the near resemblance of the word *Pbarusii* to a name given the *Persians* in scripture, viz. פָּרַס *Paras* (K), *Pharas*, or *Pbarus*; for it may be pronounced all these ways. This seems not a little to support the authority of *Mela*, *Pliny*, and others. As the *Persian* and *Indian* dominions were contiguous, it is no wonder we should find the ancient *Mauri*, considered as the attendants of *Hercules*, called *Indians* by *Strabo*. According to *Leo*, some of the *Moors*, and other *Africans* in his time, believed themselves to be descended from certain tribes of *Sabæans*, a people of *Arabia Felix*, who were chased out of their native country either by the *Affyrians* or *Ethiopians*. Others, if we may credit the same author, gave out, that their ancestors were driven out of *Asia* by a powerful enemy, and pursued into *Greece*; from whence they made their escape into *Barbary*, leaving their pursuers in possession of the country they last abandoned: but this, he adds, was to be understood only of the white nations inhabiting some parts of western *Barbary* and *Numidia*. *Marmol* relates from the *African* historians, that five tribes of *Sabæans*, under the conduct of *Melec Isfriqui* king of *Arabia Felix*, first spread themselves over some of the eastern parts of *Barbary*; and that *Tut*, the grandson of *Cbam*, settled first in *Tingitania*, giving name to the *Tuteii*, a people of that region. The *African Tut*, we apprehend, must either be *Pbut*, one of *Ham's* younger sons, or *Lud* his grandson. Nothing absurd is implied in the last supposition; for it appears, from the *Jerusalem Targum*, in conjunction with the sacred historian, that *Lud*, the son of *Misraim*, may be considered as one of the first planters of *Mauritania* ^d.

It is generally imagined, that absolute monarchy prevailed in *Mauritania* from the earliest ages, as well as in *Egypt* and *Numidia*. *Bocchar*, *Bocchus*, and *Bogud*, from what we find related of them by the *Roman* historians, seem to have governed

^d *Univ. hist.* vol. vii. c. 1. sect. 2, 3. *Hirt.* de bel. Afric. *APPIAN.* de bel. civil. l. 4. *DIO.* l. xlviii. l. *LEO AFRICAN.* l. i. *MARMOL.* l. i. c. 1, &c. *POMP. MEL.* l. iii. c. 10. *PLIN.* l. v. c. 8. *STRAB.* l. xvii. *SALLUST.* in Jugurth. *DIO.* Sic. l. iii. p. 132, 133. edit. Rhodomon. *EST.* c. i. ver. 3. *DAN.* c. vi. ver. 9. & ver. 29. *Targ.* in Gen. c. x. ver. 13. *ALDRET.* l. iii. c. 24.

(K) It may not be improper, in order to strengthen what is here observed, to take notice, that פָּרַס *Pharfi*, a *Persian*, approaches very near the word *Pbarusii*; especially if we give it a plural *Chaldean*, or *Syriac* termination. From the parts of

Scripture in which the word is used, it appears pretty plain, that it was a *Persian* proper name; and from others, that the *Hebrews* called *Persia* *Elam*, and the *Persians* *Elamites* (10).

(10) *Nebem.* c. xii. v. 22.

here with an uncontrollable sway; which is a sufficient intimation; that their predecessors likewise were despotic. However, we must observe from *Appian*, that several tribes of *Moors*, whom he calls *αὐτονομοί*, were governed by their own laws, or, at least, under the direction of their own chiefs and leaders, in opposition to that form of government, which was established in the greatest part of the country we are now upon. The independent *Arabs*, mentioned by *Dr. Shaw*, who are seated in the kingdoms of *Algiers* and *Tunis*, and sometimes hover about the frontiers of the empire of *Morocco*, may probably be the posterity of these free-born *Moors*. Be that as it will, most of the provinces of *Mauritania*, if not the whole region, were subject to one prince in the reign of the elder *Dionysius*. This we learn from *Justin*, who says, that *Hanno*, a *Carthaginian* nobleman, in order to attain the sovereignty of *Carthage*, to which he then aspired, had recourse to the king of the *Mauri* for assistance. *Appian* insinuates, that not only in *Numidia*, whilst regal government flourished there, but likewise in other neighbouring parts of *Africa*, and therefore probably *Mauritania*, several *reguli*, or heads of the *Kabyles*, as they now are called, were engaged in bloody wars one with another; which evidently implies, that they must have exercised a sovereign power. Notwithstanding which, the great figure the *Mauri* or *Maurusii* made in *Africa*, that name extending even to the borders of *Africa Propria*, before the *Romans* grew formidable there, as appears from *Justin*, is a sufficient indication, that most of them were united under one common head. The names *Mauritania Propria* or *Tingitania* received from those of its kings, viz. *Bogudiana*, &c. clearly demonstrate the vast extent of power they enjoyed. The form of government in use, from the remotest antiquity, amongst those nations that first sent colonies hither, evinces the same thing; as does that of the antient *Numidians*, who agreed with their neighbours the *Maurusii* in almost all points whatsoever.

Laws.

THAT some of the *Mauritanians* had laws, or at least certain political maxims and institutions, which served as rules for the conduct of their chiefs, may be naturally inferred from *Appian*; but none of these have been conveyed down to us. Nay, the *Mauritanian* monarchs themselves, however absolute, might have had some immutable laws, to steer their political course by, as we find the *Medes* and *Persians* had. *Appian's* *αὐτονομοί*, just mentioned, seem to suggest such a thing, or, at least, that laws were not intirely unknown in *Mauritania*.

Religion.

Neptune seems to have been one of the principal objects of adoration in this country, which is a sufficient proof, that the *Naphtubim*, or *Nephthubim*, of *Moses*, extended themselves into it; though the first seat of that people might probably, as *Bochart* and *Arius Montanus* imagine, have been in *Marmarica* and *Cyrene*. This deity and his wife *Neptys* might receive their names from hence, *Neptune*, *Neptys*, and *Naphtubim*, signifying the king, queen, and people, of the sea-coasts. 'Tis certain, that the *Egyptians* called the exterior parts of the earth, promontories, and whatever bordered upon the sea, and was washed by it, *Neptys*. The *Sun* and *Moon* likewise, in common with the other *Libyan* nations, they paid religious honours to. That they offered human sacrifices to their gods, in imitation perhaps of the *Phenicians* and *Carthaginians*, or some other antient nation, from whom their ancestors came, is asserted by *Seneca*. From what *Nonnus* and others have advanced, it seems probable, that *Bacchus* was worshipped by the *Mauritanians*, especially as the *Indians* and *Arabs* adored him in a most particular manner. In short, we are to form a notion of the *Mauritanian* religion from that of the *Egyptians*, *Phenicians*, *Persians*, and *Carthaginians*, already described, as well as from that of the old *Arabs*, which we hope soon to give our readers a succinct account of. What peculiarities, in this particular, the *Mauritanians* had, as doubtless they had some, have many ages since been buried in oblivion. However, it seems probable from *Mela*, that they either worshipped *Anteus*, or paid divine honours to his shield.

^a LIV. l. xxix. c. 19. SALLUST. in Jugurth. PLIN. l. v. c. 1. HIRT. de bell. Alex. STRAB. l. xvii. DIO. l. xli. & alib. APPIAN. in Libyc. lxxvii. PLUT. in Cæsar. in Pomp. in Anton. & alib. JUSTIN. l. xxi. c. 4. APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. iv. JUSTIN. ubi sup. & l. xix. c. 2. PLIN. ubi sup. CELLAR. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 5. & c. 7. ALDRET. ubi sup. & l. iv. c. 10. DR. SHAW. in. pref. p. 8, & alib. ^b APPIAN. in Libyc. lxxvii. EST. c. i. ver. 19. & c. viii. ver. 8. DAN. c. vi. ver. 8, 12, 15. ^c HERODOT. l. ii. APOLLODOR. pass. PIND. in Pyth. od. iv. APOLLON. Argonaut. l. iv. PLUTARCH. de Isid. NON. Dionysiac. l. iii. v. 18. GEN. c. x. ver. 13. D. HIERONYM. quæst. Hebr. in Gen. c. x. ver. 13. PLAT. in Timæo, & in Crit. DIOD. SIC. l. v. p. 233. PAMPHUS apud Pausan. l. vii. c. 21. PLUT. de Isid. DIONYS. HALICARN. ant. Rom. l. i. &c. SENEC. in Octav. NON. in Dionysiac. ubi sup. & alib. DIONYS. in perieg. v. 623. HERODOT. l. i. MEL. l. c. 5. Vid. ALDRET. & NEWT. in chronol. pass.

- ^a THE *Mauritanian* language undoubtedly differed from the *Numidian* in such a *Language* manner only as one dialect of the same tongue does from another; so that there is no room for us to be prolix on this head. As for the *Mauritanian* character, that seems to have been the same with the *Numidian*, those letters on the coins formerly mentioned bearing an equal relation to the inhabitants of *Numidia* and *Tingitania*. What has been just observed of the religion of the people we are now upon, viz. that it bore a near resemblance and affinity to those of the nations from whom the *Mauritanians* deduced their origin, will hold equally strong with regard to their language. The tongue of the present *Kabyles* Dr. *Shaw* has given us a specimen of, and possibly some traces of that of the ancient *Moors* are still remaining in it; but
- ^b of this we are far from being certain. However, several words of the *African* vocabulary, which that learned and ingenious gentleman has obliged the world with, are deducible from the *Oriental* languages, whatever he may insinuate to the contrary (L). The *Arabesca*, at present spoken in *Fez* and *Morocco*, as well as over all other parts of *Barbary*, was not so much derived from the *Saraceni*, who over-ran this vast tract, as the ancient inhabitants of *Numidia* and *Tingitania*. The *Punic* tongue, not very remote from the *Arabic*, prevailed through that part of *Africa*, extending from the *Triton* to the *Atlantic* ocean, even to the time of St. *Austin*^h.
- ^c 1. THE *Mauritanians*, as well as the other *Africans*, from what *Hyginus* insinuates, *Customs* seem to have fought only with clubs, till one *Belus*, the son of *Neptuna*, as that author calls him, taught them the use of the sword. Sir *Isaac Newton* makes this *Belus* to have been the same person with *Sesostris* king of *Egypt*, who over-ran a great part of the then known world. 2. All persons of distinction in *Mauritania* went richly attired, wearing much gold and silver in their cloaths. They took great pains in cleansing their teeth, and curled their hair in a curious and elegant manner. They combed their beards, which were very long, and always had their nails pared extremely close. When they walked out in any numbers, they never touched one another, for fear of disconcerting the curls into which their hair had been formed. 3. The *Mauritanian* infantry, in time of action, used shields made of elephants skins, being clad in those of lions, leopards, and bears, which they kept on both
- ^d night and day. 4. The cavalry of this nation was armed with broad short lances, and carried targets or bucklers, made likewise of the skins of wild beasts. They used no saddles, nor any accoutrements. Their horses were small and swift, had wooden collars about their necks, and were so much under the command of their riders, that they would follow them like dogs. The habit of these horsemen was not much different from that of the foot above-mentioned, they constantly wearing a large tunic of the skins of wild beasts. The *Phutai*, of whom the *Mauritanians* were a branch, were eminent for their shields, and the excellent use they made of them, as we learn from *Homer*, *Xenophon*, *Herodotus*, and *Scripture*. Nay, *Herodotus* seems to intimate, that the shield and helmet came from them to the *Greeks*.
- ^e 5. Notwithstanding the fertility of their soil, the poorer sort of the *Mauritanians* never took care to manure the ground, being strangers to the art of husbandry, but roved about the country in a wild savage manner, like the ancient *Scythians* or *Arabes Scenitæ*. They had tents, or *mapalia*, so extremely small, that they could

^h HENDREICH, BOCHART. ALDRET. pass. SHAW's physical and miscellaneous observat. relat. to the kingd. of Alg. and Tun. p. 288. & E. 52.

(L) The very learned and ingenious Dr. *Shaw* positively asserts, that there is no affinity at all betwixt what may be supposed to be the primitive words in the *Showian*, as the present *African Kabyles* call their language, and the words which convey the same meaning in the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* tongues. From whence he seems to infer, that this language bore no relation at all to any of those that are now called the *Oriental* languages; and that 'tis difficult, if not impossible, even to form any conjectures about it. But that there is a possibility at least, if not a good degree of probability, of deducing it from the eastern tongues, will best appear from the following *Showian* words:

1. *Akel*, to see, may naturally be deduced from

אכל *hacal*, red, coloured, &c. or אכל *Akal*, he understood, perceived, &c. 2. *Ashar*, a mountain, from אחר *Achar*, a place, and אר *har*, a hill. 3. *Allen*, the eye, from the *Arabic* article *al*, the, and עין *ein*, or *en*, eye. 4. *Aman*, water, from מים *main*, or *man*, waters, and ה *ha*, the, i. e. מים *Hamain*, or *Hamman*, the waters. 5. *Elkas*, the year, from the *Arabic* article *al*, the, and קאס *kas*, barren soil. 6. *Assa*, to-day, from אש *asa*, or *assa*, the time from noon to the next day-break. As all the other *Showian* words we have examined are equally deducible from the *Oriental* languages, we doubt not but Dr. *Shaw*'s whole *Showian* vocabulary may be deemed of *Oriental* extraction (11).

(11) Vid. Schind. lex. pent. & Gol. lex. Arabic.

scarce breathe in them. Their food was corn, herbage, &c. which they frequently did eat green, without any manner of preparation; being destitute of wine, oil, and all the elegancies as well as many necessities of life. Their habit was the same both in summer and winter, consisting chiefly of an old tattered, though thick, garment, and over it a coarse rough tunic; which answered probably to that of their neighbours the *Numidians*, already described. Most of them lay every night upon the bare ground, though some of them strewed their garments thereon, not unlike the present *African Kabyles* and *Arabs*, who, according to Dr. *Shaw*, use their *bykes* for a bed and covering in the night. 6. If the most approved reading of a passage in *Horace* may be admitted, the *Mauritanians* shot poisoned arrows, which clearly intimates, that they had some skill in the art of preparing poisons, and were excellent dartmen. This last observation is countenanced by *Herodian* and *Ælian*, who intirely come into it, affirming them to have been in such continual danger of being devoured by wild beasts, that they durst not stir out of their tents or *mapalia* without their darts. Such perpetual exercise must render them exceedingly skilful in hurling that weapon. 7. The *Mauritanians* sacrificed human victims to their deities, as the *Phœnicians*, *Carthaginians*, &c. did. This is not only probable from the authorities produced in the *Carthaginian* history, but from the express testimony of *Seneca* and *Eusebius*. 8. As the other customs of the nation we are now upon coincide with those of the *Numidians* already related, for their farther satisfaction in this particular, we must beg leave to refer our readers to the *Numidian* historyⁱ.

Arts.

WITH regard to the arts and sciences of the *Mauritanians*, we have not much to say. The country-people were extremely rude and barbarous, as appears from what has been just laid down. Those inhabiting cities must undoubtedly have had, at least, some smattering in the literature of the several nations they deduced their origin from. That the *Mauritanians* had some knowledge in naval affairs, seems probable, not only from the intercourse they had with the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians*, as well as the situation of their country, but likewise from *Orpheus*, or *Onomacritus*, who asserts them to have made a settlement at the entrance into *Colchis*, to which place they came by sea. Magic, sorcery, divination, &c. from what has been observed in the last section, they appear to have applied themselves to in very early times. *Cicero* and *Pliny* say, that *Atlas* was the inventor of astrology, and the doctrine of the sphere, i. e. he first introduced them into *Mauritania*. This, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, gave rise to the fable of *Atlas's* bearing the heavens upon his shoulders. The same author relates, that *Atlas* instructed *Hercules* in the doctrine of the sphere and astrology, or rather astronomy, who afterwards brought those sciences into *Greece*. Some say that *Neptune*, and others that *Atlas*, first fitted out a fleet, and invented tall ships with sails. Be that as it will, 'tis generally acknowledged, that both *Neptune*, and *Atlas* his son, reigned in this country; for which reason it cannot be denied probable, that astronomy, astrology, geography, geometry, navigation, &c. were known to some of the *Mauritanians* in early ages. Let this be admitted, and it will almost necessarily follow, that a competent knowledge in history, chronology, &c. could not have been wanting amongst them. That some of them were not deficient in point of *genius*, is evident from the great and illustrious figure the younger *Juba* made in the learned world, an account of which will be given towards the close of the *Mauritanian* history^k.

Power.

NOTWITHSTANDING *Mela* represents *Tingitania* as a poor despicable country, scarce deserving any notice, yet *Strabo* assures us, that it was a rich and opulent kingdom. The antients in general, by fixing the gardens and golden fruit of the *Hesperides* here, seem to concur with him in that opinion. *Sallust*, in particular, discovers himself to have entertained the same sentiment, when he tells us how formidable *Jugurtha's* army was rendered by its junction with the *Mauritanian* forces; and *Dio*, when he intimates, that *Bogud*, king of *Mauritania*, caused victory to declare in favour of *Cæsar*, at the battle of *Munda*. We cannot well conceive it to have been

ⁱ *Strabo*. l. xvii. *Hom.* pass. *Herodot.* in *Melpom.* *Xenoph.* *Cyropæd.* l. vi. *Jer.* c. xlv. ver. 9. *Ezra* c. xvii. ver. 10. & c. xxxviii. ver. 5. *Sallust.* in *Jugurth.* *Hygin.* fab. cclxxv. *Horat.* l. i. od. 22. *Herodian.* pass. *Ælian.* l. xiv. c. 5. *Senec.* ubi sup. *Euseb.* in orat. in laud. Constant. *Procop.* de bell. Vandal. l. ii. *Theophan.* in vit. Justinian. *Shaw* ubi sup. p. 289, 290. *Univ. hist.* vol. iv. c. i. sect. 2. ^k *Orpheus*, vel *Onomacritus*, in *Argon.* ver. 741. *Cic.* in quæst. Tusc. l. v. & de natur. deor. *Statius* in *Theb.* l. viii. *Manil.* l. iii. *Euseb.* de præp. Evang. l. ii. c. 4. *Plin.* l. ii. c. 8. & l. viii. c. 56. *Dion. Sic.* l. iii. *Tzetz.* hist. l. i. chil. 5. *Plat.* *Pamph.* *Herodot.* *Pausan.* *Plut.* ubi sup. *Aldret.* l. iv. c. 14, & alib.

otherwise,

otherwise, if we consider its extraordinary fertility, the genius of its inhabitants for trade, the gold it abounded with, the bravery of its troops, and other instances of its power mentioned by writers of the best authority. The *Carthaginians* had generally some bodies of *Mauritanians* in their service, which is a proof, that they were highly esteemed by that famous republic. The name of *Mauri*, or *Maurusii*, seems to have extended itself from the *Atlantic* ocean to the borders of *Africa Propria*, or, at least, to the *Ampfaga*, as may be inferred from several authors: nay, it survived those of the *Maffya* and *Mafæjy'i*, which must have been occasioned by the superior eminence of the *Mauritanian* nation, and consequently is an additional argument in favour of what has been just advanced¹.

¹ POMPON. MEL. l. 1. c. 5. STRAB. l. xvii. SALLUST. in Jugurth. APPIAN. de bel. civil. & in Hist. Dio. l. xiii. PLIN. ubi sup. & alibi. Vid. etiam PLUT. in Syl. & in Mar. CELLAR. l. iv. c. 5. ALDRET. BOCHART. Univ. hist. vol. vi. pass. & vol. vii. b. 4. c. 2. §. 1.

SECT. III.

The history of the Mauritanians, to the intire reduction of their country by the Romans.

THE accounts transmitted down to us by the antients of the most early transactions in *Mauritania* are so enveloped with fable, that 'tis impossible for us from thence to form any tolerable idea of them; though these accounts are so prolix, that they would fill a considerable volume. It will therefore be sufficient, for the information of our readers, to give a concise relation of the principal of them, stripped as much as possible of fable, and as consistent with itself as the jarring traditions of the old poets, philosophers, and historians, will permit it to be^m.

Accounts of the earliest transactions in Mauritania little to be depended on.

THE two earliest princes of this country, except *Neptune*, mentioned by antiquity, were *Atlas* and *Antæus*. From several circumstances, with which we are supplied by various authors, it appears extremely probable, that these were the same person.

Neptune and Antæus two of the first kings of Mauritania.

They were both of them the sons of *Neptune*, who reigned over *Mauritania*, *Numidia*, and a great part of *Libya*; as may be naturally inferred from his having such particular marks of distinction conferred upon him by the inhabitants of those regions. They both ruled with an absolute sway over a great part of *Africa*, particularly *Tingitania*. *Hercules* defeated and slew *Antæus* in the same war wherein he took the *Libyan* world from *Atlas*. Both *Atlas* and *Antæus* invaded *Egypt*, and contended with *Hercules* in the wars of the gods, and were both overcome by him. *Antæus*, as well as *Atlas*, seems to have been famed for his knowledge in the celestial sciences. From whence, as well as from other considerations that might be offered, we may fairly conclude them to have been the same king of *Mauritania*^a (M).

Antæus, in his wars with *Hercules*, who seems to have commanded an army of *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians*, behaved with great bravery and resolution. Receiving several large reinforcements of *Libyan* troops, he cut off vast numbers of *Hercules's* men. But that celebrated commander, having at last intercepted a strong body of *Mauritanian* or *Libyan* forces, sent to the relief of *Antæus*, gave him a total overthrow, wherein both he, and the best part of his forces, were put to the sword. This decisive action put *Hercules* in possession of *Libya* and *Mauritania*, and conse-

Sir Isaac Newton's opinion, in relation to the age wherein they lived, probable.

^a HESIOD. PIND. SOPHOC. EURIPID. MEL. STRAB. PLIN. APOLLODOR. CIC. HYGIN. PHILOSTRAT. LUCAN. APOLLON. LUCRET. SENECA. STAT. MART. OVID. JUVEN. PROPERT. SIL. ITAL. PLUT. VIRG. SOLIN. SERV. DIOD. SIC. TACIT. EUSEB. PROCOF. SALLUST. FLOR. OROS. PTOL. DIO. PALAPHAT. CLAUDIAN. ALBERIC. ATHEN. CÆS. GERMANIC. in Arat. phæn. JUBA apud Athen. omnely; iere script. antiq. pass. ^b PIND. Pyth. od. ix. HERODOT. l. ii. & l. iii. APOLLON. Argon. l. iv. PLAT. in Timæo, & in Crit. DIOD. SIC. l. i. & l. iii. PAMPHUS apud Pausan. l. vii. c. 21. PLUT. de Iiid. AGATHARG. apud Phot. HYGIN. fab. cl. LUCIAN. de saltat. ALDRET. l. iv. c. 9.

(M) The oblique cases of the word *Atlas*, viz. *Atlantis*, *Atlante*, &c. are apparently compounded of the names *Atlas*, or *Atal*, i. e. tall, lofty, &c. and *Ante*, or *Antæus*. This is a presumptive proof, that they both belonged to the same person, and consequently, that *Atlas* and *Antæus* were the same

king of *Mauritania*. The old nominative case in the Greek language, of all such words, bore a near relation to the oblique cases, though altered in process of time. The word *Atal* delivers very well to the nature of *Antæus*, according to *Pliny* and *Plutarch* (12).

quently of all the riches in those kingdoms. Hence came the fable, that *Hercules*, a finding *Antæus*, a giant of an enormous size, with whom he was engaged in single combat, to receive fresh strength as often as he touched his mother earth, when thrown upon her, at last lifted him up in the air, and squeezed him to death; as likewise, that he took *Atlas's* globe upon his own shoulders, overcame the dragon that guarded the orchards of the *Hesperides*, and made himself master of all the golden fruit there. *Bochart* thinks, that the fable alluded chiefly to naval engagements, wherein *Hercules*, for the most part, was victorious, though *Antæus*, from time to time, received succours by sea; till at last *Hercules*, coming up with one of his squadrons having a strong reinforcement on board, made himself master of it; which rendered *Antæus*, for the future, incapable of making head against him. The same author likewise insinuates, that the notion of *Antæus's* gigantic stature, prevailing for so many centuries amongst the *Tingitani*, pointed out the size of the vessels of which his fleets or squadrons did consist; and that the golden apples, so frequently mentioned by the old mythologists, were the treasures that fell into *Hercules's* hands upon *Antæus's* defeat, the *Greeks* giving the oriental word *ἄνθος*, riches, the signification affixed to their own term *μήλα*, apples. Bishop *Cumberland* seems, with *Sanctionatbo*, and the *Atlantian* theology in *Diodorus*, to allow *Atlas* to have been the son of *Ouranos*, i. e. according to him, *Noah*; and likewise to take for granted, with *Eusebius*, that *Antæus* was his son. But should this be admitted, we must allow *Hercules*, and consequently *Antæus*, to have been cotemporary with *Misraim*; that the remotest western parts of *Africa*, even those bordering upon the *Atlantic* ocean, were then fully inhabited; and that they had, even for some time, then formed a powerful kingdom; i. e. the north-western part of *Libya* made a considerable figure before *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, from whence its first colonies were drawn, could in reality make any figure at all; nay, that those countries, particularly *Egypt*, could send colonies into, and attempt the conquest of, almost the remotest regions, immediately after the first planters had settled there; absurdities so glaring, that even none in *Ctesias* can exceed them! Besides, if *Eusebius* espoused this opinion, as he seems to have done, by his citation from *Diodorus*, provided we fall in with bishop *Cumberland's* explanation of *Sanctionatbo*, he is inconsistent with himself: for he asserts *Hercules* to have vanquished *Antæus* about three hundred and ninety-three years before the destruction of *Troy*, as we find by consulting his *Chronicon*. Now, allowing that event to have preceded the christian æra twelve hundred years, which is higher than it has even been fixed by the followers of *Ctesias* and *Eratosthenes*, both *Hercules* and *Antæus* must have lived betwixt seven and eight hundred years after the deluge; which, though much too early, in our opinion, must bring them down several hundred years lower than the age of *Misraim*. The *Greek* mythic writers, particularly *Apollodorus*, will have *Atlas* to be the son of *Iapetus*, and grandson of *Noah*, according to bishop *Cumberland*; but this hypothesis likewise, from what has been just advanced, must be acknowledged void of the least shadow of probability. In fine, after the most diligent and impartial examination of all the different hypotheses of historians and chronologers, relating to *Atlas* and *Antæus*, we find none so little clogged with difficulties as that of the incomparable Sir *Izaak Newton*. That illustrious author supposes *Ammon*, the father of *Sesac*, to have been the first king of *Libya*, or that vast tract extending from the borders of *Egypt* to the *Atlantic* ocean; that the conquest of this country was effected by *Sesac* in his father's life-time; that the *Libyans*, headed by *Neptune*, afterwards rebelled against *Sesac*, slew him, and then invaded *Egypt* under the command of *Atlas* or *Antæus*, the son of *Neptune*, *Sesac's* brother and admiral; that *Hercules*, the general of *Thebais* and *Ethiopia* for the gods or great men of *Egypt*, after the death of *Sesac*, reduced a second time the whole continent of *Libya*, having overthrown and slain *Antæus* near a town in *Thebais*, from that event called *Antæa* or *Antæopolis*; and lastly, that the first reduction of *Libya*, by *Sesac*, happened a little above a thousand years before the birth of *Christ*, as the last, by *Hercules*, did a few years under that period. Now, though we do not pretend to adopt every particular circumstance of Sir *Izaak Newton's* hypothesis, yet we cannot forbear observing, that it appears undeniably plain from Scripture, that neither the western extremity of *Libya*, nor even the other parts of that region, could possibly have been so well peopled before the time of *David* or *Solomon*, as to have sent a numerous army to invade *Egypt*; since *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, from whence the greatest part of the ancestors of the *Libyans* came, and which were much nearer

a nearer the place from whence the first dispersion of mankind was made, could not themselves have been greatly over-stocked with inhabitants any considerable time before the reign of *Saul*. And that such an invasion happened in the reign of *Neptune*, or at least of his son *Anteus*, has been fully evinced by that most excellent chronologer ^o.

To what has been already offered on this head we may add, that the *Libyans* are not taken notice of by Scripture, as a nation of any strength or power, till the fifth year of the reign of *R. boboam* king of *Judah*, who was then invaded by *Sesac*. A body of *Libyan* troops attended that prince in this expedition; and therefore *Libya* must be considered as then newly become subject to him. About thirty years afterwards they made likewise something of a figure; since in the fifteenth year of *Asa*,
 b *Zerab* the *Ethiopian* advanced to *Mareshab* with an army of a million of men, of which the *Libyans* formed a considerable part. As this was but a short time after the death of *Sesac*, and as *Zerab* must then have been master of *Egypt*, since otherwise he could not have marched his *Libyan* forces through that country, to attack *Asa's* dominions, it seems to us extremely probable from hence, in conjunction with what has been just observed, that *Libya* was annexed to the *Egyptian* monarchy by *Sesac*, and not before; as likewise, that *Sesestris*, and *Sesonchosis*, must have been the same *Egyptian* prince with *Sesac*, since those names denoted that conqueror who first reduced *Libya*, and formed the great *Egyptian* monarchy, according to profane authors. No mention is made of the *Egyptians* on this occasion, since soon after
 c the death of *Sesac*, i. e. a little before the *Trojan* war, the *Ethiopians*, for a short time, were masters of *Egypt*, as appears from *Pliny* and *Herodotus*. If therefore all that vast tract, known by the name of *Libya*, was so inconsiderable, that it deserved little or no attention, till the days of *Rehoboam* and *Asa*, how obscure must the country, called by the *Phœnicians* *Mauritania*, a small part of it, have been in every age preceding *Sesac*? We may therefore infer from hence, that *Anteus*, or *Atlas*, could not have lived much earlier than the age *Sir Isaac* has assigned him; however early some particular colonies of *Canaanites*, or *Phœnicians*, a sea-faring people always intent upon discovering unknown countries, might have settled in the western parts of *Africa*. However, we are far from insisting upon what is here advanced as true,
 d but only beg leave to submit it, with all possible deference, to the judgment of our learned and impartial readers p.

THE sentiment we would here recommend to the consideration of the learned is V r g i l and
 also countenanced by *Virgil* and *Trogus Pompeius*, who hint the following remarkable T r o g u s countenanced his opinion.
 particulars relating to it: 1. About nine hundred years before the commencement of the christian æra, *Libya* was independent on *Egypt*, since the eastern, if not the western part of it, was governed by a king of its own, named *Iarbas*. This tallies extremely well with what *Sir Isaac* has observed of the fall of the *Egyptian* empire, founded by *Ammon* and *Sesac*; for, according to him, that empire was broke to pieces about the year before *Christ* 940. by the civil wars in the reign of *Amenophis*,
 e which, in a great measure, occasioned the revolt of the nations upon the coasts of the *Mediterranean* and *Euxine* seas. 2. The *Libyans* much nearer *Egypt*, a polite and civilized kingdom, than those bordering on the *Atlantic* ocean, had only a few villages, consisting of small huts, probably the same as the modern *Dashkras*, mentioned by *Dr. Shaw*, when *Dido* arrived in *Africa*; though possibly *Utica*, built and inhabited by *Phœnicians*, might then have made a better figure. *Tingis* likewise, as it appears to lay claim to a more antient founder than *Anteus*, being on the sea-coast, was perhaps a town of some note before the time we are now upon. Nay, as we have observed from *Procopius*, some parties of *Canaanites* might erect a castle there, though before that time, if any traces of a town were in being, it could only
 f have been an inconsiderable *Dashkra*, or perhaps little better than a collection of thickets and caves of the earth. 3. The *Libyans*, even in and near the territory of *Carthage*, were a sort of barbarians at *Dido's* arrival there, living, in a manner, like wild beasts, and standing in need of *Dido's* *Phœnician* followers to polish and civilize them. These, and some other inferences, that might be drawn from the above-mentioned authors, add no small weight to what *Sir Isaac* has advanced with regard to

* *Idem* *ibid.* & quamp'urim. ex auctor. supra laudat. Boen. Chan. l. ii. c. 24. & præfat. in Chan. EUSEB. in chron. ad num. 498, 835, &c. CUMBERL. in Sanchoniath. p. 327, & seq. & in orig. p. 265, 277, &c. NEWTON'S chronol. of the emp. of Eryp. and of the Greeks, p. 99. Gen. c. xiv. & alib. Exod. c. i. Jud. c. i. NEWTON'S chronol. of the Greeks, p. 185—191. 2 Chron. c. xii. ver. 3. c. xiv. ver. 9. & c. xvi. ver. 8. MANETHO apud Joseph. cont. Apion. p. 1052, 1053. HERODOT. l. ii. c. 110. PLIN. l. vi. c. 29. NEWTON'S chronol. p. 235—239. & alib.

Atlas or *Antæus*, as well as the rise and fall of the *Egyptian* empire; but this we must supersede, as not so properly belonging to that branch of ancient history, to which we are obliged at present to confine ourselves.

Nothing further remarkable till the Roman times.

We find nothing worth relating recorded of the *Mauritanians* from the defeat of *Antæus* to the *Roman* times. *Livy* only tells us, that *Syphax's* kingdom bordered upon the *Mauri*, which is nothing more than an implication, that such a nation did then exist. *Justin* indeed, from *Trogus*, intimates, that, in some of the earliest ages of *Carthage*, the *Mauri* were neighbours to the *Carthaginians*, and had some disputes with them; but he gives us no particulars of moment concerning that people. *Diodorus Siculus* likewise says, that, in the interval between the overthrow the *Carthaginians* received from *Gelon*, and the first *Punic* war, they had frequently *Mauritanian* mercenaries in their armies, without hinting any thing farther relative to the nation we are now upon. Nor ought this to be wondered at, since we are informed by *Sallust*, that nothing of the *Mauri*, besides their name, was known to the *Romans*, so late as the *Jugurthine* war; and the most ancient *Greek* writers scarce ever considered them as a particular nation, but only as a branch of the *Libyans*. How *Bocchar*, king of *Mauritania*, lent *Masiniſſa* a body of troops to escort him to his dominions, and what was consequent thereupon, our readers will find related at large in the *Numidian* history.

Plutarch insinuates, that the elder *Juba* pretended to be lineally descended from *Hercules*; but that biographer seems not to give overmuch credit to such a pretension. However, 'tis natural enough to suppose, that the person who obtained this country, upon the dissolution of the *Egyptian* empire, founded a family that might continue for many generations. Possibly *Bocchar*, and *Bocchus* father-in-law to *Jugurtha*, were of this family; since the affinity of names, and the country they governed, sufficiently intimate them to have been of the same family, and of the blood royal of *Mauritania*. Be that as it will, *Bocchus*, from the account *Sallust* gives us of him, seems to have been a perfidious prince. After two defeats, the *Romans* menaced and cajoled him into an infamous action, i. e. to deliver (N) his son-in-law *Jugurtha* into their hands, after the most solemn engagements to support him, and even a promise made to put *Sylla* into his power. *Jugurtha* indeed was a prince not only capable, but even guilty, of the most enormous crimes; but this will not vindicate, nor even palliate, the conduct of (O) *Bocchus*. What is here hinted at may be found related at large in some former parts of this work.

What happened to Bogud.

HISTORY is silent as to any farther particulars of the *Mauritanian* affairs, till the time of *Bogud* (P), who was cotemporary with *Julius Cæsar*, and his adopted son *Octa-*

^a VIRG. *Æneid.* i. JUSTIN. l. xviii. c. 6. Univ. hist. vol. vi. p. 722, 723. NEWTON, ubi sup. pass.
^b LIV. l. xxiv. c. 42. l. xxix. c. 30. & alib. JUSTIN. l. xix. c. 2. & l. xxi. c. 4. DIOD. SIC. pass. SALLUST. de bell. Jugurth. Univ. hist. vol. vii. p. 124. ^c PLUT. in Sertor. LIV. & SALLUST. ubi sup. Univ. hist. vol. v. p. 25, 26, 27.

(N) *Orosius* intimates, that *Bocchus* did not enter into an alliance with *Jugurtha* till after *Marius* had taken *Capſa*; which contradicts *Sallust* and *Plutarch*. He also describes the first general action betwixt the two *African* princes and *Marius*, which he affirms to have happened near *Cirta*, as the most bloody and dubious one the *Romans* were ever concerned in. The *Romans*, says he, after having been extremely harassed by the enemies parties, were attacked by their whole army, wherein was a body of sixty thousand *Mauritanian* and *Numidian* cavalry, whose horses raised such clouds of dust, that the heavens were thereby obscured; which, together with the shower of darts thrown on this occasion, turned the day into night. The battle was fought with such obstinacy, that it continued three days; neither had the *Romans* at last won it, being reduced to the last extremity by thirst, occasioned by the intolerable heat of the climate and season, had there not fallen a most seasonable shower of rain, which greatly refreshed them, rendered the handles of the *Africans* darts so slippery, that they could not throw them, and made their shields, covered with dried elephants skins, that imbibed all the water, so ponderous, that

they could not use them; which of course determined victory to declare against *Bocchus* and *Jugurtha*. But as this relation, in many particulars, runs counter to *Sallust* and *Plutarch*, or rather seems to be a confused account of several actions mentioned by them, we shall leave our readers to give what credit to it they please (13).

(O) Either this prince, or another of the same name, undertook an expedition against the western or *Hesperian Ethiopians*, as we learn from *Strabo*. According to that author, *Bocchus* found, in the country of these *Ethiopians*, some reeds of such an enormous size, that the largest joint of them would contain eight *chanixes* of corn; which, together with some *asparagus* equally large, he sent as curiosities to his wife. What success attended this expedition, we neither find in *Strabo*, nor any other author (14).

(P) *Suetonius* informs us, that *Julius Cæsar* fell in love with *Bogud's* queen *Eunæ*, or *Eunoe*, a *Mauritanian* lady. As he made both her and her husband presents of an immense value on this account, 'tis not improbable, that he enjoyed her by her husband's consent (15).

(13) *Oros.* l. v. c. 15. *Vid. & Flor.* l. iii. c. 1. (14) *Strab.* l. xvii. p. 569. (15) *Sueton.* in *Jul. Cæs.* c. 52. VIUS.

- a *vius*. *Bogud*, in conjunction with *Publius Sittius*, not a little contributed to *Cæsar's* great success in *Africa*, as has been already observed. In *Spain* likewise he enabled *Cæsar* to gain the ever-memorable victory at *Munda*, which gave the finishing stroke to the *Roman* republic. After that emperor's death he sided with *Antony* against *Octavius*; and endeavoured to make a diversion, in favour of the former, in *Spain*. But whilst he was employed in this expedition, the *Tingitanians* revolted from him, and, being supported by a body of *Spaniards* in the interest of *Octavius*, and some of *Bocchus's* troops, defeated him upon his return into *Africa*; which put *Bocchus* in possession of *Tingitania*. *Octavius*, or *Augustus*, afterwards confirmed this acquisition to him, and honoured the inhabitants of *Tingis* with the privileges of *Roman* citizens. *Bogud* was at last killed by *Agrippa* at *Metbona*, as our readers will elsewhere find; and after *Bocchus's* (Q) death *Tingitania* was reduced to the form of a *Roman* province.

- Augustus* gave the younger *Juba*, a prince extremely in his favour, the two *Mauritanie*, together with part of *Gatulia*, some time after his marriage with the younger *Cleopatra*, instead of his father's kingdom, i. e. *Numidia*, which still remained a *Roman* province. 'Tis true, *Strabo*, as has been observed by Mr. *Bayle*, affirms, that *Augustus* restored *Juba* to the kingdom of his father, and moreover granted him the *Mauritanie*; but this geographer limits the *Roman* province, and the kingdom of *Juba*, in such a manner, as shews, that *Numidia* belonged to the *Romans*. We must not omit observing here, that the translator of *Dio* has committed an egregious blunder, in his *Latin* version, which seems to have proceeded purely from inattention: *Cæsar*, says he, gave *Juba*, &c. 17, (i. e. *Egypt*) and his father's kingdom; whereas *Dio* there affirms, that *Cæsar* gave (R) *Juba* HER, (i. e. *Cleopatra*) and his father's kingdom. That this observation, made first by Mr. *Bayle*, is indisputably true, appears sufficiently from hence, that this *Juba* was never king of *Egypt*. *Suidas* relates, that the younger *Juba* was whipped publicly when led in triumph; but this seems highly improbable, and has not the countenance of any other author to support it. *Ptolemy* (S), his son by *Cleopatra*, daughter to *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, surnamed

Augustus gives the younger *Juba* the *Mauritanie*, and part of *Gatulia*.

STRAB. l. xvii. DIO, l. xli. HIRT. de bell. Afric. APPIAN. de bell. civil. CÆS. de bell. civil. l. ii. PLUT. in Pomp. & in CÆS. FLOR. l. iv. c. 2. DIO, l. xliii, xlviii, xlix, l. STRAB. l. viii. Univ. hist. vol. v. p. 189.

(Q) *Pliny* relates, that one king *Bocchus*, having fastened thirty men to stakes, in order to their being destroyed by the same number of elephants, ordered certain persons to irritate those animals; but that, notwithstanding all their efforts, they found it impossible to make them subservient to that prince's cruelty. The same author likewise mentions an *African* historian of this name; but whether or no he was of royal extraction, he tells us not (16).

(R) *Juba* had a noble education bestowed upon him at *Rome*, where he imbibed such a variety of knowledge, as afterwards equalled him to the most learned *Grecians*. He did not leave that city, till he went to take possession of his father's dominions. By the lenity of his government he so won the hearts of all his subjects, who ever retained the most grateful sense of the felicity they enjoyed under him, that they ranked him among the gods, and, according to *Pausanias*, erected a statue in his honour. He was extremely well versed in the *Affrian*, *Arabic*, *Greek*, *Punic*, *African*, and *Latin* histories, as well as those of other nations. He wrote the history of *Arabia*; the antiquities of the *Affrians* and *Romans*; the history of theatres, of painting, and painters; of grammar; of the nature and properties of different animals; a particular treatise upon the herb *Euphorbia*, which he so called from his physician, who first discovered the many excellences of it, in which he greatly celebrates its singular virtues; a piece con-

cerning the source of the *Nile*; besides many other works ascribed to him by *Suidas*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Pliny*, *Athenaus*, &c. a few fragments only of which are now extant. *Pliny* intimates, that his learning rendered him more illustrious than his crown; and frequently cites him, as asserting or confirming the most curious particulars. According to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Juba*, from some *Punic* authors, affirmed the *Nile* to have had its source in a high mountain of *Mauritania*. The abtë *Sevin* has favoured the world with a short dissertation on the life and writings of the younger *Juba*, wherein he has inserted a catalogue of all his works. That he died in the year of *Rome* 776. or 777. may be inferred from *Strabo* and *Tacitus* (17).

(S) *Ptolemy's* pedigree has been discovered by the following *Roman* inscription, communicated to Dr. *Shaw* by father *Ximenes*, which exhibits that of his father *Juba*:

REGI IVBÆ REGIS
IVBÆ FILIO REGIS
IEMPSALIS N. REGIS GAYD.
PRONEPOTIS MASINISAR
PRONEPOTIS NEPOTI
II VIR QVINQ. PATRONO
COLONI.

This inscription differs something from the authors who have supplied us with an account of *Masinissa's* family in the *Numidian* history (18).

(16) *Plin.* l. viii. c. 5. & l. xvi. c. 40. (17) *Plin.* l. v. c. 1. & alib. pass. *Plut.* in *Cæs.* *Suid.* in voc. *Isbas* *Athen.* deipnosoph. l. i. *Juba* rex de *Nili* origine apud *Ammian.* *Marcellin.* l. xxii. *Strab.* l. vi. & xvii. *Tacit.* l. iv. c. 5. *Vid.* M. *Bayle* in *Juba*, & M. l'abbé de *Sevin*, en rom. iv. des mem. de l'acad. de belles lettres. (18) *Athen.* deipnosoph. l. vi. Dr. *Shaw* in excerpts. p. 59. *vid.* & R. *Rainecium* in hist. Jul. de famill. Lat. xliii. p. 329. & *Univ.* hist. vol. vii. p. 138. not. (Z).

Selene, succeeded him. How this prince was afterwards cut off by *Gaius*, either a through a principle of avarice or jealousy, we may learn from *Suetonius* and *Dio*, as well as a former part of this history *.

Tacfarinas
raises troubles
in Africa; but
receives several
defeats, and is
at last killed.

Tacfarinas, a native of *Numidia*, who had served among the *Roman* auxiliaries, a little before the third consulate of *Tiberius*, occasioned fresh troubles in *Africa*. At first he assembled a great number of barbarians, inured to robberies, and all kinds of rapine, by the allurements of plunder; out of which he formed a considerable army, and disciplined it after the *Roman* manner. The gross of the army consisted of *Musulanians*, a powerful nation bordering upon the *Sabara*, still wild, and without towns, of whom *Tacfarinas* declared himself general. These were joined by a large body of *Mauritanians*, commanded by their general *Mazippa*, whom *Tacfarinas* had found means to draw into the war. The *Cinibians* likewise, a nation by no means despicable, he forced to come into his measures. With the regular forces he encamped, and detached *Mazippa* to make excursions; and harass the *Romans* by perpetual alarms, with the irregular troops. *Furius Camillus*, the *Roman* commander, advanced against the *Africans* with only a single legion, and what troops the allies could spare him. This he did in order to draw them to a general action, since they seemed willing to decline an engagement, it being their interest to protract the war. Though *Camillus's* troops were but a handful, in comparison of the barbarians, he drew them up in order of battle, posting the legion in the centre, and the light cohorts, with two wings of horse, on the right and left. He had no sooner made this disposition than the barbarians attacked him, but were quickly routed with great slaughter. However, the next year *Tacfarinas* renewed the war, making dreadful incursions into the very heart of the country, and doing irreparable damage where-ever he moved. He posted from place to place with such celerity, that none of the *Roman* detachments could come up with him. After he had committed many devastations, he surrounded a *Roman* cohort, commanded by one *Decrius*, an officer of distinguished merit, in a fort near the banks of the *Pagida*. The *Romans* behaved with great bravery; but their commandant being killed, they were obliged to abandon the fort to the enemy, and betake themselves to flight. *Lucius Apronius*, *Camillus's* successor, caused this ignominious cohort to be decimated, and every tenth man, drawn by lot, in conformity to the antient custom, to be executed with a club. This rigour had such an effect, that *Tacfarinas's* army was routed, and forced to raise the siege of *Thata*, by a squadron of five hundred veterans only. This defeat determined *Tacfarinas* to resolve never for the future to attempt a siege, but to carry on the war in a desultory manner, flying when attacked, and, upon a retreat, assailing the rear. As long as the *African* observed this method, he eluded all the efforts of the *Romans*; but withdrawing to the maritime places, and being, by the prospect of an immense booty, confined to his camp, he was attacked by *Apronius Cæsianus* with a body of cavalry, auxiliary cohorts, and a detachment of legionary foot. The dispute was neither long nor bloody; for the barbarians were soon overthrown, many of them slain, and the rest obliged to disperse themselves in the *Sabara*. However, *Tacfarinas*, though often repulsed, still repaired his forces, and arrived at such a pitch of arrogance, as to send ambassadors to *Tiberius*, threatening him with eternal war, if he and his army had not a proper settlement assigned them. *Tiberius*, incensed to the last degree at such unparalleled impudence, ordered *Blasus*, who commanded the *Roman* forces in *Africa*, to offer a general indemnity to the *Africans*, and to endeavour, by all means possible, to get *Tacfarinas* into his hands. *Blasus*, in order to put an end to this war, made the following disposition of his forces: he detached *Scipio*, his lieutenant, to a post from whence *Tacfarinas* committed his depredations upon the citizens of *Leptis*, and then retreated amongst the *Garamantes*; his son he sent to protect the territory of the *Cirtæsi*; and between both he marched himself with the flower of his army, erecting forts and redoubts in proper places as he advanced. These measures, with some others equally good, had the desired effect; for *Tacfarinas's* forces were dispersed; his brother taken, and he obliged to hide himself in the desert. Notwithstanding which, a great body of *Mauritanians*, through *Ptolemy's* indolence, having joined him, as likewise a strong

* STRAB. l. xvii. DIO, l. lxx. ad an. urb. cond. 729. SUET. in. voc. 'Iſſas. TACIT. an. iv. Sueton. in. Cæio, c. 26, 35. DIO, l. lxx. PLUT. in. Anton. SENECA de tranquill. vit. P. Non. cenotaph. PISAN. p. 235. Univ. hist. vol. v. p. 478.

a reinforcement from the king of the *Garamantes* (T), he once more made head against the *Romans*. But *Dolabella*, having fortified the proper posts, and executed the chiefs of the *Musulani*, who were meditating a revolt, advanced against the enemy, who, he was informed, had taken post near the castle of *Auzea*. After a forced march he came up with them, and intirely defeated them, putting to the sword *Tacfarinas* himself, with a vast number of his followers. A body of *Mauritanians*, king *Ptolemy* sent to assist *Dolabella*, did not a little contribute to this victory, which, for some time, settled peace in the *Roman* provinces, *Mauritania*, and *Gætulia* w.

Ptolemy having been cut off by *Caius*, as related above, *Ædemon*, one of his freed-men, in order to revenge his death, assembled a body of forces in *Mauritania*. *Caius* being soon after assassinated, his successor *Claudius*, in order to disperse this corps, sent thither a *Roman* army, which was the first that ever appeared in that country. Though they performed no great exploits the first campaign, yet, as the enemy retired before them, the senate persuaded *Claudius* to accept of triumphal honours for the success of his arms in *Mauritania*. The following year, *Suetonius Paulinus*, the *Roman* general, defeated the enemy, ravaged all the country as far as mount *Ailas*, and penetrated into *Gætulia*. *Sidius Geta*, who succeeded *Paulinus* in the command of the *Roman* army in *Africa*, gave *Salabus*, the *Mauritanian* general, two overthrows, and pursued him into the *Sabara*. Having been supplied here with water in a wonderful manner, when his troops were upon the point of perishing, *Geta* concluded a peace with *Salabus* upon his own terms. 'Tis probable, that, by this treaty, *Mauritania* was delivered up intirely into the hands of the *Romans*; since we find it soon after divided into two provinces, the one called *Tingitania*, or *Mauritania Tingitana*, from the city *Tingis*, and the other *Mauritania Cafariensis*, from *Cæsar*, a surname *Claudius* had in common with the other *Roman* emperors. That prince appointed two *Roman* knights to preside over these provinces. Soon after, the *Romans* routed a body of *Gætulians* that infested some parts of *Numidia*, and thereby restored tranquillity to all their *African* dominions. 'Tis observable, that *Augustus* settled nine colonies, and *Claudius* three only, here; which, in a region of so vast an extent, could neither have sufficient power thoroughly to subjugate the natives, nor influence to conciliate their affections to the *Romans* i.

Mauritania reduced to a Roman province.

w TACIT. *an.* l. li, lii, iv.

i PLIN. l. v. c. 1. & alib. DIO. l. li. APOD. l. li. c. 16.

(T) *Tacitus* intimates, that *Tacfarinas* drew together at this time a powerful army of *Africans*, by giving out, that the *Romans* were so embroiled with other nations, that they would be obliged gradually to abandon *Africa*; and that therefore, would the friends to liberty unite, they might soon cut off all

that remained there. The same historian also informs us, that before the general action here mentioned, *Dolabella* forced *Tacfarinas* to raise the siege of *Thubursicum*, which he abandoned at his approach (19).

(19) *Tacit. an.* l. iv. c. 24.

CHAP. III.

The history of the Gætulians.

e AS the limits of *Gætulia* have not been settled, either by *Ptolemy*, or any of the other ancient geographers, 'tis impossible for us to define them. From several authors it may however be inferred, that they were not always the same. In *Pliny's* time the *Gætulians* possessed a considerable part, at least, of *Tingitania*; the *Maurusii* having been so extremely weakened by long and bloody wars, that they could not make head against them. *Virgil* affirms this people to have extended themselves from the *Regio Syrtica* to the *Atlantic* ocean; and *Festus Avienus* seems to have fixed their eastern boundary not far from the western confines of *Marmarica*. However, nothing certain concerning the extent and situation of their country can be drawn either from those authors or *Strabo*, who only intimates the *Gætulians* to have been a large nation, taking up a considerable part of *Libya Interior*, and possessing some territories in the neighbourhood of the *Syrtis*. *Pliny* says, that *Gætulia* was terminated on the

Limits of Gætulia.

the south by the river *Nigris*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Nigir*, which, according to a him, separated it from *Ethiopia*. But notwithstanding the indefinite terms in which the antients have laid down this region, by comparing their several accounts and descriptions, we shall find the northern limits thereof contiguous to, and frequently coinciding with, the southern parts of *Numidia* and the *Mauritania*; and, by consulting the best observations of the moderns, that it could not have reached to any great distance in the *Sabara*. Dr. *Shaw* (A), in one place, seems to insinuate, that the proper *Gætulia* did not extend farther to the east than the meridian of *Siga*, i. e. about 0° 10' E. of *London*, provided *Tackumbreet* be the ancient *Siga*, as he imagines; since he there tells us, that the *Melanogætuli* and *Garamantes* occupied the tract behind *Numidia*, *Africa Propria*, and the *Regio Syrtica*, from that meridian to *Cyrenaica*: b whereas in another place he fixes some *Gætulian* tribes in the remotest part of the district of *Zaab*, and meridian of *Constantina*, above six degrees more to the eastward than *Siga*. Whether or no either of these seemingly jarring accounts be true, or which of them is so, we shall not take upon us to determine; but only observe, that *Guzula*, or *Gezula*, a province of the kingdom of *Morocco*, at the foot of mount *Atlas*, seems to have preserved some traces of the ancient *Gætulia*. Could we lay any great stress upon an affinity of names, this province was a principal part of *Gætulia*; in which case Dr. *Shaw*'s first notion would have probability on its side. But, as the concurrent testimony of the antients favours the latter, we know not what to say. However, the ascertaining the bounds of this rude and barbarous region is not a matter of such importance, as to deserve any great regard. We shall therefore leave our geographical readers to chuse which of these notions they please, or to reject both of them, if they think proper.^a

Its towns,
rivers, mountains,
&c.

As the *Gætulians*, before the time of *Jugurtha*, led their flocks from pasture to pasture, living, for the most part, in tents, without any fixed habitation, our readers will not expect to find many towns in this country. Some however *Virgil* insinuates there to have been, though his commentator *Servius* appears to be of a different opinion. *Philostratus* makes the *Gætulians* to have inhabited the interior part of mount *Abinna*, or *Abyla*, and consequently, by intermixing them with the *Maurusii*, allows some of them to have dwelt in towns. *Pliny* also intimates, that the *Gætulians* in his time were masters of a good part of *Masæsyliæ*; and *Apuleius* assigns them some districts, at least, of *Numidia Propria*; which testimonies, if admitted, evince the same thing. But *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* render it indisputable, when they mention the cities *Autolala*, *Talubath*, &c. as appertaining to the *Gætulians*. The principal tribes of proper *Gætulia* were the *Baniuræ*, *Darræ*, and *Autololes* (B), according to the last-mentioned geographers. 'Tis probable, that the *Baniuræ* bordered upon *Tingitania*, as the *Darræ* did upon the *Ethiopians* called *Perorsi* and the *Pharusii*. The *Autololes* seem to have been by much the most powerful, and to have spread themselves over that part of *Tingitania* bordering on the coast of the *Atlantic* ocean. Their capital city *Autolala*, from which they derived their name, we know nothing farther of, than that it stood betwixt the *Subus* and the *Salatbus*, the only two rivers of note, except the *Gir* and the *Nigir*, that watered *Gætulia*. Of *Talubath* nothing has been transmitted down to us by the antients, but the bare name. As the *Sabara* began not far from the southern foot of mount *Atlas*, this country was undoubtedly, for the most part, sandy and desert; however, it was interspersed with several fruitful spots. Mount *Sagapola*, eminent for nothing but its being the limit of *Gætulia* on the side of the *Melanogætuli*, and containing the sources of the *Subus* and *Salatbus* above-mentioned, seems to have been the only mountain of any note in the region c

^a PLIN. l. v. c. 2. VIRG. ÆN. iv. ver. 40. & SERV. in loc. PHILOSTRAT. l. v. STRAB. l. xvii. FESTUS AVIEN. PTOL. geogr. l. iv. ADATHEN. geogr. l. ii. c. 5. SHAW ubi sup. p. 132. & 136. LEO AFRICAN. part. ii. MARM. l. iii. c. 51.

(A) Dr. *Shaw* also tells us, that *Gætulia* extended into the desert or *Sabara*; which supposes, that nothing but desert must be left to the direct southward of it. Therefore *Melanogætulia*, and the country of the *Garamantes*, in conformity to the situation assigned them by the antients, must have lain E. S. E. of *Gætulia*, and consequently have begun in an eastern direction from it (1).

(B) *Pliny* says, that the *Vesuni*, or, according to some MSS. the *Nesuni*, were a branch of the *Autololes*, who, separating from their brethren, settled upon the borders of *Ethiopia*, and afterwards formed a distinct nation. *Orosius* informs us, that the *Autololes*, or, as the MSS. falsely have it, *Autoles*, were called, in his time, *Galaulis* (2).

(1) *Shaw* ubi sup. p. 136.

(2) *Plin. in loc. citat. Oros. l. i. c. 2.*

- a we are now upon. As for the promontories, &c. we meet with none meriting any attention; though from *Pliny* it may be inferred, that the *Promontorium Solis*, and some ports already mentioned, might have been in a territory afterwards annexed to the proper *Gætulia*. The only curiosity here, deserving a place in history, was the vast quantity of the purple-fish produced in that part of the *Atlantic* ocean washing the *Gætulian* shore, with which the rocks on this coast were frequently covered. The *Teladusii*, *Soræ*, *Dryitæ*, *Elulii*, *Mazices*, *Nacmusii*, and other obscure nations, inhabiting either *Numidia*, or the confines of that country and *Gætulia*, in the time of *Ptolemy*, deserve so little regard, that our readers will scarce expect a bare enumeration of their names. However, we must not omit observing, that as *Ptolemy*
- b places the *Pharusii* to the north of mount *Sagapola*, they may be considered as a clan or canton of the *Gætulians*; especially since *Pliny* affirms their district to have stretched itself out as far as the *Atlantic* ocean, and *Mela* makes them to have attended *Hercules* in his expedition against the *Hesperides*. 'Tis not therefore probable, that mount *Pharusus*, near four degrees east of the *Mulucha*, should have been so denominated from the *Pharusii*; except we will suppose this ridge of mountains to have been the eastern limit of that nation, and that they were so numerous and powerful as to have spread themselves over a tract extending from thence to the *Atlantic* ocean. In such a case we might, with *Dr. Shaw*, allow, that the inhabitants of mount *Pharusus* were part of the *Pharusii*. Perhaps this notion may be countenanced by *Mela*
- c and *Pliny*, when they intimate the *Pharusii* to have been an opulent people in antient times, and to have bordered upon the *Nigritæ*, in the neighbourhood of the river *Nigir*, which, with *Ptolemy*, they make one of the boundaries of the *Gætulians*. The vicinity of the *Nigritæ* and *Pharusii* is likewise taken notice of by *Dionysius Afer* and *Strabo* ^b.

- ACCORDING to *Josephus* and *St. Jerom*, *Cbavilab*, or *Havilab*, the son of *Cush*, ^{The antiquity of the Gætulians.} was the father of the *Gætulians*; for which reason we find them called *Evilæi*, or *Havilæi*. As it is well known, that *Havilab*, or *Cbavilab*, settled in *Arabia Felix*, and that from him his descendants there assumed the name of *Cbaulotai* and *Cbaulafii*, the same words with *Evilæi*, it cannot well be doubted, but that *Gætulia* was
- d first peopled from *Arabia Felix*, as has been already hinted. This likewise renders probable the authority of the antients, who assert, that the *Gætulians* intermixed themselves with the *Persians*, and that the *Pharusii*, in particular, were of *Persic* extraction; since *Persia* and *Arabia* being in a manner contiguous regions, many *Persians* probably attended some of the *Arabian* colonies passing into *Africa*, or at least followed *Sesac* and *Hercules* in their *Libyan* expeditions. We find no obscure traces of the *Daræ*, a *Gætulian* tribe above-mentioned, in *Leo* and *Marmol*, who describe a province, bounded on the west by those of *Gezula* and *Sus*, called *Dara*, corresponding nearly with the tract assigned that people by *Pliny*; and 'tis well known, that the *Darrbæ* are a nation of *Arabia Felix*, taken notice of by *Stephanus*, *Ptolemy*, and
- e *Pliny*; which may serve as an additional argument in favour of an early migration of *Arabs* into *Gætulia*. To which we may farther add, in support of that migration, that, considering how remote *Gætulia* was from *Arabia Felix*, what a series of ages had passed from the first plantations of colonies there to the most early occurrences of that country transmitted down to posterity by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, what other nations were intermixed with the first migrating *Arabs*, viz. the *Persians*, *Indians*, &c. the word *Gætulia*, or *Cbetulia*, is no very strange corruption of *Cbavilab*, *Cbevilab*, *Cbavilab*, *Cbevilab*, *Cbavilat*, or *Cbevilat*. Both *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* have remembered the river *Daras*, or *Darat*, which they say produced great numbers of crocodiles. If our readers should be disposed to allow the modern *Darodus*,
- f or *Darodt*, to be that river, as 'tis not improbable some of them may, they would be convinced, that *Ptolemy* had not only placed his *Darat*, or *Darodus*, vastly too much to the southward, but likewise made his *Mauritania Tingitana* to comprehend a great part of *Gætulia*, if not the whole country. 'Tis certain, that the names and situation of the provinces of *Gezula* and *Dara* render this not a little probable. The word *Dara* seems to signify a generation or habitation of shepherds, and is therefore very applicable to a tribe of *Gætulians*, who, as well as the modern *Darans* and *Gezulians*, had scarce any other possessions than their flocks. Both the name therefore and man-

^b SALLUST. in Jugurth. VIRO. & SERV. ubi sup. APUL. in apol. PLIN. & PHILOSTRAT. ubi sup. MEL. l. iii. c. 10. PROL. ubi sup. DIONYS. AF. v. 215. PRISCIAN. v. 200. STRAB. ubi sup. SHAW ubi sup. p. 135.

net of life of this people plainly pointed out the nation from whence they deduced a their origin. Some antient authors related, that the *Tyrians* had, in very early ages, many cities here, and in the neighbouring parts of *Libya Interior*, which were destroyed by the *Nigrites* and *Pbarusii*; but this notion is rejected as fabulous by *Strabo* c.

Their government, &c.

THE first *Gætulians*, according to the *Punic* historians, were some of the most antient inhabitants of *Africa*, extremely rude and barbarous, without any form of government, laws, or manners, especially such as ever prevailed in a civilized state. They lived upon the flesh of wild beasts, eating upon the ground, after the manner of cattle. They roved about the country, taking up their lodging where-ever the night surprised them. Some of the *Pbarusii*, or *Pbaurusii*, at first, if any credit b may be given to *Strabo*, lived in caves like the *Troglodytes*. But this state of barbarity, *Sallust* tells us, continued only till *Hercules* came amongst them; which is a farther proof of what *Sir Isaac Newton* has advanced with regard to the age of that hero; since, as we have lately observed, the *Gætulians* were far from being perfectly civilized in the time of *Jugurtha*, and therefore *Hercules* did not probably precede that age so long as the generality of the antient chronologers supposed. It is believed by some good authors, to whose sentiments we pay a great deference, that the *Gætulians*, however rude and barbarous, at least towards the *Roman* times, were under the direction of certain (C) phylarchs, or heads of *Kabyles*, as their successors at this day are. However, if they had then any fixed or stated laws, we are now intirely c ignorant of them. If they had any (D) customs likewise, different from those of their neighbours the *Numidians* and *Mauritanians*, the knowledge of them has not reached us. As all the authors mentioning them are utterly silent as to any particulars relating to their religion, we must suppose it to have been the same with that of their neighbours already taken notice of, or with that of their progenitors the antient *Arabs*, which will hereafter be briefly described. *Leo* relates, that many of the antient *Africans* erected magnificent temples in honour of the *Sun* and *Fire*, which they worshipped, wherein they had a perpetual fire; though others of them adored another planet. Probably the *Gætulians* were some of the former, as being partly descended from the *Persians*, who professed the *Magian* religion. Their language must undoubtedly d have born a near resemblance to the antient *Arabic*, and the other *Oriental* tongues. This does not only appear from what has been already advanced, but likewise from the *Showiabian* vocabulary given us by *Dr. Shaw*, most, if not all, of whose words are easily deducible from the *Arabic*, *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, and *Syriac*. Our readers will not expect to meet with any arts or erudition in such a country as *Gætulia*, and therefore will not suppose, that we have any thing to offer on that head here d.

A brief account of the Gætulians till the time of Vespasian.

WITH regard to the transactions of this nation, we have not much to say. *Herodotus* and *Scylax* take no notice of the *Gætulians*, which renders it probable, that, when those writers lived, they were very obscure. The first authors that mentioned them were probably some of those old historians from whom *Livy* extracted the materials for his work; since he gives us to understand, that a corps of them served under *Hannibal* in the second *Punic* war. That general, according to him, having taken and razed *Acerræ*, formed a design upon *Casilinum*, and sent a body of *Gætulians*, under the command of their general *Isalca*, to attack it. *Isalca* soon took post before the town, when, finding every-where a profound silence, and not observing a creature to appear, he imagined, that the garrison kept themselves still within the town through fear; which encouraged him to attempt forcing open the gates: but e

c JOSEPH. & D. HIERONYM. apud ALDRET. l. iii. c. 9. MEL. PLIN. STRAB. ubi sup. DIONYS. AV. ver. 953. FESTUS AVIEN. ver. 1136. ALDRET. ubi sup. c. 10. STEPH. BYZANT. d. urb. PLIN. & PTOL. ubi sup. LEO AFRICAN. lib. vi. MARM. l. vii. c. 9. ALDRET. ubi sup. c. 14. d STRAB. & SALLUST. ubi sup. NEWTON'S chronol. of the emp. of EGYPT. ALDRET. ubi sup. c. 31. p. 445. I. LEO AFRICAN. ubi sup. SHAW in excerpt. p. 52.

(C) *Strabo* calls these phylarchs kings, and tells us, that they so delighted in horses, that amongst them they brought up yearly an hundred thousand colts. He likewise informs us, that these horses, as well as the *Gætulian* larger cattle, had hoofs longer than those of any other nation (3).

(D) One custom, however, we must not pass over here. *Lucan* seems to observe, that the *Gætulians*

were mixed with their cattle in their *mapalia*, as *Dr. Shaw* relates of the *Bedouens* in the kingdoms of *Algiers* and *Tunis* at this day. The former author also insinuates, that many of the *Gætulians* were carried about the country, with their *Penates*, in carts or waggons, after the manner of the antient *Scythians* (4).

(3) *Strab.* l. xvii.

(4) *Lucan.* l. iv. *Shaw* ubi sup. p. 288.

- a he was repulsed by two *Prænestine* cohorts ; who, falling out upon him, cut many of the *Gætulians* to pieces, and obliged the rest to retire, with great precipitation, to the *Carthaginian* army, which was advancing to support them. Whether or no *Massinissa*, who so greatly extended his conquests in *Africa*, ever subdued them, history informs us not ; but we are assured by *Sallust*, that his grandson *Jugurtha* taught them to keep their ranks, and instructed them in military discipline. However, they served that prince more by plundering the allies of the *Romans*, than by their bravery in time of action ; for the army he had raised and disciplined in *Gætulia* was easily routed by *Marius* near *Cirta*. That part of *Gætulia* under the dominion of *Juba*, for it does not appear that the whole country was ever subject to him, revolted
- b to *Julius Cæsar* ; but, that with *Numidia* it was reduced into a *Roman* province, we cannot positively affirm ; especially, since *Augustus* gave a part of *Gætulia*, probably this, with the *Mauritania*, to the younger *Juba*, as an equivalent for *Numidia*, his father's kingdom, which, says *Dio*, had before put on the form of a province. Be that as it will, it was ravaged by *Sittius*, as has been already observed, when *Juba* had drawn all his forces out of it, in order to join the *Pompeians* ; which might possibly occasion the aforesaid revolt. About the year of *Rome* 759. the *Gætulians* rebelled against king *Juba*, massacring all the *Romans* settled in his dominions, and committing most dreadful ravages in all the provinces subject to him. *Dio* ascribes this defection to the resentment of the *Gætulians*, who were extremely incensed against
- c the *Romans* for imposing a prince upon them, and not permitting them to live under their government. But however this may be, *Cornelius Cossus* gave them so complete an overthrow, that they were obliged to submit upon the terms he thought fit to prescribe. This was looked upon at *Rome* as so considerable an exploit, that he had triumphal honours decreed him, and was permitted to assume the cognomen *Gætulicus*. Notwithstanding which, this people so recovered themselves, that in the elder *Pliny's* time they had settlements in *Numidia* and *Tingitania*, as may be inferred from that author and *Philostatus* *.

* LIV. l. xxiii. c. 18. SALLUST. ubi sup. DIO, l. xliii. sub init. HIRT. de bell. Afric. Dio, l. lv. p. 567. ad A. U. C. 759. PLIN. & PHILOSTRAT. ubi sup.

C H A P. IV.

The history of the Melanogætuli, Nigritæ, and Garamantes.

- d PTOLEMY places the *Melanogætuli*, or black *Gætulians*, between the mountains *Sagapola* and *Ufargala*, in a district south-east of *Gætulia Propria*, to which it is contiguous, and north of the river *Nigir*. They were a nation undoubtedly different from the *Gætulians*, and considered in that view by *Ptolemy*, though *Cellarius* insinuates them to have been a tribe of that people. Their complexion not only evinces this, but likewise, that their progenitors were different from those of the *Gætulians*. Of course therefore the *Daræ* ought not, as *Cellarius* imagines, to be looked upon as a clan of the *Melanogætuli* ; nor does the situation of *Leo's Dara* above-mentioned quadrangle with such a supposition. Mount *Ufargala* is called by *Leo Guar-gala*, and by *Dr. Shaw Huer gla*. The former of those authors informs us, that near
- e the foot of this ridge of mountains there were, in his time, some castles, and a great number of villages, whose inhabitants were very rich, as being adjacent to the *Agades*, an opulent trading nation, and all of them perfectly black. *Ptolemy* says, that the *Bagrada* derives its streams from some fountains on mount *Ufargala* ; but the latest observations demonstrate this to be a mistake. The modern district of *Wad-reag* in the province of *Constantina*, containing a collection of twenty-five villages, ranged in a N. E. and S. W. direction, seems to correspond with a part of the country of the *Melanogætuli*, according to *Dr. Shaw*. *Ma-jyre*, the nearest of these villages to *Zaab*, a territory answering, as should seem, to the south-eastern part of *Gætulia*, is ten leagues to the S. of *El-Fytbe*, the last village of *Zaab*. *Tum-marnab*, the next
- f place of note, is six leagues to the westward of *Ma-jyre*, and twelve to the N. E. of *Tuggurt*, the capital of *Wad-reag*, and the *Tegort* of *Leo*. *Tuggurt* stands in a plain, without any river running by it ; the inhabitants, as well as those of the other villages

The Melanogætuli, or Nigritæ.

villages of *Wad-reag*, being supplied with water by wells, dug a hundred, and sometimes two hundred, fathom deep. This method they are obliged to have recourse to, their territory being in a manner destitute both of rivulets and fountains. They dig through different layers of sand and gravel, till they come to a sleeky kind of stone like unto slate, which is known to lie immediately above the abyss, called by them *The sea below-ground*. This stone is no sooner broken through, than a flux of water ascends so suddenly, and in such abundance, that the person let down to perform the operation has sometimes been overtaken and suffocated by it, though raised up with the greatest dexterity. The country likewise of the *Beni Mezzab*, situated thirty-five leagues to the S. of the mountains of the *Ammer*, supposed to be a part of the *Mons Phruræsus* of *Ptolemy*, the large village of *En-gousab*, thirty leagues to the S. W. by W. of *Tuggurt*, and the populous city of *Wurglab*, with their dependencies, even to the banks of the *Nigir*, our learned and ingenious traveller believes might have been included in *Melanogætulia*. As *Ptolemy* places the *Melanogætuli* next to the *Pharusii* in a southern direction, fixing his *Nigritian Ethiopians* in a tract lying to the N. of the *Nigir*; and as *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*, seem to give the *Nigritæ* exactly the same situation with regard to the *Pharusii* and the *Nigir*, but are quite silent as to the *Melanogætuli*; we cannot help thinking the *Melanogætuli* and *Nigritæ* one and the same people. If this be admitted, it will appear extremely probable, that their territories extended to the *Nigir*, and that they had some places of note in those parts; since, according to *Ptolemy*, many towns stood not far from that river, of which the principal were *Pesside*, *Saluce*, *Nigira*, *Tbige*, *Cupbe*, *Thamondicana*, and *Vellegia*. The most noted rivers of this country were the *Gir* and the *Nigir*. The *Gir*, or, as it is now called in our best maps, *Gbir*, had its fountains on mount *Phruræsus*, or, according to *Dr. Shaw*, the mountains of the *Ammer*. It took its course through part of the *Sabara*, in a S. E. direction, some degrees to the southward of the tropic of *Cancer*. The ingenious traveller just mentioned believes the modern *Wed Adge-dee* to be the *Gir* of *Ptolemy*, *Agathemerus*, and *Claudian*. But the principal river of *Nigritia*, and one of the most famous in the world, is that called by *Ptolemy* the *Nigir*, by the *Nigritians* *Wed*, or *Huid Nijar*, i. e. *The black river*, and by the *Europeans* the *Niger*. This river, according to the best modern geographers, has its source near a ridge of mountains in the kingdom of *Gorban*, not far from the confines of *Abassia*, or upper *Ethiopia*. It crosses the whole region of *Nigritia* in a western direction, and, after being swelled by the accession of several rivers in its march, at last discharges itself into the *Atlantic* ocean. The *Negroes* likewise call it the river of *Senegal*, and the *Arabs* the *Nile* of the *Nigritians*; this last nation considering it as a branch of the *Nile*, or rather the *Nile* and the *Niger* as two branches of the same river. According to *Pliny* and *Leo*, it overflows the adjacent territories in the same manner as the *Nile*; which, if true, may be another reason for the *Arabic* appellation. If any credit may be given to *Leo*, and the *African* historians, *Sabtecha*, the son of *Cush*, first peopled the *Sabara* betwixt the mountains of *Atlas* and *Nigritia*, and therefore probably *Nigritia* itself, or at least part of it. From the same author it appears, that the various *Nigritian* dialects bear an affinity to the *Chaldee*, *Arabic*, and *Egyptian* tongues; to which we may add, and consequently to the *Ethiopic*, which does not differ widely from them. As for the customs, &c. of the people we are now upon, they must be reserved for that branch of the modern history to which they most properly belong. Our readers may likewise there expect to find an accurate geographical description, and natural history, of this country from the best observations that have been made; since it would be absurd to insert them here, as the antients were so little acquainted with it. The *Carthaginians*, however, had undoubtedly some knowledge of the *Nigritæ*, since it appears probable from *Frontinus* (A), that one part of their armies consisted of *Nigritian*

(A) From the passage of *Frontinus* here referred to it is evident, that the *Carthaginians* had *Melanogætulian* or *Nigritian* troops in their service before the time of *Gelou*, and consequently that they had some knowledge of the *Blacks* above five hundred years before the birth of *Christ*. This will enable us to account for a strange phenomenon in antiquity, i. e. several antique coins with a *Negro's* or *Nigritian's* head upon them. One of these coins is to be

found in the earl of *Pembroke's* invaluable cabinet, and another in that of the reverend and learned *Mr. Wise*, *custos archivorum*, and fellow of *Trinity-college*, in the university of *Oxford*. That of my lord *Pembroke*, being well preserved, is a most noble curiosity. *Mr. Wise* received his from one of the authors of this history, who had it from *Mr. Beswick*, whose brother was for some time the *British* consul at *Tripoly*, near which city it was found. As the *Carthaginians*

- a *tian* troops. They used scythed chariots in their wars, and were armed after the manner of the western *Ethiopians*, i. e. with bows and arrows of the same make, as we learn from *Strabo*. According to the same author, the *Pbarusii*, and therefore, probably, the *Nigritæ*, adjacent to them, travelled in caravans through the deserts to *Cirta*, and kept open a communication with the *Maurusii*, carrying with them bottles filled with water, tied to their horses bellies, lest they should die of thirst in the vast deserts they were obliged to traverse. From this passage it is undeniably clear, that these *Pbarusian* and *Nigritian* merchants must have lived at a vast distance from *Cirta*, and those places of *Mauritania* to which they resorted; a point that evinces the *Negroes*, or *Blacks*, to have held an early correspondence with the ancient *Mauritanians*, *Numidians*, and *Carthaginians*.

- b THE *Garamantes* were situated to the S. E. of *Gætulia*, and E. of the *Nigritæ*. ^{The Garaman-}
 The limits of their country we cannot take upon us to ascertain (B); though, from ^{tes.} what the antients have delivered in general concerning it, we may presume, that it extended to the borders of the (C) proper *Ethiopia*. That it consisted of many large territories, may likewise be inferred (D) from *Herodotus*, *Virgil*, *Festus Avienus*, and others. However, it was not of any very considerable breadth, according to *Strabo*. Dr. *Shaw* believes, that part of the ancient *Garamantes* spread themselves over that tract comprehending the districts of *Gad-demz*, *Fezzan*, and some of the more distant cities and villages of the kingdom of *Tripoli*. Be that as it will, the region we are now upon abounded with wild beasts, and its most ancient inhabitants were so savage, that they fled at the sight of a person belonging to any other nation. They were at the same time intirely destitute of arms, and had not the courage to defend themselves, if attacked; from which circumstances 'tis apparent, that they industriously avoided all kinds of correspondence with other nations. However, in process of time they built towns, or rather *dashkras*, the principal of which were *Garama*, the metropolis, near mount *Girgiris*, and the source of the *Cinyphus*, *Debris*, and *Matelgæ*. They likewise associated with the *Marmaridæ*, a neighbouring people; and carried on a trade with the *Carthaginians*, *Arabs*, *Persians*, and *Ethiopians*. This could scarce be avoided, if one branch of the *Carthaginian* commerce extended to those remote countries by means of caravans, passing to *Carthage* from thence through the sandy deserts of the *Garamantes*; which we cannot think improbable. Though several arguments might be offered in support of this opinion, we shall content ourselves here with observing, as a strong presum-

* *PROL.* l. iv. c. 6. *CELLAR.* *geogr. antiq.* l. iv. c. 8. sect. 2. p. 943. ed. Lips. 1732. *STRAB.* l. ii. & l. xvii. *POMPON. MEL.* l. i. c. 4. *PLIN.* l. v. c. 4. & c. 8. *CLAUDIAN.* l. i. *AGATHEMER.* l. ii. c. 10. *S. JUL. FRONTIN.* *strat.* l. i. c. 11. ex. 18. *I. LEO AFRICAN.* & *MARM.* pass. *GEN.* c. x. v. 7. *GOLII* notæ ad *Alfraganum*, p. 89. ut & ipse *ALFRAGAN.* p. 36. *Geogr. Nubiens.* clm. iv. part. i. *SHAW*, p. 58, 87, 136, & alib.

ginians had a communication with *Nigritia*, 'tis probable, that they sent some of their artificers upon certain occasions thither; and since they coined money in a very elegant manner, as above observed, we may conclude, that, upon some extraordinary event, either in *Nigritia*, or their own dominions, they struck those pieces. This will receive a farther accession of strength from the country wherein Mr. *Wife's* was dug up, which was subject to the *Carthaginians*; that nation being in possession of all the maritime territories extending from their capital city to the borders of *Cyrenaica* (1).

(B) That the *Misulani*, *Misulami*, or *Misulani*, were seated near the country of the *Garamantes*, or at least not at a very great distance from it, appears from *Tacitus*. But we can neither precisely determine the situation of this *Numidian* tribe, tho' at the foot of mount *Andus*, nor that of many others, viz. the *Nasabuses*, *Mucumi*, *Tulensu*, *Machusa*, *Taladusa*, &c. (2).

(C) *Virgil* joins the *Garamantes* with the *Indians*, only to denote, that they were both very remote nations, and that the *Roman* empire was to extend, or rather

did extend, to the farthest parts; for they were not contiguous to each other, *Ethiopia*, *Arabia*, *Persia*, &c. lying between them. So *Horace*, when he would intimate, that the merchant traversed the remotest regions for gain, says,

Impiger extremos curvis mercator ad Indos:

where he is not to be understood as intending precisely the *Indians*, but any nation at a vast distance from *Rome*. *Servius* and others confirm what we here suggest (3).

(D) We might here give our readers a catalogue of the names of towns and clans, said to have appertained to the *Garamantes* by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*; but as the situation of none of them can be defined, and nothing but their names has been transmitted down to us by those authors, we think an insertion of it intirely superfluous. No rivers of note, belonging to the country of the *Garamantes*, except the *Cinyphus*, or *Cinypus*, and the *Gir*, are taken notice of by the antients; nor do they mention any mountains in it, except those called by *Ptolemy* *Girgiris* and *Vallis Garamantica* (4).

(1) *Frontin. strat.* l. i. c. 11. ex. 18. *Univ. hist.* vol. vi. p. 721. not. (C). (2) *Tacit. annal.* ii. iii. iv. *Plin. & Ptol. ubi sup.* (3) *Virg. ecl.* viii. & *Æn.* vi. *Serv. in loc.* *Hor. l. i. ep. i.* (4) *Herodot.* l. iv. *Plin. & Ptol. ubi sup.*

tion of its truth, that, according to several authors, the *Garamantes*, *Persians*,^a and *Ethiopians*, supplied the *Carthaginians* with vast numbers of gems, which were almost invaluable. Norwithstanding the cowardice of the most ancient *Garamantes* mentioned by *Herodotus*, yet, in after-ages, their posterity seem to have been of another disposition, as may be collected from *Pliny*, *Tacitus*, and *Festus Avienus*. Some of them roved about the deserts of *Libya* in the same manner as their successors the modern *Bedoueens* do at this day; whilst others inhabited the (E) *dasskras* scattered up and down these parched and unfruitful plains. The former lived very frugally in their *mapalia*, and supported themselves by hunting, which sometimes they continued to the winter solstice; the wild beasts being refreshed by the copious rains which fell at that time, and affording them then excellent diversion. Nay, according to *Herodotus*, they hunted the *Troglodytes* themselves, a barbarous nation living in caves under-ground, in vehicles, drawn by two pair of horses, made for that purpose. *Nigritia*, and the country of the *Garamantes*, seem, for the most part, to have been peopled at first from *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, and consequently to have been the descendants of *Misraim* and *Cush*, though we doubt not but some colonies of *Arabs* likewise settled here. It appears from some of the most perfect *Egyptian* mummies now remaining, that the features of the ancient *Egyptians* much resembled those of the present *Negroes*; which is a proof, that the latter must have been originally nearly related to the former. The language, or languages, therefore spoken in these regions bore a great affinity at first to the *Egyptian*, *Arabic*, and *Ethiopic*; and may at this time, probably, be impure dialects of them. We have no farther particulars of moment relating to the religion of the *Garamantes*, than that they, in common with the *Arabs*, *Indians*, and *Ethiopians* (F), worshipped *Jupiter Ammon* (G), representing him, for the most part, with a ram's head, or, at least, with ram's horns, and had a famous temple sacred to him. *Pliny* mentions a surprising fountain near *Debris*, whose waters, from noon to midnight, grew extremely warm, but from thence to the sun's next approach to the meridian were so cold as to be congealed. Matrimony did not prevail amongst the *Garamantes*, the men making use of the women just as they fell in their way. At first they were governed by heads of tribes, or *phy-larchs*, as the *Gætulians*, *Arabs*, &c. but afterwards monarchy seems to have taken place amongst them, as we learn from *Tacitus*. *Pliny* mentions a king of the *Garamantes*, who was brought back from exile by two hundred dogs, that resisted all who opposed them. Though *Ptolemy* asserts them to have been a large and powerful nation, extending themselves from mount *Ufargala* to the lake or morass *Nuba*, yet we find scarce any of their affairs recorded in history. *Masinissa* took refuge amongst them, after he had been driven out of his dominions by *Syphax*. As the roads to their country from *Mauritania* were rendered impracticable by robbers, the *Romans* knew little of them till after the expiration of the republic. *Lucius Cornelius Balba* intirely subdued them, for which he had a triumph granted him by *Augustus*. However, by some means or other, they afterwards shook off the *Roman* yoke; since we are informed by *Florus*, that, some years after, *Cossus* detached *Curinius* with a body of troops against them and the *Marmaridæ*; and by *Tacitus*, that the king of the *Garamantes* joined *Tacfarinas*, in the reign of *Tiberius*, against the *Romans*. After

(E) *Herodotus* informs us, that in the country of the *Garamantes* there was a pillar, or rather mountain of salt, with a fountain issuing from the summit of it, and palm-trees covering the adjacent lands; that the natives first laid fresh earth upon the salt, and then sowed their corn there; and that they bordered upon the *Lotophagi*, whom we shall presently have occasion to mention (5).

(F) The great veneration in which the nations here mentioned had *Jupiter Ammon*, as well as the form under which he was exhibited to public view in this temple, appears from the following lines of *Lucan*:

Ventum erat ad templum, Libycis quod gentibus unum
Inculsi Garamantes habent: stat corniger illic
Jupiter, ut memorans, sed non duc fulmina vibrans,
Aut similis nostro, sed tortis cornibus, Ammon.

(5) *Herodotus*. l. iv.
Lucan. l. i.

(6) *Herodotus*. l. iv. *Diod. Sic.* l. iii. *Lucan*. l. ix.

(7) *Virg. Æn.* iv. 611.

Non illic Libyca posuerunt ditia gentes
Templa, nec Eois splendent donaria gemmis,
Quamvis Æthiopum populis, Arabumque beatis
Gensibus, atq; Indis unus sit Jupiter Ammon.

Herodotus says, that *Ammon* was represented by an image with a ram's head, because *Hercules* saw his statue covered with the skin of a ram; and *Diodorus*, because *Jupiter*, in all his wars, wore a helmet resembling the head of that animal. But this representation seems to have been rather an allusion to the great numbers of sheep produced in *Libya* (6).

(G) 'Tis intimated by *Virgil* and *Silius*, that *Tarbas*, cotemporary with *Dido*, was a descendant of *Ammon*, and that he reigned over this country. But the authors, from whom they extracted this notion, are now lost (7).

- a the last defeat and death of *Tacfarinas*, they sent ambassadors to *Rome* to appease the resentment of *Tiberius*; which we suppose was done by an absolute submission to him, since it appears probable, that the *Roman* empire extended on that side almost, if not intirely, to the northern bank of the *Nigir* ^b.

As for the *Nubæ*, *Perorsi*, *Tarualæ*, *Mimaci*, *Astacusi*, *Aroncæ*, *Dermones*, *Mattites*, *Gongalæ*, *Nabathræ*, and many other obscure nations inhabiting that part of *Libya Interior* called by the antients the western *Ethiopia*, and extending from the *Nigir* to the *Line*, we have nothing to say of them; the old geographers having handed down to us only their bare names. However, it will be proper to observe, that the vast tract occupied by them comprehended the upper or proper *Guinea*, together with the kingdoms of *Gago*, *Guber*, *Bilo*, *Temian*, *Ouangara*, *Dauma*, *Biafara*, *Mujac*, *Medra*, and some districts of that of *Gorban*. Hence it appears, that the antient *Nigritia* was but a part of the modern *Negroland*; and that in early times the *Nigritæ*, or *Negroes*, went by the general name of *Ethiopians*. As we find likewise the promontory *Soloës*, or *Soleentia*, situated in the country we are now upon, and several places to the south of it, taken notice of by *Hanno* in his *perip'us*, we may conclude from hence, that the *Carthaginians* had a knowledge of the *Blacks* some hundred years before the destruction of their state by the *Romans*. That the *Greeks* also were not ignorant of them in the age of *Scylax*, may be inferred from that author; but as both he and *Hanno* stuffed their journals with fables, scarce any thing probable relating to them can be drawn from thence. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus* have given us faint descriptions of the customs and dispositions of some few of their clans, which will hereafter be touched upon. *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* were greatly in the dark with regard to all particulars of moment concerning the western *Ethiopians*; and *Strabo* only intimates, that, as scarce any intercourse had ever been kept up between them and the *Roman* empire, the accounts published of them, in his age, were little better than downright fictions. To infer therefore a collection of such idle tales, would be unbecoming an historian; since it could neither afford instruction, nor give any real entertainment, to the rational part of his readers ^c.

^b HERODOT. l. iv. VIRG. l. vi. & SERV. in loc. LUCAN. l. iv. FESTUS AVIENUS, v. 320. MEL. l. i. c. 8. TACIT. annal. l. ii. iii. iv. STRAB. l. xvii. PLIN. l. xxxviii. c. 7. & DALECHAMP. in loc. PETRON. ARB. in Satyric. Vid. & CHR. HENDR. de Carthag. repub. l. ii. sect. 1. c. 8. SIL. ITAL. l. ii. & alib. PTOL. ubi sup. PLIN. l. viii. c. 4. FLOR. l. iv. c. ult. LEO AFRICAN. & MARM. ubi sup. Univ. hist. vol. v. p. 310, 341, & alib. SHAW ubi sup. p. 136. GORDON'S essay towards explaining the hieroglyph. fig. on the copy of an ant. mum. belong. to capt. Lethbriellier, p. 2. Lond. 1737. ^c HANNO CARTHAG. in periopl. SCYLAX CARYAND. in periopl. HERODOT. DIOD. SIC. STRABO, MEL. PLIN. PTOL. ubi sup. LEO AFRICAN. MOLL, SENEX, MAKW. aliique recent. geogr.

CHAP. V.

The history of the Libyans and Greeks inhabiting the tract between the borders of Egypt and the river Triton, comprehending Marmarica, Cyrenaica, and the Regio Syrtica.

SECT. I.

The history of the Libyans of Marmarica.

- d **M**ARMARICA, according to *Scylax*, *Pliny*, and *Agathemerus*, with whom *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* agree in the main, was bounded on the east and west by *Egypt* and *Cyrenaica*; on the south by the *Sabara*, or deserts of *Libya Interior*; and on the north by the *Mediterranean*. After passing the *Glaucum Promontorium*, cape *Deris*, the port *Leucaspsis*, and other inconsiderable promontories and harbours, just mentioned by the antient geographers, we come to *Paratonium*, called *Ammonia* by *Strabo*, a city of considerable note. *Florus* styles this city and *Pelusium* the two horns

The Libyans of Marmarica.

horns of *Egypt*; from whence it appears, that he looked upon *Marmarica* as part a of *Egypt*, and *Paratonium* as a fortress of great strength. The last article is confirmed by *Hirtius*, who seems to intimate, that he received some annoyance from it, though the garison could not hinder him from supplying himself with water. We learn from *Procopius*, that it remained for a long time dismantled, but at last had its fortifications repaired by the emperor *Justinian*. At some distance from *Paratonium* towards the frontiers of *Cyrenaica*, stood *Apis*, a town so denominated from the Egyptian deity of that name. *Pliny* relates, that it was famous on account of certain sacred mysteries celebrated in it; which, in conjunction with the name, insinuates vast numbers of the *Egyptians* and *Marmaridæ* to have resorted hither, in order to pay their devotions to *Apis*. *Trisarchis*, *Zagylis*, and other places on the sea-coasts, enumerated by *Ptolemy*, are so obscure, that they merit no regard. The principal Libyan nations inhabiting this region were the *Adyrmachidæ* and *Ammonii*, as appears from *Scylax* and *Herodotus*. As for the *Zygrita*, seated near the *Greater Catabathmus*, and the *Buzes*, lying more to the south, they are rarely mentioned by the ancients. However, it may not be improper to observe, that the chief towns of the former were *Azicis*, *Tuceitora*, and *Tachorsa*; and the capital of the latter *Tbanuthis*. *Pliny* mentions the *Mareotæ* as a people seated near the *Adyrmachidæ*. Some authors seem to make the *Marmaridæ* a nation inhabiting a particular territory contiguous to the greater *Catabathmus*; but we are inclined to believe, that *Marmaridæ* was a name common to all the Libyans of *Marmarica*. If so, all these Libyans drank chiefly beer brewed at *Alexandria*; though sometimes they used Libyan wine. The *Adyrmachidæ*, according to *Silius*, fought with an *ensis falcatus*, or scymetar; and, if *Scylax* may be credited, were seated not far from the *Canopic* mouth of the *Nile*. *Ptolemy*, on the contrary, places them, in his *nome* of *Libya*, more remote from the sea. It was a common custom with their wives to wear a chain of brass on each leg; to take great pains in dressing their hair; and if they happened to find a louse, to kill it with their teeth, in revenge of the bite they received, and then to spit it out again. Their virgins, before marriage, were brought into the king's presence, that if any one of them pleased him above the rest, he might lie with her. We learn nothing farther concerning them, except that they wore the Libyan habit, from whence probably they derived their name, *Addermuch* in *Arabic* denoting a particular kind of garment, and agreed almost in all points with the *Egyptians*, which tallies with what has been already observed. The (A) *Ammonii*, so called from *Jupiter Ammon*, or *Ammun*, their chief deity, lay nearer *Cyrenaica*, and about ten days journey from *Thebes* in the upper *Egypt*. *Ptolemy* mentions a place named *Alexander's camp*, and the city of *Ammon*, as appertaining to this nation. *Arrian*, on the other hand, will not allow *Ammon* to have been a city; but says, that it was only the spot of ground on which the temple of *Ammon* stood. It seems probable from *Herodotus*, that the *Ammonii* were a pretty populous nation, had a king of their own, and made war upon their neighbours; though part of their territories could be considered only as a barren sandy desert. *Pliny* makes the temple of *Ammon* fifteen days journey from *Memphis*, and mentions the *Ammoniac nome* of *Egypt*. *Diodorus Siculus* relates, that though the aforesaid (B) temple was furrounded by a sandy desert,

(A) *Herodotus* affirms the *Ammonii* to have been originally a colony of *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians*; and that they spoke a language composed of words taken from both those nations (1).

(B) *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that this district was fifty stadia square, and that the inhabitants there enjoyed a perpetual spring. He likewise intimates, that within the first wall of the castle stood the palace of the ancient kings of *Ammonia*; within the second the *Gynaecium*, containing the apartments of the royal family; and within the third places for the household troops to lodge in. He farther relates, that at a small distance from the walls there was another temple of *Ammun*, shaded with fruit-trees, and having a fountain close by it, called *Fons Solis*, from the surprising effects of the *Sun* upon its water. The image of *Ammun*, according to him, was adorned with emeralds, and other precious stones

of great value, and gave responses to those who came to consult the oracle in a singular and unusual way; being carried about in a golden ship by eighty priests, who advanced to the place whither the god, by a nod, directed them, great multitudes of matrons and virgins at the same time celebrating his praises in songs composed after the manner of their country.

Diodorus also gives us to understand, that when *Alexander the Great* was introduced into the temple of *Ammon*, the senior vates addressed himself to him in the following terms: *God save thee, my son, and assume to thyself this title, which Ammon confers upon thee. To whom, according to the same author, that prince replied: I accept it, father; and, provided you'll enable me to conquer the world, I shall ever esteem it as the greatest honour to be called your son.* Upon which the priest approached the altar; and when the persons lifting up the image, according to custom, upon

(1) *Herodot.* l. ii.

- a yet its proper district abounded with trees bearing great plenty of fruit, and was beautified with fountains; that it had several streets or villages in the neighbourhood of the temple, a castle fortified with a triple wall, and near it a holy fountain, called the fountain of the *Sun*, since the qualities of the water varied wonderfully every twenty-four hours. *Pedonia*, *Pnigeus*, *Climax*, and other inconsiderable mediterranean towns, deserve not the least attention; nor are the small islands on the coast, *Pedonia*, *Phocusæ*, *Ænesipasta*, *Ædonis*, or *Ædonia*, important enough to be described. We learn from *Herodotus*, that *Cambyfes*, having advanced to *Thebes*, in his way to *Ethiopia*, detached from thence a body of fifty thousand men, to lay waste the country of the *Ammonii*, and burn the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*. But after several days march over the deserts, a strong and impetuous wind beginning to blow from the south, at the time of their dinner, raised the sands to such a degree, and brought in such a torrent upon them, that the whole corps was overwhelmed thereby, and perished. *Alexander the Great*, near two hundred years after, met with better success in his journey to the temple aforesaid. Authors are not intirely agreed whether the *Marmaridæ* are to be looked upon as *Libyans* or *Egyptians*; but the greatest part rank them amongst the former. *Father Calmet*, in particular, thinks, that *Marmarica* was first peopled by the descendants of *Lebabim*, the son of *Misraim*, mentioned by *Moses*. However, he believes, that the limits of the *Lebabim*, or *Lubim*, are not known, and consequently, that they might have reached much farther than
- b the borders of *Cyrenaica*; especially, since almost the whole continent of *Africa* is sometimes called *Libya*. If then the *Marmaridæ* were *Libyans*, what has been already delivered concerning the origin, religion, customs, &c. of the *Numidian* and *Libyan Nomades*, &c. will, in a great measure, hold true of them. Be that as it will, *Herodotus* assures us, that there was a great affinity betwixt them and the *Egyptians*, in most points of moment. Though therefore, in compliance with the general opinion, we have here detached *Marmarica* from *Egypt*, yet, as from very remote antiquity it was subject to the kings of *Egypt*, and consequently ought to be considered as appertaining to that monarchy, for an account of the transactions of which it was the theatre, we must beg leave to refer our readers to the history of *Egypt*, as well as
- d those of the *Persians*, *Macedonians*, and *Romans*, who successively subdued this kingdom^a.

^a HERODOT. l. iv. SCYLAX CARYAND. in peripl. POLYB. in excerpt. 115. DIOD. SIC. l. iiii. STRAB. l. xvii. sub fin. PLIN. l. v. c. 5 & c. 6. CÆSAR apud HIST. in bell. Alex. MEL. l. i. c. 9. FLOR. l. iv. c. 11. PTOL. geogr. l. iv. PROCOPI. l. vi. c. 2. SIL. ITAL. l. iii. v. 278. HERODOT. l. ii. c. 42. & l. iv. c. 181. & alib. ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 4. DIOD. SIC. l. xvii. AGATHEMER. l. ii. c. 5. CALMET in voc. Libya.

S E C T. II.

The history of Cyrenaica.

- e **CYRENAICA** was bounded on the east by *Marmarica*, on the west by the *Regio Syrtica*, on the north by the *Mediterranean*, and on the south by the *Sabara*. Limits of Cyrenaica.
- In the geography of *Cyrenaica*, we find none of the antients inconsistent with themselves but *Strabo*, who, almost in the same breath, asserts it to have extended as far as *Egypt*, and maintains that *Marmarica* lay betwixt those two regions. The maritime towns *Darnis*, *Cbersis*, *Phycus*, *Aptungis*, &c. were of no great repute, and therefore we shall pass them by; as likewise the promontories *Phycus* and *Zephyrium*, the ports *Parætonius*, *Naustathmus*, &c. with several other places of less note. The principal towns in this tract were *Cyrene* the metropolis, *Arfinoe* or *Teuchira*, *Berenice*, *Ptolemais* or *Barce*, and *Apollonia*, from whence the best part of it was named
- f *Pentapolis*. *Adriane* or *Hadrianopolis*, so denominated from the emperor *Adrian*,

a signal given, moved forwards, the priest answered, That the god had granted his request. He then inquired whether any of his father's murderers had escaped justice? To which the oracle cried out: Express thyself better, since no mortal can kill thy father; but all the murderers of *PHILIP* have been brought to condign punishment. The pretended deity afterwards

told him, That the uninterrupted course of success he had met with, was a full proof of his divine origin; and that he should, for the future, ever continue to be victorious. In this manner did the artful priests of *Ammon* sooth *Alexander's* vanity, and draw from him many valuable presents; after which he returned with his army to the confines of *Egypt* (2).

(2) Diod. Sic. l. xvii.

could not vie with the others in point of antiquity, though it was no despicable a place. The castle *Diacherfis*, *Tower of Hercules*, port *Diarrhæa*, promontory *Boreum*, near the *Greater Syrtis*, deserve little attention; nor is any thing further to be said of *Automala*, or *Automalax*, than that it was a fortress of considerable strength upon the frontiers of the *Regio Syrtica*^b.

City of Cyrene.

THE city of *Cyrene*, now called *Cairoan*, or *Corene*, stood at some distance from the sea, upon a spot of ground in figure resembling a table, according to *Strabo*. It was large and populous, abounding with all the elegancies, as well as necessities of life. Its territory produced vast numbers of excellent horses, which probably made the *Cyreneans*, whether *Libyans* or *Greeks*, apply themselves to the study and practice of every thing relating to those animals more than most other nations. *Berenice*,^b *Teucbira*, *Ptolemais*, *Apollonia*, and *Adriane*, stood along the coast of the *Med. terranean*; and their inhabitants carried on a considerable trade. *Cyrene* derived its name from the fountain (C) *Cyre*, near which it was situated. *Bochart* deduces *Cyre* from the *Phœnician* קור *kur*, the radix of מקור *makur*, *fons*; which, considering that the *Carthaginians* assisted the *Greeks* in settling themselves here, and were acquainted with the country long before their arrival, is by no means improbable. We shall pass by here the religion, language, customs, &c. of the proper *Cyreneans*; since whatever has been said of their *Greek* ancestors, on each of these heads, is equally applicable to them^c (D).

Nature of the soil, &c. of Cyrenaica.

THOUGH a great part of *Cyrenaica* and the *Regio Syrtica* was a perfect desert, yet there were some fruitful plains in both those countries. The inhabitants were very subject to fevers, which some have attributed to the insalubrity of the air. Except the *Lathon*, we find no considerable river of *Cyrenaica* taken notice of by the antients, and some of them have even fixed this in *Mauritania*. The *Montes Velpi* and *Anagombri* are the only mountains that seem to claim any relation to the country we are now upon; as the *Palus Paliuri* is the only fountain or lake. Some authors have placed the gardens of the *Hesperides* here, but others in *Mauritania*. The latter opinion appears to us the most probable, since it better corresponds with the word *Hesperides*, which imports a western situation; and therefore we have already taken notice of those gardens in the history of *Mauritania*. Some parts of *Cyrenaica* and the *Regio Syrtica* were famous for the production of the *silphium*, a plant or shrub^d greatly celebrated by the antients. The *Libyans* looked upon the stalk, juice, leaves, fruit, and every thing belonging to this plant, as most precious; and consequently esteemed it infinitely above all other vegetable productions. *Strabo* intimates, that the *Libyan* barbarians had destroyed almost all the roots of the *silphium* in their excursions before his time, which is confirmed by *Scribonius Largus*. *Pliny* relates it to have been so scarce in his age, that a stalk of it was presented to *Nero* as a singular curiosity; and yet, that the *laser*, a gum proceeding from the *silphium*, or *laserpitium*, as we find it sometimes called, was not difficult to be met with in the reign of *Severus*, may be inferred from *Galen*. *Aristotle*, *Aristophanes's* scholiast, *Tzetzes*, *Hesychius*, and *Suidas*, insinuate the figure of the *silphium* to have been struck on the *Cyrenean* coins; which is confirmed by many of them, that are still to be found in the cabinets of the curious. The *Carthaginians* carried vast quantities of the *laser* and *silphium* from *Charax*, a city near the confines of *Cyrenaica*, into their dominions, for which they supplied the *Cyreneans* with wine. This vegetable the *Cyreneans* offered to their first king *Battus*, whom they deified, looking upon it as the most valuable

^b HERODOT. SCYLAX, STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. ubi sup. JOSEPH. de bell. Jud. l. vi. c. 38. p. 996. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. xxii. c. 40. SUID. STEPH. BYZANT. AUD. fab. August. &c. ^c STRAB. ubi sup. PIND. in od. ad Arcefilium Cyren. HERODOT. l. iv. XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. vi. LUCIAN. in encom. Demosth. PAUSAN. l. vi. p. 366. & alib. ALEXIS apud Athen. in deipnosoph. ut et ipse ATHEN. pass. Vid. etiam CASAB. animadvers. ad Athen. l. iii. c. 21. MAX. TYR. sect. vii. MARMOL. l. viii. c. 10. CALLIMACH. hymn. in Apoll. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 25.

(C) *Justin* says, that this *Cyre*, or *Cyra*, was a mountain, but at the same time intimates, that it abounded with fountains; which countenances *Bochart's* etymon, as well as the notion we have followed (3).

(D) It may not, however, be improper to take

notice of one particular custom of the *Cyreneans*, which seems to have been peculiar to them. When any person of distinction amongst them was invited to an entertainment, he brought a great number of friends, chariots, &c. with him (4).

(3) *Justin*. l. xiii. c. 7.

(4) *Athen. deipnosoph.* l. xii. sub init.

a produce of their country ; for which reason we find it on the reverses of several of that prince's coins. That *Cyrenaica* likewise abounded with a most rich and uncommon oil, we are informed by *Theophrastus*. *Athenæus* relates, that the roses, violets, and all other flowers growing in this country, except the saffron, were famous for the fragrant odours they emitted ; and that in the time of *Berenice* a most charming ointment was made of the *Cyrenean* roses. As for the *silphium*, great quantities of it were imported into *Greece*, and many other countries. The antients prepared it various ways, both for food and physic, as appears from *Athenæus* and *Hippocrates*, to omit many other authors^d.

THE principal nations of this tract, or at least contiguous to it, were the *Barcæi*, Principal nations of this tract.
b the *Pŷlli*, and the *Nasamones* ; the *Aŷyŷtæ*, *Macatutæ*, &c. being too obscure to merit any regard. *Barce* or *Barca*, the capital of the *Barcæi*, we find mentioned by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Scylax*, and *Ptolemy* ; the two former of which make it to have occupied the same spot that *Ptolemais* afterwards did, but the two latter are of a different opinion. It seems to have stood to the west of *Cyrene*, and had a port near the *Greater Syrtis*. As *Ptolemais* was a maritime city, it is most probable, that it stood by the port of the *Barcæi*, and not where *Barce* did ; especially, since that capital was an hundred stadia from the sea, according to *Scylax*. *Herodotus* affirms *Barca* to have been built by the brothers of *Arceŷiaus* III. king of *Cyrene*, above a generation before the beginning of *Cyrus's* reign ; but we rather think, that it was of *Phœnician*, if not *Egyptian*, or *Libyan* extraction ; for *Barca* was a *Phœnician* name, well known in these parts of *Africa*, as appears from *Silius Italicus*, and others. *Servius* intimates the citizens of it to have come originally from *Carthage*, which would tempt one to believe, that *Barca*, *Dido's* brother, who attended her into *Africa*, with some of his countrymen, settled here. It is evident from *Virgil* and *Silius*, that the *Barcæi* spread themselves over several considerable parts of *Libya* ; and from *Servius*, that their metropolis made the greatest figure of any city in the region we are now upon, except *Cyrene*. *St. Jerom* confirms the last authorities, when he asserts this town to have been situated in a desert ; and its inhabitants, or at least their descendants, to have dispersed themselves over several districts lying as far to the westward as *Mauritania*,
c and the eastward as *India*. The *Barcæi* learned, says *Stephanus*, the art of managing horses from *Neptune*, and of driving chariots from *Minerva* ; which evidently points out their high antiquity. They agreed, in most particulars, with the other *Libyan Nomades* already mentioned. The modern kingdom and desert of *Barca*, extending from *Egypt* to the confines of the kingdom of *Tripoli*, correspond with the antient *Marmarica* and *Cyrenaica* ; though they undoubtedly received their name from the *Barcæi*. This may be looked upon as an additional proof of the rank this people formerly held amongst the various nations of *Libya*^e.

THE *Pŷlli* and *Nasamones*, according to *Pliny*, *Silius*, and *Lucan*, must have been seated near the *Greater Syrtis* ; or behind the *Regio Syrtica* and *Cyrenaica*, if we chuse
e to follow *Strabo*. The *Pŷlli*, as *Herodotus* informs us, having once had all their reservoirs of water dried up by the south wind, advanced into the *Sabara*, in order to make war upon that wind ; but it blowing with extreme violence, they were overwhelmed with torrents of sand, and all perished. After which tragical event, their neighbours the *Nasamones* annexed the territories they possessed to their own dominions. *Herodotus* represents the *Nasamones* as a powerful nation in his time, and remarkable for some singular customs then prevailing amongst them. During the summer-season, they left their cattle on the coast, and dispersed themselves over the plains of *Ægila*, in order to get the fruit of the palm-trees, with which that place abounded. Here likewise they found an immense quantity of grasshoppers, which,
f having dried in the sun, they pulverized, and infused them in milk. The liquor composed of these two ingredients was highly esteemed by them, as a most pleasant and rich kind of drink. They had many wives, which they used in public, like

^d HERODOT. SCYLAX. STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. ubi sup. VIAG. ÆN. IV. 7. 480. & seq. ARISTOT. de Cyren. republ. SCRIBON. LARG. c. 16. PLIN. I. XIX. c. 3. & I. XXII. c. 23. ARISTOPH. schol. ad PLUT. p. 92. SUID. TZETZES, & HESYCH. in ΒΕΤΤΥΣ ΣΙΛΠΙΟΥ. GALEN. de temperant. I. III. c. 3. simpl. medic. fac. I. VIII. & de antidot. I. II. p. 440. ed. BIDL. CATUL. ep. 7. DROSICORID. I. III. c. 97. ATHEN. de philosoph. I. XV. & alib. THEOPHRAST. plant. I. IV. c. 3. Vid. etiam CASSIUS. animadvers. in Athen. I. III. c. 91. & EZECH. SPANHEM. de us. & præstant. num. ant. dissert. VI. ^e HERODOT. SCYLAX. STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. ubi sup. SIL. ITAL. I. I. VIAG. ÆN. IV. ver. 41. & SERV. in loc. D. HIERON. ep. 129. ad Dard. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. SOPHOCLE. in Elect. & alib. D. BERN. ALDRET. de Africa, I. III. c. 20. REINÉC. hist. Jul. tom. II. de republ. Carthag.

the *Massagetæ*, after having erected a staff for a mark. The bride, amongst them, a lay the first night with all the guests invited to the wedding; and received from each of them the next morning a present, which he had brought with him for that purpose. When they took an oath, they laid their hands on the sepulchres of those who were generally esteemed to have been the most just and excellent persons amongst them. At their divinations, they went to the tombs of their ancestors; where, after certain prayers, they fell asleep, and grounded their predictions upon the dreams that then happened to them. In pledging their faith to each other, they mutually presented a cup of liquor; and if they had none, the parties took up some dust from the ground, which they put into their mouths. From some authors it appears, that the *Nasamonæ* were looked upon by the ancients as little better than a great gang of b robbers; since they made frequent incursions upon the territories of their neighbours, which they plundered and ravaged in a dreadful manner. We learn from *Philostratus*, that a people of the same name was seated in *Ethiopia*. The *Libyan* nations here mentioned possessed the countries they inhabited long before the *Greeks* built *Cyrene*.^f

Transactions of
Cyrenaica till
subject to the
Romans.

Battus the *Theræan*, according to *Herodotus*, with a colony of his countrymen, settled first in *Plataea*, an island on the coast of *Libya*. From thence they removed to that part of the continent opposite to this island, and seated themselves in a delightful province, surrounded with agreeable hills, and watered by two rivers running on each side, called *Aziristus*. After six years residence here, the *Libyans* conducted c them to *Irasa*, a most charming country to the west of *Aziristus*. In this region, near a fountain sacred to *Apollo*, they fixed their habitations, and built *Cyrene*, about the third year of the thirty-seventh olympiad, according to *Eusebius*. We find nothing farther remarkable related of *Battus* the first, except that he lost the stammering in his speech by the following accident. Being one day wandering alone in a desert place, he was surprised by a lion, which, unexpectedly rushing upon him, struck him with such terror, that he lifted up his voice in an extraordinary manner. This, according to some authors, so frightened the lion, that he immediately fled, and at the same time delivered *Battus* from the impediment he before laboured under. His son *Arcesilaus* the first probably made no great figure, since history is intirely d silent as to any particulars of his reign. *Battus* II. son to *Arcesilaus*, built the city of *Zoa*, and reigned forty years, and his son *Arcesilaus* II. sixteen; which is all that we know of them. *Battus* III. son to *Arcesilaus* II. surnamed *The happy*, being strengthened by the accession of a vast number of *Greeks*, who came to live under his government, defeated *Apries*, king of *Egypt*, in a great battle, near the fountain *Thestis* in *Irasa*. The victory was so complete, that scarce any of the *Egyptian* troops returned home; so that *Adicran*, a neighbouring *Libyan* prince, who had drawn *Apries* upon *Battus*, could not afterwards make head against the *Cyreneans*, nor consequently give them any obstruction in the possession of those territories they had before wrested from him. *Arcesilaus* III. the son of *Battus* III. succeeded him; whose e brothers, on account of some disputes they had with him in the beginning of his reign, retired out of his dominions, and, as *Herodotus* will have it, built *Barca*. Before that city was finished, they found means to excite *Arcesilaus's* *Libyan* subjects to a revolt. However, he marched against them with an army, and pursued them into the eastern parts of *Libya*. But having there assembled a powerful body of forces, they came to a resolution to give him battle; which soon after they did, and totally routed him, cutting seven thousand of his men in pieces. *Arcesilaus*, in a short time after this disaster, was dispatched by his brother *Aliarchus*, who, in his turn, was put to death by that prince's wife *Eryxo*. *Battus* IV. *Arcesilaus's* son, surnamed *The lame*, mounted the throne after his father's death. In his reign *Demonax*, f a *Mantinean* legislator, arrived at *Cyrene*; and, at the king's desire, introduced several alterations into the preceding form of government. *Arcesilaus* IV. son to the former prince, endeavouring to put the *Cyrenean* constitution upon its former footing, was driven by his subjects to *Samos*; his mother *Pberetima* at the same time escaping to *Salamis* in the island of *Cyprus*. *Euelthon*, who then reigned there, made her many magnificent presents, but found means to evade sending an army to reinstate her son in the possession of his dominions. *Arcesilaus* afterwards retired to *Barca*, having married the

^f HERODOT. STRAB. PLIN. PROT. ubi sup. LUCAN. l. ix. v. 439. & seq. SIL. ITAL. l. i. v. 408. PHILOSTRAT. l. vi. c. 12.

- a daughter of *Alazar*, king of the *Barcai*; but was assassinated there, together with his father-in-law, as he was walking in the market-place. In the mean time *Pheretima* established her authority at *Cyrene*; and, after her son's death, applied to *Aryandes*, the *Persian* governor of *Egypt*, for assistance, to revenge *Arcefilaus*'s death, who, she pretended, was murdered for his close attachment to the *Medes*. She had some grounds for such an application, since her son had put himself under the protection of *Cambyfes*, and acknowledged himself a tributary to him. *Aryandes* first sent a herald to *Barca*, to demand whether the *Barcai* had been guilty of the assassination of *Arcefilaus*; and, upon their acknowledging it, he sent a land-army, commanded by *Amasis*, and a fleet, under the conduct of *Badres*, to take vengeance of the assassins. The *Persians* soon invested the city of *Barca*, and carried on the siege ineffectually for the space of nine months. However, (E) at last they made themselves masters of it by treachery. *Amasis*, after the reduction of *Barca*, put the city into the hands of *Pheretima*; who caused all the men concerned in the murder of *Arcefilaus* to be impaled round the walls, and affixed near them the breasts of their wives, which she ordered to be cut off for that purpose. The place, by her consent, the *Persian* general gave up to his soldiers to be plundered; though he spared those persons who had been averse to the assassination of *Arcefilaus*, and permitted *Pheretima* to put *Barca* into their hands. *Badres*, the *Persian* admiral, had a strong desire, before his return to *Egypt*, to plunder *Cyrene*; but was prevented by *Amasis*:
- c The *Libyans* extremely harassed the *Persians* in their march, cutting in pieces all the stragglers they met with, which must have been many, since they attended the enemy to the borders of *Egypt*. All the prisoners were sent to *Darius Hystaspis*, in whose reign those transactions happened, who settled them in a district of *Bactria*, which was from them denominated *Barca*. *Pheretima* is said afterwards to have been devoured alive by worms, which the historian looks upon as a punishment inflicted upon her by Providence for her enormous cruelty. From this time the *Cyreneans*, and *Libyans* with whom they were intermixed, till the conquest of the *Persian* empire, are not very remarkable in history. *Aristotle* gives us to understand, that in his time *Cyrene* was a republic; which seems to imply, that, upon the extinction of
- d *Battus*'s line, *Demonax*'s form of government took place; tho' the *Cyreneans* might have been tributary to, or at least under the protection of, the *Persians*. It appears from *Sallust*, that the people of *Cyrene* were free, when the contention happened betwixt them and the *Carthaginians* about a regulation of limits; and that they were governed by their own laws, till the *Macedonians* subdued *Egypt*, we find asserted by *Strabo*. Towards the beginning of the ninety-fifth olympiad, one *Ariston* seized upon *Cyrene*, put five hundred of the principal citizens to death, and obliged all the others to abandon the city: but matters were soon after composed, and all former acts of hostility buried in oblivion. *Alexander* had not been long dead, when *Timbro* invaded *Cyrenaica*, overthrew the *Cyreneans*, and obliged them to buy a peace with
- e five thousand talents of silver, and half of their armed chariots. However, *Mnasiclus* a *Cretan*, one of his officers, afterwards spirited them up against him, forced him to abandon the port of *Cyrene*, and obtained several considerable advantages over him. Notwithstanding which, *Timbro*, bringing them to another general action, intirely defeated them, though he was soon after overthrown by *Ophellas*, and taken

(E) *Herodotus* relates, that when the *Persians* endeavoured to sap the foundations of *Barca*, an artificer in brass discovered their subterraneous approaches in the following manner: He carried a brazen shield round the city within the walls, and, applying it to the ground, heard no noise where the earth was solid; but when he came to the parts which were undermined, the shield rung. Upon which discovery, the besieged fell to countermining, killed all the *Persians* they found in the mines, and dismounted all the enemies engines of battery. *Amasis* therefore, finding he could not take the city by force, had recourse to the following stratagem: He opened a large trench in the night, which he covered with slight planks of wood, and threw a proper quantity of earth upon them; which rendered that part like

the adjacent ground. Early the next morning, after a conference with the besieged, he concluded a treaty with them upon the spot that was undermined, the terms of which were to the following effect: "That the agreement should continue in force as long as the earth on which they stood should remain in the present condition; that the *Barcai* should pay a competent tribute to the king of *Persia*; and that the *Persians* should introduce no innovations into *Barca*." The *Barcai* then opened their gates to *Amasis*, upon the faith of this treaty. That general, finding himself master of the town, in order to free himself from the oath he had just taken, ordered the covering of the trench to be broken down, and afterwards treated the inhabitants in the manner here related (f).

(f) *Herodotus*. l. iv. sub fin.

prisoner. This victory rendered that general master of *Cyrenaica*, and he delivered a it into the hands of *Ptolemy*. However, it seems probable, from what we have observed in the history of the *Carthaginians*, that *Opbellas*, by some means or other, obtained the sovereignty of this country. *Magas*, the brother of *Ptolemy Lagus*, whose daughter *Ptolemy Philadelphus* married, reigned at *Cyrene* fifty years, as we learn from *Agatharchides*. That this prince was a man of genius, appears from *Polyænus*, who has transmitted to us an account of one of his stratagems. *Plutarch* intimates, that *Nicocrates*, tyrant of *Cyrene*, being in love with *Aretephila*, the wife of one *Phadimus*, or, as *Polyænus* will have it, *Melanippus* the priest of *Apolo*, killed her husband in order to enjoy her; and that she dissembled her resentment, till she found an opportunity of destroying him; which she at last did, and thereby delivered her country from servitude. But whether this last event happened before the time of *Magas*, or afterwards, we are not given to understand. Be that as it will, it remained under the kings of *Egypt*, till *Ptolemy Physcon* made it over to his bastard son surnamed *Apion*, who, in the year of *Rome* 658. left it by will to the *Romans*. The senate, instead of accepting it, permitted all the cities to be governed by their own laws; which immediately filled the country with tyrants, those who were most potent in every district endeavouring to make themselves sovereigns of it. This threw the kingdom of *Cyrenaica* into great confusion; but *Lucullus* in a good measure restored the public tranquillity, on his coming thither during the first *Mithridatic* war. The descendants of those (E) *Jews*, settled here by the first *Ptolemy*, c are said to have greatly contributed to the disturbances just hinted at. Be that as it will, all troubles could not be finally removed, till this country was reduced to the form of a *Roman* province, which happened about twenty years after the death of *Apion*, and seventy-six before the birth of *Christ*. *Strabo* tells us, that in his time *Crete* and *Cyrenaica* formed one *Roman* province. Upon a revolt *Cyrene* was ruined by the *Romans*; but they afterwards rebuilt it. In process of time it fell to the *Arabs*, and at last to the *Turks*, who are the present possessors of it &c. For some of the principal learned men it produced, we shall refer our readers to the following note (F).

S E C T.

HERODOT. l. iv. PIND. Pyth. od. iv. & v. PAUSAN. in Phœcie. DIOD. SIC. l. xiv. POLYÆN. l. ii. c. 18. ex. 1, 2. & l. viii. c. 38, 41. PAUSAN. in Attic. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. AGATHARCHID. CNID. apud Athen. deipnosoph. l. xii. PLUTARCH. de virtut. mulier. JUSTIN. l. xiii. c. 7. CALLIMACH. in hymn. SOLIN. c. 30. SALLUST. in Jugurth. STRAB. l. xvii. EUSTATH. in DIONYS. EUSEB. in chron. ad an. 3. olymp. 37. p. 132. PLUT. in Lucul. APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. i. LIV. epit. 70. JUSTIN. l. 29. EUTROP. l. vi. c. 11. Univ. hist. vol. iv. p. 31, 148, 291. & vol. vi. p. 804, 805, 806.

(E) Amongst the descendants of these *Cyrenean Jews* may be ranked *Jason*, who wrote the history of the *Maccabees* in five books, of which the second book of *Maccabees*, still extant, is an abridgment; *Simon*, who carried our saviour's cross; and others mentioned in the acts of the apostles (5).

(F) This country produced several persons who made an illustrious figure in the republic of letters, amongst the principal of whom may be ranked the following:

1. *Aristippus*, a disciple of *Socrates*, and the chief of the *Cyrenæic* sect. He lived about the ninety-sixth olympiad, and the year of *Rome* 360. He was the first that took money of his scholars for teaching them philosophy. He once sent his master *Socrates* twenty *mina's*; but that philosopher refused it, saying, *God would not permit him to receive it*. *Xenophon* was an enemy to him; on which account he wrote a treatise against *pleasure*, in order to expose him. *Theodorus* and *Plato* likewise were very severe upon him. He could adapt himself to all persons, places, and times, and, without difficulty, act any part: which rendered him agreeable to *Dionysius*. He went frequently to court, kept several mistresses, and, amongst the rest, the famous *Lais*; and lived deliciously, in conformity to the principles of his philosophy. When he was censured by an acquaintance for living too luxuriously, he said, *That if it were not a good thing to feast and eat well, people*

would not practise it on their holy festivals. He was extremely quick at repartees, as appears from *Digenes Laertius*. He asked a certain person, who reproached him for having had a sumptuous entertainment, *Whether he would not have lived in as elegant a manner, if he could have done so for three oboli?* To which the other replied, *he would*. Then, said he, *I find you are fond of money, and not of pleasure*. One time a fellow pursuing him with approbrious and scurrilous language, and asking him, *Why he made such haste away?* Because, said he, *show art accustomed to give foul language, and I am not accustomed to bear it*. *Dionysius* had once three harlots to wait upon *Aristippus*, out of whom he ordered that philosopher to chuse one; but he carried them all three off, saying, *That PARIS had greatly suffered by preferring one goddess to another*. One desired to know of him what he would have for educating his son; to whom he answered, *Five hundred drachma's*. I can buy a slave, answered the other, for that sum. Do so, replied *Aristippus*, and then you will have two. He wrote three books of the history of *Libya*, which he dedicated to *Dionysius*; and a volume consisting of twenty-five dialogues, composed partly in the *Ætæic*, and partly in the *Doric* dialect. The principles of his philosophy were these: The soul has two particular motions, or sensations, viz. pain and pleasure; all pleasures are alike; virtue is only so far to be esteemed, as it conduces to

(5) *Act. c. ii. v. 1. & c. vi. v. 9.*

sensuality.

S E C T. III.

The history of the Regio Syrtica.

THE Regio Syrtica, so called because the two Syrtis were the northern extremities of its eastern and western limits, was bounded on the north by the Mediterranean; on the south by the country of the *Nasamones* and the *Sabara*; on the east by *Cyrenaica*; and on the west by *Africa Propria*. The tower of *Euphrantas*, and the town of *Charax* above-mentioned, were the principal maritime places in the neighbourhood of *Cyrenaica*, as *Auxiqua*, *Leptis Magna*, *Garappa*, *Abrotonum*, *Sabrata*, and *Tacape*, were on the sea-coast betwixt the rivers *Cinyps* and *Trilon*. As for *Gerisa*, *Iscina*, *Amuncla*, *Sicapba*, *Musta*, *Butta*, and several other obscure mediterranean towns mentioned by *Ptolemy* and the *Itinerary*, we scarce ever find them taken notice of by any antient historian. The *Cinyps* of *Scylax*, however, seems to have been a city of some repute. *Pliny* and *Herodotus* intimate, that there was in this region a fruitful district called *Cinyphe*, which, as well as the city above-mentioned, might have been so denominated from the river of the same name. To pass by the *Samanycii*, *Damenfii*, *Nigbeni*, *Nycpii*, *Nigintimi*, *Muchthufii*, and many other inconsiderable tribes recited by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, the only nations of this country deserving any regard were the *Cinetbii*, *Gindanes*, *Maca*, and *Lotophagi*. The *Cinetbii*, or *Cinibii*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*, situated behind the *Machyni*, about the *Lesser Syrtis*, were a respectable nation, as we learn from *Tacitus*. The *Gindanes*, according to *Herodotus*,

Description of
the Regio Syrtica.

sensuality. For all the other particulars of his life, we must refer our readers to *Diogenes Laertius*. His name seems to confirm what several authors have suggested of the *Cyrenians*, viz. that they were famous for being good horsemen.

2. *Arta*, daughter to *Aristippus*, who presided over the *Cyrenaic* school after the death of her father.

3. *Aristippus* the younger, son to *Arta*, by whose instructions he became a famous philosopher, and from thence was styled *Metrodidactos*.

4. *Anniceris*, who reformed the *Cyrenaic* sect, or rather founded another that was called the *Annicerian*.

5. *Callimachus*, a celebrated poet and historian, the son of *Bastus* and *Mesasma*, and disciple of *Hermocrates* the grammarian. He married the daughter of *Euphrates Syracusanus*, and lived in the reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, being then the royal librarian. Several pieces we find ascribed to him, tho' he was no voluminous author, it being a trite observation with him, *That a great book was a great evil*. The principal of these were: 1. A satirical poem upon his adversary, whom he called *Ibis*. 2. Those hymns which are still extant. 3. *Artia*, or a treatise upon the origin and causes of sacred things, taken notice of by *Martial*. 4. A poem intitled *de coma Berenices*. *Suidas* mentions another *Callimachus*, nephew to this, as a tolerable poet; but 'tis generally agreed, that he did not make any great figure in the learned world.

6. *Eratosthenes*, the son of one *Aglaüs*, or, according to others, *Ambrosius*, a celebrated philosopher and mathematician, in great favour at the *Egyptian* court. He was the scholar of *Aristo* the Chian, *Lysanias* the grammarian, and the poet *Callimachus*. He flourished in the hundred-twenty-sixth olympiad, being about that time librarian to the king of *Egypt*. He first asserted the ambit or circumference of the earth to be two hundred and fifty-two thousand stadia;

on which account we find him styled *the measurer of the earth*. Besides his philosophical pieces, he wrote some poems, several historical and astronomical tracts, a collection of dialogues, and some observations relating to comedy. He died at eighty-one years of age.

7. *Carneades*, the son of *Epicomus*, or *Philocomus*, and founder of the third academy, which differed but little from the second founded by *Arcehilas*. He pretended to discover an uncertainty in the most evident notions, and was a grand stickler against the *Stoics*, attempting vigorously to confute *Chrysippus* one of their principal pillars. *Carneades* did not much apply himself to physic and natural philosophy, but cultivated morals with particular diligence. His surprising eloquence made him feared by the *Roman* senate, during his residence at *Rome* with two other ambassadors. Whilst he was there, he is said to have disputed admirably well for justice one day, and the next against it. He gave himself up so intirely to study, that he neglected frequently all other things; insomuch that he sometimes sat at table, and forgot to eat, till roused from his thoughtfulness by his maid *Malissa*. According to *Diogenes Laertius*, he died in the eighty-fifth year of his age, about the fourth year of the clxii. olympiad, though *Cicero* stretched his life to ninety, which makes it difficult to determine precisely the time of his death. The former author says, that when *Carneades* understood, that *Antipater* had poisoned himself, he did the like; and likewise makes an eclipse of the moon to have then happened. He is said to have written many letters to *Ariarathes* king of *Armenia*. For a fuller account of him we must beg leave to refer our readers to *Diogenes Laertius*, *Cicero*, *Anlus Gellius*, *Valerius Maximus*, and others.

8. *Cronus Apollonius*, the master of *Dionysius* the logician, whose name was assumed by his scholar (6).

(6) *Strab.* l. xvii. p. 576. *Diog. Laert.* in *Aristip.* in *Carnead.* & alib. *Pofidon.* apud *Athen.* de *impofoph.* l. vii. *Suid.* in *Egeodius.* in *Kaallimach.* & alib. *Schol.* in *Aristoph.* ran. act. iv. sc. 2. *Plut.* de *placit.* philof. advers. *Stoic.* & alib. *Martial.* l. x. *Ant. Gell.* l. vii. c. 14. & l. xvii. c. 15. *Val. Max.* l. viii. c. 8. *Cic.* in *Academ.* quæst. l. i. in *Tuscul.* quæst. l. v. de *oras.* l. ii. & alib. *Ouzelius* in *Ant. Gell.* ubi sup. *Galen.* in lib. de opt. docend. gen. ab *Henric. Stephan.* edit. an. 1562. aliq; script. mult.

were

were seated not far from the *Cinyps*; their wives wore as many borders on their gowns as they had lovers, and she who had the greatest number was the most esteemed. The *Maca* bordered upon the *Garamantes*, and were a pretty potent nation. They shaved their heads all over, except the middle of the crown, where they permitted a lock of hair to grow. When they made war upon any of their neighbours, they wore the skins of ostriches instead of armour. In the winter they drove their flocks to the sea-side, and in summer to the inland places near some fountain or river, for the sake of water, according to *Scylax*. They are called likewise by the antients *Maca Cinypii*, and *Maca Syrtisæ*, from their vicinity to the *Cinyps* and the *Greater Syrtis*. But the *Lotophagi* were the most famous people of the tract we are now upon. If we may believe *Scylax*, they extended themselves almost from the *Greater* to the *Lesser Syrtis*. That author calls them *Libyes Lotophagi*, and tells us, that the *lotus* served them both for meat and drink; from which circumstance they derived their name. *Pliny* says, that some authors called them *Alachbrow*, and that many of them were found about the *Philenorum Ara*. *Strabo* likewise affirms the country of the *Lotophagi* to have extended from the *Lesser Syrtis*, which he calls *Lotophagitis Syrtis*, to the confines of *Cyrenaica*; and that this people were not sensible of the want of water in the burning sandy region they inhabited, since the root, stalks, &c. of the *lotus* supplied them with rich liquor as well as delicious food. *Homer* relates, that in his time the island *Meninx*, on the coast of *Byzacium*, abounded with the *lotus*, and was the chief seat of the *Lotophagi*; as also, that *Ulysses* touched here in his return to *Ithaca*. A good part of the *Regio Syrtica* was a perfect desert; but the other part productive of corn, oil, fruit, and particularly both the tree and plant of the *lotus*. *Herodotus* tells us, that the fruit of the tree was of the same size with that of the *lentiscus*, but exceedingly sweet like the date; as also that the *Lotophagi* made wine of it. *Pliny* says, that the *lotus* was transplanted to *Italy*, but that its qualities were pretty much altered by that transplantation. He likewise asserts its fruit to have been of the size of a bean, and of the colour of saffron, when ripe; tho' he allows this to have been different, according to the different degrees of maturity at which it arrived. In *Africa* it resembled that of a myrtle. The best species of this tree produced a fruit without any kernel; but that of the other had a kernel in it as hard as a stone. The wine expressed from it tasted like mead, being extremely sweet; which quality it derived from the fruit itself, but would not keep above ten days. The berries, bruised and mixed with wheat, the *Libyans* laid up in large vessels, which served them for food. *Theophrastus* and *Dioscorides* make the plant *lotus* to have resembled a lily, and represent it both as physic and food. Some of the moderns think one species of it to have been the same as the *solocasia*, or *faba Egyptia*, and the other as the *nymphaea Nilotica*. But though it might agree with these plants in many particulars, yet that it differed considerably from them, is evident from the figure of it, which we find on the reverses of many antient *Egyptian* coins. Several of these coins, struck in the times of *Trajan*, *Hadrian*, and *Antoninus Pius*, exhibit the leaves, stalk, and fruit of the plant *lotus*, and consequently give us a tolerable idea of it; however, the moderns can come to no certain conclusions concerning either the plant or the tree. The principal river of this tract was the *Cinyps*, which derived its stream from a fountain, or a hill, called *Zuchabari*, in the country of the *Maca*, and emptied itself into the *Sinus Syrticus*. The word *Zuchabari* in *Punic*, *Phœnician*, or *Libyan*, signified the bill of the *Graces*, as we find it called by *Herodotus*. The river *Cinyps*, according to *Bochart*, derived its name from the great number of porcupines produced in the country adjacent to it. The chief mountains of the *Regio Syrtica* were *Gigius* and *Tbizibi*, of which yet we find nothing related but the bare names. The promontories *Hippus* and *Cephalæ* scarce deserve to be mentioned. Of the islands appertaining to this country the most noted were *Meninx* and *Cercina*; *Ptolemy's* *Gaia*, *Pontia*, and *Misynus*, being quite obscure. The island *Myrmex* more properly belonged to *Cyrenaica*, as it was not far distant from the port of the *Barcai*. *Pliny* makes *Meninx* (F), near the *Lesser Syrtis*, to be twenty-five miles long, and twenty-two broad; and further observes, that it had two towns,

(F) This island was called *Girba* about the middle age, and is at this day known by the name *Zerbi* or *Zarbi* (G).

(G) *Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 3.*

^a viz. *Meninx* facing the coast of *Africa*, and *Tboar* opposite to the *Lesser Syrtis*. We find it named *Lotophagitis*, not only by the authors above-mentioned, but likewise by *Polybius* and *Eratosthenes*. As for *Cercina*, it lay N. E. of *Meninx*, was twenty-five miles in length, about twelve in breadth, had a tolerable good town of the same name, and two most commodious harbours. Thus stands the geography of the *Regio Syrtica*, with which tract the northern part of the kingdom of *Tripoli* seems at present to correspond ^b.

As the inhabitants of this region agreed in all points of moment with the other *Libyan Nomades*, whose history has already been given, we can say nothing of their antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, &c. (G) without being guilty of a repetition. The transactions they were concerned in, before they became subject to *Carthage*, could not, we apprehend, have been very considerable. However, we believe them to have been subdued by the founder of the *Egyptian* empire, whom *Josephus* and *Sir Isaac Newton* take to be the same prince with *Sesac*. How long they remained subject to the *Egyptians*, history informs us not; but 'tis probable a corps of them formed part of *Zerah's* numerous army, for the reasons already offered. Part of the *Regio Syrtica* seems to have been under the dominion of the *Cyreneans* till the regulation of limits agreed upon between that people and the *Carthaginians* mentioned by *Sallust*; but when this happened, cannot be precisely determined. After that regulation it continued in the hands of the *Carthaginians* till it was wrested out of them by *Masinissa*; for that it was wrested out of them by that prince, appears clearly from *Appian*. In after-ages it met with the same fate as the rest of his dominions, an ample account of which has been already exhibited to our readers in the history of the *Numidians* ^c.

Thus have we gone through the history of all the principal *Libyan* nations, which, we may venture to assure our readers, has not been done by any other author. Some few particulars, however, relating to them, hitherto omitted, we must not pass over in silence. *Herodotus* observes, that the *Libyans* in general went by the name of *Atlantes* or *Atlantides*, though at the same time he remarks that appellation to have been applied to one particular nation; who, he tells us, cursed the *Sun* every day, as he advanced towards the meridian, pursuing him with the bitterest invectives, because he consumed both them, and their country, with his burning rays. From that author and *Diodorus* it likewise appears, that the *Atlantides* were seated upon, and in the neighbourhood of mount *Atlas*, which, from its height, the *Libyans* styled the pillar of heaven, i. e. the high or lofty pillar; which evinces the *Libyan* language or languages to have been related to the oriental tongues. *Herodotus* also intimates, that no one of this nation did either eat flesh, or was ever disturbed in his sleep by dreams; the last of which properties was probably the consequence of the first. In the territories of the *Atlantides*, as well as the neighbouring countries, the inhabitants reaped considerable advantages from several mines of salt, which was of two colours, viz. white and purple. *Herodotus* farther says, that many of the *Libyans* built houses of this salt, which, as no rain ever fell in those parts, were very durable. To what has been already offered with regard to the *Nigritæ*, we must beg leave to add, that they were known to the *Egyptians*, *Ammonii*, and *Cyreneans*, before the time of *Herodotus*. For that author, when in *Egypt*, learned from some *Cyreneans*, who had the relation from *Etearchus* king of the *Ammonii*, that five bold *Nasamonian* youths, sent to make new discoveries thro' the deserts of *Libya*, at last came to a city inhabited by

^a HERODOT. STRAB. MÆL. PLIN. PTOL. ubi sup. VIRG. ÆN. i. v. 110. & ÆN. iv. v. 41. LUCAN. l. i. v. 367. & l. viii. v. 184. SENEC. de beat. vit. c. 14. SCYLAX CARYAND. in peripl. ANTONIN. itinerar. SALLUST. in Jugurth. CÆS. in civ. l. i. c. 38. DIONYSIUS CHARACENUS, vet. 480. DIOD. SIC. l. iii. l. v. & alib. PLIN. l. xiii. c. 17. SIL. ITAL. l. iii. v. 310. HELIODOR. l. x. p. 457. HERODOT. ubi sup. THEOPHRAST. hist. pl. l. iv. c. 10. PLUT. de Isid. p. 355, 378, & alib. HERODOT. l. ii. c. 92. THEOPHRAST. hist. pl. l. iv. c. 5. p. 87. DIOSCORID. l. iv. c. 114. SOLIN. exercit. p. 683. PLUTARCH. & IAMBLIC. apud Trifan. tom. i. p. 605. SEGUIN. num. select. p. 121. EZECH. SPANHEM. de præst. & us. num. ant. disert. vi. p. 301—308. TACIT. annal. l. ii. c. 52. LIV. l. xxxiii. c. 48. POLYB. l. i. c. 39. ERATOSTHENES apud Plin. l. v. c. 7. HOMER. Il. l. v. 84. & alib. ^b SALLUST. in Jugurth. APPIAN. in Libyc. c. 63. ed. Tol. Amst. 1670. NEWT. in chronol. p. 70. Vid. etiam Univerf. hist. vol. vii. l. 4. c. i. sect. 3.

(G) From *Egypt* to the lake *Tritonis* the *Libyans* were breeders of cattle; ate flesh, and drank milk; but abstained from beef and pork, as well as the *Egyptians*. The women of *Cyrene* accounted it a

crime to strike a cow. For the customs, manners, and religion, of the *Libyans* inhabiting the country to the west of the *Triton*, we must refer our readers to *Herodotus* (7).

(7) *Herodot. l. iv.*

men of a low stature, by which ran a great river abounding with crocodiles, that *Etearchus* judged to be the *Nile*. This relation tallies extremely well with *Marmol*, who assures us, that the people seated on the northern bank of the *Nigir* are perfect dwarfs (H); and also seems to add some weight to the authority of the *Arabian* geographers, who make the *Nile* and the *Nigir* different branches of the same river, and assert the source of this river to be in *Ethiopia*. From hence we may deduce the probability of the *Negroes* being descended from the *Ethiopians*, and likewise the region of *Nigritia*'s being peopled very early, as *Leo* suggests. For the *Ethiopians* on the banks, or near the source, of the great river above-mentioned, observing how the adjacent grounds were fertilized by its inundations, as they increased, might follow it westward, every one striving to be the first possessor of a great quantity of such excellent soil, and therefore advance forward till the *Atlantic* ocean put a stop to any farther progress. If this be admitted, it will follow, that the *Blacks* are not so different from all the rest of mankind as some are willing to suppose; that their descent from *Adam* is easy and natural, in opposition to what our modern infidels pretend; and that their colour is only an accidental consideration. But these points will be fully discussed in that branch of the modern history which they will naturally fall under. The word *Libya* may be deduced either from the proper names *Lebaim*, *Lubim*, &c. above-mentioned, or from the *Hebrew* *laab*, with which the *Arabic* *lub* corresponds, signifying *dry*, *parched*, &c. or rather a *dry parched country*, &c. Such an appellation agrees extremely well with what the antients have related of *Libya*, and particularly the tract betwixt *Tripolis* and *Pentapolis*, which went by the names of *Xerolibya* and *Libya Propria*. Dr. Hyde, however, thinks that this word may be more naturally deduced from *labi*, a lion, or rather a *yellow, flame-coloured lion*, with which species of animals *Libya* was known to abound; or else from *labab*, a flame, since the burning sands of *Libya*, by the continual reflexion of a vast quantity of the solar rays, appeared, at some distance, to travellers like a flame. As these sands were frequently so heated as to be almost in a state of inflammation, we must own some regard due to such an etymon. As for the word *Africa*, or, as the *Arabs* pronounce it, *Afrika*, which seems to have been unknown to *Herodotus*, *Aristotle*, *Strabo*, and the other most antient Greek authors, Dr. Hyde takes it to be the same with the *Phœnician* or *Punic* *חברקה* *Harbarca*, *Havarca*, *Havreca*, &c. or *אברקה* *Avreca*, i. e. *The BARCA*, or *the country of BARCA*. This our readers will allow extremely probable, especially since *Barca* was a most remarkable part of *Africa*, as above observed; and the *Romans*, who first brought the name of *Africa* into *Europe*, might not pronounce it exactly in the same manner as the *Carthaginians* and *Phœnicians*, from whom they received it. The principal difficulty in this etymon will vanish, when we consider, that the *Orientals* for the most part pronounced the second letter of their alphabet like a V, and that nothing was more usual with them than to add a letter to, or take one from, the beginning of a word, as might be proved by an induction of particulars, were it in any manner necessary. We must not omit observing here, that the first division of the world was into two parts only, viz. *Asia* and *Europe*, or the eastern and western parts, *Europe* comprehending both the continent now going under that name, and *Africa*; which division still prevails amongst many of the *Orientals*. This may not only be inferred from a variety of authors, but likewise from the words *Europe* and *Asia* themselves, the former importing *occidental* or *western*, and the latter *half*. When that vast region now called *Africa* was first considered as a distinct part of the world, we cannot take upon us to determine; nor whether *Europe* and *Africa* were ever joined together by an isthmus uniting *Spain* and *Mauritania*, as some authors suggest; nor lastly, if this should be admitted, when, or by what means, such an isthmus came to be destroyed, the *Nubian* geographer declaring this to have been effected by labour and art, and *Averroes* by an earthquake. The island *Cerne*, taken notice of by *Hanno* and *Scylax*, seems to have been somewhere on the coast of *Libya Interior*; but in what part of the ocean it lay, cannot be discovered from the antients, who

(H) From the situation of the *Nasamones*, it is evident, that these youths must have approached the northern bank of the river, which the dwarfs here mentioned are said to have inhabited. Now *Marmol* assures us, that on the southern bank of the

Senegal the inhabitants are large and lusty, but on the opposite side small and puny; which last article, agreeing so well with *Herodotus*, almost demonstrates the river here hinted at to have been the *Nigir* (S).

(S) *Marmol*.

- a differ widely amongst themselves with regard to its situation; which probably induced *Strabo* to deny the very being of it. We must own ourselves likewise as much in the dark in relation to *Plato's* island *Atlantis*, which he makes of a larger extent than *Asia* and *Africa* together. Some of the moderns are disposed to think, from several circumstances, that it was that vast continent called now *America*; others, that it lay nearer the pillars of *Hercules*; and lastly, others, that every thing related of it is to be considered as a downright fiction. Much may be said in defence of each opinion; however, the first appears to us the most probable. For *Ammianus Marcellinus* affirms *Plato* on this occasion not to have written fable, but a true history; and *Proclus* cites *Marcellus* an *Ethiopic* historian in defence of what that philosopher has advanced concerning this island. *Crantor* also, *Plato's* first interpreter, takes this relation to be a true history. That the island here under consideration was not so near the *Streights* as some modern authors suppose, seems probable from *Diodorus Siculus*, who tells us, that the *Phœnicians* in early times sailed beyond *Hercules's* Pillars, along the *African* coast, and, there meeting with storms and tempests, were carried to the remotest parts of the ocean, and, after many days, came to a vast island at a great distance from *Libya*, and lying very far west. This place, continues the same author, had a fruitful soil, navigable rivers, &c. and, from the *Phœnicians*, the *Carthaginians* came to the knowledge of it. And in the same place he says, that the *Carthaginians* would not permit any other nation to settle in this new region, but reserved it for themselves, that, if ever they should be driven from their native soil, they might have a place to retire to. *Ælian* brings *Silenus* expressly asserting to *Midas*, that there was a vast continent beyond *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, which ought to be considered as islands surrounded by the ocean. These, and other passages, that might be extracted from the antients, induced the learned *Perizonius* to conclude, that the inhabitants of the old world had some faint knowledge of *America*, derived to them either from the *Egyptian* and *Carthaginian* traditions, or from the figure of the earth, which was not unknown to them^b.

^b HERODOT. l. ii. & l. iv. DIOD. SIC. l. iii. GOLIUS notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 89. I. LEO AFRICAN. AVICEN. pass. ÆLIAN. de animal. pass. RR. KIMCHI, ABEN-EZRA, & JONAS in Ose. c. xiii. ver. v. VIRG. ÆD. l. iv. LUCAN. l. i. SERV. in Virg. ubi sup. AVERROES apud Hieron. Vital. in voc. Terræmotus. AGATHANGER. l. ii. c. 2. Geogr. Nubiens. clim. iv. part. 1. HYDE in Peritfol. p. 13, 14, 15, 16. PLAT. in TIMÆ. & in Crit. STRAB. l. ii. p. 33. POLYB. & CORN. NEP. apud Plin. l. vi. c. 31. HANNO & SCYLAX in peripl. DIOTIM. apud Strab. ubi sup. PTOL. l. iv. EPHORUS apud Plin. ubi sup. LYCOPHRON. scholiast. advers. xviii. EUSTATH. in Dionys. vers. 219. DIOD. SIC. l. v. CRANTOR in Plat. ubi sup. MARCELL. apud Procl. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. & ÆLIAN. var. hist. l. iii. BOCHART. Phal. l. iv. c. 33. JAC. PERIZON. in Ælian. ubi sup.

CH A P. VI.

The history of the Ethiopians.

S E C T. I.

Description of Ethiopia.

- d SEVERAL of the antients gave the name of *Ethiopians* to all persons either perfectly black, or of a very swarthy complexion. The *Arabs* therefore, and other *Asiatics*, as well as a great number of *Africans*, came under this denomination. The *Africans* we find divided into the western or *Hesperian Ethiopians*, and the *Ethiopians* above *Egypt*, situated to the E. of the former. The *Hesperian Ethiopians* inhabited that vast tract called *Libya Interior*, the history of whose principal nations we have already gone through. The eastern *African Ethiopians*, for so those above *Egypt* may be properly styled, were much better known to the antients than the others, by reason of their commerce with the *Egyptians*, and looked upon by them as the proper *Ethiopians*. These are the people, whose transactions, from the earliest accounts of time, we are now to relate; which we hope to do in such a manner

The proper
Ethiopia where
situated.

ner as will prove satisfactory to all, at least the most candid part of, our readers^a.

Limits and extent of Ethiopia.

Ethiopia then, or rather *Ethiopia Propria*, was limited on the north by *Egypt*, on which side it extended to the *Lesser Cataract*, and the island *Elephantine*; on the west by *Libya Interior*; on the east by the *Red Sea*; and on the south by a part of *Africa* unknown to the antients, but probably that including the modern kingdoms of *Gingiro*, *Alaba*, *Machida*, and part of *Adel* or *Zeila*. However, as the proper *Ethiopia* might be of a different extent at different times, particularly on the sides of *Libya Interior* and *Libya Incognita*, we cannot pretend to fix, with any precision, its frontiers. Nevertheless it seems, for many ages at least, to have been the same tract which at this day comprehends the kingdoms of *Dongola*, *Sennar*, and *Abassia*, with part of *Adel* or *Zeila*; and consequently to have taken up seventeen degrees of longitude, and to have reached from the tropic of *Cancer* to within six degrees of the *Line*. *Ludolphus* intimates, that the modern geographers, depending upon the authority of *Paulus Jovius*, have extended the southern limits of *Abassia* much farther; but at the same time that author rightly observes them to be guilty of a mistake. It is of no great consequence to our readers how this point stands, and therefore we shall not dwell any longer upon it^b.

Different names of Ethiopia.

THE proper *Ethiopia* had various names given it by the antients. Sometimes they called it *India*, and its inhabitants *Indians*; which appellation they applied to many of the remotest nations, as we have observed in the history of the *Garamantes* (A). This country was likewise denominated *Atlantia* and *Æthiopia*, according to *Pliny* and *Strabo*, or, as *Hesychius* will have it, *Aeria*. It also went, in very early ages, under the name of *Cephenia*. But we apprehend it to have been most usually called *Abassene*, a word approaching very near, both in sound and signification, to the modern *Habash*, *Habesh*, or *Abassia*; the true etymology of which will be exhibited to our readers, when we come to the history of *Arabia*^c.

^a HERODOT. l. iii. & l. vii. XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. viii. HOMER. apud Strabon. l. ii. ut & ipse STRAB. l. i. & l. ii. DIOD. Sic. l. iv. Dio. l. iv. p. 524. PTOL. l. iv. PLIN. l. v. c. 8. Vid. & HOMER. Il. iv. v. 23. CELLAR. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 8. sect. 3. ^b STRAB. l. xvii. PLIN. l. v. c. 9. PTOL. ubi sup. JOB. LUDOLPH. in hist. Æthiop. l. i. c. 2. GOLI notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 88, 89. Geogr. Nub. clim. l. par. 4. ^c PLIN. l. vi. c. 30. HERODOT. STRAB. ubi sup. HESYCH. AGATHARCHIDES CNIDIUS de Mar. Rubr. l. i. c. 3. apud Phot. in bib. ioh. c. p. 1323. PHILOSTORGIUS apud Theodoret. l. iii. c. 4. aliique mult. Vid. etiam LE GRAND. dissert. ii.

(A) Bochart thinks, that the *Garamantes* were a colony of the *Amantes* or *Hammaientes* of *Pliny* and *Solinus*, seated to the W. of the *Greater Syrtis*. This notion he grounds not only upon the neighbouring situation of those nations, but likewise upon the affinity of their names. For as גר *gar* signifies in *Hebrew* to inhabit, *Gar-Amante* might originally have denoted *The habitation or dwelling of the Amantes*; or rather גר *ger*, from the aforesaid verb, may be naturally supposed to have signified *colonus, advena*, &c. and then *Gar-Amante* will be equivalent to *One belonging to a colony of the Amantes*. The last nation that ingenious author likewise believes to have been the same with the *Ammonii* or *Amonii*, whose name, by an easy transposition of letters, entirely agrees with that of *Moses's Ananim* or *Anamai*. Several things, according to him, concur to render this conjecture probable: 1. The *Ananim* in all likelihood deduced their name from the word אָנָם *Anam*, which might have denoted a *sheep* in the *Egyptian* language, as a word composed of the same letters did in *Arabic*. 2. According to some authors, the idol of *Jupiter*, in the territory of the *Ammonii*, was called *Ammon* from the *ram* that pointed out the spot of ground his temple was erected upon; and it is well known, that the *Ammonii*, in the opinion of the antients, were so denominated from *Ammon* or *Ammius*, a name the *Egyptians* gave *Jupiter*. 3. That part of *Libya*, where

Moses seems to place the *Ananim*, abounded with sheep, which supplied the natives not only with food, but cloaths, and agreed very well in situation with the country of the *Ammonii*. 4. The idol of *Jupiter Ammon* had either *ram's* horns, or a *ram's* head upon it; which seemed to point at the origin of the word *Ananim*. If we admit what *Bochart* has advanced on this occasion, the etymon of the name *Nasamones* or *Nasamon*, applied to a neighbouring people, may easily be discovered. For *Nasamon*, on this supposition, must be apparently the same as נַשְׁמוֹן נַשְׁמוֹן *Nase-Amon*, i. e. *Homines Amon* or *Ammonii*; and consequently the *Nasamones*, as well as the *Garamantes*, were a branch of the *Ananim*. That the *Garamantes*, in their own tongue, were styled *Gar-Amame*, *Ger-Amame*, or, by contraction, *Gar-Ame*, *Ger-Ame*, &c. appears from the name of their metropolis *Garama*, or, as the *Nubian* geographer intimates it to have been denominated in his time, *Germa*. This observation will go a good way towards confirming those ingenious conjectures which we have here inserted from the learned *Bochart*; especially, since *Herodotus* affirms that part of *Libya* adjacent to the country of the *Ammonii* to have been famous for the sheep it abounded with. These nations were nearly related to the *Ethiopians*, as we learn from the same *Herodotus* (1).

(1) Herodot. l. iv. Hygin. Germanic. in Arat. Athewag. in quint. Amor. Mel. l. i. c. 8. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Plin. l. v. c. 5. Solin. c. 28. Gen. c. x. v. 13. Geogr. Nub. clim. ii. par. 1. Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 30. Goli notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 90.

- a. ON the other hand, we find *Chaldaea, Assyria, Persia, &c.* styled *Ethiopia* by some very good authors; nay, it must be allowed, that the ancients called all those countries, extending themselves beyond each side of the *Red Sea*, indifferently *India* or *Ethiopia*. The eastern people at this day sometimes name that kingdom *India*, which the *Europeans* call *Abassia*, particularly the *Persians*, who for the most part give the appellation of *Siab Hindou* or *Hindi*, to an *Abassine* or modern *Ethiopian*. It appears from several authors, that the *Red Sea* itself went formerly under the name of the *Indian Sea*; and *Ludolphus* observes, that the ancients denominated all those nations under the *Torrid Zone*, whose names they were ignorant of, *Indians*^d.

- ACCORDING to the *Jews*, the *Septuagint*, the *Vulgate*, and other versions (B), ^{Called in Scripture Cush.}
 b *Cush*, when taken for a country in Scripture, is always to be understood of the proper *Ethiopia*. This notion is supported by *Philo*, *Josephus*, *Eusebius* in *Eusebius*, *Eustathius*, the author of the *Alexandrian* chronicon, and the concurrent testimony of the *Greek* and *Latin* fathers. Notwithstanding which, *Bochart*, depending upon the authority of *Jonatban's Targum*, and several plausible arguments, affirms the land of *Cush* to have been situated in *Arabia*; and consequently maintains, that *Cush* never in scripture denotes the proper *Ethiopia*. But neither of these opinions ought to be looked upon as strictly true: for *Cush* is sometimes in Scripture undoubtedly to be taken for the proper *Ethiopia*, as may be evinced not only by the great authorities above-mentioned, but several circumstances likewise which evidently point at that country; and, on the other hand, it must be allowed, that some of the sacred writers give the name of *Cush* to the whole peninsula of *Arabia*, or a part of it bordering upon the *Red Sea*, or both. When the prophet *Jeremiah* asks his countrymen, *Whether the CUSHITE can change his skin?* he must be considered as having in his eye a proper *Ethiopian*. For the nation there pointed at was black, differing greatly in colour from the *Jews*; the prophet's question being proverbial, of the same import with that common adage of profane writers, *to wash the ETHIOPIAN or BLACKMOOR white*. Now this cannot be understood of the *Arabs*, who were of much the same complexion with the *Jews*, as *Bochart* himself not only allows, but proves; but the *Abassines*, or proper *Ethiopians*, might easily and naturally have given occasion to such a proverb. In the book of *Isaiah* we find *Egypt*, *Pathros*, and *Cush*, joined together, and consequently *Cush* taken for *Ethiopia*. For it appears from various authors, and even *Bochart* himself, that the land of *Pathros* was either the upper *Egypt*, or a part of that country near the confines of *Ethiopia*; and therefore *Cush*, in this passage, must naturally refer to *Ethiopia*, since the region here denoted by that word was S. of the upper *Egypt*, and contiguous to it. In defence

^d PROCOPIUS. GAZ. comment. in 1 Reg. c. x. v. 1. JOS. SCALIG. in comp. eccles. Ethiop. THEODORET. in hist. ecclesiast. l. i. c. 22. LE GRAND ubi sup. & I. LUDOLPH. hist. Ethiop. l. i. c. 1.

(B) The eastern people affirm *Cush* the son of *Canaan*, and grandson of *Ham*, to have had a son whose name was *Habashai* or *Habochi*, the father of the *Abyssinians* or *Egyptians*, whom the *Persians* call *Black Indians*. The *Hebrew* grammarians derive the word *Habashai*, which signifies *Ethiopia*, from *Habousha*, which denotes a people raised from a mixture of different nations, originally of different countries. According to *D'Herbelot* and others, the *Abyssinians*, *Nubians*, and *Fungi*, are all comprehended under the word *Habashai*. The inspired writers are silent as to *Cush* the son of *Canaan*, and his son *Habashai*. We find mention made there only of *Cush* the son of *Ham*, and his sons *Seba*, *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, *Sabtecha*, and *Nimrod*. It is said, that *Arabia Felix* went formerly under the name of *Ethiopia*, because the *Abyssinians*, who conquered it, possessed it for a long time. *Dhou-Iren* king of *Taman* drove them from thence with the assistance of the *Persians*. Some authors believe, that by *Cush* upon the river *Gihon* is meant only the antient country of the *Scythians* upon the *Araxes*. *Herodotus* intimates, that the first habitation this people had

was upon the *Araxes*; and that, being forced from thence by the *Massagetae*, they passed this river, and retired into the country of the *Cimmerians*. *Justin* makes the *Phasis* and *Araxes* to be, as it were, the limits of the *Scythians* on the south side. *Diodorus Siculus* says, that the *Scythians* who were near *Media* abode at first upon the *Araxes*, and that the *Saca* and *Massagetae* are different branches of the *Scythians*. The words *Cuthai* and *Cutha*, whence some have deduced *Scythia* or *Scutia*, are the same as *Cush*. The *Chaldees* generally put the *Tan* where the *Hebrews* use *Schin*, and therefore say *Cut* or *Cuth* instead of *Cush*. The *Cuthians*, who came to and inhabited the country of *Samaria*, did originally belong to that part of *Media* which bordered upon the *Caspian* sea, and therefore must have appertained to the *Cush* we are speaking of. There are very sensible footsteps of this name to be met with in various parts round about this country, as the district of *Cotacene*; the cities of *Cisamum*, *Cotomana*, *Oya*, *Cotaca*, *Cotamba*, *Cotaa*; the *Coryi*, *Coffai*; river of *Ciffa*, &c. (2).

(2) *D'Herbel.* bibl. orient. p. 409. Gen. c. x. v. 7, 8. *Herodot.* l. i. c. 201. & l. iv. c. 11. *Justin.* l. i. & l. ii. *Diod. Sic.* l. xii. p. 355. *Ptol. pass.* *Valer. Flac.* l. vi. v. 693. *Steph. Byzant.* *Proper.* ex emend. *Scalig.* l. i. el. 1.

of our second assertion, several passages of Scripture may likewise be produced. ^a When the LORD threatened Egypt with utter desolation, he declared, *That he would lay it waste from the tower of SYENE to the border of CUSH (C).* Now that the border of CUSH and the tower of SYENE are intended here to represent two opposite limits of Egypt, cannot be denied; and that Syene was the Egyptian frontier on the side of Ethiopia, appears from Pliny and Strabo: therefore CUSH evidently denotes Arabia, or at least that part of it adjacent to Egypt, which was diametrically opposite to the tower of Syene, and not Ethiopia, whose border extended to that tower. Moses's wife Zippora was a native of CUSH, and at the same time a Midianite; the prophet Habakkuk makes the territories of CUSHAN or CUSH, and Midian or Madian, to have been the same; Josephus, Ptolemy, and St. Jerom, mention a city of Arabia ^b on the coast of the Red Sea, called Madian; from all which we may infer, that part of Arabia at least goes sometimes in Scripture under the name of CUSH. Job intimates, that CUSH was famous for the excellent topazes it produced: now none of the ancients have taken notice of the Ethiopian topaz; whereas Pliny relates, that the best topazes came from the Arabic island Cbitis or Cbutis, whose name seems to have been the same with CUSH or Cuth; and Agatharchides Cnidius, Diodorus, and Strabo, have likewise mentioned this island; therefore some of the sacred writers denominated at least part of Arabia CUSH. In that day, says the LORD, shall messengers go from me in ships, to make the careless CUSHITES afraid, &c. which menace may be supposed more properly to point at the Arabs, whom the Egyptians and others visited in ships on the Red Sea, than the Ethiopians, with whom they had a communication by land. But, to omit other passages that occur, both the Arabs and Ethiopians might have very properly been styled CUSHITES, since the descendants of CUSH formed a great part of both nations. Nay, that the Arabs themselves had the appellation of Ethiopians, and Asiatic Ethiopians, clearly follows from what has been advanced by Xenophon and Herodotus. However, we cannot help thinking, that the ancient Hebrews rightly looked upon the Ethiopians as the proper CUSHITES. For Zerab's most formidable army consisted chiefly of CUSHITES, neighbours to the Libyans, i. e. the Ethiopians, of which people only he is called king by the sacred historian; though from Sir Isaac Newton, and what we have already observed, it may be proved, that he was in possession of all the dominions of Sefac, i. e. Egypt, Libya, Troglodytica, Arabia, ^d &c. The extremely numerous host he commanded adds great weight to this notion. Pliny intimates, that the Ethiopians, whom he distinguishes from the Arabians, were masters of Egypt not long before the destruction of Troy; which, considering that

(C) Our readers will observe, that, out of compliance to a great number of learned men, we have here given this text the most received interpretation; though we must own ourselves by no means inclinable to come into it. The words in the original are, *מִמִּגְדוֹל וְעַד גְּבוּל כוּשׁ* i. e. From Migdol to Syene and the border of CUSH; or From Migdol and SYENE, and to the border of CUSH. If we admit the first of these translations, we must suppose an ellipsis of the preposition *עַד* betwixt *מִמִּגְדוֹל* and *כוּשׁ*, than which nothing is more frequent in the Hebrew Scripture; as may be inferred from *Deut.* c. xxxiii. ver. 17. *Mich.* c. vii. ver. 12. and many other passages enumerated by Noldius. If we prefer the latter, we must admit a suppression of the copulative *ו* before *כוּשׁ*, which is likewise extremely common in the original of the Old Testament, as appears from *Gen.* c. xxvii. ver. 33. *Cant.* c. viii. ver. 6. *Jud.* c. ix. ver. 2. and an infinite number of other instances produced by the same Noldius. Now Migdol is the proper name of a town about twelve miles from Pelusium on the Nile near the coast of the Mediterranean, and diametrically opposite to Syene; and of course, in conjunction with Syene, denotes the whole breadth of the land of Egypt, agreeably to the prophet's

intention. This city we had mentioned by the prophet *Jeremiah*, c. xlv. ver. 1. and c. xlvii. ver. 14. who joins it with *Takpanhes*, or, as the Greeks called it, *Daphne*, and *Daphne Pelusia*, another city in the neighbourhood of Pelusium. This circumstance, in conjunction with the Septuagint, which has therein *Μαγδαλῶν*, as Migdol, and *εἰς Μαγδαλὼν* in Migdol, renders extremely probable the version of this passage, which we would propose to the consideration of our learned readers. In the mean time we cannot but own ourselves greatly surprised at Cellarius, who has with so much boldness insinuated, or rather affirmed, that the Greek interpreters have, in agreement with the Vulgate, translated the text at present under consideration *ἀπὸ πύργου Συήνης ἕως ὁρίων Ἀιθιοπῶν* Whereas both the Vatican and Alexandrian MSS. of the Septuagint have it *ἀπὸ Μαγδαλῶν ἕως Συήνης ἕως ὁρίων Ἀιθιοπῶν* Which, together with the Arabic version expressing it *From Migdol and ASUAN to the borders of ETHIOPIA*, seems to render indisputable what is here advanced; and consequently, to evince, that this famous passage is so far from proving CUSH to point out Arabia, that, on the contrary, it evidently demonstrates that word sometimes to denote the proper Ethiopia (3).

(3) Herodot. l. ii. c. 30. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 8. Vid. etiam Val. Schind perragos. p. 281. & Christiani Noldii concord. particular. Ebraeo-Chaldaic. cum annotation. Job. Gossfr. Tympii, Jena, 1734.

^a this period falls in with the time of *Zerab*, brings no small accession of strength to what is here advanced ^c.

We cannot therefore allow, that *Ludim* is the only name given in Scripture to the *Ethiopians*, as M. *Bochart* undertakes to prove. Most of the arguments he offers to evince this point are extremely frivolous, as our readers will find upon an examination of them, and the others not of any considerable force. But, supposing them to prove, that the word *Ludim*, in all places of Scripture he cites on this occasion, is to be understood of the *Ethiopians*, which is the utmost that he could ever have pretended to; yet it will not follow from hence, that *Ethiopia* is never called *Cush* by any of the sacred writers. Such an assertion cannot be maintained, though it ^b should be granted, as we are willing to do, that part of the *Ludim* took up their habitations in *Ethiopia*. And yet several learned men have come into *Bochart's* opinion ^c.

THE antients believed the blackness of the *Abassines* or *Abyssinians* to be occasioned by the intense heat of their climate, and therefore called them *Ethiopians*. We find them likewise called *Ætherii* and *Aerii* by *Hesychius*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*. *Pliny* relates, that the *Blemmyes*, an *Ethiopian* nation seated near the borders of *Egypt*, had no heads, their mouths and eyes being fixed on their breasts. This ought undoubtedly to be looked upon as fabulous, and might possibly proceed from their having very short necks; however, that some *Blemmyan* captives exhibited an extremely odd appearance at *Rome*, we learn from *Vopiscus*. The *Nobatae* inhabited one of the banks of the *Nile*, near the island *Elephantine*, having been removed thither from *Oasis*, in order to have a watchful eye upon, and repress the courses of, the *Blemmyes*. Some authors refer the *Troglodytes* to *Egypt*, and others to *Ethiopia*; be that as it will, they were a very savage nation, living in caves, according to *Strabo*, feeding upon serpents, lizards, &c. and having a language consisting of no articulate sounds, but resembling the shrieking of bats, according to *Herodotus*. The *Nubians* we find just mentioned by the antients as a people of *Ethiopia*, but nothing particular related of them. Some authors assert the *Pygmies* to have been a canton of the *Troglodytes*, and others one of the *Nubians*; but 'tis generally agreed, that they had ^d their situation not far from the *Ethiopic* shore of the *Red Sea*. *Nonnosus* in *Photius* tells us, that they were extremely short, black, and hairy all over. Most of these nations are represented by *Strabo* as inconsiderable, and little better than so many gangs of robbers. *Bochart* thinks, that the *Troglodytes*, including the *Pygmies* or *Pygmaei*, were styled by the *Hebrews* סִכְיָי, i. e. *Succbæi*, from סִכְיָי *succbab a den*; for that word signifies as well a cave or den, as a tent. Hence it is natural to suppose the *Troglodytic* town *Succba*, on the coast of the *Red Sea*, mentioned by *Pliny*, the modern *Suaquem*, the seat of a *Turkish* bashaw, deduced its name. In support of this notion it may be observed, that the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate* versions render סִכְיָי Τρωγλοδυται, *Troglodytæ*, a word derived apparently from τρεῦγλαν, i. e. a cave, den, ^e passage, &c. and rank this people among the *Cushites*, *Libyans*, and other nations, that formed the numerous army of *Sesac*. The *Aualitæ* or *Abalitæ* were seated near the *Abalitic* gulf, which is all that we have to say of them. *Agatharchides*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, and *Agathemerus*, inform us, that the *Struthopbagi*, who lived upon ostriches as big as stags, were seated immediately to the south of the *Memnones*. The *Acridopbagi*, *Cbelonopbagi*, *Ichthyopbagi*, *Cynamolgi*, *Elephantopbagi*, *Rhizopbagi*, *Spermatopbagi*, *Hylophagi*, *Ophiopbagi*, &c. derived their names from the locusts, tortoises, fish, bitch's milk, elephants, &c. they fed upon. The *Acridopbagi* were very small, swift, black, and short-lived, the oldest of them not exceeding forty years of age. They used locusts for food, with which they were plentifully supplied by certain winds that covered their country with them, as we learn from *Diodorus* and *Strabo*. ^f As for the *Cbelonopbagi*, they covered their houses with the shells of tor-

* PHILO JUDÆUS, HIERONYM. EUSEB. EUSTATH. AUCT. CHRON. ALEXANDR. aliq; apud *Bochart*. Phal. l. iv. c. 2. EUPOLEM. apud EUSEB. DE PRÆP. EVANG. l. ix. JONATH. TARG. in GEN. c. 2. ver. 6. & alib. EXOD. ii. 16, 21. NUM. xii. 1. ISAI. c. xl. ver. 11. JER. c. xiii. ver. 23. EZEK. c. xxix. v. 10. HABAK. c. iii. v. 7. JOB. c. xxviii. v. 19. EZEK. c. xxx. ver. 9. 2 CHRON. c. xiv. ver. 9. & c. xvi. ver. 8. JOSEPH. ANTIQ. l. i. c. 7. PLIN. l. v. c. 9. ex emend. P. HARDUINI. STRAB. l. xvii. JOSEPH. apud *Bochart*. ubi sup. HIERONYM. apud CELLAR. l. iii. c. xiv. PTOL. in ARAB. PLIN. l. xxxi. c. 8. AGATHARCHIDES CNIDIUS, DIOD. SIC. & STRAB. apud *Bochart*. phal. l. iv. c. ii. XENOPH. CYROPÆD. l. viii. HERODOT. l. iii. c. 114. & seq. & l. vii. c. 69. PHILOSTRAT. in vit. APOLLON. TYAN. l. vi. c. 1. NEWTON'S CHRONOL. p. 236. HERODOT. l. ii. c. 110. PLIN. l. vi. c. 29. P. HARDUIN. in CHRONOL. vet. test. p. 57. ^c BOCHART. phal. l. iv. c. 2. 6.

toises, and lived upon their flesh. The *Ichthyophagi* occupied a maritime part of a *Ethiopia*, bordering on the *Red Sea*, and not far from the frontiers of *Egypt*. As they lived upon all kinds of fish, large as well as small, *Aben-Ezra* takes them to be the צִיִּים *Tziim* of the psalmist, to whom God gave the heads of *Leviathan*, under which name, according to that author, *Moses* comprehends all fish of a vast size, for meat. This notion seems to receive some accession of strength from several circumstances hinted at in the passage referred to. For the *Troglodytes* made their very bread of the flesh of fishes dried in the sun; the psalmist is there speaking of *Pharaoh*, and the *Egyptians*, who were drowned in the *Red Sea*, and afterwards thrown upon the *Troglodytic* shore; *Tziim* properly imports a nation inhabiting a barren dry country, such as was that of the *Troglodytes*; and other texts of Scripture, compared b with this, not a little favour such an opinion. They built their houses of whale-bones, and shells of fishes. The ribs served for rafters, and the jaws for portals. They fed their very cattle with fish. Some of them inhabited caves in mountains, formed by vast quantities of sea-weed from time to time thrown on shore, and consolidated by the force of the tide beating upon it, and perpetually bringing a fresh accession of matter to it, together with the heat of the sun. From this, as well as from what has been advanced by several authors, it appears, that the *Red Sea* was exceeding shallow at certain times; that it was covered with an immense quantity of this sea-weed, which gave it a very green colour; and that from hence the *Hebrews* denominated it יָם סוּף *yam suph*, i.e. *The sea of the weed*. The *Cynamolgi* kept great c numbers of dogs, in order to hunt wild beasts, and sometimes fed upon bitches milk. *Pliny* fabulously relates, that they had dogs heads. The *Elephantophagi* seem to have had their situation in the southern parts of *Ethiopia*, and destroyed elephants in a very dextrous manner, as will be related elsewhere. The *Rhizophagi* were seated not far from the conflux of the *Astaboras*, *Astapus*, and the *Nile*. Their territory abounded with morasses that produced a great number of canes, whose roots served them for food. The *Spermatophagi* and *Hyllophagi* formed two neighbouring cantons; the first of which fed upon the fruits that fell from the trees in the summer, but the rest of the year upon a sweet plant with a stalk something resembling that of a turnep; and the latter, with their wives and children, upon the buds and tender d shoots of trees. The *Hylogones*, neighbours to the *Elephantophagi*, lived for the most part in the woods, and generally slept on trees. Their curious method of killing lions, leopards, and other wild beasts, we shall hereafter describe. The *Pamphagi* used every thing indiscriminately for food; and the *Agriophagi* fed upon the flesh of wild beasts. The *Opbiophagi* or *Serpent-eaters* inhabited a very fertile tract, as we learn from *Pliny*. The *Ethiopian Anthropophagi* or *Man-eaters*, mentioned by *Marcianus* and *Ptolemy*, seem to have been the *Cafres*, and not a people of proper *Ethiopia*. As for the *Gapacki*, *Ptoemphanes*, *Catadupi*, *Pechini*, *Catadra*, and other obscure *Ethiopic* tribes, we know nothing of them but the bare names. The number of nations inhabiting antient *Ethiopia* will not surprise us, when we have seen *Ludol-* e *phus's* description of the kingdom of *Abyssinia* (D) s.

Cities.
Auxume:

THIS region did not abound in cities and towns of any considerable note. *Auxume*, *Auxumis*, or *Axome*, the metropolis of *Ethiopia*, according to *Arrian* and *Nonnosus* in *Photius*, undoubtedly was the same city as the modern *Axuma*, or, as the *Abassines* call it, *Afcum*. The noble palace, beautiful structures, &c. this city was formerly so famous for, sufficiently appear from the present remains of it. It

* HERODOT. l. iv. PHILOSTRATUS & CTESIAS CNIDIUS apud Phot. AGATHARCHIDES CNIDIUS de Mar. Rubr. l. iii. in excerptis PHOTII. DIOD. SIC. l. iii. STRAB. l. xvi. & l. xvii. MEL. l. iii. c. 8. & alib. PLIN. l. vi. c. 24, 29, 30, & alib. pass. ARRIAN. in peripl. Mar. Erythr. JOSEPH. antiquit. l. ii. c. 5. OLYMPIODORUS apud Photium, p. 112. PTOL. l. iv. c. 8. FLAVIUS VOPISCUS in Prob. c. 17. PROCOF. de bell. Pers. l. i. c. 19. ZOSIM. l. i. c. 71. ANTONIN. itinerar. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. AMMIAN. MARCEL. LIN. l. x. c. 4. DIONYS. AF. v. 230. CLAUDIAN. de Nil. v. 19. AGATHEMER. l. ii. c. 5. NONNUS DIONYS. 17. MARCIAN. HERACLEOT. in peripl.

(D) To the clans or tribes here enumerated may be added the *Hippophagi* or *Horse-eaters* of *Agathemernus*, who were bounded on the south by the northern borders of *Libya Incognita*; the *Macrobii*, a powerful nation, some of whom attained to the age of an hundred-and-twenty years, according to He-

rodotus; the *Sambri*, not far from the Nubian city *Tennupis* upon the *Nile*, all whose quadrupeds, even the elephants themselves, were without ears; and the *Asacha*, a mountainous people continually employed in hunting of elephants (4).

(4) Herodot. l. iii. Agathemer. l. ii. c. 5. Plin. l. vi. c. 30.

- a stands about forty-five *Portuguese* leagues from the *Red Sea*, and in 14° 30' N. lat. It looks now like a village, being almost totally ruined, and scarcely affording shelter to a hundred inhabitants. Some authors relate, that there may be seen here the remains of a magnificent temple, which have supported themselves against the injuries of time. The *Portuguese*, who first visited this country, called *Axuma* corruptly *Cbaxumo* or *Cassumo*. Behind the temple above-mentioned, which was an hundred and ten feet in length, had two wings on each side, and a double porch, with an ascent of twelve steps, stand several obelisks of different sizes, and others have been thrown down by the *Turks*. Amongst the rubbish is a great square stone, on which appears some part of an antient inscription, so effaced by time, that it is not legible, and nothing can be distinguished except some *Greek* and *Latin* letters, and the word *Basilus*. When the *Abassine* monarchs were formerly crowned here, they sat on a throne of stone in the inner porch of the aforesaid temple. *Pfelchis* or *Pfelcha*, and *Premnis*, through which *Petronius* marched in his *Ethiopic* expedition, stood upon the western bank of the *Nile*, but their true situation cannot be discovered. *Napata*, where *Candace* queen of *Ethiopia* resided, was on the opposite bank, but in what direction it is to be sought for, we cannot precisely inform our readers. *Ptolemy* mentions two towns called *Premis* or *Primis*, one of which might possibly have been the *Premnis* of *Strabo*. The emporia or marts of *Nalis*, *Mondus*, *Abalis*, *Mosylon*, *Coloe*, and *Opone*, probably made a good figure in antient times, though we have no particulars of moment handed down to us concerning them. *Petronius* reduced *Pfelcha*, *Premnis*, and *Napata*, in the above-mentioned expedition, razing *Napata*, and leaving a garrison of four hundred men in *Premnis*, with provisions for two years. *Pliny* mentions a city of the *Nubians* upon the *Nile* called *Tenupsis*, with which possibly either *Couxa*, *Nuvála*, *Galva*, *Duncála* or *Ielúc*, all placed by the *Nubian* geographer near the conflux of the *Nile* and the *Astaboras*, may correspond. *Duncála*, the *Dumcála* of *Jacutus*, the *Dungála* of *Leo*, and the present *Dongola*, the capital of the *Nubians*, all whose cities are seated upon the *Nile*, seems to bid the fairest for it. None of the other towns taken notice of by the old geographers deserve the least attention ^b.
- Ethiopia*, as appears from the best modern geographical descriptions of *Abassia*, ^{Mountains.}
- d as well as the antients, was extremely mountainous; though we find no mountains of note taken notice of by the antients, except the mounts *Garbata*, and *Elephas* or *Phalangis*. Whether or no the mountains of *Tigre*, the highest of which is *Lamalmon*, beginning about two days journey from the *Red Sea*, answer to either of these, we shall not presume to assert; though that they did, by the situation assigned them, seems not improbable. Be that as it will, the path over *Lamalmon*, whose ascent is vastly steep and dangerous, is so narrow, that the person who gives way to another there falls headlong into an abyss, and is irrecoverably lost. Several provinces of *Abassia*, viz. *Bagendra* or *Bagemeder*, *Gojam*, *Waleka*, *Shewa*, &c. are but one continued chain of mountains, the principal of which are those of *Ambara* and *Samen*.
- e The *Aorni*, as the *Abassines* call them, are rugged rocks of such an incredible height, that the *Alps* and *Pyrenees* are but low hills in comparison of them. *Curtius* relates, that the *Indians* called a famous rock in their country *Aornos*, as being above the flight of a bird; but that author mistakes the etymology, since the word, from what has been here observed, cannot be looked upon as of *Greek* extraction. Amongst the mountains, and even frequently in the plains of *Abassia*, arise steep and craggy rocks of various forms, some resembling towers, others pyramids, &c. so even on the sides, that they seem to be the effect of labour and art; insomuch that men, cattle, &c. are craned up by the help of ladders and ropes. And yet the tops of these rocks are covered with woods, meadows, fountains, fish-ponds, &c. which
- f very copiously supply the animals seated thereon with all the conveniences of life. The most remarkable of these rocks is *Gesben* or *Amba-Gesben*, on the confines of *Ambara*, towards *Shewa*, prodigiously steep, in the form of a castle built of free-stone, and almost impregnable. Its summit is about half a *Portuguese* league in breadth, and its circumference at the bottom near half a day's journey. The ascent at first is easy, but afterwards so steep and rugged, that the *Abassine* oxen, which will otherwise clamber like goats, must be craned up and let down with ropes. Here the princes

^b STRAB. MEL. PLIN. ARRIAN. PTOL. MARCIAN. HERACL. STEPH. BYZANT. ubi sup. NONNOSUS apud Phot. n. 3. p. m. 2. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 90, 91. Geogr. Nubiens. clim. i. par. 4. LEO AFRICAN. l. vii. c. ult. FRANCISC. ALVAREZ, c. xvii. & apud GOLIUM, ubi sup. I. LUDOLPH. in comment. ad hist. Æthiop. p. 251, 252, & seq. Vid. etiam LUDOLPH. l. ii. c. 11. & LE GRAND, dissert. ii.

of the blood were formerly confined, in low cottages amongst shrubs and wild cedars, ^a with an allowance barely sufficient to keep them alive. There is, according to *Kircher*, in the province of *Gojam*, a rock so curiously hollowed by nature, that at a distance it resembles a looking-glass; and opposite to this another, on the top of which nothing can be so softly whispered, but that it may be heard a great way off. Between many of these rocks and mountains are vast profundities or abysses, which appear most dreadful to the eye. The natives call every one of the rocks above-mentioned *Amba*, as *Amba-Salam*, *Amba-Gesben*, *Amba-Dorbo*, *Amba-Damo*, *Amba-Samet*, &c.

The climate of
Ethiopia.

IN so mountainous a region as *Ethiopia* the air cannot be always alike, and perhaps there is no country in the world where so many different seasons may be found in so small a compass. The *Ethiopic*, as well as the opposite coast of the *Red Sea*, ^b together with those low open places called by the modern *Abassines Kolla*, and the islands of this sea, are intolerably scorched by the solar rays in the summer-season; inasmuch that *Gregory* the *Abassine* related the heat in the island of *Suaquema* or *Suaquena* to be so intense as to excoriate any part of the body, melt hard *Indian* wax in a cabinet, and sear a garment like red-hot iron. However, the air is much more temperate in the mountainous parts; nay, according to *Tellezius*, the summer heats are milder in several districts of *Abassia* than in *Portugal*; and even in *Samen* the cold is more dreaded than the heat. In some provinces of *Ethiopia* the winter is extremely severe, in others as warm as the summer in several parts of *Europe*. The *Ethiopians* have little or no snow, but only a small sort of hail that sometimes covers the ground, ^c and at a distance looks like snow. Frequent and dreadful thunders, however, they have, attended with tempests that terrify both man and beast, which proceed from the excessive variety of air. *Ludolphus* thinks, that *Gregory's* four seasons, *Matzau*, *Tzadai*, *Hagai*, and *Cramt*, are in reality but three, i. e. the spring, which begins on the twenty-fifth day of *September*; the summer, consisting of two parts, the first called *Tzadai*, beginning upon the twenty-fifth of *December*, and the second denominated *Hagai* in the *Abassine* tongue, commencing on the twenty fifth of *June*; and lastly, *Cramt*, or winter, which concludes the *Ethiopic* year. The climate here in general is so healthy, that 'tis no uncommon thing for the natives to arrive at an hundred years of age; however, towards the beginning of the spring, that is to say, ^d in the months of *September* and *October*, an epidemic fever sometimes makes great havock amongst the inhabitants of *Tigre*.¹

THE days and nights in *Ethiopia*, as lying betwixt the tropic of *Cancer* and the *Line*, are for the most part nearly equal. The winds that blow on the mountains are generally speaking salubrious and pleasant; but the atmosphere over the plains, for want of them, stagnates, and becomes unwholesome. The wind *Sendo*, however, is far from being beneficial to the *Abassines*. It is a whirlwind so impetuously violent, that it throws down all before it, and therefore in some respect may seem to answer its name, which in the *Ambaric* dialect signifies a serpent or snake. *Gregory* told *Ludolphus*, that it might be seen, and represented an immense serpent, whose ^e head moved on the ground, and the body erected itself in curls and windings up to the sky. The soil in those parts capable of cultivation is extremely fertile, and produces vast quantities of grain, pulse, and fruit. Metals likewise, particularly gold, minerals, vegetables, and a surprising variety of animals, it abounds with; but these our readers will expect a description of in another place. We find it asserted by the best authors, that the *Abassines* have sometimes two, and sometimes three harvests in a year. They neither sow nor mow for the sake of their cattle, the perpetual heat, and continual distillation of moisture from the mountains, producing grass in great abundance, and covering the fields with a most beautiful verdure thro' all the different seasons of the year. Though they have most delicious grapes, and ^f honey is very cheap amongst them, yet they almost intirely confine themselves to malt liquor, which is not very unlike that brewed in some parts of *Europe*.¹ (D).

¹ STRAB. l. xvii. AGATHEMER. geogr. l. ii. c. 15. LUDOLPH. l. i. c. 6. CURT. l. viii. P. BALTHAZAR TELLEZ. apud Ludolph. ubi sup. ut & ipse LUDOLPH. in comment. ad hist. Æthiop. pass. LE GRAND, dissert. ii. ATHAN. KIRCH. in musurg. univers. t. iii. l. ix. c. 6. ² NONNOSUS apud Phot. n. 3. p. m. 2. GREGOR. ABASSIN. apud Job. Ludolph. hist. Æthiop. l. i. c. 5. ³ STRAB. l. xvii. GREG. ABASS. ubi sup. PP. HIERONYM. LUP. BALTHAZ. TELLEZ. ALPHONS. MENDEZ. & JOB. LUDOLPH. pass.

(D) This appears from what the young *Abassinian* told the learned gentleman hereafter mentioned at *Jerusalem*, and receives some accession of strength from *Diodorus* and *Strabo*. Those authors affirm this li-

quor to have been extracted from miller, as well as barley, and in flavour and excellency to have equalled wine (5).

(5) *Diod. Sic. l. i. Strab. l. xvii.*

- a Or all the rivers, that water *Ethiopia*, the most famous is the *Nile*, which has ^{Rivers.} its source in that country. Many of the ancient geographers, and in particular *Pto-* ^{The Nile.} *lemy*, placed the fountains of this river beyond the *Line*, on some mountains which they called *the mountains of the moon*. But the moderns, particularly the *Portuguese*, have discovered this to be a mistake. What they have advanced on this head has been in a great measure confirmed by *Gregory* the *Abassine* in a letter to *M. Ludolphus*. According to that curious person, the spring-head of the *Nile* first appears in a tract called *Secut*, upon the top of *Dengla*, near the frontiers of *Gojam*, to the W. of *Bagemdra*, *Dara*, the lake of *Tzana*, and *Bada*. From thence it takes its course towards *Ambara*, leaving *Gojam* on the right, and *Bagemdra* on the left. Having
- b passed the limits of *Ambara*, and in such a manner surrounded the kingdom of *Gojam* as always to leave it on the right, it washes the confines of *Waleka*, and then approaches the farthest bounds of *Mugara* and *Shewa*. Then, running between *Bizama* and *Gonga*, it comes into the country of the *Chankalas*; from whence, winding to the right, and gradually leaving the western climate on the left, it advances towards the kingdom of *Sennar*. But before its arrival there, it is greatly increased by the accession of two large rivers from the east, viz. the *Tacaza* falling out of *Tigre*, and the *Guangua* descending from *Dambea*. After taking a view of the kingdom of *Sennar*, it moves to the borders of *Dongola*, and so to the kingdom of *Nubia* (E); from hence, turning to the right, it reaches at last a region called *Abrim*, where its
- c stream becomes unnavigable by reason of the cliffs and rocks, and soon afterwards enters *Egypt*. The travellers therefore from *Sennar* and *Abassia*, after having crossed *Nubia*, leave the *Nile* to the E. and cross upon camels a desert of fifteen days journey, where neither tree, water, nor any thing else but sand, is to be seen. From *Abrim* it continues its course to *Rif* or *Upper Egypt*, where the above-mentioned travellers again come up with it; and, after having traversed the kingdom of *Egypt* in a northern direction, empties itself into the *Mediterranean* near *Alexandria*. Father *Payz*, who viewed the fountains of the *Nile* himself, adds, that the source of this river consists of two round spring-heads, very deep, upon an eminence, the ground about which is quaggy and marshy; that, however, the water does not issue out
- d from thence, but from the foot of the hill, about a musquet-shot from whence, towards the east, the river begins to flow; that, winding then to the north about the fourth part of a *Portuguese* league, it receives another river, and a little farther two more from the east, soon after which it enlarges itself with the addition of several other streams; and lastly, that about a day's journey farther it swallows up the river *Jema*, and, after flowing twenty *Portuguese* leagues in a western direction, turns to the east, and plunges itself into a vast lake (F). 'Tis remarkable, that all the rivers of *Ethiopia*, at any considerable distance from the ocean, except the *Hanazo* rising in *Hangota* or *Angote*, and the *Hawash* or *Awaxe* running through the kingdoms of *Dawara* and *Fatagara* or *Fategur*, flow into the *Nile*. The *Etesian* winds contribute
- e little or nothing to the inundations of the *Nile*, though some authors have falsely imagined the contrary, nor the snow melted from the *Ethiopian* mountains, according to others, as *Seneca* and *Ludolphus* have fully evinced. But the prodigious mass of waters flowing from all parts, and proceeding from the immoderate showers

(E) 'Tis observable, that *Gregory* here distinguishes the kingdom of *Sennar* from that of *Nubia*, though at present they are looked upon to be the same. However, in our opinion, *Gregory's* authority is superior to that of *Pomert* and the missionaries, upon which that of the modern geographers depends. We find no mention of *Sennar* in any of that numerous tribe of oriental and other authors cited by the excellent *Goliut* in his incomparable notes upon *Alfraganus*, though they take notice both of *Nuba* or *Nubia*, and the country of the *Fungi*; therefore it should seem probable, that *Sennar* is only a part of *Nubia*, or else a kingdom different from it. The *Nubian* geographer intimates, that in his time the city of *Senna*, probably *Sennar*, was an inconsiderable place, and its district or territory distinct from the kingdom of *Nuba* or *Nubia*. *Ludolphus* makes

the modern kingdom of *Sennar* to be the same with the country of the *Fungi*, and a part of the ancient *Nubia* (5).

(F) This is probably the lake of *Tzana*, through which the *Nile* passes, still preserving the colour of its own water. From hence, turning to the south, it washes on the left hand the principal kingdoms of *Abassia*, viz. *Bagemdra*, *Ambara*, *Waleka*, *Shewa*, *Damota*, &c. and takes along the rivers of those countries, viz. the *Bashlo*, *Tzobha*, *Kecem*, *Jema*, *Roma*, and *Wencis*. Then on the right hand surrounding *Gojam*, and swelled with the *Muga*, *Abaja*, *Afwari*, *Temai*, *Gult*, and *Tzul*, all rivers of that region, it bends again towards the west, leaves *Abassia* upon the right, and runs in a northern direction through several thirsty nations, and sandy deserts, in order to fertilize *Egypt* with its inundations (6).

(5) *Geogr. Nubiens. clim. i. par. 3. sub fin.* *Ludolph. hist. Æthiop. l. i. c. 2.*
Ludolph. l. i. c. 8. *Ludolph. comment. ad hist. Æthiop. p. 122, 123, & seq.*

(6) *Greg. Abas. apud Ludolph.*

with

with which the countries under the *Torrid Zone* are washed, when the sun returns into a the winter signs, undoubtedly occasions them. *Juba* makes the *Nile* to have had its source in *Mauritania*, as we learn from *Ammianus Marcellinus*; which runs counter to fact, as well as most other authors who have treated of this river. Perhaps he might extend the southern parts of *Mauritania* as far as the *Niger*, which agreed almost in all points with the *Nile*, as just observed; and therefore mistake the latter for the former, which he might falsely imagine had its rise in *Mauritania*, because it ran by the borders of that region. *Strabo* countenances this opinion, when he intimates, that the rivers in the southern parts of *Mauritania* abounded with animals and vegetables like those produced in and about the *Nile* (G). The modern *Abassines*, tho' they are not ignorant of the fountains from which the *Nile* deduces its source, are far b from being perfectly acquainted with the course of that river after it leaves them. However, the constant and antient tradition amongst them is, that near a certain mountain, at some distance from the city of *Sennar*, it divides itself into two streams, one of which runs to the westward, and forms the river *Niger*, and the other in a northern direction takes its course through *Egypt*. This we learn from the *Nubian* geographer, who at the same time intimates, that the channel running to the east of this mountain, watering *Nubia* and the land of *Egypt*, is divided in the *Lower Egypt* into four parts, three of which fall into the *Syrian* sea, and the other discharges itself into a salt lake near *Alexandria*. 'Tis probable, that the separation of these two streams is caused c by some rocky mountain meeting the river above-mentioned, and splitting it into two channels. *Leo Africanus* adds great weight to the authority of the *Nubian* geographer, when he assures us, that the *Nile* flows through the region of the *Nigritæ*. The *Abassines*, according to *Gregory* above-mentioned, say that the *Niger* separates from the *Nile* in the country of *Dongola*; that the greatest flow of water passes into *Egypt*; and that the other stream, descending towards the region of *Elway*, at last throws itself into the *Atlantick* ocean. All which seems to be confirmed by what we have lately observed from *Herodotus*, and by *Pliny*, when he assures us, that the *Nile* and the *Niger* agree in colour and taste of water, produce the same sort of reed, the same sort of paper, the same sort of animals, and increase, as well as overflow, at d the same seasons. If the above-mentioned particulars be admitted, it seems possible for the king of *Abassia* either so to stop up the fountains of the *Nile*, or so to divert the course of the river proceeding immediately from thence, that *Egypt* should not be overflowed; which would prove the total ruin of that kingdom. This receives some accession of strength from *Elmacinus*, who relates, that the khalif *Muhsan* sent *Michael* the patriarch with magnificent presents to the *Abassine* monarch, to prevail upon him to open the channel that conveyed water to *Egypt*, which for some time had been stopped. His petition that prince immediately granted. The consequence of which was, that the *Nile*, which had before greatly failed, rose three yards in one night, and rendered the land of *Egypt* as capable of cultivation as ever. e This has induced some authors to assert, that the grand signor pays an annual tribute to the king of *Abassia*, that his *Egyptian* subjects may enjoy all the advantages of the *Nile's* inundations which their ancestors have done. *Gregory*, cited above, intimated to *Ludolphus*, that he had heard from some *Abassines* of undoubted veracity, that near the *Cataracts* of the *Nile* the land to the east was a perfect plain; and that, by only opening a passage through one mountain for that river, it would flow rather that way than into the *Mediterranean* through (H) *Egypt*. However, we must own ourselves far from being certain as to this point; though a gentleman of most profound erudition, and unexceptionable authority, has informed us, that he met with a young *Abassinian* at *Jerusalem*, who intimated to him, that such a kind of notion still pre- f

(G) 'Tis not improbable, that the *Segelmeffa* was one of these rivers mentioned by *Strabo*; since, according to the *Nubian* geographer, it nearly resembled the *Nile*, in almost all particulars: nay, we are told, that the river *Sus* at present fertilizes all the adjacent country by its inundations, as the *Nile* does *Egypt*; which adds no small weight to the authority of *Strabo* (7).

(H) It is observable, that the kings of *Abassia* are still persuaded, that the keys of the *Nile* are in their hands, and that they can, when they please, change its course, as the king *Teklimanont* threat-

ened the bashaw of *Cairo* towards the beginning of this century, that is, about the year 1706. That prince, being greatly incensed at the assassination of the *sieur Du Roule* a Frenchman at *Sennar*, threatened the bashaw with his resentment, in case an immediate stop was not put to such flagrant violations of the law of nations; telling him, that he could make the *Nile* the instrument of his vengeance, since God, by placing in his hands the fountains, passage, and increase, of that river, had put it in his power to make it do either good or harm (8).

(7) *Geogr. Nubiens. Moll, De la Croix, &c.*

(8) See the sequel to father Lobo's voyage to *Abassia*.

a veiled amongst his countrymen. The present *Ethiopians* call their part of this river *Abawi*, though in the old *Ethiopic* language we find it styled *Gejon* or *Gewon*, probably by an ancient mistake from the Greek word *Γαῖρ*, *Geon*, or Hebrew *Gibon*, *Gen. ii. 13.* since some authors have imagined that river to be the *Nile*. The prophets *Jeremiab* and *Isaiab* give the river we are now upon the name of *Sibor* or *Sichor*, i. e. *The black river*, from the colour of its water, as the *Greeks* did that of *Melas*, and the *Latins* *Melo*, for the same reason. And, agreeably to this notion, *Virgil* says:

b *Et viridem Ægyptum nigra fecundat arena,
Et diversa ruens septem discurrit in ora
Usque coloratis amnis devexus ab Indis.* VIRG. *Georg. l. iv. v. 291—294.*

Dionysius Afer and *Stephanus Byzantinus* say, that the *Ethiopians* denominated that part of this river running through their territories *Siris*, which is evidently the same as *Sibor*; but that, as soon as it reached *Syene*, it received the name of (I) *Nile*. Besides the *Nile*, the ancient geographers mention two other rivers, called *Aylaboras* and *Astapus*, meeting near the island or peninsula *Meroe*, and joining the *Nile* soon after. As these rivers had their sources to the east of the *Nile*, the first deducing its streams from the lake *Coloe* in the district of *Amaza*, and the other from some fountains betwixt the mounts *Garbata* and *Elephas* not far from the *Anahitic* gulf, we must submit it to our readers, whether the modern *Tacaza* and *Mareb*, considering the situation and direction assigned them by the modern geographers, do not intirely correspond with them. *Pliny*, *Heliodorus*, and *Sirabo*, mention a third considerable river falling into the *Nile*, whose name they do not intirely agree in; but as it has been omitted by several of the ancient geographers, and especially by *Ptolemy*, who had the best means of informing himself as to the truth of every particular relating to it, we shall

(I) To what has been said of the *Nile* we shall beg leave to add the account of the rivers flowing into it, given us by the patriarch *Alphonso Mendez*. "The *Nile*, says he, receives several rivers, the most remarkable of which are the *Baxilo* or *Bachilo*, which divides the kingdoms of *Bagemeder* or *Bagemdra* and *Amhara*; the *Gulcem*, which bounds the same kingdom of *Amhara* and *Oleca*; the *Malack* and *Anguer*, which, having joined their streams, water the countries of *Damos*, *Nareva*, *Bizamo*, the *Gafates*, and the *Gongas*. The *Tacaza*, called by the antients *Aylaboras*, hath three different sources near the mountains, which separate the two kingdoms of *Angote* or *Angota* and *Bagemeder*; it runs towards the west thro' the desert of *Oldeba*; then, entering *Dambar*, falls into a large bed of sands; and afterwards, having crossed part of the kingdom of *Decan*, discharges itself into the *Nile*. 'Tis said, that besides crocodiles and river-horses, there are in this river abundance of torpedoes, which immediately benumb the arm of any man that touches them. The *Mareb*, rising two leagues from *Debaroa*, falls, after a long course, from a rock thirty cubits in height, and sinks under-ground; but in the winter it runs through many other provinces, and by the monastery of *Alleluja*, and then loses itself. The army, when they invaded these regions, dug into the land, and found under-ground both good water, and excellent fish." To which we shall beg leave to subjoin a short description of the course of the *Nile*, as delivered to us by the best modern geographers since the time of *Gregory* and *Ludolphus*. It arises in the kingdom of *Gejam*, and proceeds from thence in a N. E. direction to the

lake of *Dambea* or *Tzana*; afterwards it moves S. E. to the kingdom of *Bagemeder*, or, as *Gregory* calls it, *Bagemdra*; then, still running S. E. it approaches the kingdom of *Amhara*; from whence, continuing its motion S. E. it advances to the kingdom of *Oleca*, betwixt which and *Amhara* it receives a considerable river, as it did before the *Bachilo* on the confines of *Amhara* and *Bagemdra*. From the kingdom of *Oleca* it moves to that of *Choa* in the same direction, and from thence by *Debra* through *Galla*, and the kingdom of the *Casutes*, to that of *Gonga*. Afterwards it visits the country of the *Changalas*, N. E. of *Gonga*. From thence in a northern direction it flows to the city and kingdom of *Sennar*; and then to *Corte* or *Corti* in *Nubia*, through the desert of *Bahiouda* N. W. from *Sennar*. Betwixt *Sennar* and *Corti* it passes by *Barbar*, near which is a *Cataract* N. E. of the former place, from whence it turns to the W. and reaches *Corte*. *Kanife* W. of *Corte* next receives a vitic from it; and then *Dongola* N. of *Kanife*. Continuing its course N. E. it arrives at the *Greater Cataract*; and afterwards takes its leave of *Nubia* near the *Lesser Cataract*. Lastly, having traversed *Egypt* in a northern direction, it discharges itself by several mouths into the *Mediterranean*. We could not dispense with being thus particular, in relation to the source and course of a river the most celebrated of all others taken notice of by antiquity, on account of the vast advantages accruing from its inundations to the countries through which it passed; especially since the antients sought after the causes of these inundations, and the head of this river, in vain (9).

(9) *Alphonf. Mendez apud Le Grand, differt. iii.*

superfede all farther accounts of it, and conclude here what we have to say of the rivers of *Ethiopia* (K) ^m.

Lakes, promon-
tories, ports,
&c.

WE find no remarkable fountains and lakes in *Ethiopia* besides the sources of the rivers above-mentioned, except the lake of *Psebo* above *Meroe*, that of *Tzana* being, as far as we can collect from the old geography, unknown to the antients. The principal promontories were, *Basium*, *Mnemium*, *Aspis*, *Saturni promentorium*, *Mosylon*, *Dire*, *Zengisa*, *Noti Cornu*, *Prasum*, and *Raptum*, the last of which was inhabited by *Canibals* or *Antropophagi*. But the three last capes seem rather to have belonged to the *Cafres* or *African* barbarians than the proper *Ethiopians*. The chief ports and empories of *Ethiopia* were those of *Adulis*, *Mondus*, *Opone*, *Mosylon*, and the principal city of the *Aualitæ*, seated upon the *Red Sea*. From their country into these places the *Arabs* imported fruit, corn, wine, cloaths, &c. and exported from thence to *Ocelis* and *Musa*, opposite harbours in *Arabia*, spices, cassia, perfumes, ivory, myrrh, and several other (L) commodities. To which we may add the haven and fortress of *Sabid*, probably the *Sabat* of *Ptolemy*, now in a ruinous condition. The most noted islands appertaining to *Ethiopia* were *Meroe*, if that should not rather be deemed a peninsula, the *Sporades* of *Agatharchides*, *Astratæ*, *Ara Palladis*, *Gythitis*, *Myronis*, *Daphnine*, *Magi*, *Acantbine*, *Isis*, *Mondus*, and *Menutbias* (M). *Meroe* contained a large tract, together with a very considerable city, its metropolis, of the same name. *Josephus* informs us, that its original name was *Saba*, but that *Cambyfes*, from his sister, afterwards called it *Meroe*; which seems to be confirmed by *Strabo*, tho' it does not appear from *Herodotus*, that this prince penetrated so far into *Ethiopia*. *Timosthenes*, *Ptolemy Philadelphus's* admiral, related, that the city of *Meroe* was sixty days journey from *Syene*. *Eratosthenes* made this distance six hundred and twenty-five miles; *Hipparchus* in *Strabo* five thousand stadia, which agrees with *Eratosthenes*; *Artemidorus* six hundred miles; and *Sebosus* computed sixteen hundred miles from the farthest or most northern part of *Egypt* to this famous town. But, according to *Pliny* (N), the road between *Meroe* and *Syene* was discovered in the reign

^m GREG. ABASS. apud Ludolph. & ipse LUDOLPH. in hist. Æthiop. l. i. c. 8. MEL. l. i. c. 9 & alib. STRAB. l. xvii. & alib. JOSEPH. antiq. l. ii. c. 7. HERODOT. l. ii. c. 34. & alib. DIOD. SIC. l. i. PLIN. l. v. c. 9. & alib. AGATHARCHID. CNID. apud Phot. PLUTARCH. Incert. AucT. THEOPHYLACT. DIOD. SIC. ARISTID. DIO. STRAB. HELIODOR. THEODORET. de increment. Nil. VIRG. georg. l. iii. DIONYS. AP. v. 223. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. ISAI. c. xxiii. v. 3. JER. c. ii. v. 18. HELIODOR. Æthiop. l. x. PTOL. l. iv. ENNIUS apud SERV. in ÆN. i. SENECA. quæst. natural. l. iv. c. 2. SOLIN. c. 27. 43. PLIN. l. v. c. 8. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. xxii. GEOGR. Nub. clim. i. par. 4. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 89. GEORG. ELMACIN. in hist. Saracen. LEO AFRICAN. l. i. c. 7. PP. PAYS & TELLEZ. apud Ludolph. l. i. c. 8. ALF. D'ALBUQUER. comment. in TELLEZ. par. 4. c. 7. ATHAN. KIRCH. in supplement. prod. & lexic. Copt. p. 524. c. 2. Is. VOSS. de orig. Nil. & flumin. Vid. & LE GRAND. dissert. iii.

(K) We must not omit observing, that as the advantages afforded the fields in other countries by the rains are derived from the rivers in *Ethiopia*, the places perfectly dry in winter are overflowed in summer. Several of these rivers do not empty themselves into the sea, as in other regions, but are sucked up in the sand; so that it is more difficult to discover their mouths than the sources of other streams (10).

(L) 'Tis remarkable, that most of these commodities have for a long time failed in *Ethiopia*, as the *lotus* and *silphium* in *Egypt* and *Cyrenaica*; but *Arabia* and *India* sufficiently supply the *European* merchants with them (11).

(M) To which we may add the island in the great lake of *Psebo*, sometimes occupied by the *Libyans*, and at other times by the *Ethiopians*, just as success attended their respective arms, according to *Strabo*. From the situation that author assigns this lake, in conjunction with what we shall offer concerning *Meroe* in note (N), our readers may possibly be induced to believe, that the present lake of *Tzana* or *Dambæ* is the *Psebo* of the antients (12).

(N) The computation we find in *Pliny* is as follows: From *Syene* to *Hiera* fifty-four miles; from thence to *Tama* seventy-five miles; from thence to the borders of the *Ethiopians* called *Eunymis*: an

hundred-and-twenty miles; from thence to *Atina* fifty-four miles; from thence to *Pisara* twenty-five miles; from thence to *Targedus* an hundred and six miles; from thence to *Napata* eighty miles; and lastly, from *Napata* to the city of *Meroe* three hundred and sixty miles.

What part of *Sennar* or *Abassia* answers to *Meroe*, we shall not take upon us to determine. The *Jesuits* have pitched upon the kingdom of *Gojam*, as being almost encompassed by the *Nile*, and consequently a peninsula, as *Meroe* was thought to have been by some of the antients. But M. Ludolphus has intirely overthrown this notion, by proving, amongst other things, that nothing related of *Meroe* by *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny*, is applicable to *Gojam*; *Meroe* being nearer *Egypt*. Besides, as that learned author observes, had *Meroe* been *Gojam*, and the antients had known that country, they must consequently have known the source of the *Nile*; which we find they did not. *Vossius* believes the city *Baroo* or *Baroa*, situated in 16°. 22'. N. lat. where the *Bahrnagas* generally resides, to correspond with the capital of *Meroe*. As this opinion depends upon the supposition, that the present *Mareb* or *Moraba* is the *Asaboras* of the antients, which must be admitted, it seems to have some appearance of truth. Mr. *Senex's* map of this country, which to us ap-

(10) Ludolph. in prasat. ad hist. Æthiop.

(11) Bochart. ubi sup.

(12) Strab. l. xvii.

- a reign of *Nero* to be eight hundred and seventy-four *Roman* miles long. The *Nubian* geographer does not differ greatly from some of these computations; for he intimates, that travellers are generally above two months in traversing *Nubia*, or that vast tract lying betwixt the confines of *Egypt* and *Abassia*. We find, that when *Ethiopia* was in its most flourishing state, the city of *Meroe* made a prodigious figure, insomuch that, if some of the antients may be credited, it could send into the field an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men, and contained four hundred thousand artificers, though in *Pliny's* time it was but a small town. Several queens of this part of *Ethiopia*, called *Candace*, that having for a considerable number of years been a sort of surname to them, held their residence here. *Strabo* makes it to have
b been ten thousand stadia from *Alexandria*, and the capital of *Ethiopia*. As the other islands are in a manner obscure, they merit no regard; only it may be proper to observe, that *Hardouin*, *Bochart*, and *Salmasius*, believe *Madagascar* to be the ancient *Menubias*, though *Isaac Vossius* takes it to have been the same with that island which the moderns call *Zanzibar*. How far either of these notions may be true, we cannot take upon us to say; neither is it of any consequence to our readers which of them, or whether either of them, is so^a.

- THE principal curiosities of this country are: 1. The rocks called *Amba-Dorbo*, *Curiosities*. or the rock of the *ben* above-mentioned. 2. The solid gold found on the banks of several rivers about the size of a tare or vetch, taken notice of by *Pliny*, with which
c the provinces of *Damot* and *Enarea* are said to abound. 3. The iron, copper, and gold mines some parts of it are so famous for. 4. The mountains of salt in a district upon the confines of *Tigre* and *Angota*, called the land of salt. In the mountains the salt is soft, and cut out with little labour, but hardens by being exposed to the open air. 5. The mountain of red salt mentioned by the patriarch *Alphonso Mendez*, and said to be indued with many medicinal virtues. 6. The mineral *stibium*, called in the *Ethiopic* tongue *cuebel* or *cobol*, which is produced in several provinces. 7. The various extraordinary animal and vegetable productions, which our readers will meet with in the modern history of *Abyssinia*^o (O).

^a HERODOT. l. ii. c. 29. STRAB. l. xvii. PLIN. l. ii. c. 73. & l. vi. c. 29, 30. JOSEPH. antiq. l. ii. c. 5. AGATHARCHID. CNID. de Mar. Rubr. l. v. ubi sup. PTOL. ARRIAN. MARCIAN. STEPH. BYZANT. ubi sup. DIOSCORID. l. i. ÆTIUS, tetrab. i. serm. 2. c. 156. SERAPION ex emend. Cl. Bocharti. PLIN. l. xii. c. 15. SIMÉON SETHUS & GALEN. apud BOCHART. phal. l. ii. c. 23. SALMAS. in Solin. p. 878. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 37. GOLII notæ in Alfragium, p. 89. HARDUIN. ad Plin. l. vi. c. 31. VOSS. ad Mel. p. 303. ATHAN. KIRCH. in Oedip. Egypt. synt. i. c. 7. p. 57. LUDOLPH. ubi sup. c. 8. ^o STRAB. l. xvii. PLIN. apud Ludolph. ut & ipse LUDOLPH. l. i. c. 6, 7.

pears the most accurate of any that has been hitherto published, seems to point out the tract answering to the ancient *Meroe*. We find there a sort of peninsula with many of the distinguishing characteristics of *Meroe* handed down to us by the antients. This peninsula is formed by the *Rahd*, the *Nile*, the *Goxe*, the *Mareb* or *Moraba*, the *Takezel* or *Tacaza*, and a river composed of these three last, which unites its stream with that of the *Nile* in near 18° N. lat. The chief places seated on the *Nile* in this peninsula are *Chantedi*, *Ghenedetoul*, *Garri*, *Kelsain*, *Cotragne*, *Nogue*, and *Halckharas*; upon the *Rahd* *Enbuloul* and *Gesen*; and upon the conflux of the *Moraba* and *Tacaza* the city of *Derkin* or *Dequin*: which we mention in order to give our readers a better idea of the tract we have in view. Now the peninsula of *Meroe* resembled a shield, and was three thousand stadia long, and one thousand broad, according to *Strabo*; it was likewise surrounded on the west by the *Nile*, and on the east by the rivers flowing into it. *Solinus* says, that *Meroe* was formed by the *Nile*, and six hundred miles from the sea; and *Mela*, as corrected by *Salmasius*, pretty nearly agrees with him. *Pausanias* intimates, that the *Nile* entered a great lake beyond *Meroe*, which it passed through, and traversed the whole country of

Ethiopia. The rivers *Astapus* and *Astaboras*, i. e. the *Tacaza* and *Moraba*, joined the *Nile* above *Meroe*, i. e. the city of *Meroe*. All which particulars, as well as several others suggested by *Pliny*, *Timotheus*, *Sebosus*, *Erasosthenes*, and the *Nubian* geographer, in the passages here referred to, considering the many turnings and windings of the *Nile*, are more applicable to the peninsula at present under consideration, than any other part of *Sennar* or *Abassia* that can be assigned for this purpose. From the same chart, and the authors it is deduced from, we must allow it probable, that Mr. *Senex's* river *Rahd*, arising out of *Dambas* east of the *Nile*, is the *Guangua* of *Gregory*; as also that the *Goxe*, *Mareb* or *Moraba*, and *Takezel* or *Tacaza*, may be reputed the *Astobabas* or *Astusapes*, *Astaboras*, and *Astapus*, of the antients. Some modern writers seem inclined to believe, that the *Mareb* of the present *Abassines* answers to the *Astusapes* of the antients, though we have here supposed the *Goxe* to be that river (13).

(O) To these curiosities we may add the gold mines near the coast of the *Red Sea* mentioned by *Agatharchides*, which, according to that author, also produced the finest and whitest marble in the world (14).

(13) *Pausan.* Eliac. postler. *Joseph.* antiquit. l. ii. c. 5. *Strab.* l. xvii. *Plin.* l. vi. c. 29. *Jesuit.* *Voss.* & *Ludolph.* apud *Le Grand.* differs. ii. (14) *Agatharchid.* *Cnid.* de Mar. Rubr. l. v. c. 10. apud *Phes.* p. 1339. *Vid.* etiam *Cellar.* geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 8.

S E C T. II.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, customs, arts, &c. of the Ethiopians.

*Antiquity of
the Eth. pians.*

IT appears from what has been advanced in the former section, that the sacred writers did not always apply the name of (P) *Cush* to one particular country. They sometimes understood by it that region watered by the *Araxes*, which was the seat of the antient *Scythians* or *Cuthites*; and sometimes that country on the eastern shore of the *Red Sea*, contiguous to *Egypt*. In some passages likewise they seem to have had in view the whole peninsula of the *Arabs*, or at least the greatest part of that peninsula. But, notwithstanding what has been offered to the contrary by many persons of vast erudition, we cannot help believing, that it most usually and properly denoted the tract situated above the *Upper Egypt*, comprehending the modern kingdoms of *Dongola*, *Sennar*, and *Abassia*. In order to evince the probability of such a notion, we shall not only beg leave to refer our readers to the remarkable passages already cited on this occasion, but likewise observe, that the prophets *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, and *Daniel*, make the *Cushites* neighbours to the *Libyans*; which can only hold true of the proper *Ethiopians*. The psalmist also foretold, that *Cush* should stretch out her hands to God; and the prophet *Zephaniah*, that the suppliants of the LORD, from beyond the rivers of *Cush*, even the daughter of his dispersed, should bring his offering: both of which predictions seem clearly to point at the eunuch baptized by *Philip*, who came to worship at *Jerusalem*; since, as he was treasurer to queen *Candace*, it can scarce be doubted but that he and his retinue brought a valuable offering or donation with them; and since *Candace* was queen of the proper *Ethiopia*, or at least the peninsula of *Meroe*, a considerable part of it, as we learn from *Pliny* and *Strabo*. The words *Cush* and *Aithiopes*, therefore, in the texts here referred to, must be understood of the territories and people of the proper *Ethiopia*. *Ezekiel* prophesied, that the *Egyptians* from *Migdol* to *Syene* should fall by the sword; which not a little supports the interpretation of a famous text already given in favour of our present opinion. King *Abasuerus* in *Esther* reigned from the *Indies* to *Cush*, that is to say, as far as the modern *Abassia*; since *Scythia* or *Arabia* cannot be there meant as being contiguous to *Persia*, and *Herodotus* intimates *Darius Hystaspis* to have received tribute from the nations bordering upon proper *Ethiopia*. *Nebuchadnezzar* in *Judith* sent ambassadors to *Gesem*, and as far as the frontiers of *Ethiopia*: probably the kingdom so called to the south of *Egypt*. In fine, many of the most remarkable passages of Scripture, understood, for above a century past, of *Arabia* or part of it, may well enough be interpreted of the proper *Ethiopia*, as is acknowledged by *Calmet* himself. It is therefore but reasonable to conclude, that *Cush* the eldest son of *Ham* was the great progenitor of the *Ethiopians*.

*A body of Arabs
crossing the
streights of Bab-
al Mandab pas-
sed into Ethio-
pia.*

HOWEVER, most authors are agreed, that many of the early descendants of *Cush* settled first in the land bordering on the east side of the *Red Sea*, moving gradually from thence to the southern extremity of *Arabia*; and afterwards, by means of the easy passage over the streights of *Bab-al-Mandab*, transplanted themselves into *Ethiopia*. According to *Eusebius*, this migration happened whilst the *Israelites* were in *Egypt*; but *Syncellus* places it in the time of the judges. The *Arabian Cushites* were antiently called *Abaseni*, and made up a great part of the *Sabaans* or *Homcrites*, as may be inferred from several authors. The *Ethiopians* went under the same name, agreed in many points with the *Arabian Cushites*, and were believed by most of the *Asiatic* nations in *Josephus's* time to have had the same origin. *Diodorus Siculus*, it must be allowed, maintains, that they never came from any other country, and that they never were corrupted by foreign customs; though he asserts, that in several

P. JER. c. xlv. v. 9. EZEK. c. xxx. v. 4, 5. & c. xxxviii. v. 5. DAN. c. xi. v. 43. NAH. c. iii. v. 9. PSAL. lxxviii. v. 31. ZEPHAN. c. iii. v. 10. ACT. c. viii. v. 27. EZEK. c. xxx. v. 6. ESTH. c. i. v. 1. & c. viii. v. 9. HERODOT. l. iii. JUDITH, c. i. v. 9. Vid. etiam STRAB. l. xvii. & PLIN. l. vi. c. 29.

(P) Sometimes in Scripture the word *Cush* comprehends both *Arabia* and the proper *Ethiopia*, as in EZEK. c. xxxviii. v. 5. *Persia, Cush, and Libya with them; all of them with shield and helmet: i.e. Persia, Arabia, Ethiopia, Libya, &c.* Compare also EZEK. c. xxx. v. 5. with JER. c. xxv. v. 20, 24.

things

- a things they corresponded with the *Egyptians*. However, notwithstanding what is advanced by that historian, our readers will naturally conclude, from what has been already suggested, that part of *Cush's* posterity moved gradually along the western shore of the *Red Sea* into *Ethiopia*, which, by this means, was tolerably well peopled, when the *Arabian Cushites* first found their way into it. The great difference of at least a considerable body of the *Abassines* from the *Arabs*, as well as other nations, the situation of the kingdom of *Midian*, where some of the earliest *Cushites* probably seated themselves, and the concurrent voice of antiquity, both sacred and profane, tend to evince the justness of such a conclusion. *Bochart* believes some traces of *Obal*, or, as the *Arabians* pronounce it, *Aubal*, one of *Joktan's* sons, to be discernable in the empory *Abalites*, the *Abalitic* gulf, &c. and consequently, that some of the children of *Eber*, after having insinuated themselves into *Arabia Felix*, migrated into *Ethiopia*. Some of the *Ludim* likewise might find a passage into this country, though undoubtedly the bulk of them moved towards the *Atlantic* ocean; since, as *Moses* intimates them to have been the first branch of *Misraim's* issue, they in all likelihood pushed forwards towards the main land of *Africa*. The *Ethiopians* therefore might very well vye with the *Egyptians*, and even be deemed superior to them, in point of antiquity, since *Cush* their great ancestor was the eldest son of *Ham*. They might likewise have been esteemed of equal antiquity with the *Arabians*, since from the kingdom of *Midian* the *Cushites* penetrated both into the southern parts of the peninsula of the *Arabs* and *Ethiopia*. The communication betwixt *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, as well as the proximity of blood of *Cush* and *Misraim*, introduced that similitude of manners observable amongst their respective inhabitants, which we shall soon have occasion to take notice of.
- b
- c

- Pliny* relates, that *Ethiopia* was antiently divided into forty-five kingdoms, of which he insinuates that of *Meroe* to have been the most powerful and flourishing. But whether these were independent on one another, or under one supreme head, he no-where informs us. Be that as it will, as all the old oriental governments were absolute, and the *Abassine* princes known to the *Europeans* since their first intercourse with *Abassia* have been despotic, there is no reason to doubt but that the kings of *Ethiopia* always ruled with an (Q) uncontrollable sway. If we admit the *Ethiopian* tradition, that a long series of princes descended from *Solomon* reigned in the country we are now upon, it can scarce be denied, that their authority was unlimited, as that of the *Hebrew* monarch knew no bounds. It appears from *Strabo* and *Pliny*, that some *Ethiopic* nations were governed always by queens, whose common name was *Candace*, as that of the *Egyptian* kings was *Pbaraob*, *Ptolemy*, &c. *Diodorus Siculus* gives us to understand, that a good part of *Ethiopia* was composed of several elective monarchies (R), the heads of which were chosen out of their priests; and that all these princes made the laws of their respective kingdoms the basis of their government. However, as the same author remarks, that every new king, immediately after his election, was worshipped as a god, and considered as invested with the supreme authority by Divine Providence, though he had a particular regard to the laws and customs of his country through the whole course of his administration, we

Government of
the Ethiopians,

⁹ EUSEB. in chron. geogr. SYNCCELL. in chronograph. URANIUS apud Steph. Byzant. de urb. Prol. l. iv. PROCOP. GAZ. in 1 Reg. c. x. v. 1. JOS. SCALIG. in comput. ecclef. Æthiop. de emend. temp. l. vii. JOSEPH. antiq. l. i. c. 7. DIOD. SIC. l. iii. & alib. HIERONYM. quest. Hebr. in Genes. BOCHART. Phal. l. iv. c. 1. & l. ii. c. 23. GEN. c. x. v. 13. HERODOT. l. ii. & alib. DIOD. SIC. l. iii. & alib. JOH. LUDOLPH. hist. Æthiop. l. i. c. 1. LE GRAND, dissert. ii.

(Q) This seems likewise in some measure to appear from the constitution of the present kingdom of *Abassia*. The king's authority there is so unlimited, that no man can in this country be called with justice proprietor of any thing, nor doth any man, when he sows his field, know that he shall reap it; for the king may bestow the fruits upon whom he pleases, and all the satisfaction the former possessor can hope for, is, that some man be appointed to bring in the estimate of the expences he had been at in cultivating it, in order to his reimbursement. But the arbitrator is always favourable to the present owner, whom he presumes to have more interest than the person dispossessed (16).

(R) Though the present kingdom of *Abassia* be so far hereditary, that only one family can sit on the throne, yet the reigning prince has the power of chusing out of the royal family whom he pleases for a successor, which, if he omits it, is done by the grandees of the kingdom, who elect him for their king, whom they judge most capable of so high an office. If this was the custom formerly, as does not appear improbable, it might easily have given occasion to this account of *Diodorus*, who cannot be supposed to have received an exact information of the customs, laws, and constitution of *Ethiopia* (17).

may look upon them all as arbitrary monarchs. The extraordinary honours paid a them leave no room to doubt, that they were the interpreters of these laws, and consequently made them subservient to their will; neither does this interfere with their conferring rewards, and inflicting punishments, according to the laws, that is, the political decisions and determinations, of their ancestors, since some of the most arbitrary governments in the world now do the like. But after all, the *Greeks* knew very little of the *Ethiopians*; and therefore from their authors we can form no adequate idea of any thing relating to them. *Sesostris* and *Zerab* must undoubtedly be considered as princes bearing an absolute sway over the dominions they governed, of which the proper *Ethiopia* was a part. The surprising conquests made by the one, and the prodigious army commanded by the other, in order to the reduction of a b powerful neighbour, seem to set this point beyond dispute.

Laws.

ACCORDING to *Diodorus Siculus*, the laws of *Ethiopia* agreed in substance with those of *Egypt*. This, continues the same author, the *Ethiopians* accounted for by asserting, that *Egypt* was first peopled by colonies drawn out of their country. In order to evince that point, they maintained the land of *Egypt* to have been at first, for a considerable period, intirely covered with water, and afterwards raised gradually, so as to become inhabitable, by the fresh accession of mud the *Nile* brought every year out of *Ethiopia*. This is likewise confirmed by *Herodotus*, who affirms *Egypt* to be the gift of the *Nile*, and that the whole region, except the territory of *Thebes*, in the time of *Menes*, was one continued morass. However, he makes the c *Ethiopians* to have been civilized by the *Egyptians*, and to have learned the customs and manners of that people, so late as the reign of *Psammiticus I.* which, considering what has been already advanced, will not easily be admitted for truth. Yet some customs and manners, as well as laws, the former nation might possibly have received from the latter about that time, though in many particulars they agreed long before. We cannot pretend to give our readers a complete enumeration of the particular laws, or political maxims, that prevailed antiently in *Ethiopia*; but the following seem to have been some of the principal of them. 1. Several tribes of *Ethiopians* looked upon it as a fundamental law to elect their princes out of the different orders of their priests. 2. No public executioner ever made his appearance in many d parts of *Ethiopia*, the malefactors there being obliged by a particular law to fall by their own hands. 3. According to the established order of succession amongst some *Ethiopic* nations, upon the death of the king, his sister's son (S) mounted the throne; and in case the female branches of the royal family failed of issue, they chose the most beautiful and valiant person amongst them for king. 4. It was esteemed a most enormous crime in any person capitally convicted to attempt making his escape into a foreign country. *Diodorus* relates, that a criminal condemned to die having once meditated a flight out of *Ethiopia*, after the sign of death had been sent him by the king, was detected by his mother, who thereupon strangled him with a garter, he not offering the least resistance, lest an indelible stain should thereby be fixed upon e his family. 5. The king of this region was obliged to dispatch (T) himself, whenever he received a message from the priests of *Meroe*, the most revered of any in *Ethiopia*, with an intimation, that the gods commanded him, for the good of his subjects, to do so. 6. If the king became maimed or wounded by any accident,

* PLIN. l. vi. c. 29. LUDOLPH. hist. Æthiop. l. ii. c. 3, 4. DION. SIC. STRAB. PLIN. ubi sup. HERODOT. APOLLON. RHOD. APOLLODOR. PAUSAN. HYGIN. LUCAN. aliiq. mult. pass. 2 CHRON. c. xii. v. 3. c. xiv. v. 9. & c. xvi. v. 8. Vid. etiam. NEWT. chronol. of the empire of Egypt.

(S) We are informed by *Plutarch*, that a certain *Ethiopian* nation always elected a dog for their king, and paid him divine honours. The same author, however, judiciously observes, that all the high posts were filled with men. Possibly the modern kingdom of *Zendeh*, governed always by an elected monarch, who is said to resemble an ape, or rather to be an ape, may correspond with this nation. 'Tis certain *Diodorus Siculus* and *Pliny* style the animal now called a baboon *cynocephalus*, from the resemblance its head bears to that of a dog; which renders it not improbable, that the creature denominated *cyon* or dog by *Plutarch* was an ape or baboon;

especially since the *cynocephalus* was produced only in *Ethiopia*. However, this we can only propose to our readers as a conjecture (18).

(T) This vast power the priests enjoyed till the time of *Ergamenes* king of *Ethiopia*, cotemporary with *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, who, being a martial prince, advanced to the golden temple of *Æsculapius*, where they resided, with a body of troops, and put them all to the sword. After this he made several regulations, and in a manner new-modelled the public worship of the *Ethiopians*, as we learn from *Diodorus Siculus* (19).

(18) *Plutarch. advers. Stoic. Diad. Sic. l. iii. Plin. l. viii. c. 54. Bernard. & Tillet. apud Job. Ludolph. in hist. Æthiop. l. i. c. 6. (19) Diad. Sic. l. iii.*

- a his domestics were forced to wound and maim themselves just in the same manner. 7. At the king's death all his household servants, either in compliance with the laws, or an indispensable custom, killed themselves, this being looked upon as the strongest testimony of their sincere attachment to him. 8. Some of the *Ethiopic* clans above *Meroe* on both sides the *Nile*, the preceding laws being chiefly confined to that peninsula, and the parts of *Ethiopia* nearer *Egypt*, elected the most industrious shepherds to preside over them; others bestowed the kingdom upon the most opulent persons they could find, imagining them the most capable of supplying with their riches the wants and necessities of the people^a.

- Jupiter Ammon*, according to the *Greek* and *Latin* authors, seems to have been *Religion*.
 b the principal object of religious worship in *Ethiopia*, though the natives (U) paid likewise divine honours to *Isis*, *Pan*, *Hercules*, *Æsculapius*, and others, whom they considered as the greatest benefactors to mankind. In short, if these authors may be credited, their religion differed not much from that of the *Egyptians*, which is not to be wondered at, considering their vicinity to, and intercourse with, that people. However, *Diodorus* assures us, that some of them were atheists, who looked upon the sun, by reason of his scorching rays, as their implacable enemy. Could we depend upon a tradition of the modern *Abassines*, the *Ethiopians*, or at least a considerable part of them, adhered zealously to the law of *Moses* from the time of *Solomon* to their conversion to christianity. According to this tradition, the queen of *Sheba*, whom our Saviour calls the queen of the south, and who ruled over at least a powerful nation of *Ethiopia*, had a son by *Solomon* named *Menilebec*, who was educated at that prince's court, and instructed there in the law of God through the great care of his father. Being afterwards anointed king of *Ethiopia*, and sent home to take possession of his kingdom, at the desire of several eminent *Israelites*, and doctors of the law, that attended him, he introduced there his father's religion, which continued amongst his subjects and their posterity till the time of *St. Athanasius*: What regard is to be paid to this tradition, we shall not take upon us to determine; since the learned are not a little divided in their sentiments concerning the situation of the kingdom of *Sheba*, whose queen had an interview with *Solomon* at his own court. *St. Cyprian*, *Epiphanius*, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, cardinal *Baronius*, *Suarez*, *Lorinus*, *Pineda*, *Bochart*, and the *Arabs* in general, fix her residence in *Arabia Felix*. The last call her *Belkis*, and affirm her to have been the daughter of *Hod-Had* king of the *Homerites*. On the other hand, the *Abassine* nation, *Josephus*, *Origen*, *St. Austin*, the learned *Hugo Grotius*, the patriarch *Alphonso Mendez*, the fathers *Balthasar Tellez*, and *Joan Dos-Santos*, have placed this celebrated princess in *Ethiopia*. We have not room to insert here the arguments offered on both sides in defence of their respective opinions; but shall, however, observe, that the kingdom of *Abassia* seems to answer better the queen of *Sheba*'s country, according to our Saviour's description of it, as being more to the south of, and more remote from, *Judæa*, than *Arabia*.
 c To which we may add, that it appears from Scripture, that some persons of distinction amongst the proper *Ethiopians* were of the same religion with the *Jews*, or nearly so, in the apostolical age, since queen *Candace*'s treasurer (W), baptized by *Philip*,

^a *Diod. Sic. ubi sup. Herodot. l. ii. c. f. & alibi in excerptis Valesii, p. 518, 519.*

AGATHARCHID. CNID. apud Phot. NIC. DAMASCEN.

(U) *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that the *Ethiopians* valued themselves upon their being the first nation that had a religious establishment. They believed, that for this reason, adds he, their sacrifices were more acceptable to the gods than those offered by any other people. Which notion, continues *Diodorus*, *Homer* himself seems to countenance, when he introduces *Jupiter*, attended by the other gods, as present at an anniversary sacrifice, or grand entertainment, prepared for him by the *Ethiopians*. In order to reward their transcendent piety, according to the same author, the gods never suffered them to be conquered by any foreign prince, *Cambyses*, *Semiramis*, &c. failing in their attempts upon them. But in this, as well as in many other points, he was egregiously mistaken, as will appear in the sequel of this history (20).

(W) Father *Calmet* and others suppose this eunuch to have been one of those proselytes which the *Jews* call a *proselyte of the gate*, already by us described. But we must own, that this notion seems to us not a little improbable, since those were only confined to an observance of the seven fundamental laws of natural religion enjoined by *Noah* to his posterity immediately after the flood, according to the opinion of the *Jews*, whereas we find this man perusing, and consequently not unacquainted with, the writings of the *Old Testament* peculiar to the natural *Jews*. Besides, that a treasurer or prime minister of the queen of *Ethiopia* should take so long a journey as that from *Meroe* to *Jerusalem* purely to worship God, and offer an oblation to him, there, seems very strange, if he was such a mungrel-convert as the *proselytes of the gate* were, who, for the most

(20) *Diod. Sic. l. iii. sub init. Vid. & Lucian. de Jup. Trag. p. 697. Ed. Bourdelot. Lut. Par. 1615.*

Philip, went with an offering to *Jerusalem* to worship God there, and was not unacquainted with the writers of the *Old Testament*; which cannot, we apprehend, be laid with so much propriety of the *Arabians*. This seems to us a sort of proof, that the *Mosaic law* was held to be of divine institution in *Meroe*, and the other parts of *Ethiopia* dependent on it, even a considerable time before the birth of our Saviour, if not as early as the age of *Solomon*; and consequently adds some weight to the arguments of those writers, who have asserted, that the queen of *Sheba* came out of *Ethiopia*. It likewise renders the authority of *Josephus* preferable to that of *Diodorus Siculus* and *Stephanus*, notwithstanding what *M. Bockhart* has advanced. For, if any regard was paid to the law of *Moses* in *Meroe*, before christianity made its appearance in the world, we cannot account for this better than by allowing, with the *Abassines* and authors above-mentioned, that this peninsula was the queen of *Sheba's* country, that her son introduced some knowledge of the public worship of the *Hebrews* there, and consequently that its metropolis was called *Sheba* or *Seba* before *Cambyse's* reign, as *Josephus* asserts, and not built by that prince, as *Diodorus Siculus* and *Stephanus* will have it. Be that as it will, this appears to have been a prevailing notion amongst some of the *Jews* and *Greeks* in *Josephus's* time, and *Herodotus* was then cited to support it, however his text, or that of *Josephus*, may be now corrupted; since the latter historian cannot fairly be supposed so profligate and abandoned a writer as to impose a known falshood and forgery upon the world, as *Bockhart* asserts him to have done. However, it must be owned, that *Strabo* suggests the people of *Meroe* in his time to have adored *Hercules*, *Pan*, and *Isis*, with another foreign god. But *Strabo's* authority in this point cannot overturn what is insinuated by Scripture: nay, he seems to be a little inconsistent with himself, since in the same breath he assures us, that the *Ethiopians* in general acknowledged an immortal God, whom they considered as the first principle of all things, and a mortal god, who had no name. Such a notion might easily be formed by remote nations, who knew very little of the *Ethiopians*, upon supposition that some of them for a certain period worshipped the true God, and held the memory of *Moses* in the highest veneration. Far more absurd things than these the *Greek* and *Latin* writers related of the *Jews*, with whom they had a more immediate communication; and therefore we ought not to be surprised at their transmitting to us so imperfect an account of the religious tenets of the *Ethiopians*; tho' it should be acknowledged, that, during a certain interval, they agreed in the main with those of the *Jews*. The author last cited likewise informs us, that the *Ethiopians* ranked in the number of their deities all their most eminent benefactors, and those who were distinguished by their birth. The sun, according to him, the people under consideration in the most early times so highly adored, that they reputed those to be atheists who cursed him at his rising, as some such there were inhabiting the *Torrid Zone*, because he forced them to shelter themselves from his intense heat in moist and marshy places. For this reason the *Greeks* and *Romans* gave the Sun the name of the *Ethiopian Jupiter*. The *Ethiopians* themselves called him *Affabin* or *Affabinus*, as we learn from *Pliny*. They consecrated likewise to him the cinamon-tree, an odoriferous shrub, which grew in their country. The priests only were allowed to gather that harvest, which they always ushered in with sacrifices of forty-four oxen, goats, and sheep, beginning the work that followed before sun-rising, and finishing it before his setting. The crop being gathered, they divided it into three parts with a spear, which was never used but on that occasion. They carried away two portions of it, and left on the same place that which fell to the sun; and forthwith, say *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Theo-*

part, if not always, resided in *Judas*. It is therefore much more probable, especially as scarce any instance can be produced of so eminent a personage's being ever found amongst the residing proselytes above-mentioned, who were, generally speaking, people of no figure, much less of one who exposed himself to the various dangers of so long a journey purely to worship God at *Jerusalem*, that this *Ethiopian* had been trained up in a religion not very different from that of the *Jews*. Nay, as he was a person of such power and authority at the *Ethiopian* court, it can by no means be deemed unlikely, that the established religion of *Meroe* at that time pretty nearly resembled the *Jewish*.

This appears to be in some sort confirmed by the prophet *Zephaniah*, who seems evidently to predict the conversion of the eunuch here under consideration, and even to insinuate, that he came to *Jerusalem* with an offering from queen *Candace* herself, since nothing is more likely, than that she was the daughter of his dispersed beyond the rivers of *Ethiopia*, that should bring his offering; which, if admitted, must be allowed no mean proof of what we would here suggest; but this, as well as every thing dependent upon it, must be left to the determination of our learned and judicious readers (21).

(21) *Act.* c. viii. v. 27, 28. *Zeph.* c. iii. v. 10. *Calmet*, *Prideaux*, aliq. mult.

a *phraſtus*, if the diviſion had been performed with equity, the ſun's portion took fire of itſelf, and was conſumed (X). This ceremony ſeems to have been common to both the *Ethiopians* above *Egypt*, and the *Sabaans* ſeated in *Arabia Felix*. *Banier* believes the *Ethiopians* to have had gods natural, and gods animated, as well as the *Egyptians*; that they worſhipped the moon under the name of *Iſis*, and univerſal nature under that of *Pan*. We doubt not but this may be true; eſpecially, ſince they, in all likelihood, at firſt worſhipped the planets, or ſome of them, in common with the *Egyptians* and *Arabians*, and likewise paid divine honours to their deceased kings, as did thoſe nations together with the *Mauritians*. Among thoſe b princes deified by this laſt people were the famous *Juba*, and *Verſotina*, who was probably either one of their queens, or ſome other woman of the firſt diſtinction ſignaliſed by her glorious actions. The *Ethiopians* of *Meroe*, according to *Herodotus*, in his time, worſhipped *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, and had an oracle of *Jupiter*. Some *Ethiopian* nations offered ſacrifices to the *Day*, which they eſteemed as a god, according to *Lucian*. An ancient tradition prevails amongſt the *Abſſines*, that the firſt *Ethiopians* adored a monſtrous ſerpent called in their language *Arwe-midre*; but this favours ſo much of fable, that our readers will probably think it deſerves little regard.

In a country of ſo vaſt an extent as *Ethiopia*, inhabited by various nations, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that no ſmall variety of languages, at leaſt of dialects, muſt have prevailed. The moſt ancient of theſe was undoubtedly that called by the c learned the *Ethiopic*, into which the holy Scripture was formerly tranſlated, and in which all the books of the *Abſſines*, both ſacred and profane, are written. Some authors have informed us, that this language nearly reſembles the *Chaldee*; but, according to *Ludolphus*, who ſpent above ſixty years in the ſtudy of it, it bears as great an affinity to the *Hebrew* and *Syriac*, and approaches nearer ſtill to the *Arabic*, from which to him it ſeems immediately to be derived. In ſhort, there is ſo perfect an agreement betwixt them, that whoever underſtands the one, may, without any difficulty, if we will credit him, make himſelf maſter of the other; nay, he aſſerts, that a competent knowledge of the *Hebrew*, or any other of the oriental tongues, will enable a ſtudent ſoon to make a very laudable progreſs in the *Ethiopic*. As many d *Hebrew* (Y) roots, and genuine ſignifications of *Hebrew* words, are ſtill preſerved

Language.

¹ HERODOT. l. ii. STRAB. l. i. DIOD. SIC. l. iii. PLIN. l. xii. c. 19. SOLIN. c. 31. LUCIAN. in Jup. Trag. p. 699. ed. Bourdelot. LUT. PAR. 1615. THEOPHRAST. de plant. LACTANT. l. i. c. 15. TERTULLIAN. apol. c. 24. MINUT. FEL. in OCTAV. GREG. ABASS. apud Ludolph. ubi ſup. l. ii. c. 2. BANIER, l. vi. c. 9. JOSEPH. ORIG. AUGUST. CYPRIAN. EPIPHAN. CYRILL. ALEXANDR. BARON. SUAREZ. LORIN. PINED. apud Ludolph. ubi ſup. l. ii. c. 3. POCOCK. ſpecim. hiſt. Arab. p. 59. JOSEPH. ANT. l. ii. c. 5. STRAB. l. xvii. PLIN. l. vi. c. 29. BOCHART. Phal. l. iv. c. 26. & alib. Geogr. Nub. clim. i. par. 6. GOLII NOTIZ in Alfraganum, p. 87. DIOD. SIC. & STEPH. BYZANT. apud BOCHART. ubi ſup. Aët. c. viii. v. 27. GEORG. HORN. hiſt. philoſoph. l. ii. p. 132. ed. Lugd. Bat. 1655. ALPHONS. MEND. BALTH. TELLEZ. & JO. DOS-SANT. apud LE GRAND. diſſert. vii. Vid. & LUDOLPH. ubi ſup. l. ii. c. 3.

(X) For our part we are apt to believe, that the prieſts ſecreſly conveyed ſome coals under the heap that was allotted to the Sun; and that thoſe coals kindled ſome moments after, preciſely at the time of their retiring. Such pious frauds have been, and ſtill are, uſed in countries whoſe religion utterly diſclaims frauds and impoſtures of any kind whatſoever, in order to ſerve ſuch a turn as theſe prieſts of the Sun had in view: witneſs the liquefaction of the blood of St. *Januarius* at *Naples*, &c.

(Y) Of this we ſhall beg leave here to produce two inſtances: 1. The *Hebrew* lexicographers derive the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician* word *Adamah*, earth, from אדמה red, pretending the earth to be of a red colour, from whence it receives that denomination. But *Kimchi* takes no notice of this derivation in his collection of *Hebrew* roots; and how ſmall a part of the earth, in compariſon of the whole, is red, no naturaliſt ſtands in need of being informed. This etymon therefore is at beſt mal-à-propos. But the *Ethiopic* language ſuggeſts to us a much more proper one, when it propoſes to our view the word *Adamah* ſignifying beautiful, elegant, pleaſant, &c. from whence if we deduce the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician* *Adamah*, *Eayib*, it will not be remote from the ἀδμυ of the *Greeks*, though that ſeems to have

had a more extenſive ſignification. Upon this ſuppoſition, *Adam* derived his name not from a certain fictitious redneſs, but from the beauty and perfection of his nature, being, as it were, the maſter-piece of the creation. And agreeably hereto the *Ethiopians* to the word *Adam* always annex the idea of ſomething perfect and beautiful. Nor is it improbable, that the city *Admah* or *Adamah*, before it was deſtroyed with *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, ſeated upon the banks of the *Jordan*, compared to the garden of the Lord, was ſo denominated from the pleaſantneſs of its ſituation. 2. The word מלאך *Malach*, an Angel or Meſſenger, is not to be deduced from the *Arabic* *Malaka*, poſſedis, dominatus eſt, &c. for that is not ſufficiently appoſite, but from the *Ethiopic* *Layka*, miſis, legavis, &c. Nay, ſometimes the roots of *Arabic* words themſelves are to be ſought for in the *Ethiopic*: ſo in the *Alcoran* the apoſtles are called *Hawmari*, whoſe origin cannot be diſcovered in the *Arabic* lexicons, ſince it certainly comes from the *Ethiopic* *Hawya*, iſis, inceſſit, &c. than which nothing can be more ſuitable to the office of an apoſtle. Our readers will find this point more fully diſcuſſed by the learned *Ludolphus*, to whom, for their further ſatisfaction, we muſt beg leave to refer them (23).

(23) I. Ludolph. hiſt. Æthiop. l. i. c. 15. & comments. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p. 202—208. Vid. etiam Sim. Ockley introd. ad ling. Oriental. p. 159, 160. Cantabrigia, 1706.

in the *Ethiopic*, which would be sought for in vain either in their own or any other a language except this, it certainly merits the esteem of all who diligently apply themselves to the study of the Scriptures. Besides, 'tis impossible to come at a thorough knowledge of the *Abassine* affairs, this being the language in which all their histories, and other treatises, are penned, without being tolerably well acquainted with it. The purest dialect of this tongue was that used in the kingdom of *Tigre*, where *Axuma*, the residence of the old *Ethiopian* kings, was seated. Here it continued till the failure of the *Zagean* line; after which, a *Sewan* prince ascending the throne, the *Ambaric* dialect was introduced at court, and gradually diffused itself over the whole empire. However, the language spoken in *Tigre* at present comes the nearest to the old *Ethiopic*; which still retains its pristine dignity not only in their books, but also b in their divine worship, as also in their kings letters patents, commissions, and all other public acts whatsoever. Father *Tellez* informs us, that in his time there were as many languages as kingdoms and provinces in *Abassia*: nay, that there were different dialects in one and the same kingdom. As the language of *Tigre* is at present deeply tinged with the antient *Ethiopic*, so those of most of the other kingdoms partake greatly of the *Ambaric*; though they considerably differ one from another. The people of *Bagemdra* or *Bagemedr* use a dialect peculiar to themselves; those of *Hangota*, *Isata*, *Gojam*, and *Shewa*, one common to them all; the *Gafatas* have many *Ambaric* words, but their tongue is extremely difficult to be understood by any of the other *Abassines*; in the kingdom of *Dambee* a language is spoken c very different from both the *Ambaric* and *Ethiopic*; the dialect of *Gonga* agrees with that of *Enarcea*, though it does not bear a near resemblance to any of the others in *Ethiopia*. But we shall entertain our readers with a more particular account of all these, as well as those of the *Gallans*, *Agawi*, *Chankalas*, &c. when we come to the modern history of *Abassia*.

Letters.

As it will be expected, that we should say something of the letters, or (Z) alphabetic characters

■ MARIANI VICTORII institutiones linguæ Æthiop. Romæ, 1552. WEMMER. institut. gramm. Æthiop. Jo. POTKEN. psalter. Æthiop. BRIAN. WALTON. in introd. ad lect. linguar. Oriental. JOH. LUDOLPH. hist. Æthiop. l. i. c. 15. ut & BALTHAZ. TELLEZ. apud Ludolph. ibid. Vide etiam LUDOLPH. comment. ad hist. Æthiop. p. 60. Francofurti ad Mœnum, 1691.

(Z) We are informed by *Diodorus Siculus*, that the *Ethiopians* had antiently hieroglyphic characters as well as the *Egyptians*. Thus amongst them a hawk signified any thing that made a quick dispatch, that bird in swiftness exceeding most others; the crocodile denoted malice; the eye the maintainer of justice, and the guard of the body; the right-hand, open, represented plenty; and the left, closed, a secure possession of property, &c. But whether the *Egyptians* or *Ethiopians* first in reality hit upon this way of writing, cannot certainly be known, though *Diodorus* attributes the invention of it to the latter. 'Tis not improbable, that the people of all nations at first recorded their conceptions by tracing out the images of things in a coarse manner, which was gradually improved into hieroglyphics, as in some measure appears from the rude picture-writing of the *Mexicans*, the antient character of the *Chinese*, and from what we find related of the *Scythians* by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Eusebius*, and *Herodotus*.

These hieroglyphic characters, according to the same *Diodorus*, were not only understood by the priests, as amongst the *Egyptians*, but likewise by all the people, as well as the alphabet here mentioned. However, it does not appear from that author, as *M. Fourmont* seems to assert, that the *Ethiopic* alphabet was made up of these hieroglyphic characters; nor indeed can this be allowed very probable, the letters of an alphabet being essentially different from even the characteristic marks deduced from hieroglyphics. The last represent things, ideas, or even whole conceptions, in the same manner as the antient and modern characters of the *Chinese*, whereas the former are expressive of sounds. In short, though we should allow it an easy transition

from the rude picture-writing of the *Mexicans* to the *Egyptian* hieroglyphics, as well as from the *Egyptian* hieroglyphics to the characteristic marks of the *Chinese*, which *Du Halde* demonstrates to be perfectly hieroglyphic, yet we cannot see how the invention of an alphabet must as naturally succeed these marks. There is, it must be owned, a sufficient resemblance between the *American* and *Egyptian* hieroglyphics and the *Chinese* characters; but these all seem intirely foreign to alphabetic letters, and in reality do not bear the least relation to them. As an affinity between all these is the point necessary to be proved, in order to evince a gradual and easy descent from picture-writing to letters, some better argument ought to be offered in support of it, than a supposition extremely precarious, if not plainly false, and which, if true, would be little to the purpose. Now, that the notion of the *Ethiopic* alphabet's being made up of hieroglyphics is such a supposition, evidently appears from what we have just hinted, as well as from the antient alphabet of that nation exhibited by *Ludolphus*; and yet the very learned and ingenious Mr. *Warburton* has in fact offered only this hypothesis, on *M. Fourmont's* authority, to prove the connection between an alphabet and hieroglyphics. How far, therefore, all novel opinions, founded upon the truth of such a connection, are to be depended upon, we leave our readers to judge. *Diodorus* indeed, in the same place, intimates, that the forms of the *Ethiopic* letters (τύπος) resembled various animals, parts of human bodies, artificers tools, &c. But that this is not to be understood of alphabetic letters, but hieroglyphics, follows from what he immediately subjoins: "For their writing (ἡ γραμμάτις) is expressive of the subject, not by a composition of

a characters, of the nation we are now upon, which naturally fall under this head, our readers will not be displeased to find here the ancient *Ethiopic* alphabet, as given us by the learned *Job Ludolphus* in his excellent history of *Ethiopia*.

Α: Alf.	Η: Zai.	∞: Mai.	Φ: Kof.
Ω: Bel.	Ζ: Hbarm.	Ζ: Nabas.	Ζ: Rees.
Ζ: Geml.	Μ: Tait.	Π: Saat.	Ω: Sant.
Ρ: Dent.	Ρ: Jaman.	∇: Ain.	†: Tawi.
b Μ: Ilaut.	Ν: Caf.	Ζ: Af.	
Θ: Waw.	Λ: Lawi.	Α: Tzadai.	

c From comparing these letters with the old oriental alphabets taken from antique coins, inscriptions, &c. by *Laescher*, and consulting what we have already observed in our account of the *Carthaginian*, it may perhaps not seem absolutely improbable, that some of them were derived from the old *Assyrian*, *Phœnician*, *Samaritan*, *Syriac*, &c. characters. The number of the letters likewise in this alphabet, and the names of several of them, tend to evince the same thing, though *Ludolphus* believes them to have been invented by the *Axumites* or *Ethiopians* themselves, and to be much older than even the *Cupbic* character of the *Arabs*. 'Tis remarkable, that the *Abassines* have no grammar; and, that when *Gregory* was shewn the use of one, he could not forbear breaking out into a sort of exclamation, crying out, *Thanks to God!* as though some secret of great importance had been discovered to him. We must not forget observing, that the *Ethiopians* both wrote and read from the left-hand to the right, contrary to the custom of the *Orientalis*; which looks like an indication, that their alphabet was not of the same extraction with that of the *Arabs*. But for a farther account of the ancient *Ethiopic* letters, as well as language, we must beg leave to refer the curious and inquisitive part of our readers to *Ludolphus's Ethiopic* history, commentaries, and grammar, which are generally allowed to be the best pieces of their kind extant.

d THE *Ethiopians*, as has been already observed, agreed in several points with the *Egyptians*, though they had many customs peculiar to themselves, some of which were very singular and uncommon. As we have not time at present to expatiate upon all such customs to be met with in history, we must content ourselves with touching upon some of the principal of them. 1. The *Ethiopian Ichthyophagi* differed from other nations in several particulars. By stopping up the passages of certain caverns on the coast of the *Red Sea* with stones, they inclosed vast numbers of large and small fishes, which, upon the reflux of the tide, were left there as in a net, and served them for food. The women and children employed themselves in throwing on shore those of a lesser size, whilst the men secured the sharks, sea-calves, con-

* *JOB. LUDOLPH. hist. Æthiop. l. iv. c. 1. gram. Æthiop. ed. Lond. 1661. & comment. ad hist. Æthiop. p. 34. 555, 556, 562, & alib. pass. Vide etiam VAL. ERN. LOESCHER. de caus. ling. Hebr. p. 201, 224. & alib. ed. Francof. & Lipsiæ, 1706. & Univ. hist. vol. vi. p. 701, 702.*

" of syllables, but by the signification of certain
" images delineated, and a metaphorical application
" of it impressed on the memory by exercise. For,
" they write (*γερσπον*) a hawk, a crocodile, a ser-
" pent, a part of the human body, as an eye, a
" hand, the face, &c. A hawk signifies with them
" dispatch, because this bird in celerity exceeds al-
" most all others, &c." Nay, he here expressly as-
"serts, that the *Ethiopic* letters were the *Egyptian* hiero-
"glyphics, and consequently allows, that they could not
" be alphabetic characters: this passage, therefore, which
" seems to have misled *M. Fourmont*, is so far from prov-

ing the *Ethiopian* alphabet to have consisted of hiero-
"glyphic characters, that it strongly intimates the con-
"trary.

Heliodorus says, that the *Ethiopians* had two sorts
of letters, the one called *regal*, the other *vulgar*;
and that the *regal* resembled the sacerdotal characters
of the *Egyptians*. *Diogenes Laertius*, from *Thrasyl-
lus*, also informs us, that *Democritus* wrote two
books, the one of the sacred letters of the *Babyloni-
ans*, the other of the sacred letters of the city of
Meroe. *M. Fourmont* believes, that most of the east-
ern nations likewise had a sacerdotal alphabet (24).

(24) *Diod. Sic. l. iii. Herodot. l. iv. Diog. Laert. in vit. Democrit. segm. xix. l. 9. Heliodor. Æthiopie, l. iv. Clem. Alexandrin. Strom. l. v. p. 567. Eustath. in Hom. Iliad. vi. v. 168. Athanas. Kirch. China illustrata, p. 227. & Oedip. Egypt. theat. hieroglyphic. p. 12. & alib. Le Comte, nouv. memoires sur l'état présent de la Chine, tom. i. p. 256. Amst. 1698. Du Halde, tom. ii. p. 227. M. Fourmont, Réflexions crit. sur les hist. des anc. peup. tom. ii. p. 500, 501. à Paris, 1735. Jof. Acost. l. vi. c. 10. Madrid. 1608. Purchas. pilgr. par. iii. p. 1065, 1066. Gemell. Carer. del mond. tom. vi. c. 6. p. 37. Warburton's divin. legat. of Mos. demonstrat. vol. ii. par. 1. sect. 4.*

gers,

gers, monstrous lobsters, &c. with which the aforesaid sea abounded, killing them ^a with sharp goats-horns, and rough stones broken off the rocks. These they exposed to the solar rays in stone pots turned towards the south, where the flesh was soon separated from the bones by the intense heat. The latter they applied to the use already mentioned, and boiled up the former with the seed of *palurus*. The mass formed by these two ingredients was at first liquid, and of a reddish colour; but, being spread upon tiles, and dried, or rather baked, by the sun, it became hard and savoury. This they commonly fed upon; but when any inundations happened, that they could not for several days together approach the shore, they were constrained to eat shell-fish, some of which were so large, that they weighed four minas. If these at any time failed, they found themselves obliged to have recourse to the ^b bones, though destined for another use, which preserved them till the sea sent them their usual supplies. They drank water only every fifth day, but that in such immoderate quantities, that they were scarce able to breathe. They seemed not to utter any articulate sounds, and consequently to be void of a language. Some of them, according to *Agatharchides*, never drank at all, living only upon raw fish. These, continues the same author, might have been deemed perfect stoics, as being never ruffled or discomposed by the violence of any prevailing passion. However barbarous their neighbours might take them to be, they had the art of teaching the *phocæ* or sea-calves, produced by the neighbouring gulph, to assist them in catching other ^c fish. Several clans of them lived in such caves as we have described in the former section; others erected huts of fir-trees, which grew there in great abundance, bearing fruit like a chesnut, of the boughs and leaves of which they formed a sort of canopy, whereby, together with the pleasant breezes coming from off the sea, they were sheltered from the scorching rays of the sun; and lastly, others fixed their habitations in certain inaccessible hollows surrounded with high precipices and the sea. The *Ichthyophagi* for the most part enjoyed an uninterrupted state of health, but few of them attained to old age, as above observed. They carried their dead to the sea-shore, where they lay exposed till the return of the tide, which carried them off; so that, as they fed upon fish in their life-time, they after their death in return afforded those animals a repast. 2. The *Chelonophagi* above-mentioned did not only ^d use the flesh of tortoises for food, but likewise covered their huts or cottages with the shells of those animals. As both in size and figure these shells resembled a small fishing-vessel, the *Chelonophagi* also used them as boats on some occasions. They had a particular manner of surprising this fish, which we find described from *Agatharchides* by *Diodorus Siculus*. 3. Another *Ethiopic* canton lived upon fish of the cetaceous kind, which they found thrown upon the shore by chance. When they were pressed by famine, they devoured the bones of those creatures, whose flesh at other times sustained them. 4. The *Ethiopian Rhizophagi*, after they had washed the roots of the canes growing in marshy ground, bruised them, and prepared them by the heat of the sun, sared deliciously upon them. This canton was greatly infested ^e by lions, which came out of the deserts in vast numbers, and had quite depopulated the country they inhabited, had not a prodigious multitude of gnats of an enormous size annually expelled them from thence. At the same time the *Rhizophagi*, in order to avoid these gnats, retired towards the morasses, which greatly contributed to their preservation. 5. The *Ilylophagi* were people of such surprising activity, that they skipped from one tree to another like birds. They always went naked, lived upon the young shoots of trees, had their wives in common, and frequently quarrelled about their respective habitations. On these occasions they fought with clubs, after the manner of the *Libyans*, which sometimes did great execution. 6. One tribe of *Ethiopians*, watching an opportunity, killed leopards, buffaloes, &c. after they ^f had drunk so copiously, that they were ready to burst, with clubs burnt at one end, stones, darts, &c. in the manner described by *Agatharchides* and *Diodorus Siculus*. They trained up their children in throwing the dart, and would not suffer them to eat till they had hit the mark. 7. Another *Ethiopic* nation had two very particular ways of taking elephants, hinted at by us above, for a full description of which our readers must have recourse to the authors last mentioned. 8. The *Struthophagi* had several arts and devices to take ostriches, on which they fed. That animal defended itself against them with stones, which it threw out of its feet, in this respect resembling a sling, with great violence. The *Struthophagi* of the skins of these ostriches made both garments and coverlets for their beds. 9. The *Acridophagi* ^g

- a *pbagi* had a deep valley in their country, of many furlongs extent, which they took care to fill with wood, and other combustible materials; and, when the south wind drove vast numbers of locusts thither, set them on fire, the smoke suffocating all those animals. Such infinite numbers of locusts were destroyed on these occasions, that the ground for some leagues was covered with their bodies, which the people under consideration seasoned with salt, produced most copiously in their territories, and lived upon for the following year. But they were probably very unwholesome food; for the *Acridophagi* (Z) did not exceed the age of forty years, and at last died in a miserable manner. They were devoured by winged insects of different species, of a strange and ugly form, expiring for the most part in exquisite torture. Possibly the air itself, as well as the locusts, might have greatly contributed to so uncommon and fatal a malady. 10. The *Cynamelgi*, seated in the southern parts of *Ethiopia*, wore long beards, and kept dogs extremely fierce, in order to hunt (A) *Indian* oxen, prodigious herds of which came every year amongst them. 11. The nations placed still more to the south, according to *Agatharchides* and *Diodorus*, lived the life of savages, if not that of the worst of brutes. From hence we are inclined to believe, that the *Cafres* were not unknown to the ancients, and consequently that they had seen more of the southern parts of *Africa* than the moderns imagine. 12. The above-mentioned authors inform us, that the greatest part of the *Troglodytes* (B) in their manner of life nearly resembled the *Libyan Nomades*, that they were divided into tribes, and that all of these were under one supreme head. This confirms what we have elsewhere observed of the form of government anciently prevailing in *Numidia* and *Mauritania*. 13. The *Troglodytes*, during the time of the *Etesian* winds, drank a liquor composed of blood and milk boiled up together. In the summer months they lived about the morasses with their flocks, where they frequently sought for convenient pastures. The old and infirm cattle always supplied them with food, for which reason they called the males their fathers, and the females their mothers, never giving those denominations to their natural parents. They had no other garments than a few beasts skins, with which they covered only their loins. 14. They held all their old women in the highest veneration, inasmuch that, in their most bloody contests, if any of them appeared, they threw down their arms. When the men were worn out with age, they tied themselves by the neck to an ox's tail, and were dragged about till they expired; and, if upon an admonition from a friend they refused to do this, they might be strangled without any crime. As it was deemed an unpardonable offence to desire life when a person was incapable of contributing to the welfare of the public, if any one amongst them was seized with an incurable distemper, or maimed by accident, it was not only lawful, but meritorious, to dispatch him. Their dead they carried to the top of some hill, where they first covered them with stones, and then fixed a goat's horn upon them. So void were they of a sense of compassion, that the ceremony of burying the deceased in this manner was one of their most celebrated diversions. 15. The *Ethiopians* made use of bows and arrows, darts, lances, and several other weapons (C), in their wars, which they managed with great strength and dexterity. 16. Circumcision (D) was a rite observed amongst them, as well as the *Egyptians*, from very early antiquity, though which of these nations first received it, cannot certainly be known. 17. The

Ethiopian

(Z) *Plutarch* mentions a tribe of *Ethiopians* that were very short-lived, the oldest among them scarce ever exceeding the age of thirty years. These were probably the *Acridophagi* of *Agatharchides* *Cnidius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Pliny* (25).

(A) The ancients sometimes included the western and proper *Ethiopia*, as well as *Arabia*, under the name of *India*.

(B) We are informed by *Strabo*, that all the different species of cattle these *Ethiopians* took with them from place to place were extremely small. Their dogs were likewise very little, but vastly fierce. Some of these *Ethiopians*, or at least the neighbouring cantons, lived chiefly upon barley and millet, which served them both for meat and drink. They

also used butter and fat instead of oil. Their kings had divine honours paid them, and never appeared in public, in order the more greatly to attract the veneration of their subjects (26).

(C) The *Megabari*, a canton, as should seem, of the *Troglodytes*, fought with clubs, and carried before them round shields made of raw ox-hides; many of their neighbours, however, were armed with bows and arrows (27).

(D) We have observed in a former note, that *Herodotus* is not intirely consistent with himself in what he says of circumcision, as a rite practised in *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*; which must undoubtedly not a little contribute towards invalidating his authority in this particular. But, waving this consideration,

(25) *Plut. de placit. philosophor.*
Strab. l. xvi. p. 776.

Vol. VII. N^o. 3.

(26) *Strab. l. xvii. p. 565. ed. 1587.*

(27) *Diod. Sic. l. iii.*

Ethiopian soldiers tied their arrows round their (E) heads, the feathered part of a which touched their foreheads, temples, &c. and the other projected out like so many rays, which formed a kind of crown. These arrows were extremely short, pointed with sharp stones instead of iron, and dipped in the *virus* of dragons, or some other lethiferous poison, insomuch that all the wounds given by them were attended with immediate death. The bows from which they shot these arrows were four cubits long, and required so much strength to manage them, that no nation could make use of them but the *Ethiopians*. According to several authors, when they came to a general action with an enemy, they darkened the air with clouds or showers of these arrows. Many tribes of the people now under consideration, particularly the *Blemmyes*, had wonderful skill in using the weapons here mentioned, b taking aim so well, and hitting the mark so exactly, that some of the ancients imagined every individual of them to have had four eyes. The *Ethiopians* retreated fighting in the same manner as the *Parthians*, discharging volleys of arrows with such dexterity and address whilst they were retiring full speed, that they terribly galled the enemy. It appears from *Scylax*, *Horace*, and *Ælian*, that the *Mauritanians* and *Blacks*, or western *Ethiopians*, were likewise very expert archers, and shot poisoned arrows; and the same thing has been observed of their posterity by the epitomizer of *Edrissi*, or, as he is more usually called, the *Nubian* geographer. 18. Their lances or darts were of an immense size, which may be deemed a farther proof of their vast bodily strength. 19. The *Macrobians* or long-lived *Ethiopians* fed for the most c part upon roasted flesh, drank milk, and frequently attained to the age of an hundred and twenty years. 'Tis said, that this longevity was principally owing to a rich and fragrant fountain, rendering their bodies smooth, as if anointed with oil, and perfuming them with the odour of violets, wherein they frequently bathed themselves. 20. These *Ethiopians* looked upon brass as the most valuable of metals, and had gold in such little esteem, that they fettered their prisoners with golden chains. 21. They dried the bodies (F) of their ancestors, and laid thereon a covering of white plaster, on which they drew a picture as nearly resembling the deceased as possible, and inclosed the whole in a case of crystal, according to *Herodotus*. *Diodorus* also affirms, that they kept the bodies of their friends and relations in their d

when he asserts circumcision to have prevailed ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, from the beginning, amongst the *Egyptians*, *Colchi*, and *Ethiopians*, he cannot be supposed to mean, that they received it from their first ancestor. For in such a case it must have passed from him to the *Philistines*, who were likewise his descendants; which all, who pay the least regard to Scripture, will allow to be false. That expression, therefore, must either import indefinitely, that it had been observed in *Egypt* from time immemorial, or from some period near the beginning of the great *Egyptian* empire formed by *Ammenemes* and *Sesac*, about the reign of *Solomon*, one of the greatest and most powerful princes of his age, and in alliance with *Egypt*, between five and six hundred years before *Herodotus* wrote his history. And here in fact several learned men have placed the introduction of this institution into *Egypt*. Besides, what has been advanced by *Herodotus*, in the point before us, seems to be founded on a mistake, as may be inferred from *Diodorus* and *Strabo*. Those authors, who probably followed him, believed, or at least pretended to believe, the *Hebrews* to have derived the rite of circumcision from *Egypt*, because they were originally a colony of the *Egyptians*, and consequently agreed with them in all their customs and manners, in both their sacred and civil institutions. But, as nothing can be more false than such a notion, not the least regard is due to what they have advanced upon a supposition of its truth. That the *Samaritans* or *Cuthaans*, whom *Herodotus* calls *Syrians* of *Palestine*, should declare to him, that they received circumcision from the *Egyptians*, must be attributed to their hatred of the

Jews. As for *Herodotus*, he was frequently imposed upon most egregiously by the *Egyptians*, especially in points relating either to the antiquity of their monarchy, or those customs they had in common with other nations. Their excessive vanity would not permit them to speak the truth, when they imagined it would reflect the least honour or glory upon any of the neighbouring states. For which reason, as well as others that might be offered, and particularly because it seems to us diametrically opposite to Scripture, we cannot pay any regard to the sentiment of those authors, who either deduce circumcision originally out of *Egypt*, or make the *Hebrews* to have borrowed it of the *Egyptians* (28).

(E) Before they took any arrows from their heads, in order to begin a general action, they had a particular kind of dance, as we learn from *Lucian*. But how such a custom came first to be introduced amongst them, or what they intended by it, has not been intimated by any ancient author (29).

(F) In another place the same *Diodorus* observes, that when the corps came from the embalmer's, the very eye-lashes, brows, and features, were so well preserved, that the whole form of the body was invariably retained, and the original effigies or likenesses known. Wherefore, continues he, many of the *Egyptians* kept the bodies of their ancestors within magnificent depositories, in order to behold the complete images of those who had been dead perhaps many ages before they themselves had been born. There they not only saw the lineaments of their faces, but also the make of their bodies; all which they contemplated with great delight (30).

(28) *Herodot.* l. ii. c. 36, 37, & 104. *Diod. Sic.* l. i. p. 24. *Strab.* l. xvii. p. 824, edit. Jf. Casaub. *Gen.* c. x. v. 13, 14. 2 *Sam.* c. i. v. 20, & alib. *Vid.* etiam *Agatharchid. Cnid.* in excerptis *Photii*, p. 1358. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* l. i. p. 354. c. 15. edit. *Potter.* *Cotelerii* not. in *Barnab. epist.* c. 9. & *Snid.* in voc. Ἰσραήλ. (29) *Lucian.* de falsat. p. 505. ed. *Lutet.* Par. 1615. (30) *Diod. Sic.* l. i. p. 8.

a houses, within cases of glass, not thinking it right, that the knowledge of the features, and the likeness of their dead relations, should be concealed from their surviving kindred, or that they should be forgotten by their posterity. *Herodotus* adds, that the dead were clearly seen through the crystal above-mentioned, emitting no ill scent, nor being at all disagreeable to the eye, since they perfectly resembled the persons when alive. They were kept, continues the same author, a whole year in the houses of their nearest relations, who, during that term, honoured their manes with sacrifices, and first-fruits of all kinds: after which they carried them out, and placed them upright round the parts adjoining to their cities. 22. Other *Ethiopic* cantons buried their dead in earthen coffins about their temples, and swore by their
b manes, as has been before related of the *Nasamones*; and lastly, others threw them into the river, looking upon this as the best sort of burial that could possibly be allotted them. 23. Some of the *Ethiopians* had no regular meals; or stated times of eating, but always refreshed themselves when hunger and thirst prompted them thereto. 24. The *Ethiopian Anthropophagi* lived upon human flesh, as we learn from *Philostratus*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Ptolemy*. This seems fully to evince, that the *Cafres*, and consequently the territories they inhabited, were known to the ancients, though we find scarce any thing in the old geographers concerning them*.

As the *Ethiopians* agreed with the *Egyptians* in most of their laws, their splendid
funerals, the (H) deification of their princes, the several colleges of priests, circum-
c cision, and in fine most of their sacred and civil institutions, 'tis highly probable, that the same arts, sciences, and learning, as well as religion, prevailed amongst both nations. Nay, this seems to be expressly asserted by *Diodorus Siculus*, when he informs us, that not only the same kind of statues, but likewise the same hieroglyphic figures and characters, were used in *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*; since it is generally allowed, that those were the repositories of the *Egyptian* wisdom and literature. It must be owned, that an ingenious modern writer roundly affirms, that no nation besides the *Egyptians* continued to write with marks after the invention of letters; all others immediately dropping their hieroglyphics on the discovery of that more commodious method, because the *Egyptian* hieroglyphics only contained any wisdom
d or learning. But these seem to be assertions not only arbitrary and precarious, but plainly false, as appearing both incapable of proof, and diametrically opposite to what *Diodorus Siculus* has advanced from the best authors who had written before his time of the nation we are now upon. Nay, that they had persons amongst them eminent for their wisdom, may be inferred from a writer cited by *Photius*; and that there was a great affinity betwixt them and the *Egyptians*, in most points of importance, seems to have been the general sentiment of the *Romans* as well as the *Greeks*, as is implied by *Festus*, when he calls them *Ægyptini*. *Homer* also celebrates both their wisdom and religion, when he makes *Jupiter*, and the rest of the gods, to attend their entertainments. That they even were instructed in several branches of literature by
c *Moses* himself, who was learned in all the wisdom of the *Egyptians*, may be collected from *Artapanus* in *Eusebius*, *Josephus*, and others. But, waving all other proofs and authorities that might be offered in favour of the point here insisted upon, it will be sufficient to observe, that a nation so near *Egypt*, the centre of learning and po-

* *Diod. Sic. l. iii. Herodot. l. ii. l. iii. l. vii. & alib. AGATHARCHID. CNID. de Mar. Rubr. l. v. c. 12—31. apud Phot. p. 1343—1360. STRAB. l. xvii. & alib. XENOPH. Ἀναξ. l. iii. HELIODOR. Æthiopic. l. ix. & alib. Vet. suet. apud Suid. Herodot. l. vii. c. 69, 70, 71. PHILOSTRAT. l. vi. c. 12. & apud Phot. p. 1015. PLIN. l. vi. c. 29, 30. SOLIN. c. 30. PTOL. geogr. l. iv. c. 9. MARCIAN. HERACLEOT. p. 42. CYRIL. in Esai. l. ii. CLAUDIAN. l. i. & alib. Vid. & Lib. Hebr. Babel Aruc. THEOPHRAST. hist. plant. l. ix. c. 15. & alib. HOMER. Iliad. x. v. 93. SCYLAX CARYAND. p. 12. ÆLIAN. de animal. l. vi. & l. xiv. c. 5. HOR. l. i. od. 22. ÆTIUS in tetrah. iv. ferm. 1. c. 34. Geogr. Nub. clim. i. par. 1. JOAN. TZETZ. c. i. l. 8. 1220. JOAN. Geometr. hym. ii. See also the Universal history, vol. vii. in the histories of *Numidia* and *Mauritania*.*

(H) *Diodorus* relates, that the *Egyptians* learned the custom of deifying their kings from the *Ethiopians*. Nay, according to him, the *Egyptians* derived statuary, and even their letters themselves, from the same source. This author also observes, that the *Egyptian* and *Ethiopian* priests, as well as

kings, wore caps wreathed round with serpents called asps; by which was intimated, that every person guilty of treason would as certainly suffer death, as if he had been bit by that poisonous animal (32).

(32) *Diod. Sic. l. iii. sub init.*

Character of
the Ethiopians.

liteness in very early ages, with which the *Ethiopians* always kept open a communication, and so potent as this appears from history in most remote times to have been, could not avoid arriving at a very laudable degree of (I) knowledge both in the liberal arts and sciences, and those termed mechanical.

THE *Ethiopians* were naturally bold and intrepid, but violent in their temper. They likewise surpassed most other nations in beauty, and largeness of size, to which a proportionable degree of strength was generally annexed. For which reason *Herodotus* intimates, that the *Macrobii* conferred the royal dignity upon the most beautiful, large, and strongest person they could find amongst them. Both they and the *Arabians* had an invincible aversion to mice, as we learn from *Plutarch*. If the modern *Abassines* resemble their ancestors, they were well-shaped, of a generous disposition, and exceeding quick parts. Upon the same supposition, some of them must have been free, cheerful, humane, forgivers of injuries, and great lovers of (K) justice. According to various authors, the proper antient *Ethiopians* were, for the most part, perfectly black, as we find their posterity at this day, tho' some particular cantons were white, called, by *Pliny*, *white Ethiopians*. 'Tis probable they were pleased with their natural colour, and preferred it to those of other nations. Some writers affirm, that the children of the present *Abassines* are terrified at the sight of an *European*, as much as ours are at that of a *Negro*; and that they paint the devil white, in order to ridicule all complexions of, or bordering upon, that colour. Others relate, that in some provinces of *Abassia* the people are of an olive-colour; that in general they are born white, with a black spot upon their navel, which in a short time after their birth spreads over their whole body; and that, being transported into *Europe*, they become white at the second or third generation. *Gregory* the *Abassine* informed *Ludolphus*, that his countrymen came into the world of a reddish hue, but in a short time turned black. Their women are strong and lusty, and bring forth with little pain, as usually happens in the warmer climates. When they are in labour, they kneel down upon their knees, as the *Hebrew* women did, and are delivered without the help of a midwife. Many, if not all, of these particulars undoubtedly held equally true of the antient *Ethiopians*, who, from what is observable in their posterity, seem to have been likewise very patient of labour, capable of bearing the greatest fatigues, and endued with uncommon vivacity. Lastly, from *Herodotus* compared with the relations of some modern authors, 'tis not unlikely, that they died purely of old-age, a few only excepted, who either fell by the sword, or were devoured by wild beasts, as *Sallust* has observed of the antient *Africans*².

² DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. WARBURTON'S divine legat. of Mos. demonstrat. vol. ii. par. i. p. 157. HERODOT. l. ii. c. 104. STRAB. l. xvii. & alib. PHILOSTRATUS TYRIUS de vit. Apollon. Tyan. l. viii. cod. 44. apud Phot. p. 30. FEST. in voc. Ægyptin. JOSEPH. antiquit. l. ii. c. 5. ARTAPAN. apud Euseb. de præp. evang. l. ix. c. iv. Act. c. vii. v. 22. Vide etiam HOMER. Iliad. A'. CLEM. ALEXANDRIN. in Strom. alioque auctor. pass. * Excerpt. e vit. Pythag. apud Phot. p. 1319. HERODOT. l. iii. DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. PLUT. de invid. & od. P. BALTHAZAR TELLEZIUS, & GREG. ABASS. apud Job. Ludolph. in hist. Æthiop. l. iii. c. 14. ut & ipse LUDOLPH. ibid. Is. VOSSIUS de orig. Nil. &c. POMPON. MEL. & SOLIN. apud Ludolph. ubi sup. P. AUGUSTIN. CALMET. dict. bibl. in voc. Æthiopia, &c. SALLUST. in Jugurth.

(I) *Lucian* makes the *Ethiopians* to have excelled all other nations in wisdom and literature. According to him, they invented astronomy and astrology, and communicated those sciences, as well as many other branches of learning, to the *Egyptians*. As their country was very fit for making celestial observations, such a notion seems not intirely groundless; though scarce any particulars of their knowledge have reached us (33).

(K) *Pausanias*, when he distinguishes the proper *Ethiopians* from those bordering upon the *Mauri* and *Nasamones*, remarks, that the people of *Meroe*,

as well as the other neighbouring *Ethiopians*, were eminent for their love of justice. This observation was probably truer than what he subjoins to it, viz. that the *Ethiopians* had no other river but the *Nile*; though, as all other rivers join the *Nile*, this is no unpardonable mistake. However, the accounts he had received of the country inhabited by that people were not over-accurate; as we may collect from his confounding the *Ethiopian* ox or bull with the rhinoceros, and other instances that might be produced (34).

(33) *Lucian. de astrolog. p. 539. 540. & in fugitiv. p. 1011. p. 62, 63.*

(34) *Pausan. in Bœotic. & in Attic.*

C H A P. VII.

The history of the Ethiopians, to the usurpation of the Zagæan family, which commenced about the year of Christ 960.

- ^a **W**E have already observed, that not only the vast tract stretching from the southern limits of *Egypt* to *Libya Incognita*, and the peninsula of *Arabia*, as well as one part of it on the coast of the *Red Sea*, contiguous to *Egypt*, but likewise *Susiana*, called by the *Orientalists* *Kbuzestân*, and the country watered by the *Araxes*, the seat of the ancient *Scythians*, went under the denomination of *Cush* amongst the *Asiatic* nations, and *Ethiopia* amongst the *Greeks*. Where *Cush* himself settled immediately after the dispersion, authors are far from being agreed; some placing him in *Susiana* or *Kbuzestân*, others in *Arabia Felix*, and others in that district near the confines of *Egypt*, called in Scripture *the land of Midian* or *Madian*. Possibly some of his descendants might contribute towards peopling all the different regions here mentioned; but 'tis probable, that the greatest body of them advanced towards *Arabia* and *Egypt*, since the posterity of *Elam* the son of *Shem* replenished, in all likelihood, most of the provinces of *Persia*, and particularly *Elymais* contiguous to *Susiana* or *Kbuzestân*. Be that as it will, 'tis certain, the land of *Midian* went by the name of *Cush* before the age of *Moses*, when, 'tis natural to suppose, the country washed by the *Araxes* was but thinly peopled, and even scarce known. That the children of *Cush* should have migrated in the most numerous parties into *Arabia*, and particularly that part of *Yaman* bordering upon the streights of *Bab al Mandab*, as well as the country afterwards called the land of *Midian*, has the greatest appearance of truth, since these seem to be the most commodious situations for throwing large colonies of *Cushites* into the proper *Ethiopia*, as well as the inland parts of *Africa*. To support farther the conjecture offered to the consideration of our readers here, it may be observed from various authors, that a good part of the upper *Egypt* was possessed by the *Cushites* in the most early ages, and that the city of *Cos*, *Kûs*, or *Kîsh*, situated upon the *Nile* in that country, confounded by some with the famous *Thebes*, took its name from *Cush* the father of the *Ethiopians*. The *Arabs* call *Ethiopia* not only *Habash*, from *Habash* the supposed son of *Cush*, but likewise *Cush* or *Coush*, in like manner as the *Hebrews*. The first kings of this country we have no account of, that deserves the least regard. 'Tis probable, that several princes reigned here at the same time, before any of the great empires were formed, as in *Egypt*. Some of the modern *Abassines* pretend, that one *Arwe* was the first king of *Ethiopia*, but relate nothing memorable of him, only that he was assassinated by one *Angab*, who afterwards ascended the throne, and was succeeded by *Sabanut*, *Gedur*, &c. As for the catalogue annexed to the fabulous history of *Tzagaxus*, and what we find on this head in *Jerome Vecchietti*, not the least degree of credit is due to them. The present king of *Ethiopia*, or emperor of *Abassia*, is styled by his subjects *Negus*, i. e. king; but, as the governors of provinces are sometimes honoured with that appellation, his proper title is *Negusa Nagast Zai-tiopia*, i. e. king of the kings of *Ethiopia*.
- ^e **I**T may be inferred from some authors, that the *Ethiopians* possessed *Thebais* before *Moses's* time, and consequently that they were a powerful nation from the remotest antiquity. According to these authors, they made an irruption into the *Lower Egypt* whilst *Moses* was there, and penetrated as far as *Memphis*. Having defeated the *Egyptians* in a pitched battle, they threatened them with immediate destruction. Whereupon the *Egyptian* gods, being consulted, ordered their votaries to put a He-

Where the first kingdom of Cush was situated uncertain.

Moses conquers Ethiopia.

^a *Univ. hist.* vol. i. p. 162, 163, 164, &c. *Dan.* c. viii. v. 2. *PROL.* Afiz tab. 5. *BOCHART.* Phal. l. ii. c. 2. & alib. *PLIN.* l. vi. c. 25. *JOSEPH.* antiquit. l. xii. c. 13. *HYDE* de relig. vet. Persar. p. 80, &c. *Num.* c. xii. v. 1. *CALMET,* in art. *Cush* & *Ethiopia.* *D'HERBEL.* biblioth. Oriental. in voc. *Habas.* *ABULFED.* *YACUT.* alique apud *Golium,* in not. ad *Alfragan.* p. 101. *NEWTON's* chronol. p. 201, & alib. *D'HERBEL.* ubi sup. p. 274, 409, &c. *Vid. catal.* in *hist. fab. TZAGAXI,* *HIERON. VECCHIETTI,* c. 39. & *JOH. LUDOLPH,* *hist. Ethiop.* l. ii. c. 1, 2, &c.

brew at the head of their forces, and then march against the enemy. The king, in a pursuance of this order, prevailed upon *Moses* to accept the command of his army, and to take an oath of fidelity to him. *Moses*, being vested with an unlimited power to act as he should think proper for the good of his master's service, immediately advanced at the head of his troops into the heart of the enemy's country. As he did not judge it expedient to march along the banks of the *Nile*, in conformity to their expectations, but to push through some mediterranean provinces, greatly infested with serpents of an enormous size, towards *Meroe* the capital of *Ethiopia*, he was obliged to have recourse to the following stratagem, in order to save his men: He filled many chests or paniers, made of the *Egyptian* plant *papyrus*, with vast numbers of the *ibis*, an *Egyptian* bird, that had a natural antipathy to serpents of all kinds, and made great havock of them. When he approached the tract abounding with those animals, he let out his birds, which destroyed all of them they met with, and opened a passage for the *Egyptian* forces. *Moses*, therefore, without any difficulty, surpris'd the *Ethiopians*, gave them a total defeat, and at last shut them up in *Meroe*. But this place was rendered in a manner impregnable by the *Nile*, the *Asapus*, and the *Asaboras*, which so surrounded it, that it was almost impossible for an army to approach it. However, *Moses's* good fortune interposing, he found means to make himself master of it. The king of *Ethiopia's* daughter, observing from the walls *Moses's* bravery in repulsing several sallies of the besieged, and being charmed with his success, fell desperately in love with him, and, by the assistance of some friends she could confide in, offered to deliver up the place to him, provided he would swear to marry her. This overture, continue the same authors, *Moses* complied with, was thereupon admitted into the town, and married her. However, he treated the citizens with great rigour and severity, first plundering them, and then putting most of them to the sword. In fine, having ravaged the whole country, razed or dismantled all the places of strength, and consequently rendered the *Ethiopians* for a long time incapable of making head against the *Egyptians*, he returned home with great glory. *Cedrenus* intimates, that this war lasted ten years^b.

The Abassines believe their kings to be descended from Solomon and the queen of Sheba.

THE *Abassines* are firmly persuaded, that the celebrated queen (A) of *Sheba*, who had an interview with *Solomon*, reigned over the proper *Ethiopia*. They have a history of her written at large, but interspersed with various fables. The substance of it is as follows: *Makeda*, for according to them that was her name, receiving an account, from *Tamerin* an *Ethiopian* merchant, of the surprising power and wisdom of *Solomon*, took a journey to *Jerusalem* to know the truth of this report. She was attended by a great train of her prime nobility, and carried with her a variety of most magnificent presents. After she had been instructed at *Jerusalem* in the worship of the true God, she returned home, and within the space of a year brought forth a son begotten by *Solomon*, who named him *David*; but he was called by his mother and her subjects *Menelech*, or *Menilebech*, that is, another self. He received his education at *Solomon's* court, and was accompanied home by many doctors of the law, and *Israelites* of distinction, and particularly *Azariab* the son of *Zadoc* the high priest. By the assistance of these *Hebrew* attendants he established the religion, professed by his father, in *Ethiopia*, where it continued till that kingdom embraced christianity. The *Arabs* and *Abassines* have given the princess above-mentioned several names, as *Makeda*, *Belkis*, *Balkis*, or *Bulkis*, *Negbesta Azeb*, i. e. queen of the south, as we find her styled by our Saviour, and the *Ethiopic* version, &c. The *Abassines* pretend, that their kings are descended in a right line from *Menelech*, and even most of the noble families in *Abassia* at this day trace their respective pedigrees up to *Solomon*^c.

This tradition clogged with some absurdities, though not to be deemed intirely false.

THAT this tradition is clogged with some absurdities, will appear to any one who considers it with the least attention, though at the same time it must be allowed, as hinted above, that part of it is not void of an appearance of truth. *Ethiopia* is f

^b EUPOLEM. & ARTAPAN. apud Euseb. de præp. evang. l. ix. c. 4. JOSEPH. antiquitat. l. ii. c. 10. GEORG. CEDREN. hist. compend. p. 48. ed. Paris. 1647. * LUDOLPH. ubi sup. c. 3. Geogr. Nubiens. clim. i. p. 6. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 296. D'HERBELOT. bibl. Oriental. sub voc. *Balkis*. LE GRAND, dissert. vii. Matt. c. xii. ver. 42.

(A) *Josephus* says, that the queen of *Sheba* governed *Egypt* as well as *Ethiopia*; but as this notion runs counter to the whole stream both of sacred and profane antiquity, we shall not scruple to reject it (1).

(1) *Joseph. antiquit. l. viii. c. 6.*

- a^r more to the south of *Judaea* than the territory or kingdom of *Saba* in *Arabia Felix*, and consequently seems to bid fairer than that country for the dominions of that princess whom our Saviour calls *the queen of the south*. *Ethiopia* is styled the remotest part of the habitable world by *Herodotus* and *Strabo*, and therefore better agrees with what our Saviour has said of the queen of *Sheba*, viz. that *she came from the uttermost parts of the earth*, than *Arabia* possibly can do. Nor can it be deemed a sufficient reply to this argument, that *Arabia Felix* was the uttermost part of the earth in respect of *Judaea*, since it was bounded by the *Red Sea*; for that not only *Egypt*, but even *Ethiopia*, regions beyond that sea, were known to, and even had a communication with, the *Jews*, both before and in our Saviour's time, is indisputably clear. Lastly,
- b from what has been suggested above, it appears no improbable conjecture, that *Judaism* was not only known in a part at least of *Ethiopia*, but likewise nearly related to the established religion there, at the beginning of the apostolical age, if not much earlier. However, we would not be understood as pretending to determine the residence of *the queen of the south*; especially since so much may be said for *Arabia*, as well as the country we are now upon. After all, these two opinions, so contrary in appearance, may be made consistent without great difficulty; since 'tis agreed, that *Arabia* and *Ethiopia* have antiently born the same name, been included, during certain intervals, in one empire, and governed by one prince. Part of the *Arabs* and *Ethiopians* had the same origin, and very considerable numbers of the *Abasseni*
- c transplanted themselves from *Arabia Felix* into *Ethiopia*, as already observed; which seems sufficient to make appear the intercourse that has formerly subsisted between the *Cushites* or *Ethiopians* of *Asia* and *Africa* ^d.

- BUT whether our readers will think proper to fix the queen of *Sheba* in *Arabia* or *Ethiopia*, whether they will admit or reject the history of that princess and her son given us by the *Abassines*, it seems clear from Scripture, that the *Ethiopians* were subject to *Sesac*, either in *Solomon's* time, or soon after his death. For, that the *Cushites* mentioned in the passage here referred to, were the proper *Ethiopians*, appears from their being joined with the *Lubim* or *Libyans*, who likewise served in the army of that prince. This, it must be owned, is a strong proof, that *Sesostris* and *Sesac* were
- d the same person, in conformity to what *Josephus* asserts, since we read not in Scripture of any *Egyptian* but *Sesac* that was master of *Ethiopia*, and since *Herodotus* positively asserts, that *Sesostris* alone, of all the *Egyptian* monarchs, enjoyed the empire of that country. But further, as the Scripture takes no notice of any great conqueror that was king of *Egypt* before *Sesac*, it is in the highest degree probable, that he was the first who extended his conquests in so wonderful a manner as we find the antients have related of *Sesostris*; since, had such great achievements been performed sooner, the sacred history would undoubtedly have given us some hint of them, especially as the *Hebrews* had such an intercourse with the *Egyptians* almost from the remotest antiquity. The silence therefore of Scripture in this particular is an argu-
- e ment of no small force in favour of what *Josephus* has advanced relating to the identity of *Sesostris* and *Sesac*. Nay, we will venture to affirm, that it tends strongly to evince the *Egyptian* empire, founded by *Ammenemes* and *Sesac*, to have been the first great empire that ever was formed. For the high, and even incredible, antiquity of the *Assyrian* empire depends only upon the authority of *Ctesias*, not the least hint, in support of such antiquity, being visible in Scripture; on the contrary, it plainly appearing from thence, that it was founded by *Pul*, about two hundred years after the taking of *Jerusalem* by *Sesac*. Notwithstanding, therefore, the ineffectual labours of so many learned men to vindicate the notorious falsehoods of *Ctesias*, or, which is the same thing, of the antient *Greek* and *Latin* authors who copied from
- f him, no one, who has the least regard for Scripture, can possibly imagine any *Egyptian* monarch of great note to have flourished before *Sesac*, or *Assyrian* before *Pul*. This notion has been set in the strongest light by Sir *Isaac Newton*, but opposed by many ingenious and learned men. However, as these learned men seem not to have duly attended to what Sir *Isaac* has advanced, and as it has been that illustrious author's misfortune to have his works at first misunderstood, though they have afterwards shone out with a double lustre, we shall beg leave to make a general remark upon the most considerable writers, who have endeavoured to overthrow his

^d HERODOT. l. iiii. c. 114. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 564. ed. 1587. MATT. c. xii. v. 42. COSMAS ÆGYPTIUS, in Christian. opin. de mund. l. ii. p. 138, 139. EUSEB. comment. in Esai. c. xli. i. UNIV. hist. vol. vii. c. 6. sect. 2. LE GRAND & LUDOLPH. ubi sup.

system of chronology, which to us seems nearer the truth than any other. We do ^a not pretend to adopt every particular sentiment advanced in this noble piece, and therefore shall not offer an answer to all the objections urged against it; nor indeed, were we so disposed, would the nature of the work we are at present engaged in render this practicable*.

Sir Isaac Newton misrep-
resented.

SIR Isaac allows, that before the time of *Ammon* or *Ammenemes* the father of *Sesac*, there were several kings in *Egypt*, and even adopts what *Manetho* has written of the kings of the *Lower Egypt*; only he contends, that the *Upper* and *Lower Egypt* were not united under one prince before the reign of *Ammon*. And how does this contradict Scripture, which takes notice only of the kings of *Misraim*, or that part of the *Lower Egypt* bordering upon *Arabia* and *Palestine*? Nay, does he not suppose the truth ^b of the most early Scripture-accounts of *Egypt*, by referring to the book of *Genesis* on several occasions, by deducing from thence several facts corroboratory of his system? Does he not intimate, that the lower part of *Egypt* was governed by a series of kings from the remotest antiquity, even from the first invention of corn there, to *Josbua's* invasion of *Canaan*; that the people of this country worshipped the prince at the head of this series, who taught them to make bread, after his death, in the ox or calf, for this benefaction? And can any thing better tally with Scripture, or rather be more firmly founded upon it, as well as consonant to all profane antiquity, than this observation? Nay, does he not offer it as his opinion, that this prince reigned in the *Lower Egypt* as early as the first plantation of it, and therefore might, for ^c ought that appears to the contrary from him, or rather as he strongly insinuates, be *Misraim*? To what purpose then have we been troubled with so much empty jangling, and outcries against him, as though he had attacked the authority of Scripture, by denying the being of that antient kingdom in the *Lower Egypt* so frequently mentioned by the sacred historian? In short, most of those persons, who have so grossly misrepresented Sir Isaac in this particular, have been either professed infidels, or such as secretly favoured infidelity; or lastly, such as have implicitly swallowed the absurdities of *Ctesias*. But from these our great author is neither to expect candour nor impartiality. He has so effectually overthrown that romantic antiquity of the *Egyptian* empire, which the *Egyptian* priests endeavoured to palm upon the world, ^d and which so long has been one of the last resources of infidelity, that all our modern deists, as well as their secret abettors, must of course declare against him: and those persons, who are so hardy as to attempt in earnest the reconciliation of *Ctesias* with Scripture, are, in our opinion, not only capable of opposing what Sir Isaac has offered in defence of his system, but all the mathematical demonstration that ever appeared in the world ^e.

Some of the
principal ob-
jections against
him considered.

BUT it is said, that Sir Isaac makes *Sesostris* or *Sesac* to have introduced instruments of war, the exact distribution of property, &c. amongst the *Egyptians*; which is not only contrary to Scripture, but likewise to what we have just advanced. And was there then no other country called *Egypt* but the land of *Misraim* mentioned by *Moses* in the first book of the pentateuch, or rather did that kingdom include all ^e the tract the *Greeks* called *Egypt*? No, this cannot be maintained; since that country is known not to have contained all the *Lower Egypt*, much less the *Lower* and *Upper Egypt* united; and it may be as well known, by perusing Sir Isaac with a proper attention, that both these united were the *Egypt* governed by *Sesac*. That prince, therefore, might have introduced the things enumerated by our great chronologer, for so we shall not scruple to call him, notwithstanding the cavils of his adversaries, into some parts of the *Upper Egypt*, or several savage districts not far from the western coast of the *Red Sea*, and civilized the inhabitants, though a kingdom had subsisted in the *Lower Egypt*, whose members had been tolerably polished ^f before the reign of *Sesac*, from the age of *Misraim*. These points are by no means incompatible, and therefore nothing to the prejudice of Sir Isaac's system of chronology can be inferred from the supposed disagreement of them. On the contrary, as the *Troglodytes*, appertaining partly to *Egypt*, and partly to *Ethiopia*, remained in a state of barbarity many ages after *Sesac*, 'tis no such improbable notion, that before his time several other tribes inhabiting the *Upper Egypt* might be as rude and barba-

* 2 Chron. c. xii. v. 3. HERODOT. DIODORUS SICULUS. PLIN. JOSEPH. JUSTIN. DIONYS. PERIEG. STRAB. APOLLON. RHOD. PAUSAN. LUCAN. alique scriptor. quamplurim. apud Newton. in chronol. pass. 2 Kin. c. xv. ver. 19. 2 Chron. c. v. ver. 26. ^f NEWT. of the empire of *Egypt*, and chronol. of the *Greeks*, pass.

- a rous some of the antients represented them. But it is farther urged, that Sir *Isaac* makes *Ammon* and *Sefac* to have been the great gods of the *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians*, known amongst the *Greeks* and *Romans* by the names *Zeus*, *Jupiter*, *Dionysus*, *Bacchus*, &c. which runs counter to the whole stream of antiquity, and withal contradicts Scripture; since *Apis*, *Serapis*, i. e. *Jupiter*, was worshipped by the *Egyptians* before the exodus of the *Israelites*, the golden calf being set up by that nation in the wilderness in imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*. Now, that the first king of that very ancient monarchy in the *Lower Egypt*, so frequently mentioned by *Moses*, was deified for the reason already assigned, and worshipped in the ox or calf, is expressly asserted by Sir *Isaac*; and therefore we may most rationally account for the *Israelites* paying
- b divine honours to the golden calf from him, without having recourse to the worship of *Apis*. For although this worship, in several particulars, resembled that of a more ancient deity, even the first king of the land of *Misraim*, it does not from thence follow, that this deified prince was the *Egyptian Apis*. One strong presumption, that these two pagan divinities were really different, is, that the god *Mnevis* seems more properly to correspond with the founder of the kingdom of *Misraim* than *Apis*. For *Mnevis* (B) was kept at *Heliopolis*, and consequently held in the highest veneration there, whereas *Apis* resided at *Memphis*. Now *Heliopolis* was much more ancient than *Memphis*, being the city *On*, whose priest's daughter *Joseph* married, as appears clearly from the Septuagint. It was likewise nearer the confines of *Palestine* and
- c *Arabia* than *Memphis*, nay, it seems to have been in the very land of *Goshen* or *Gessen*, where the *Israelites* dwelt immediately before the exodus; on which accounts the principal deity there must bid fairer for the most ancient deified prince above-mentioned, and that represented by the *Israelitish* golden calf, than any other. Which single observation, exclusive of many others that might be offered, ought to be deemed a full refutation of the point so confidently advanced in this objection. Again, we are told, that Sir *Isaac Newton* invalidates the authority of Scripture, when he intimates alphabetic letters not to have been received in *Egypt* before the time of *Ammon* the father of *Sefac*, that is, in some part of *David's* reign. But how does this appear? Does the Scripture say any thing of the alphabetic characters of *Egypt* before
- d that period, either directly or by implication? And if not, how can such a notion in any manner affect Scripture? We cannot, therefore, but own ourselves greatly surpris'd at the conduct of a very learned and ingenious author, who charges this opinion with being contrary to Scripture, and, in support of that charge, quotes the following passage — “As to the precise time of the invention of *Egyptian* letters, IT CAN NEVER BE SO MUCH AS GUESSED AT.” — “However, that letters (in
- e “*Egypt*) were very early, we have clearly shewn above, as well from other circumstances as from this, that the invention of them was given to their gods.” Now 'tis remarkable, that these circumstances no-where appear; and that the other passage referred to, in order to support what is here advanced, only takes notice of *writing*, which, it is well known, in the earliest times always consisted of hieroglyphic characters. As for the origin of arts and sciences in the land of *Misraim*, or the Scripture *Egypt*, all that we can say of it is, that it preceded the age of *Moses*, who, as *St. Stephen* himself, under the actual influence of the Holy Ghost, informs us, was learned in all the wisdom of the *Egyptians*. But what a progress literature had then made there, we cannot pretend to say. 'Tis not improbable, that the art of onirocritic, or interpretation of dreams, astrology, including so much of the simple elements of astronomy as contained the knowledge of the true system of the world, some maxims of

(B) That *Mnevis* and *Apis* were different deities, or rather representatives of different deities, appears from hence, that the *Egyptians* held the latter in much higher veneration than the former. The worship of *Apis* seems to have been not only universal in *Egypt*, but likewise common to most of the nations of *Arabia*, *India*, and *Ethiopia*; whereas the chief divine honours paid *Mnevis* did not extend much farther than the district of *Heliopolis*, if they were not absolutely confined to that place. Now this is easy to be conceived, nay, perfectly rational, upon Sir *Isaac Newton's* principles; for he supposes,

that *Sesostris* or *Sefac* was the first prince in possession both of the *Upper* and *Lower Egypt*, *Ethiopia*, &c. and that he civilized several nations; whereas he believes the ancient kingdom of *Misraim*, or the Scripture *Egypt*, to have been of no larger an extent than we have already hinted. *Ammianus Marcellinus* seems plainly to give *Mnevis* the preference to *Apis* in point of antiquity; and the notion he appears to espouse will be rendered probable, not only by what we here advance, but likewise by a careful and diligent comparison of the authors here referred to with one another (1).

(1) *Herodotus*, l. iii. *Strabo*, l. xvii. *Plut. de Isid. & Osirid.* *Plin.* l. viii. c. 46. *Alian. hist. animal.* l. xi. c. 9. *Univ. hist.* vol. i. p. 206.

civil policy, with certain theological notions, made up the greatest part of it. But a we cannot collect from hence, that they knew even so much of the principles of astronomy and geometry, as to understand the art of navigation before the time Sir Isaac mentions; nor that any of the arts or sciences, which he intimates began to flourish amongst the *Egyptians* about the reigns of *Ammon* and *Sesac*, were cultivated there to any great purpose before that period. But admitting, that the *Egyptians* of the land of *Misraim*, before the reigns of the princes above-mentioned, were as learned and polite as Sir Isaac's adversaries would insinuate, which yet is utterly improbable, it will not follow, that the *Upper Egypt*, *Libya*, &c. had then any great pretensions to learning and politeness; and therefore every thing advanced upon that supposition, which is almost the sum of what has been offered against Sir Isaac's b system of chronology, deserves not the least attention. In fine, most of those gentlemen, who have opposed this excellent piece, seem to have confounded the kingdom of *Misraim* with that *Egyptian* empire which arrived at its last perfection in the days of *Sesac*, if not with *Libya*, *Troglodytica*, and other barbarous countries over-run and civilized by that prince. And not only so, but they have considered some of his notions as detached from others, with which, in reality, they have a close connection; have attacked several points without informing their readers what he has urged in defence of them; have attempted an answer to some of his weaker arguments without touching upon those of greater strength; lastly, have never taken a full survey of the system, but only fallen upon some of those parts they thought c the most liable to exception, and, from a supposed refutation of them, collected the falsity of the whole. However, 'tis not our business here to enter into a nice discussion of all the particulars relating to this controversy, nor to examine every cavil levelled at a work, the main part of which, we believe, will, sooner or later, meet with a general good reception from the learned world. For, with regard to some particular sentiments in it, learned men will always think differently of them, as has been the fate of several parts of the most excellent productions in all ages. As such a digression merited a place in some part of this work, and comes in naturally enough here, we hope it will be pardoned, if not favourably received by our readers. — But to resume the thread of our history f;

History of Ethiopia, to the second expulsion of the shepherds.

W^e have already observed, that *Sesac* subdued and reigned over *Ethiopia*. After his death a civil war seems to have broke out in *Egypt*, which Sir Isaac Newton believes to have been invaded at this juncture by the *Libyans*, and defended by the *Ethiopians*. But about ten years afterwards, continues the same illustrious author, the *Ethiopians* drowned *Sesac*'s successor in the *Nile*, and seized upon *Egypt*. With that kingdom, *Libya* also fell into their hands, which will enable us to account for the numerous host with which *Zerab* the *Ethiopian* advanced against *Afa* king of *Judab*. However, *Afa* overthrew that army, consisting of a million of men, in the fifteenth year of his reign, and dispersed it in such a manner, that *Zerab* could never afterwards rally his scattered forces. Upon which, the people of the Lower e *Egypt* revolted from the *Ethiopians*, and, being sustained by a body of two hundred thousand *Jewish* or *Canaanitish* auxiliaries, forced *Memnon* or *Amenophis*, king of that nation, to retire to *Memphis*. 'Tis probable, that the *Egyptians*, under the conduct of their chief priest *Ufortbon*, *Oforchon*, *Osarchor*, or *Osarsiphus*, followed their blow; since, after *Memnon* had turned the course of the (C) *Nile*, built a bridge over that river, and fortified the pass there, he retreated with great precipitation into *Ethiopia*. However, about thirteen years after this disgrace, he and his young son *Ramesse*s returned at the head of a powerful army, and drove the above-mentioned *Jews* or *Phenicians* out of the *Lower Egypt*; which action the *Egyptian* writers called the

f Idem ibid. PLIN. l. viii. c. 46. HERODOT. l. iii. STRAB. l. xvii. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. xxii. PLUT. de Isid. & Osirid. ELYAN. de animal. l. xl. c. 9. WARBURTON'S divine legat. of Mos. demonstr. vol. ii. par. i. p. 275, 138, 124, 60.

(C) This famous river, we suppose, by way of eminence, was called the *Nile*, i. e. the river, the torrents, &c. for that the word נַחַל Naal or Niil imports. Amongst the *Oriental*s the vowels were nearly related to one another, and consequently a

permutation of them frequent; and that the letter Π, in some words, had not formerly so much as the force even of a note of aspiration, is evinced by Bochart. Νεῖλος and Nilus, therefore, are only נַחַל with a *Greek* and *Latin* termination {3}.

{3} Val. Subind. pentaglot. p. 1104. Bochart. Phal. l. i. c. 1.

- a second expulsion of the shepherds, as we learn from the aforesaid illustrious author, in conjunction with *Manetho* s.

We are told by *Cedrenus*, a writer of good authority, that, about fifty years after *A deluge in Cecrops* the first king of *Athens* began to reign, there happened a deluge in *Ethiopia*, *Ethiopia*. but what damage the inhabitants of that country sustained on this occasion, he informs us not. However, it is probable, that the effects of it were sufficiently felt, since otherwise it would not have merited the notice of any historian. As *Cedrenus* follows the technical chronology of *Eratoſthenes*, he places this event too high; but this in no manner affects us, who are not disposed to pay any great regard to that chronology. From what writer he extracted this article, we cannot take upon us so much

- b as to conjecture ^h.

FROM several historical facts, Sir *Isaac* renders it extremely probable, that *Menes*, *Continued to Memnon*, and *Amenophis*, were the same person; that the *Ethiopian* prince, who *the time of Sa-* went by these names, was the son of *Zerob*; and that he died in a very advanced age (D), about ninety years after the death of *Solomon*. According to the same incomparable writer, the city of *Memphis*, called in Scripture *Moph* and *Noph*, as likewise *Menoph* or *Menuf* by the *Arabian* historians, derived its name from that of this prince, who either built it, or first fortified it, to prevent *Osarsiphus* from entering *Ethiopia*. The *Argonautic* expedition happened in the reign of *Amenophis*, according to the principles of the system we have at present in view. Some *Greek* authors relate, that he assisted king *Priamus* with a body of *Ethiopian* troops. After his decease, his son *Rameses* ascended the throne of *Ethiopia*, who built the northern portico of the temple of *Vulcan* at *Memphis*. *Mari*, his successor, adorned *Memphis*, and fixed his residence there, near two generations after the *Trojan* war, upon the same principles. *Cheops*, *Cephren*, and *Myserinus*, were the three next kings, the last of which was succeeded by his sister *Nitocris*. Then came *Alychis*, in whose reign both *Affyria* and *Ethiopia* revolted from *Egypt*; which thereupon was again divided into several small kingdoms. *Gnephalius* governed one of these, and resided at *Memphis*; but his son *Bocchoris* was slain by *So* or *Sabacon* the *Ethiopian*, who made himself master of *Egypt*. As all the principal achievements of these monarchs, transmitted *c* down to us by sacred and profane antiquity, have already been taken notice of in the history of *Egypt*, we have almost intirely passed them over here. However, we must not omit informing our readers, that, in the twenty-second year of *Bocchoris*'s reign, *Africanus* has fixed the commencement of the æra of *Nabonassar* ⁱ.

Sabacon, or *So*, as he is called in Scripture, soon after the reduction of *Egypt*, *To the death of* entered into an alliance with *Hoshea* king of *Israel*; which induced that prince to attempt shaking off the yoke of the *Affyrians*; but his efforts proving unsuccessful, a period was put to the kingdom of *Israel* by *Sbalmaneser*, in the twenty-fourth year of the æra of *Nabonassar*. According to *Herodotus*, *Sabacon*, after a reign of fifty years, voluntarily relinquished *Egypt*, and retired into *Ethiopia*. But, according to *Afri-* *c* *canus*, he reigned only eight years in *Egypt*, and died in the ninth year of *Hezekiah*, or twenty-ninth of *Nabonassar*. The former author likewise informs us, that *Setbon*, whom some take to be the *Sevechus* of *Manetho*, his successor, advanced to *Pelusium*, with a powerful army, against *Sennacherib* king of *Affyria*, whom he was enabled to defeat by a vast number of mice, which devoured the shield-straps and bow-strings of the *Affyrians*; and that, to perpetuate the memory of so surprising an event, the statue of *Setbon*, which he saw, had a mouse in its hand. As a mouse was the *Egyptian* and *Ethiopian* symbol of destruction, this seems to intimate, that he overthrew the *Affyrians* with a great destruction. Sir *Isaac Newton* therefore believes, that *Setbon*, in conjunction with *Tirbakab*, either king of the *Arabian Cusbites*, or a relation of *f* *Setbon*, and his viceroy in the *Proper Ethiopia*, surprised and defeated *Sennacherib*

^s NEWT. ubi sup. 1 Chron. c. xiv. ver. 8—15. MANETH. apud Joseph. cont. Apion. p. 1052, 1053. DIOD. SIC. l. i. HERODOT. l. ii. & ÆSCHYL. apud NEWT. in chronol. p. 238. ^h GEORG. CEDREN. hist. compend. p. 83. Paris. 1647. ⁱ NEWT. ubi suprà. p. 235—247. HERODOT. l. ii. DIOD. SIC. l. i. PLUT. de Isid. & Osirid. HELLAN. apud Athén. deipnos. l. iv. AFRICAN. apud Syned. p. 74. EUSEB. in chron. 2 Kin. c. xvii. ver. 4. Isai. c. xix. ver. 13. Hof. c. ix. ver. 6. Univers. hist. vol. i. p. 261, 262, &c.

(D) That this prince attained to an extreme old age is intimated by *Philostatus*, when he affirms *Memnon* to have reigned five ages or generations in *Ethiopia*. He also gives us to understand, that the *Ethiopians*, some of them he means, were longer-

lived than any other nation; which seems to agree with *Herodotus*. But when he relates, that the *proper Ethiopians* were originally of *India*, and expelled that country for an assassination of one king *Ganges*, he deserves not the least credit (4).

(4) *Philostat. in vis. Apollon. Tyan. l. iii. sub int. Megasthenes apud Strabon. & Plin. l. vi. c. 17.*

betwixt *Libnab* and *Pelufum*, making as great a slaughter amongst his troops, as if a their bow-strings had been eaten by mice. This may be rendered consistent enough with the Scripture-account of the blow received by *Sennacherib*, as we have elsewhere observed. The *Egyptian* priests computed three hundred and forty-one generations, or eleven thousand three hundred and forty years, from the beginning of their monarchy and priesthood, to the time when *Setbon* ascended the throne of *Egypt*. The priests, during that period, as they pretended, had succeeded one another, without interruption, under the name of *Piromis*, an *Egyptian* word, signifying a good and virtuous man. *Herodotus* intimates, that *Sennacherib* was king of *Arabia*, as well as *Assyria*; which, if admitted, will prove, that *Tirbakab* presided over the *Proper Ethiopia*, and not *Arabia*, as some learned men have supposed. If this be allowed, b it will strengthen, in some sort, the conjecture we have already proposed to the consideration of the learned, viz. that *Tirbakab* was no other than *Sabakon*, who had before confined himself to *Ethiopia*, and left the *Egyptian* crown to *Setbon*. However, as this notion must be owned to be clogged with some difficulties, and even absurd, upon the principles of those, who make *Tirbakab* successor to *Setbon*, we shall leave our readers to believe as much or as little of it as they please¹.

And from
thence to the
reign of Xer-
xes.

From this time, to the seventy-eighth year of *Nabonassar*, we hear little of the kingdom of *Ethiopia*, which was then subjugated by *Ezar-baddon* king of *Assyria*. Many enormous cruelties he committed both there and in *Egypt*, as had been predicted by the prophet *Isaiab*; and governed both those countries three years, that is, till the c time of his death, which happened in the year of *Nabonassar* 81. But then the *Ethiopi- ans*, revolting from the *Assyrians*, asserted their independency, which they maintained, though a monarchy distinct from *Egypt*, till the days of *Cyrus*, who, from *Xenophon*, seems to have been master of *Ethiopia*, or at least a considerable part of it. However, soon after the decease of that prince, they withdrew themselves from their subjection to the *Persians*, since we find his son *Cambyfes* engaged in a fruitless expedition against them. *Herodotus* says, that, before he undertook this expedition, he sent an embassy made up of the *Ichthyophagi*, as understanding the language of that nation, to the king of the *Macrobi*, or long-lived *Ethiopians*. The true end of this embassy was not so much to cultivate a good understanding with that prince, as to learn the d strength and condition of his kingdom; though, in order to conceal his design, he sent him a purple robe, bracelets of gold, an alabaster box of rich ointment, a vessel of palm-wine, and other magnificent presents. But the *Ethiopian* was too acute not to penetrate the *Persian* monarch's views on this occasion, and therefore frankly told the *Ichthyophagi*, that he was no stranger to their errand, and that, if *Cambyfes* entertained any sentiments of equity, he would never desire another prince's territories, nor to reduce to a state of servitude a people, who had never injured him. "How- ever, added he, give him this bow from me, and tell him, that he may think of e "invading the country of the *Macrobian Ethiopians*, when his subjects can thus easily "draw it; and that, in the mean time, he ought to thank the gods, that they "never inspired the *Ethiopians* with a desire of extending their dominions beyond the "limits of their own country." Then, unbending the bow, he gave it to the embassad- ors: after which, taking up the royal garment, he demanded of them, What it was, and how made? And being satisfied in both these particulars, he could not forbear observing, "That the robe was a proper emblem and representation of the "deceitful prince who wore it." All the other presents likewise, except the wine, he despised, preferring the iron chains of the *Ethiopians*, which, he said, were far stronger, to the golden bracelets, &c. of the *Persians*. However, he owned, that the wine excelled any liquor produced in *Ethiopia*, and intimated, that the *Persians*, short-lived as they were, owed most of their days to so noble a cordial. When he f heard, that a good part of their food was bread, he said, He was not at all surpris- ed, that a people, who fed upon dung, did not attain to the longevity of the *Macrobian Ethiopians*. As for what *Herodotus* relates of the table of the sun in this country, it favours so much of fable, that we cannot help thinking it beneath the dignity of history to take notice of it. *Cambyfes*, being extremely incensed at the answer brought by the *Ichthyophagi* from the *Ethiopian*, in a mad irrational humour, immediately began his march towards his frontiers, though he wanted all manner of pro-

¹ 2 Kin. c. xviii. HERODOT. DIOD. SIC. PLUT. AFRICAN. SYNCEL. ubi sup. JOSEPH. antiquit. l. x. c. 1. 2 Chron. c. xxxii. Isai. c. xxxvi. 2 Kin. c. xix. Isai. c. xxxvii. NEWT. chronol. p. 254, 255. Univ. hist. ubi sup. p. 261, 262, & p. 893, not. (V), & p. 894.

- a visions for the subsistence of his troops. This at last introduced such a famine amongst them, that the soldiers were obliged to eat one another; so that, not being able to traverse the vast sandy deserts of *Ethiopia*, he found himself constrained to return, first to *Thebes*, and afterwards to *Memphis*, with the loss of a great part of his army. But, could he have penetrated to the centre of this region, it is probable he would have met there with a warm reception, since, by the accession of a large body of *Egyptians* in the reign of *Psammitichus*, the *Ethiopians* must have been very formidable; for we learn from *Herodotus*, that two hundred and forty thousand *Egyptians*, posted in different places by that prince, to guard the (E) frontiers on the sides of *Arabia*, *Assyria*, *Libya*, and *Ethiopia*, having not been relieved within the space of three years, b deserted to the king of *Ethiopia*, who placed them in a country disaffected to him, with orders to expel the inhabitants, and take possession of their lands. He also informs us, that, in the *Egyptian* language, they were called *Asmak*, i. e. *those who stand on the left-hand of the king*; as likewise, that they civilized the *Ethiopians*. But the last article we can scarce give any credit to, since, from this very historian himself, and *Africanus*, it appears, that the *Ethiopians* were masters of *Egypt* at least eighty years before the time of *Psammitichus*; and therefore might have learnt every thing the *Egyptians* could teach them before, if they were not, from the earliest ages, in all particulars as wise as that people. Sir *Isaac Newton* insinuates, that *Cambyfes* conquered *Ethiopia*, as well as *Egypt*, about the year of *Nabonassar* 223. or 224. c But this, as far as we can recollect, can neither be inferred from *Herodotus*, nor any other good author. Possibly *Ethiopia*, like *Egypt*, might have had several collateral princes, whom the antients, through mistake, placed in continual succession; which could not but occasion many blunders and errors in the history of that kingdom. However, *Herodotus* asserts, that *Cambyfes* reduced some of the provinces of *Ethiopia* contiguous to *Egypt* in the unfortunate expedition above-mentioned; and that they, together with the *Troglodytes*, sent an annual present to the *Persian* monarch, consisting of two chænixes of unrefined gold, two hundred bundles of ebony, five *Ethiopian* boys, and twenty elephants teeth of the largest size, even to his time. But though the *Persians* subdued not only these provinces, but likewise that part of *Libya* d bordering upon the western confines of *Egypt*, and carried their arms as far as the city of *Cyrene*, yet, that they brought under their dominion all that vast tract, comprehending the kingdoms of *Sennar*, *Abassia*, and other countries, answering to the proper *Ethiopia* of the antients, we cannot help thinking at least very improbable.

AMONGST the various nations that composed the numerous army, with which (F) *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*, *Herodotus* ranks the *Ethiopians*. He mentions on this occasion

Xerxes has a body of eastern and western Ethiopians, Libyans, &c. in his army.

^a *Isai. c. xix. ver. 23. c. xx. ver. 4. 5. VAL. MAX. l. viii. c. 13. Univers. hist. vol. i. p. 856. HEROD. in his army. & AFRICAN. ubi sup. XENOPH. in Cyropæd. HERODOT. l. iii. NEWT. chronol. p. 256, 257, 259, &c.*

(E) *Herodotus*, in the passage here referred to, makes *Elephantis* or *Elephantine*, and *Daphna Pelusia*, opposite boundaries or frontiers of *Egypt*, and places both of them on the borders of *Ethiopia*. This seems to point out the true translation of a text in *Ezekiel*, rendered in our version — *I will make the land of Egypt utterly waste and desolate, from the tower of Syene, even unto the border of Ethiopia*; which ought to be translated, either as we have formerly done it, or in the following terms; *I will make the land of Egypt utterly waste and desolate, from Migdol to Syene, even to the border of Ethiopia*: for it we suppose *Migdol* and *Syene*, or, as *Herodotus* asserts, *Elephantine* and *Daphna Pelusia*, to be opposite frontiers of *Egypt*, and both on the confines of *Ethiopia*, then we may look upon the words from *Migdol to Syene* as a parenthesis, and equivalent to the following words, *to the border of Ethiopia*. Such a translation will render the passage exceeding obvious and clear, and is supported by a vast number of such parentheses to be met with in the old testament (5).

(F) *Herodotus* informs us, that *Xerxes* had not only eastern and western, or *Asiatic* and *African*, *Ethiopians* in his army, but likewise *Libyans*. The

eastern or *Asiatic Ethiopians*, he tells us, shodded one part of their bodies with a species of *gypsum* or plaster, and another with *minium* or red-lead, immediately before they came to a general action. The *Libyans*, from his account of them, seem to have been negroes, who by *Diodorus Siculus* are called *Ethiopians*. That author gives us the following description of them: "They are, says he, flat-faced, exceeding fierce and cruel, in their manners resembling beasts, extremely wicked, and have frizzled hair. Their bodies are nasty and loathsome, their voice shrill, and their disposition such as renders them incapable of being civilized. Some of them carry shields made of the raw hide of an ox, and short lances, in their wars; others use darts forked at the ends, together with bows four cubits long, out of which they discharge their arrows by the help of their feet. When their shafts are spent, they fall on with clubs. Their women likewise, till they arrive at a certain age, take on in the service; and many of them hang a brass ring at their lips. Some go always naked, sheltering themselves from the scorching rays of the sun with whatever falls in their way. Several cover their *pubenda* with sheep-tails; and others apply beasts

(5) *Ezek. c. xxix. ver. 10. Univers. hist. vol. vii. p. 182, mss. (C).*

sion two sorts of that people; the eastern, who had their abode in *Asia*, and were a looked upon as *Indians*, from whom they differed only in their hair and language, and the western or *African Ethiopians*. The former carried the same arms as the *Indians*, wore for helmets the skins of horses heads, the ears and manes whereof served them for tufts and plumes of feathers, bore before them the skins of cranes for shields, and had long hair. The *Africans* were armed with darts lighted at one end, covered with leather, and had black frizzled hair. Their commander was *Mafanges*, the son of *Aorizus*, a person doubtless of great distinction amongst them. Nothing remarkable of the nation we are now upon occurs from this period to the dissolution of the *Persian* empire, though it is probable matters, with respect to them, all along remained in the same situation; that is to say, the *Ethiopian* provinces contiguous to *Egypt* were subject to the *Persians*, and the others in a state of independency, either so little known, or made so inconsiderable a figure, as not to deserve the attention of any celebrated historian¹.

Ptolemy Euergetes penetrates into Ethiopia.

It does not appear, that *Alexander the Great* ever undertook an expedition against the *Ethiopians*, though, when he consulted the oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*, one of the first inquiries he made was after the sources of the *Nile*, and, having afterwards encamped at the head of the river *Indus*, which he imagined to be that of the *Nile*, was overjoyed at his success. But *Ptolemy Euergetes*, one of his successors in *Egypt*, having a passionate desire, in common with some of the greatest men of antiquity, to discover the fountains of the *Nile*, with this view carried his arms into *Ethiopia*. The particulars of this enterprize we find no-where related in history, though that he penetrated to the farthest parts of this region, and subdued most, if not all, the powerful nations seated in it, appears from an inscription (G) preserved down to us by

¹ HERODOT. l. vii. c. 69, 70, 71. Univers. hist. vol. i. p. 264.

"skins to that use. Lastly, it is not uncommon amongst this people to wear a garment about their loins made of human hair, the sheep in this country carrying no fleeces at all. They feed, for the most part, upon the tender shoots of trees, the roots of canes, the *lotus* and *sesamum*, together with another species of fruit produced in marshy places. Many also live upon fowl, which, being excellent archers, they kill in vast numbers; but most of them use flesh, milk, and cheese, for their sustenance." As *Diodorus* intimates many of these to have been seated in the heart of *Africa*, as well as on both sides the *Nile*, and expressly calls them *Blacks*, we doubt not but he had the negroes here in view, as well as some of the proper *Ethiopians*; nay, as he seems to join together the heart of *Africa* and both sides of the *Nile*, and the description he gives of the *Blacks* on both sides the *Nile* agrees, in most particulars, with the present *Blacks*, possibly several of our readers may be induced to infer from hence, that, in the age of *Diodorus*, the *Niger* and the *Nile* were believed to have been branches of the same river. Be that as it will, the passage here referred to by no means discountenances such a notion; which adds some weight to what has been already advanced in the history of the *Melanogastuli* and *Nigrisæ*, as our readers will find, by consulting it (6).

(G) *Elesbaan*, king of the *Axumites* or *Ethiopian*, ordered *Asbas*, governor of *Adule*, to send him a copy of this inscription. This happened about the beginning of *Justin's* reign, just before *Elesbaan* undertook the expedition against the *Homerisæ*, which will be hereafter mentioned, and twenty-five years before our author wrote the piece here referred to. *Asbas* employed *Cosmas*, and one *Menas*, a merchant, who afterwards became a religious at *Raithus*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Rhaptus*, possibly the *Rauso* of *Cosmas*, to take him an exact copy of it, and therefore we may depend upon the relation the former has given us: "At the entrance, says he, into the

"western part of the city, facing the road to *Axuma*, stood a chair of white marble, consisting of a square base, a small thin column at each angle of this base, with a larger wreathed one in the middle, a seat or throne upon these, a back, and two sides. Behind this chair there was a large stone three cubits high, which had suffered considerable injury from time." This stone, and the chair, contained a *Greek* inscription, part of which imported, "that *Ptolemy Euergetes* had penetrated to the farthest parts of *Ethiopia*; that he subdued *Gaza*, *Agame*, *Sigue*, *Ava*, *Tiamo* or *Tziamo*, *Gambela*, *Zingabene*, *Angabe*, *Tiama*, *Athagaos*, *Calaa*, *Semene*, *Lafine*, *Zaa*, *Gabala*, *Atalmo*, *Bega*, the *Tangaita*, *Anine*, *Metine*, *Sesæa*, *Rauso*, *Solæa*, the territory of *Rauso*, and several other kingdoms; that amongst the nations he reduced were some inhabiting mountains always covered with a deep snow; and others seated upon ridges of hills, from whence issued boiling streams, and craggy precipices, who all therefore seemed inaccessible; that having finally, after all these conquests, assembled his whole army at *Adule*, and sacrificed to *Mars*, *Neptune*, and *Jupiter*, for his great success, he had dedicated this chair or throne to *Mars*." It may not be improper to remark here, that *Gaza* seems to correspond with *Gheezæ*, a name of the kingdom of *Abassia*, in use amongst the natives at this day; that *Agame* and *Ava* seem to be the same with *Agamin* and *Afa*, two prefectures of the present kingdom of *Tigre*; that *Tiamo* or *Tzamo*, and *Tiama*, answer to *Tzama* in the kingdom of *Tigre*, and *Tzama* in that of *Bagemed*; that *Athagaos* must agree with one of the two regions called *Agao*; and that *Semene* is undoubtedly the country now denominated *Samen* or *Semen*. This, to omit other proofs, that might be offered, is no contemptible argument in favour of the authority of *Cosmas Indicopleustes*. For a full account of every thing relating to this inscription, published first

(6) Herodot. l. vii. c. 69, 70, 71. Died. Sic. l. iii. sub init. Univers. hist. vol. vii. p. 167.

a by *Cosmas Ægyptius* (H), or, as some call him, *Cosmas Indiopleustes*, which he copied upon the spot in the time of the emperor *Justin I.* It is probable however, that he abandoned these conquests, since henceforth we find nothing of moment concerning any branch of the proper *Ethiopians* in the writings of the antients, till the days of *Augustus* ^m.

ABOUT the year of *Rome* 732. when *Ælius Gallus* had drawn most of the Roman forces out of *Egypt*, in order to invade *Arabia*, *Candace* queen of *Ethiopia*, or rather of the kingdom of *Meroe*, made an irruption into the province of *Thebais* with a numerous army. According to *Dio*, *Candace* herself headed her troops in this expedition; which seems to be confirmed by *Strabo*, when he intimates, that she was a lady of uncommon bravery and resolution. At first she met with great success, b ravaged all the country as she advanced, took *Syene*, *Elephantine*, and *Philæ*, the Egyptian frontiers on the side of *Ethiopia*, without opposition, and made three Roman cohorts, garrisoned therein, prisoners of war. But receiving intelligence, that *Petronius*, the governor of *Egypt*, was in full march to attack her, she retired into her own dominions. The Roman general pursued the *Ethiopians* as far as *Pselcha*, from whence he sent a deputation to the queen, to know the reason of the late hostilities, and to demand all the prisoners, as well as a restitution of all the effects, particularly the statues of *Augustus*, carried off from the cities above-mentioned. But *Candace* not sending a satisfactory answer, and seeking only to gain time, *Petronius* immediately attacked the *Ethiopian* army, consisting of thirty thousand men, tho' his scarce c amounted to ten thousand, in the neighbourhood of *Pselcha*. As the *Ethiopians* were, for the most part, only armed with poles, hatchets, &c. and intirely undisciplined, he gained an easy victory over them. Some fled into the town, others dispersed in the adjacent deserts, and others swam to a neighbouring island of the *Nile*, few crocodiles infesting that part of the river, by reason of the rapidity of the torrent. Soon after this victory, *Pselcha* surrendered to him; and one of his detachments brought off the corps, that had escaped to the aforesaid island,

^m DIOD. SIC. ARRIAN. QUINT. CURT. aliq; de reb. gest. Alexand. COSM. ÆGYPT. topograph. Christian. p. 140, 141, 142, 143. JOB. LUDOLPH. hist. Æthiop. l. i. c. 8. LE GRAND. dissert. iii.

by *Leo Allatius*, and afterwards by *Berkelius*, *Spon*, and *Montfaucon*, we must refer our readers to the learned *Dr. Chishul* (7).

(H) *Cosmas* informs us, that from *Alexandria* to the *Cataracts* were thirty stations; from the *Cataracts* to *Axuma* thirty more; and from thence to the farthest part of *Ethiopia* producing frankincense, and contiguous to the ocean, called *Barbaria*, fifty stations. Near *Barbaria* lay the country known by the name of *Safus*, according to the same author, which was likewise reputed one of the remotest regions in *Ethiopia*.

The *Barbarians*, says *Cosmas*, imported various sorts of sauces, frankincense, cassia, and other commodities, the produce of their territory, into the country of the *Homerites*, separated from them by the straits of *Babai Mandab*. They supplied likewise the *Perjians* and *Indians* with the same commodities. The sea beyond *Barbaria* our author calls the *Zingian* ocean, and intimates, that *Safus* abounded with gold-mines. Every other year the king of *Axuma* sent several persons of distinction to *Agau*, to traffick with the natives for gold; and other merchants, to the number of five hundred, attended them. They brought with them cattle, salt, and iron, to barter for the gold. Upon their arrival there, they fixed themselves on a certain spot of ground, killed and cut in pieces several oxen, which they exposed, together with the salt and iron, to the view of the natives. Some of these then approaching with small ingots of gold, which they called *Tancharas*, laid down one or more of them, as they pleased, upon the piece of the ox, salt, or iron, they had a mind to purchase, and then retired to a place

at some distance. The proprietor, seeing this, took the gold, if he thought it sufficient, and went away; and the person who had left it, came and carried off the commodity he had pitched upon. If the gold was not deemed enough, the *Axumites* or *Ethiopian*, who owned the commodity to which it was affixed, let it remain; which the other observing, either made an addition to what he had before deposited, or departed with it. This manner of trading they found necessary, as being strangers to each others language; and it was generally finished in five days. This journey the *Axumites* commonly performed in six months time, and were longer in going than returning, by reason of their cattle. They were obliged to travel armed, since several gangs of robbers sometimes attacked them upon the road, especially in their return, when they were loaded with gold. As the fountains of the *Nile* were in this district, and as the rivers they found themselves obliged to pass were greatly swelled by the violent rains that fell in the winter, they took care to be at home before that season could intercept them. By the violence of those rains, continuing three months, many small torrents became rivers, that emptied themselves into the *Nile*. This method of trading is still used in various parts of *Africa*, as appears from several modern relations, which it is needless here to produce. We must not omit observing, that the district of *Agau*, mentioned by *Cosmas*, is undoubtedly the country of the *Agans* taken notice of by father *Pays*, the name of both these provinces being the same, and the source of the *Nile* being placed in both of them by these authors (8).

(7) *Cosm. Ægypt. in topograph. Christian. A. D. 545. script. p. 140, 141, 142, 143. Paris. 1706. Chish. antiquitas. Afiar. p. 73—88. Lond. 1728. Vide & Ludolph. PP. Tell. Mend. Pays, &c. pass. (8) *Cosm. Ægypt. ubi sup. p. 138, 139, 140. P. Pays apud Le Grand. dissert. iii.**

in which were several of queen *Candace's* general officers. At *Pfelcha* he reviewed ^a his forces, and, finding them in good condition, advanced to *Premnis*, a fortress of great strength, which he made himself master of. Flushed with this success, the Roman general marched to *Napata*, where *Candace* held her residence, which he took, and destroyed. Her son however found means to make his escape. The queen herself had retired to one of her castles at some distance from *Napata*, where, receiving advice of what had happened, and finding herself not in a condition to make head against the Romans, she thought proper to make overtures for an accommodation. But *Petronius*, by reason of the excessive heats, and a want of provisions, soon finding himself obliged to return to *Alexandria*, the conferences were broke off. After the departure of *Petronius*, *Candace* besieged *Premnis*, where the Romans had left a ^b garrison of four hundred men; but, being soon forced to raise the siege, she dispatched ambassadors a second time to treat of a peace with the Roman general, who sent them with an escort to *Augustus*. That prince, whom they found at *Samos*, gave them a most gracious reception, and granted their mistress a peace upon her own terms. This unexpected condescension may be attributed to the rich presents those ministers carried with them. *Pliny* intimates, that the kingdom of *Meroe* had been governed by queens for several preceding generations, who all went under the name of *Candace* ^a.

History of Ethiopia continued to the ascension of our blessed Saviour.

THOUGH *Augustus* restored all the towns taken by *Petronius*, and remitted the tribute, which that general either did, or would have exacted from *Candace*, yet the ^c Romans now looked upon themselves as masters of *Ethiopia*. They complimented *Augustus* on the great glory he had acquired, in subduing a country unknown even to his great predecessor, which finished the reduction of *Africa*. Hence we find, on the reverse of one of that prince's medals struck this very year 732. three globes, denoting undoubtedly the complete conquest of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, the three large continents or parts of the antient world. However, this ought to be considered as nothing more than an instance of the Roman vanity, since not only the *Ethiopians*, but several other nations, had hitherto preserved their liberties. No material alteration in the civil affairs of the kingdom of *Meroe*, which seems to have been the *Ethiopia* known to the Romans, happened either during the remainder of *Augustus's* ^d reign, or that of his successor *Tiberius*, queens still continuing to govern there, as we learn from Scripture. But that the christian religion was introduced into *Meroe* about the nineteenth or twentieth year of *Tiberius's* reign, has been believed by some writers of good authority. These writers make the eunuch baptized by *Philip* the deacon to have converted his royal mistress, after his return home, to the christian faith. *St. Luke* calls that princess *Candace*; from whence some have inferred, that she was the same queen of *Ethiopia* mentioned by *Pliny* and *Strabo*. But as the interval betwixt the invasion of *Ethiopia* by *Petronius*, and the conversion of the aforesaid eunuch, was a term much longer than kings usually reign, and as the former author ^e remarks *Candace* to have been an appellation common to the sovereigns of *Meroe*, we are, by no means, inclinable to come into such an opinion. Several of the fathers thought, that the eunuch's name was *Candace*; which must certainly be deemed a mistake: for that this word either signified sovereign authority, or at least was a title peculiar to the royal family of *Meroe*, the testimony already produced seems to put beyond all doubt ^o.

And from thence to the reign of Diocletian.

LITTLE after this period, for above two hundred years, occurs concerning the *Ethiopians*. *Ælius Spartianus* relates, that the emperor *Heliogabalus* frequently confined his most intimate friends for whole nights together with little old *Ethiopian* women, by way of diversion, saying, that these women were the most beautiful of ^f all others. From hence we may infer, that, in his reign, about the year of Christ 220. there was an intercourse betwixt the Roman empire and the *Ethiopians*. *Probus*, above fifty years afterwards, undertook an expedition against the *Blemmyes*, a nation, or rather gang of banditti, bordering upon the frontiers of *Thebais*, vanquished them, and sent many of them prisoners to *Rome*. What occasioned this expedition, is not told us by any author; but that the *Blemmyan* captives graced *Probus's* triumph, and exhibited such an odd appearance, as greatly astonished the Romans, we learn from

^a STRAB. l. xvii. p. 820. DIO, l. liv. p. 524. 525. PLIN. l. vi. c. 29. SECT. AUR. VICT. epit. de vir. & mor. imperator. Romanor. sub init. ^o DIO, ubi sup. COMES FRANCISC. MEDIOBARB. BIRAG. in numism. imp. Rom. congest. ad A. U. C. 732. p. 32. edit. Mediolan. 1730. ACT. c. viii. ver. 27. CALMET. in voce *Candace*. ANASTAS. SINAIT. l. vi. EUTHYM. in psal. lxi. GREG. NAZ. in sanct. baptisim.

- a *Vopiscus*. Towards the close of the third century, that nation and the *Nobatae*, a people inhabiting the banks of the Nile near the *Upper Egypt*, committing great depredations upon the *Roman* territories, and the adjacent part of *Thebais* being, probably on this account, but thinly peopled, the emperor *Dioclesian* found his revenue in those parts scarce sufficient to maintain the garrisons placed there to repress the courses of the *Ethiopians*. He therefore assigned the *Nobatae* lands in the *Roman* dominions, and gave both them and the *Blemmyes* a considerable annual sum, to desist from their former practices; but, notwithstanding their solemn assurances to the contrary, they continued pillaging the *Roman* subjects to the time of *Justinian*, according to *Procopius*. That prince did not treat them with such lenity as they had met with from
- b *Dioclesian*. For this last emperor did not only grant them the favour above-mentioned, but likewise transplanted some of them to an island in the Nile near *Elephantine*, gave them the use of the (I) temples there in common with the *Romans*, and ordered priests to be selected from them all to officiate therein, thinking this would produce a perfect and perpetual harmony betwixt them. But *Justinian* ordered *Narjes*, the commandant of the garrison in *Philæ*, to demolish the temples of the barbarians, imprison their priests, and send all the images of their gods to *Byzantium*; which he did accordingly. That *Dioclesian* built the fortress of *Philæ*, and gave it that name, from the friendship and union, which, he imagined, the measures he had taken would occasion betwixt the *Romans*, *Egyptians*, and *Ethiopians* settled there, as we find
- c advanced by *Procopius*, can by no means be allowed, since this very fortress was in being, and called by the same name, in the days of *Strabo*. *Procopius*, in agreement with *Cosmas Indicopleustes*, asserts *Elephantine* to have been thirty days journey from *Axuma*, or, as he calls it, *Auxomis*. The same author also affirms, that, before the reign of *Dioclesian*, the frontiers of the *Roman* empire on that side extended so far into *Ethiopia*, that they were not above twenty-three days journey distant from this capital.

- We find nothing worthy of observation recorded of the *Ethiopians*, from the reign of *Dioclesian*, to the time of their conversion to christianity, which was but a short interval, by the *Greek* and *Latin* historians. The modern *Abassines* inform us, that our Saviour was born in the eighteenth year of *Bazen*, a prince of the *Solomonean* line, and
- d the twenty-fourth from *Menilebec*, surnamed *El Hakim*, i. e. the wise, or son of the wise, above-mentioned. They likewise enumerate thirteen kings, who reigned three hundred and twenty-seven years, betwixt him and *Abreba* and *Atzbeba*, or *Abra* and *Asba*, who sat upon the throne when *Frumentius* carried the light of the gospel into *Abassia*. *Frumentius*, according to some, found his work facilitated by the labours of *St. Matthew*, who had applied himself to the conversion of the *Nubians*, a nation before disposed for the reception of christianity by the eunuch of *Candace*, who had already sown in their minds the first seeds of that religion. These *St. Matthew*, continue the same authors, took care to cultivate, and raise to fruit, tho' he could not reach *Abassia*. The planting of the christian faith in that country was reserved for the age
- e of *St. Athanasius* patriarch of *Alexandria*; of which great event *Rufinus* and others have given us the following relation:

- Meropius* the philosopher, a native of *Tyre*, took a resolution to travel, either that he might enjoy the conversation of other philosophers, or for the sake of traffick, which was not thought inconsistent with the profession of philosophy. This man, after having wandered over all *India*, determined at length to return home, with two young men nearly related to him, the companions of his travels, and, touching at an island in the *Red sea*, was either cut to pieces by the natives, or died a natural death. *Frumentius* and *Aedesius*, or, as the *Abassines* will have it, *Fremonatus* and *Sidracus*, (for so were his kinsmen called) falling into the hands of the barbarians,
- f were brought before the king, who gave them a kind reception, placed them near his person, and advanced them. Their talents and industry procured them such distinguishing marks of this prince's favour. Finding in *Frumentius* a greater capa-

* *ÆLIUS LAMPRIDIUS* in *Heliogab.* *FLAVIUS VOPISCUS* in *Prob.* *PROCOPIUS* de bel. *Perf.* l. i. c. 19. *STRABO* l. xvii. *COSMAS ÆGYPTIUS* in *topograph. christian.* l. ii. p. 138, 139, 140. edit. D. Bern. de Montlanc. Paris, 1706. † *RUFINUS* l. i. c. 9. *SOCRATES* l. i. c. 19. *SOZOMENUS* l. ii. c. 24. *THEODORETUS* l. i. c. 23.

(1) *Procopius* says, that the barbarians worshipped the *Sun*, *Iris*, *Osiris*, *Priapus*, and other pagan deities. It likewise appears from him, that they offered human sacrifices to their idols. Their religion was probably the same, or nearly so, with that of

the *Romans*; which, had the *Nobatae* and *Blemmyes* been people of any principles, might have greatly contributed to the keeping up a good correspondence between them (9).

(9) *Procop.* in loc. *laudas.*

city, he made him his treasurer, and *Ædesus* his butler; in which posts they behaved a themselves with so much applause, that, upon the king's death, which followed some time after, the queen, who had been appointed guardian to her son, would not grant either of them permission to leave the kingdom, as they desired. On the contrary, she left the management of public affairs intirely to *Fruementius*, who made use of this new authority to bring the people under his inspection to the knowledge of *JESUS CHRIST*. Contracting an acquaintance with some christian merchants, either trading to or settled in *Abassia*, who sometimes came to that island, he granted them great privileges, and places to assemble in for public worship. This first excited in the *Abassines* a desire to be instructed in the principles of christianity; which induced *Fruementius*, after having got the queen's leave, to take a journey to *Alexandria*, in order to inform *St. Athanasius* of the disposition of that people. The patriarch hereupon consecrated him bishop of *Axuma*, and about the year of our Lord 335. sent him to propagate the christian religion in *Ethiopia*. Soon after his arrival there, he baptized vast numbers of the *Abassines*, ordained deacons and presbyters, built churches, and in short gained an assent to the divine truths of the gospel in almost every part of that vast region. The *Ethiopic* book at *Axuma*, held in the highest veneration by the *Abassines*, agreeing in the main with this relation, as well as several *Greek* and *Latin* authors of good repute, it must deserve the greatest regard. That *Adad* or *Aidog*, therefore, king of the *Axumites*, first introduced christianity into *Ethiopia* about the fifteenth year of the emperor *Justinian*, after an unparalleled defeat given the king of the *Homerites*, in consequence of a vow made before the engagement, as some have not scrupled to assert, cannot be allowed. However, either the nation in general, or at least the court and noblesse, afterwards relapsed into paganism, according to an oriental author of some note; and embraced again the christian religion, at the command of *Aidog*, about the fourth year of the emperor *Justin*, an. Cb. 521. for the reason just assigned. A full and minute account of this memorable transaction may be drawn from the extracts of several *Syriac* writers, to be met with in the learned *M. Assemanus's bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*.

Abra and Asba
refuse to admit
Arianism.

Abra and *Asba*, who jointly swayed the sceptre, are greatly celebrated by the *Ethiopian* historians. The harmony that reigned betwixt them was so singular and uncommon, d that it almost became a proverb in *Ethiopia*. *Constantius* the emperor made use of many expedients to introduce *Arianism* into the country we are now upon, but without effect. He sent ambassadors to those kings, in order to prevail upon them to put *Fruementius* the bishop of *Axuma* into the hands of *George* the *Arian* bishop of *Alexandria*, substituted in the place of *Athanasius*, who was forced to quit that see, and retire to a place of obscurity. But they refused to deliver up that prelate, and adhered to his doctrines as well as person with an unshaken resolution, notwithstanding *Philostorgius* falsely affirms an *Arian* bishop to have been settled at *Axuma*. So mild and amiable was his conduct amongst them, that they called him *Abba Salamab*, the pacific father. The *Copts* and *Abassines* have a notion, that one *Tacalbaïmanout*, e a saint or *Abassine* monk, descended from *Sadok* the high priest in the days of *David* and *Solomon*, attended *Abba Salamab* into *Ethiopia*, to demonstrate to the people there the necessity of baptism, they having till that time practised (K) circumcision.

¹ *Idem* ibid. THEOPHANES ad an. Incarnat. secund. Alexandrin. 535. SIMEON episc. Beth-Arsamen. apud Cl. Asseman. in bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 359. & seq. ed. Romæ, 1719. Cæs. BARONIUS annal. ad an. 523. vol. vii. LUDOLPH. hist. Æthiop. l. iii. c. 2. Vide & not. Cl. Asseman. ubi sup.

(K) Authors are divided in their sentiments in relation to the origin of circumcision amongst the *Abassines*. Some maintain, that this institution was introduced amongst them by *Moses*; others, that they received it from *Mennebeck* the son of *Solomon*. Which of these opinions is true, or whether either of them be so, we shall not pretend to determine. That it was not in use amongst the *Arabian Cushites* before the time of *Moses*, appears from Scripture. One strong presumption against *Herodorus's* notion, that the *Egyptians* first practised circumcision, is, that this author has not told us how, or when, that nation came first to admit so painful a

rite; whereas the Scripture is express in both those particulars, with regard to the origin of it amongst the *Hebrews*. *Grotius* has evinced, from a multitude of different authors, that God, in commanding *Abraham* to use the rite of circumcision, meant it a mark of covenant between his posterity and the Creator; and that every other nation, practising it, learned it either from him or his descendants. The firm persuasion of the *Abassines* is, that they derived it from the *Hebrews*. We may perhaps say something of the circumcision of women, when we come to the modern history of *Abassia* (10).

(10) *Exod. c. iv.* Hugo Groc. in Gen. & alib. Ludolph. in comment. ad hist. Æthiop. p. 269, & alib. Vid. & Calmes. differs. de circum. &c.

The

- a The twenty-fourth day of the month *Mesri*, corresponding with that of *August* in the *Julian* calendar, is celebrated as the festival of this saint by the *Copts*. The word *Tacalbaïmanout* is *Ethiopic*, and, according to M. D'Herbelot, signifies *the paradise of the Trinity*. But *Ludolphus* gives us to understand, that this *Tacalbaïmanout*, or, as he calls him, *Tesla Haimanout*, that is, according to his interpretation of those words, *the plant of faith*, restored the monastic way of life in *Ethiopia* about the year of Christ 600. and lived till A. D. 630. The *Abassines* believe, that he spoke in his cradle, and wrought several miracles in his infancy; as also, that he was ordained deacon in the fifteenth year of his age by *Cyril* metropolitan of *Ethiopia*, contemporary with *Benjamin* patriarch of *Alexandria*, of the *Jacobite* sect. *Gonzales* relates, that
- b he first converted the *Ethiopians* to christianity, by destroying a serpent before worshipped amongst them; which, if admitted, will bring him to the age M. D'Herbelot assigns him. Be that as it will, next to *Gabra-Menses-Keddus* (L), i. e. *the servant of the Holy Ghost*, in honour of whom they kept holy-day one every month, he was the most celebrated saint in *Ethiopia*. D'Herbelot farther informs us, that *Claudius* king of the *Abassines* sent the life of this saint written in *Ethiopic* to *Gabriel* the ninety-fifth patriarch of *Alexandria*, which is at this day to be seen in the royal library at *Paris*, num. 796. under the title of *Sairat Al Ab Al Tbaqubani Tacalbaïmanout*.

- HISTORY scarce supplies us with any memoirs relating to *Ethiopia* from the reign of *Constantius* to the time of the famous *Elesbas* or *Elesbaan* king of *Ethiopia*, called *Caleb* by the *Abassines*, who seems to have been the same prince with *Adad* or *Aidog* above, mentioned. This conqueror, having made up matters with *Xenodon* or *Axenodon*, an *Indian* prince, with whom, according to *Simeon Beth-Arsamenis*, he had been at variance, put a period to the kingdom of the *Homerites* or *Sabaans* in *Arabia Felix*, after having vanquished in battle the impious *Dunawas*, *Dunaan*, or *Dhu Nowas*, the last king of that people, who was of the *Jewish* religion. *Elesbaan* had some time before declared war against the king of the *Homerites*, for massacring certain christian merchants, and vowed most solemnly to become a christian, in case he proved victorious over him. Having, therefore, overthrown him, and stripped him of his dominions, he embraced the faith of Christ, in pursuance of the vow already made, and
- d placed a christian prince upon the throne of the *Homerites*; after whose death, which happened in winter, when the *Ethiopians* could not transport (M) a body of forces into *Arabia*, *Dunaan* found means to seize upon the crown. He began his reign with a violent persecution of the christians, upon whom he exercised unheard-of cruelties, a detail of which has been given us by various authors. St. *Arctas*, in particular, and many others, he caused to be burnt in the city of *Nagra*. This induced the *Alexandrian* patriarch to invite, by letters, *Elesbaan* to carry his arms into *Arabia*, in defence of the christians, who had been put to death in great numbers with the most exquisite tortures (N). *Elesbaan* embraced the occasion, and was favoured by

The Ethiopians
conquer the
Homerites.

^r JOANNES AS. episc. apud Dionys. patriarch. in bibl. Orient. Asseman. ubi sup. PHILOSTORG. l. iii. PAGIUS ad an. 541. num. 6. & alib. LUDOLPH. ubi sup. c. 33. & in comment. ad hist. Æthiop. p. 479. ut & in calend. Æthiop. ibid. N°. 51. p. 436. LE GRAND, dissert. ix. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. in voc. Tacalbaïmanout, p. 834, 835. à Paris, 1697. Vid. etiam GONZAL. apud Ludolph. comment. ad hist. Æthiop. p. 479.

(L) *Gabra-Menses-Keddus* lived only upon herbs, and used for cloathing nothing but the leaves of trees, having all worldly pleasures and delights in the utmost contempt. He subdued lions and dragons, according to the *Abassines*, who still preserve many fabulous traditions concerning him. One of these is, that he had a conference with the ever-blessed Trinity, and our Saviour, at which he gave several answers too blasphemous to be mentioned (11).

(M) One of the most noted ports of the *Ethiopians* on the *Red Sea* was *Adulis* or *Adulis*, twenty stadia from the city of that name, and twelve days journey from *Auxomis* or *Axuma* the capital of *Ethiopia*. The Greek writers of the later ages denominated the *Ethiopians* in general *Axumites* from the name of this city, as we learn from *Nonnosus*, *Procopius*, and others. *Adulis* was the great mart

for the commodities of *Egypt*, *Arabia*, &c. to which the merchants of those countries constantly resorted. Besides the wares already mentioned, those merchants exported from thence vast numbers of *Ethiopian* slaves, who, by this means, were dispersed over a great part of the world (12).

(N) It appears from *Simeon Metaphrastes*, *Theophanes*, *Simeon Beth-Arsamenis*, *Alphonse Mendefius*, and others, that this *Caleb* or *Elesbaan* was a prince of great sanctity, and as such the church of *Rome* has honoured him with canonization. M. *Ludolphus* informs us, that father *Tellax* observed a surprising agreement betwixt the *Ethiopic* and *Latin* writers, with regard to the life and actions of *Elesbaan*. To which we may add, that M. *Assemanus* has likewise exhibited to our view the harmony betwixt *Metaphrastes* and *Beth-Arsamenis*, in relation to the conduct and great achievements of the same prince.

(11) *Proc. Abas. & Gonderat. apud Job. Ludolph. in comment. ad hist. Æthiop. p. 291, 292. ut & ipse Ludolph. ibid.*

(12) *Prod. in geogr. Æthiop. Dionysius apud Phot. Præcap. de bell. Persic. l. i. c. 19. & alib. Geo. Cedren. ad an. 15. imp. Justinian. Cosm. Egypt. ubi sup.*

But

God with an intire victory (N), which gave the *Abassines* (O) the possession of *Aria-bia Felix* till the time of *Abd al Motalleb* grandfather of *Mohammed*. *Abrabab Ebn al Sabab al Afham* was the governor of *Yaman*, under the king of *Abassia*, whose punishment we find mentioned in the tenth chapter of the *Koran*. He brought, says the author of that book, an army with a great number of elephants to the siege of *Mecca*; upon which came a cloud of birds, with the rage of thunder, upon him. Each of these birds had a stone in its beak, which it dropped with such violence upon the elephants, that they were pierced through; nor did the vengeance end here, but, according to some, pursued the viceroy into his master's dominions, where one of these fowls let its stone fall upon his head, and killed him.

That Atzham king of Ethiopia embraced Mohammedanism, not probable.

THE *Mohammedan* writers generally agree, that *Atzham*, or *Afhamab Ebn Abbar*, the *Najásbi*, or king of *Ethiopia*, during *Mohammed's* mission, did not only take under his protection a considerable number of *Mohammed's* friends, who were driven out of *Hejaz* by the *Koreish*, but likewise became a convert to the new religion of that impostor. This conversion, according to *Mohammed Ebn Abdo'l Bâki*, happened in the second year of the *Hejra*; though it is placed ten years higher by *Abulfeda* and *Al Fannabius*. Some learned men have, without any difficulty, admitted the truth of this relation, particularly *Selden* and *Colomesius*. But the absurdities with which *Abdo'l Bakides's* narration, which by a very able *Oriental* critic seems to have been judged more accurate and better than any other, is stuffed, and the absolute silence of the *Ethiopians*, as well as those authors who have written the histories of the patriarchs of *Alexandria* and the *Saracens*, on this head, will not permit us to come into such an opinion. That *Atzham*, all his bishops, presbyters, monks, &c. should allow, that our Saviour foretold another great prophet to come after him, and that *Mohammed* was this prophet; that the *Abassine* bishops and presbyters, by citing it to the *Najásbi* in favour of *Mohammed*, should admit for genuine a passage of the New Testament not to be found there; and, to omit other points carrying with them the like air of probability, that, upon the sight of the twenty-ninth and thirtieth chapters of the *Koran*, they should all burst out into a flood of tears, and be in the forest affliction; in short, that they should be converted to *Moslemism* by the Gospel itself; these, we say, are such glaring absurdities, as can be swallowed by none but a most bigotted *Mohammedan*. And such a train of remarkable effects must have followed a king of *Ethiopia's* embracing *Moslemism*, that the above mentioned historians could not have omitted taking notice of it; nay, the *Mohammedan* writers themselves would undoubtedly have recorded many transactions, the necessary consequences of such an event, which we find they have not so much as touched upon, had their prophet converted the king of *Ethiopia*, even before the *Arabs* themselves. It is to us, therefore, matter of great surprize, that the very learned *M. Ludolphus* should run himself into difficulties and errors, in order to evade the authority of *Abdo'l-Bakides* and *Abulfeda* with regard to the introduction of *Moslemism* into *Ethiopia*. The spirit with which the *Koran* was written, that is, a lying spirit; the ge-

* NICEPH. CALLIST. & CEDREN. apud Ludolph. ubi sup. NONNOSUS apud PHOT. SIMEON METAPHRASTES apud SURIUM, p. 943, & alib. pass. JOANNES AS. episc. THEOPHANES & SIMEON episc. BETH-ARFAMENSIS, apud ASSEMAN. ubi sup. p. 364—385. PROCOPI. DE BEL. PERSIC. l. i. c. 20. PAGIUS ad an. 523, & alib. LAMBE-CIUS, l. v. p. 133. Vid. etiam not. eruditiss. Cl. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. 381—385. AL KORAN MOHAMMED. c. 105. & LE GRAND, in dissert. ix.

But we shall be more particular and explicit on this head, in the history of the antient *Arabs*, whose country was the theatre of those achievements (12).

(N) This happened in the reign of the emperor *Justin*, probably about the seventh or eighth year of it, A. C. 524. or 525. and not, as *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* seem to intimate, 521. or 523 (13).

(O) *Procopius* attributes this famous exploit to *Hellestius*, *Elesbaan's* son, whom he calls king of the *Axumites*, and is followed herein by cardinal

Baronius. But as this notion has been overthrown by *Ludolphus*, as so noble an action seems more agreeable to the high encomia passed upon *Elesbaan*, than the reign of his son, of whom the *Abassine* historians say but little, and as *Metaphrastes* and *Beth-Arfamenis* positively affirm *Elesbaan* (that prince who embraced christianity after the victory obtained over a former king of the *Homerites*) to have taken vengeance on *Dunaan*, we cannot but declare our- of another opinion (14).

(12) *Sim. Metaphrast.* apud *Surium*, tom. v. p. 943, & alib. pass. *Procop. Evagr. Theophan. Cedren. Simeon episc. Beth Arfamenf. alique apud Joseph. Simon. Asseman. in biblioth. Oriental. tom. i. p. 359—385. Alphons. Mendez. & Balb. Tellez. apud Ludolph. in comment. ad hist. Æthiop. p. 232. (13) Vid. not. Cl. Asseman. ad *Sim. episc. Beth-Arfamenf. in bibl. Oriens. p. 365. (14) Procop. de bel. Persic. l. i. c. 20. Baron. ann. 523. num. 30. Sim. Metaphrast. p. 939. & seq. Sim. Beth-Arfamenf. apud Asseman bibl. Oriens. tom. i. p. 381—385. Ludolph. hist. Æthiop. l. ii. c. 4. Vide & MS. Græcor. Menolog. apud Lambecium, l. v. p. 133.**

a nius of the *Mohammedan* writers, not only with the worst kind of enthusiasm and superstition, but likewise addicted to romance and fiction in points attracted from religion; these, we say, in conjunction with what has been just offered, amount to little less than a demonstration, that this story was invented by the *Moslems*, purely with a design to do honour to *Mohammed* and the *Koran*. For which reasons we shall make no scruple to reject it intirely, with father *Marracci*.

Gebra-Meskel, successor to *Elefbaan*, according to the *Ethiopian* poet so often cited by *Ludolphus*, was a prince who greatly extended the limits of his dominions; though we have no particulars of his conquests. His subjects, however, enjoyed the sweets of peace a good part of his reign, which proceeded chiefly from the terror of his arms, all the neighbouring nations being kept in awe by him. *Procopius* gives us to understand, that the emperor *Justinian* entered into an alliance with him; but what hereupon ensued, we no-where find. The same author also relates, that even in *Gebra-Meskel*'s time the *Axumites* or *Ethiopians* were so little acquainted with the art of navigation, that they crossed the streights of *Bal al Mandab* in rude vessels, consisting of nothing but planks or boards fastened together with ropes. This seems to have been chiefly owing to their want of proper materials for shipping, their maritime provinces affording them scarce any thing of this kind, and the *Romans* being obliged, by a particular law, not to transport any naval stores into *Ethiopia*. Next to this pious king, for as such he is described by the *Abassines*, one *Constantine* ascended the throne, and after him one *Fresenna*, whose name imports good fruit. During the (P) interval between *Fresenna* and *Delnoad*, who reigned about the year of the christian æra 960. the *Ethiopian* history is so barren, as not to supply us with one article meriting any great regard. About this time the usurpation of the *Zagæan* family commenced, the cause of which will hereafter be fully explained.

Their history to the usurpation of the Zagæan family extremely short.

¹ Poet. *Æthiop.* apud *Job. Ludolph. hist. Æthiop.* l. ii. c. 4. ut & ipse *LUDOLPH. ibid.* Vid. & *Procop. de bel. Persic.* l. i. c. 9. * *ABULFEDA* in vit. *Mohammed.* p. 24, 25, 26, 95, 96. edit. Oxon. 1723. *EBN. SHOHNAH. ABDO'L-BAKID.* in hist. *Habessin.* par. 2. c. 2. & c. 3. *AL-JANNABIUS* in vit. *Mohammed.* *Al Koran MOHAMMED.* c. 19. c. 29. & c. 30. *AL-WAKEDIUS* apud *ABDO'L-BAKID.* ubi sup. *SELDEN.* de ux. *Hebraic.* p. 553. & alib. *COLOMES.* in observat. *Sacr.* *Job. LUDOLPH.* in comment. ad hist. *Æthiop.* p. 123. & p. 284. & alib. *LUDOVICUS MARRACCIUS* in prodrom. par. i. c. 2. p. 45. edit. Patavii, 1698. Vid. etiam *CL. GAGN.* in *Abulfed.* ubi sup.

(P) We are told, that about A. D. 836. *Ethiopia* groaned under the complicated miseries of war, pestilence, and famine; that their armies were routed and put to flight, whenever they came in sight of the enemy. The *Abassines*, continues this author, attributed these evils to the violence and indignities offered *John* the metropolitan sent them by *James* the fiftieth patriarch of *Alexandria*. A knot of the nobility had before caballed against this prelate, and, after bringing others over to their party, driven him out of the country. Under the influence, therefore, of the above-mentioned persuasion, he was recalled and re-established. But the queen, who at that time held the reins of government, raised new persecutions against the *Abunna*, and left him only the

choice of being circumcised, or leaving the kingdom. *John* chose to undergo circumcision, and, being stripped in order to the operation, had upon him, by a singular miracle, say the *Copts* and *Abassines*, evident tokens that he had been circumcised on the eighth day. We must here observe, that as the church of *Abassia* acknowledges that of *Alexandria* as its mother, it is subject to it in a particular manner, not having the liberty of electing its own bishop. This subjection is as antient as the conversion of the *Abassines* to christianity, and confirmed by that book of canons which they held in equal esteem with the sacred writings. The particular canon here hinted at will be inserted when we come to the modern history of *Abassia* (15).

(15) *Le Grand, dissert. viii. c. 9.*

C H A P. VIII.

The history of the Arabs, and their antient state, to Mohammed.

S E C T. I.

Description of Arabia.

Many authors have taken great pains to give an accurate geographical description of Arabia.

Whence Arabia so called.

THE independency most of the *Arabs* maintained to the downfall of the *Roman* empire, and the surprising conquests they made under *Mohammed* and his successors, rendered their country so famous, that 'tis no wonder many authors should have taken such pains to give an accurate description of it. *Ptolemy* seems to have laboured this point more than any other: *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, with many more of the antients, in their accounts of *Arabia*, are likewise pretty prolix. But the *Arab* writers themselves have been indefatigable on this head. They are very particular and minute, both in their historical and geographical relations; which would have met with a more general esteem, had not the *Arab* genius, so strongly tinctured with enthusiasm and superstition, and consequently inclined to fable and romance, so eminently displayed itself through almost every part of those compositions.^a

Arabia, or at least the most considerable part of it, was, from remote antiquity, called by the natives *Arabab*; which name it still retains. However, we find it frequently styled by their historians *Gjazirab* or *Jezirat al Arab*, the peninsula of the *Arabs*, *Belad al Arab*, the region of the *Arabs*, *Diyar al Arab*, the provinces of the *Arabs*; and, by many of the *Oriental*s, *Arabistân*. Amongst some of the *Syriac* writers it seems to have gone under the appellation of *Cushatha*, and sometimes in Scripture that of *Cush*, as we have already observed in the history of the *Ethiopians*. *'Al-Motarezzi*, in the book *Mogreb*, derives the name *Arabab* from *Arbab*, a district of *Tehûma*, where *Ishmael* dwelt, or, according to *Safoddin*, a town in the neighbourhood of *Mecca*; and *'Ebn Saïd 'Al-Magrebî*, in *'Abu'l-Fedab*, from *Ya'rab*, the son of *Kabtân* or *Joktan*, and grandson of *Eber*. But those bid the fairest for truth, who deduce it from a *Hebrew* original; the word *arab* or *ereb* having several significations very favourable to such a conjecture. For it imports, *the west*, *a mixture*, and *merchandize*, or *traffick*. Now, that the western part of *Arabia* was at first called ארץ ארב *eretz arab* or (A) *ereb*, the western country, may be deemed highly probable from hence, that its eastern provinces are denominated in Scripture ארץ קדם *eretz kedem*, the land of the east. Which if we admit, from ארב *arab* naturally and easily flows *Arabab*. This notion seems the less liable to exception, as *Moses* himself styles the western *Arabia Arabab*; which goes a good way towards evincing, that, from its situation, it first received that name. Afterwards the *Ishmaelites*, who were possessed of it, gradually reducing the other parts, carried the word *Arabab* along with them, and applied it to the whole peninsula. Some, however, think, that this tract might have assumed the name we are now considering, from that mixture of different tribes, which, they pretend, formed the *Arab* nation. In support of this opinion it is alledged, that in Scripture the *Arabs* are termed *a mingled people*, and that the antients enumerate many nations inhabiting *Arabia*. But, as the passage of Scripture here hinted at does not appear necessarily to denote the *Arabs*, as the various names given by the antients to the different clans of this region do not

^a PROL. in Arabia, edit. Oxon. 1712. DIOD. SIC. l. iii. STRAB. l. i. l. xvi. & alib. PLIN. l. vi. c. 27. & alib. ABULFED. descript. Arab. edit. Oxon. 1712. Vid. etiam STEPH. BYZANT. in voce Χαζαχμοβα, & HUDS. in præfat. ad vol. iii. geograph. vet. script. Græc. min. Oxon. 1712.

(A) From hence, by the insertion of an epenthetic N, comes the word *Erembi*, the name of a nation mentioned by *Homer* and *Strabo*. *Homer's* Scholiast and *Bochart* intimate, that the *Erembi* werethe

same people with the *Troglodytes*; though they likewise allow, that they might have been a branch of the *Arabians*. For a more ample discussion of this point, we must refer our readers to *Bochart* (1).

(1) *Hom. Odyss. Δ. v. 85. & schol. in loc. Strab. l. i. Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 2. & c. 29.*

absolutely

- a absolutely imply, that all those clans had a different original, and as the best *Arabian* historians assert all their countrymen to be sprung from two stocks only, perhaps our readers will allow a greater degree of probability to the former etymon. Lastly, others deduce the name *Arabab* from the third signification of *عرب* above-mentioned, because the *Arabs* in very early ages took their principal delight in merchandize or traffick; the gold, frankincense, myrrh, jewels, spices, and many other valuable commodities, either the natural produce of their country, or brought thither from *India*, prompting them thereto. Now, though it cannot be denied, that this carries a good appearance of truth, and that the facts on which it is founded are clear and incontestable; yet, as the most antient names of places seem chiefly to have been
- b taken, either from those of the first planters of colonies, builders of cities, &c. or some circumstance in the situation, we are inclined to adhere to the etymon suggested by the first signification of *عرب arab*. The sacred historian calls the territory, where the descendants of *Joktan* settled, *Kedem, the east*; which renders it probable, that in his time the name *Arabab* was not known there. This is sufficient to invalidate what has been advanced in the point before us by '*Ebn Saïd 'Al-Magrebi*', which depends only upon an *Arabian* tradition, that can by no means stand in competition with Scripture. Neither ought we to be censured for deducing the most noted name of *Arabia* from the *Hebrew* tongue: for, that *Moses* uses this very name, has been already observed; and that in early ages the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* languages were the
- c same, seems to be acknowledged by the *Arabs*, when they make themselves the descendants of *Eber* and *Abraham*, the two great ancestors of the *Hebrews*^b.

Arabia, taken in its largest extent, lies between the twelfth and thirty-fifth de- The largest ex-
tent of Arabia.

- grees of north latitude, and the fifty-third and seventy-eighth of longitude. The greatest length, or a line drawn from a point on the coast of the *Red Sea* about 1° 25' S. of the tropic of *Cancer* to the extremity of cape *Ras al Ghat*, is above eleven hundred miles; and its greatest breadth, that is to say, the distance from the northern extremity of the deserts of '*Al-Jazira*' to the streights of *Bab al Mandab*, between thirteen and fourteen hundred. It is bounded on the west by *Palestine*, part of *Syria*, the isthmus of *Suez*, and the *Red Sea*, called by the *Arabs* the *Sea 'Al-Kolzom*; on
- d the east by the *Euphrates*, the *Persian* gulph, and bay of *Ormuz*; on the north by part of *Syria*, *Diyar-Becr*, *Irâk*, and *Khûzestân*; and on the south by the streights of *Bab al Mandab*, and the *Indian* ocean. It grows narrower as we approach the frontiers of *Syria* and *Diyar-Becr*; and, by reason of the proximity of the *Euphrates* to the *Mediterranean*, may be looked upon as a peninsula, and that one of the largest in the world^c.

- But the limits of the proper *Arabia* are much narrower, as reaching no farther Its proper li-
mits. northward than the isthmus, which runs from *Ailab* to the head of the *Persian* gulph, and the borders of the territory of *Cûsa*; which tract of land the *Greeks* nearly comprehended under the name of *Arabia the happy*. Here the *Arabs* have been settled
- e almost ever since the flood. The eastern geographers make *Arabia Petraea* to belong partly to *Egypt*, and partly to *Shâm* or *Syria*; and *Arabia Deserta* they call the deserts of *Syria*. But as the *Arabs* have for many ages reduced these two provinces or kingdoms, either by settlements or continual incursions, the *Turks* and *Persians* at this day include them in *Arabistân*. The antients in like manner assigned different limits to this vast peninsula. *Pliny* extended it as far as the borders of *Commagene*, the north part of *Syria*, on account of the many *Arabian* colonies planted there by *Tigranes*; and *Xenophon* included in it the greatest part of *Mesopotamia*. But *Ptolemy*, who gives us a more accurate description of *Arabia*, determines its dimensions differently from those authors. According to him, the city of *Phara*, between the *Ela-*
- f *nitic* and *Heroopolisan* gulphs, or rather a line drawn a little to the westward of this city near the district of *Heroopolis*, was its boundary on the side of *Egypt*. On the

^b GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 78. & alib. Cl. GAGNIER in not. ad Abulfed. geogr. Arab. sub init. CUMBERL. Phœn. hist. Sanchoniath. p. 367. ed. Lond. 1720. EBN SAÏD AL-MAGREBI apud Abulfed. hist. cap. 4. POCCOCK. specim. hist. Arab. 33. AL-MOTARREZZI in lib. *Mogreb*. ALFIRAUZABADIUS, & SAFIODDIN. apud Cl. POCCOCK. ibid. GAGN. diatrib. de Arabum & Arabiz nomin. sect. 1. BUXTORF. SCHINDL. aliique lexicograph. Hebr. Gen. c. xxv. v. 6. Job. c. i. v. 3. Jud. c. vi. v. 3. Deut. c. ii. v. 8. GAGN. ubi sup. sect. 2. & 3. Jer. c. xxv. v. 20, 24. Ezek. c. xxx. v. 5. DIOD. Sic. l. iii. STRAB. l. xvi. PLIN. l. vi. c. 28, & alib. PTOL. in Arab. R. SAADIAS in vers. Arab. Pentat. Gen. c. x. v. 25. POCC. ubi sup. 39. GREG. ABULFARAG. p. 159. Gen. c. xxxvii. v. 25. DIONYS. Perieg. v. 927, &c. BOCH. præf. ad Chan. Gen. c. x. v. 30. ^c GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 78, 79, &c. ABULFED. in descript. Arab. pass. ut & ATWAL, KANUN, RASM, ibid.

west it was terminated by *Palestine*, part of *Syria*, the confines of *Egypt*, and the *Arabian* gulph; on the north by the *Euphrates*, from the city of *Tbapfacus*, near the borders of *Palmyrene*, to the district of *Idicara* in *Babylonia*; on the east by the *Cbal-dæan* mountains, and the *Persian* gulph; and on the south by the *Erythraean* sea. The same situation and extent, or nearly so, are assigned it by *Diodorus* and *Strabo*. Conformably to the sentiment of the *Arabs*, this region may be deemed a peninsula, whether we consider it as answering to the name of *Arabia* in its most usual sense, or as it is variously described by the antients, or, lastly, as comprehending all that large tract bounded almost intirely by the *Euphrates*, the *Persian* gulph, the (B) *Sindian*, *Indian*, *Red* seas, and part of the *Mediterranean*^a.

The first division of Arabia.

THE first division of the peninsula of the *Arabs* was into *Kedem* and *Arabab*, as we learn from Scripture. *Kedem*, or the land of *Kedem*, comprehended the *Arabia Felix* and *Arabia Deserta* of *Ptolemy*, whose limits and extent we shall soon define from that geographer. *Arabab* answered to that country called, from *Petra* its metropolis, *Arabia Petraea* by *Ptolemy*; *Arabia Citerior*, from its situation in respect of *Italy*, by *Pliny*; and *Arabia Velus* by *Stephanus* and *Procopius*, according to *Ortelius*. *Moses* seems to have determined the bounds of this kingdom with a precision worthy an accurate geographer, when he tells us, that on the south it reached to the sea of *Suph*, or the *Red Sea*; on the west to *Paran* and *Tophel*; on the north to *Laban*, *Hatseroth*, and *Di-Zabab*, that is, to the borders of *Syria*; and on the east to *Kadesb-Barnea*, eleven days journey from mount *Horeb*. As *Arabab* imports the west, so *Kedem* does the east; and these significations agree with the situations of those regions. The *Arabic* version makes *Kedem* to extend as far as *Rekem* or *Petra*, which runs counter to some other authors. In one passage *Moses* apparently comprehends *Cbaldaea* under the name of *Kedem*; but this will not overturn what is here advanced. The first inhabitants of *Arabab*, or the western *Arabia*, were the *Cassibim*, descended from *Misraim*, the *Caphthorim*, and the *Horites*, who occupied mount *Seir*, before they were expelled from thence by *Esau* and his posterity. Afterwards *Ishmael* and his descendants settled here; and last of all the *Edomites*, or *Idumæans*. As for *Kedem*, or the eastern *Arabia*, it was first peopled by the sons of *Joktan*, who are reputed the genuine *Arabians* though in process of time the *Ishmaelites* spread themselves over this country. That some of the *Cushites* also possessed themselves of part of it in early times, has been already observed. The children of *Abraham* by his concubine *Keturab* likewise contributed towards replenishing it with inhabitants, as appears from the sacred historian^e.

Ptolemy the first who divided it into three parts.

Ptolemy seems to be the first who divided the peninsula we are now upon into three parts. These he termed *Arabia Petraea*, *Arabia Deserta*, and *Arabia Felix*; and since his time that division has generally prevailed. In order, therefore, to give our readers a succinct idea of every one of these provinces, we shall pursue the method he has observed, and describe them upon the plan he has laid down^f.

Arabia Petraea.

Arabia Petraea on the east was contiguous to *Syria* and *Arabia Deserta*; on the west to *Egypt*, or rather that neck of land separating *Africa* from *Asia*, called at this day the isthmus of *Suez*, and the (C) *Heroopolitan* gulph; on the north to *Palestine*, the lake

^a DIOD. SIC. STRAB. PLIN. ubi sup. XENOPH. in ἀναβάσει. l. i. PTOL. in Arab. ATWAL, KANUN, RASM, ABULFED. GOL. &c. ubi sup. * GAGNIER ubi sup. Deut. c. i. ver. 1. c. ii. ver. 8. Gen. c. xxv. ver. 6. Job. c. i. ver. 3. Jud. c. vi. ver. 3. PLIN. l. v. c. 11. & l. vi. c. 34. STRAB. ubi sup. PROCOP. STEPHANUS BYZANT. & ORTEL. apud Gagn. ubi sup. Deut. c. i. ver. 1. PTOL. ubi sup. Arab. vers. Jud. c. vi. ver. 3. & ver. 33. Gen. c. xxix. ver. 1. GAGN. ubi sup. sect. iv. sub init. Gen. c. x. ver. 26—31. c. xxxvii. v. 25. & c. xxv. ver. 1—19. GAGN. ubi sup. sect. vi. ^f PTOL. in Arab.

(B) *Sind* or *Sindia* is that large tract comprehending all those countries between *India*, *Carmania*, and *Sigistan*. On the south it is washed by the sea, which from thence is called the *Sindian* sea, contiguous to the bay of *Ormuz* and the *Indian* ocean. Its metropolis is known by the name of *Mansoura*, according to the eastern writers. The *sindon* of the antients was so denominated from *Sindia*, where it was produced in vast quantities. The *Arabs* believe the people of this region to be the posterity of *Cham* (2).

(C) The *Heroopolitan* gulph received its name from the city of *Heroopolis* bordering upon it. This gulph, the western arm of the sea *Al-Kolzum*, is the *Yam Suph*, or *Yam Souph*, *The weedy sea*, of the Scripture. The ingenious Dr. *Shaw* supposes it to have been so called from the variety of *algæ* and *fuci*, that grow within its channel, and, at low water particularly, are left in great quantities upon the sea-shore. If this be admitted, the word *סוף* *souph* has not been rendered so properly *flags* by our translators, *Exod. c. ii. ver. 8. Isa. c. xix. ver. 6.* nor *jun-*

(2) Strab. pass. Abulfed. apud. Schult. ubi sup. Gol. in lex. & ad Alfragan. p. 77.

- a lake *Asphaltitis* and *Cale-Syria*; and on the south to *Arabia Felix*. This tract was for the most part uncultivated, the greatest part of it being covered with dry sands, or rising into rocks, interspersed here-and-there with some fruitful spots. *Petra*, its metropolis, seems to have been denominated by the *Hebrews Selab*, both which words were of the same import in the *Greek* and *Hebrew* languages. *St. Jerom* intimates, that among the *Syrians* it went by the name of *Rekem*, and was the same town that we find in Scripture styled *Joktheel*. *Josephus* calls it *Arke* and *Arakeme*; which *Bochart* takes to be equivalent to *Rekem*, as being only that word with an article prefixed. *Petra* was the chief fortress of the *Idumeans*, *Edomites*, or *Nabathæans*, as already observed, and derived its name from its rocky situation. It was accessible only by one narrow path, wherein but few could go at once; which, with the steepness of the ascent, rendered it almost impregnable. (D) Authors, however, differ with regard to its situation. It was seated in a plain full of gardens, and watered with fountains, but surrounded with rocks, according to *Strabo*. *Pliny* speaks of it almost in the same terms. He says, the *Nabathæans* inhabited the city of *Petra*, situated in a plain of about two thousand paces over, watered by a river, and encompassed by inaccessible mountains. But that it stood upon a steep rock, in a very dry and barren country, is intimated by *Dio*; with whom *Herodian* and the *Nubian* geographer in some sort agree. For the former describes the capital of the *Agareni* as standing upon the point of a very high mountain; and the latter represents the city of *Petra* as consisting of houses dug or cut out of a rock. As great a diversity of opinions, in this particular, prevails amongst the moderns. Some think, that the city of *Karak*, or *Krak*, lying on the confines of *Arabia* and *Syria*, inclining towards the north, is the antient *Petra*. According to them, this fortress, for that the word signifies in the *Syriac* and *Chaldee* tongues, answers to the *Characha* in the *Maccabees*, the *Karkaa* in the book of *Joshua*, the *Charac Moab* or *Charac Moba* of
- b
- c

tus or *juncosum* by *Buxtorf*. The same worthy gentleman relates, that whilst the surface of the sea is calm, such a diversity of *madrepores*, *fuci*, and other marine vegetables, presented itself to the eye, that it is natural to take those plants for a forest under water, agreeably to what we find observed by *Pliny*. It may not be improper farther to remark, that the *Yam Souph* was likewise denominated *Yam Edom*, or the sea of *Edom*, by the antient inhabitants of the countries adjoining to it. For the sons of *Edom*, having possessed themselves of those parts, from their father *Edom*, called the gulph we are now upon the sea of *Edom*. But the *Greeks*, who took this name from the *Phœnicians*, rendered *Yam Edom* improperly *ἐρυθρὴ θάλασσα*, *The Red Sea*, mistaking the word *Edom* for an appellative. However, they seem to have been well apprised, that this name was not derived from any redness peculiar to the territory bordering upon the sea of *Edom*; since many of the *Greek* and *Latin* authors expressly assert, that this sea was so denominated from one king *Erythrus*, who could be no other than *Esaú* or *Edom*. Though there are several thickets of the arundinaceous plants, at some small distances from the immediate banks of the *Yam Souph*, yet none are observed either upon them, or growing out of the sea; which is an additional argument in favour of *Dr. Shaw's* notion. The castle and garrison of *Adjeronte* are supposed to occupy at present the spot of ground on which the antient *Heræopolis* stood (3).

(D) It will be found difficult enough to determine the situation of *Petra*. *Strabo* places it three or four days journey from *Jericho*, and five days journey from the forest of *Palm-trees*, which was upon the *Red Sea*. *Pliny* makes it to be six hundred miles distant from *Gaza*, and an hundred twenty-five miles

from the *Persian* gulph. But *Reland* and *Cellarius* think, that the numbers have been changed, and that the true reading in the last author is an hundred twenty-five miles from *Gaza*, and six hundred miles from the *Persian* gulph. *Eusebius* places *Theman* five miles from *Petra*, *Carcaria* a day's journey from the same city, and *Elath* or *Ailah* ten miles to the east of it. Some geographers believe, that there were more than one *Petra*. *St. Athanasius* distinguishes two, one in *Palestine*, and the other in *Arabia*. The paraphrasts *Jonathan* and *Onkelos* also represent *Rekem* and *Petra* as two different cities. *Josephus* mentions *Petra* and *Rekem* in the country of the *Amalekites*, near which *Aaron* died, and *Petra* in the land of the *Midianites*, though he seems to confound those two places. *Petra*, the capital of *Arabia Petraea*, is appropriated to *Palestine* by the author of the antient *Notitia ecclesiastica*, being the metropolis of what was called the *Third Palestine*. *Eusebius* and *St. Jerom* also extend *Palestine* as far as the *Red Sea*, to *Elath*; so that with them it comprehended *Idumæa*, and *Arabia Petraea*. But those countries were looked upon as distinct from *Palestine* in all the ages preceding *Eusebius*. Lastly, father *Calmet* supposes the *Petra* called *Selah* by *Isaiab*, and the author of the book of *kings*, to have been seated in the land of *Moab*, or the eastern part of *Idumæa*, and afterwards named *Joktheel*; whereas the other, called *Rekem*, was, according to him, situated in the south *Idumæa*, or *Arabia Petraea*, or the country of the *Amalekites*. The same author, together with *M. Tillemont*, also believes, that the *Petra*, ineffectually attacked by *Trajan*, which *Dio* had in view, appertained to *Mesopotamia*, and consequently was different from the city we are now upon (4).

(3) *Shaw's* geograph. observat. in Egypt, Arabia Petraea, &c. p. 342, 386, 387. & alib. Exod. c. x. v. 19. c. xiii. v. 18. &c. Strab. l. xvi. Plin. l. vi. c. 23. Mel. l. iii. c. 8. Agatharchid. Cnid. edit. Oxon. p. 2. &c. Curt. l. viii. c. 9. & l. x. c. 1. Philostrat. l. iii. c. 15. Arrian. in rer. Indicar. libro p. 579. edit. Blanc. Prid. connect. of the hist. of the Old and New Test. vol. i. p. 10, 11. ed. 2. (4) Strab. Plin. Joseph. Dio. inloc. jam laudat. Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iii. c. 14. Reland. Palest. l. iii. p. 927. 928. Vid. etiam SS. Scrips. pass. P. August. Calmet. in voc. Petra, ut & D. Tillem. in Traj. art. xxiv. p. 204.

Ptolemy, and the *Cbarakmoha* of *Stephanus*. Others make this city to be the same ^a with *Hagr* or *Hijr* the capital of a district in the kingdom of *Hejaz*. And, lastly, others believe *Errakim*, or *Arrakeb*, a town in a northerly direction from *Hagr* near *Krak* or *Caracha*, to correspond with the *Petra* of the antients. None of these notions seems remote from truth; though, by the assistance of *'Al-Makrisi*, *Bobadin*, and the *Nubian* geographer, such reasons have been assigned for the last, as, we think, cannot easily be answered ^s.

Towns in Arabia Petrea.

It cannot be supposed, that such a barren region should abound with large and populous cities; and therefore most of those places, whose names have been transmitted down to us by *Ptolemy*, must be considered as insignificant and obscure. The principal towns appertaining to *Arabia Petrea*, taken notice of by Scripture, besides those already mentioned, were *Paran*, *Duma*, *Diblatbaim*, *Dibo*, *Nebo*, *Bethmeon*, *Kariotb* or *Kiriotb*, *Nemrim*, and *Pithom*. *Paran*, the *Phara* of *Ptolemy*, that gave name to a famous desert adjoining to it, was three days journey to the east of *Elatb*. *Duma* stood upon mount *Seir*, and, from what the prophet *Isaiab* intimates, was probably a place of some consideration. *Diblatbaim*, *Dibo*, *Nebo*, *Bethmeon*, *Kiriotb*, and *Nemrim*, from several passages in the Old Testament, appear also to have been places of some note, though their situation cannot from thence be ascertained. *Heroopolis*, on the western extremity of the *Arabian* gulf, is by some supposed to be *Pithom*, built by the *Israelites* for *Pharoab*, during their servitude in *Egypt*, and the *Patumos* or *Patumon* of *Herodotus*. Be that as it will, it is certain the *Septuagint* and *Coptic* versions countenance such a supposition, the one rendering *Goshen Heroopolis*, and the other *Pethom*. The generality of the antient geographers have ranked this city amongst those belonging to *Egypt*; but *Herodotus* was of another opinion. *Haura*, *Zabag* or *Zatba*, and *Zize*, three modern places of this country, correspond tolerably well with the *Auara*, *Zanaatba*, and *Ziza* of *Ptolemy*; but as for *Lyssa*, *Gypsaria*, *Gerasa*, and most, if not all, the other villages and towns enumerated by that geographer, scarce any footsteps or traces of them are now to be seen ^b.

Nations of Arabia Petrea.

THE most considerable nations inhabiting this tract, in the earlier ages, were the *Ishmaelites*, the *Nabatai* or *Nabathæans*, the *Cedrei* or *Kedareni*, and the *Agareni* or *Hagareni* (E). Of these the *Ishmaelites* were the most potent, if they did not comprehend all the rest. The *Nabathæans* and *Kedareni* apparently deduced their names from *Nebaiotb* and *Kedar*, the sons of *Ishmael*, and consequently ought to be looked upon either as branches of the *Ishmaelites*, or in all respects as the same nation with them. It is probable the descendants of *Midian*, one of *Abraham's* sons by *Keturah*, seated themselves in the neighbourhood of the *Ishmaelites*; since we find the same people called in Scripture *Ishmaelites* and *Midianites*. Amongst the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*, the inhabitants of *Arabia Petrea* and *Arabia Deserta*, at least the bulk of them, for many ages, went by the names of *Arabes*, and *Nabatai*, *Nauatai*, or *Nabatae*. They extended themselves, according to *St. Jerom*, from the *Red sea* to the *Euphrates*; and all the tract they inhabited was, from them, denominated *Nabatena*; nay, so numerous were the *Nabathæans*, that we find them mixed with the *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, and people of *Moab*. The *Cedrei* or *Kedareni* and *Chancei*, seem to have been two tribes of them, the former of which *Cellarius* places near the nor- ^d

^s Idem ibid. Dr. SHAW's physical observations, &c. or an essay towards the natural history of Arabia Petrea, p. 377, 378, & seq. Jos. c. xv. v. 3. 2 Maccab. c. xii. v. 17. DION. SIC. l. xix. STRAB. l. xvi. JOSEPH. antiq. l. iv. c. 4. 7. & l. xiv. c. 9, & alib. pass. EUSEB. & HIERON. in Arkem. PLIN. l. vi. c. 28. PTOL. in Arab. Petr. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. in voc. Χαγίχμωβα. DIO. l. lxxviii. p. 785, 786. HERODIAN. l. iii. p. 528. ATHANAS. epist. ad monach. SMARIE. AL EDRISS. clim. iii. par. 5. PTOL. l. v. c. 17. CALMET. in dict. bibl. voc. Petra. Jud. c. xi. ver. 3. 2 Mac. c. xii. ver. 17. EUSEB. onomast. urb. & loc. ad voc. Πίτρεα. 2 Kin. c. xiv. ver. 7. ISM. ARULFED. in Arab. GOLII NOTÆ ad Afraganum, p. 96, 97. BOCHART. Phal. l. i. c. 44. BOHADIN. apud Cl. Schult. in ind. geographic. ad vit. Saladin. ut & ipse SCHULT. ibid. Univers. hist. vol. i. p. 309, 310. Vide etiam GUL. TYR. l. xxii. c. 2. & 5. BERN. THESAUR. de acquif. ter. linc. EBN HAWKAL apud Abulfed. & ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup. in voc. Caracha. ^b PTOL. ubi sup. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. HIERONYMUS apud Salmf. in Solin. p. 344. Gen. c. xxi. ver. 21. Num. c. x. ver. 12. Iſai. c. xv. ver. 2. & c. xxi. ver. 2. Jer. c. xlviii. Exod. c. i. ver. 11. LXX. in Gen. c. xvi. ver. 28, 29. & INTERP. EGYPT. ibid. GUIL. BONJOUR. in monument. Coptic. sect. 21. HERODOT. l. ii. c. 158. Vide CELLAR. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 1. par. 1. sect. 7. & chart. geograph. Arab. a SEN. & SAL. ed.

(E) To these we may add the inhabitants of the wilderness of *Mabon*, called in Scripture *Mekunim*, who bordered upon *Goraz* and *Pharsa*, and consequently were seated in the neighbourhood of *Egypt*.

For a further account of this people, our readers may have recourse to the first volume of the *universal history* (5).

(5) 2 Chron. c. 26. ver. 7. Univers. hist. vol. i. p. 829. not. (G).

- a thern confines of *Arabia Felix*. The *Midianites* made a settlement behind the *Elanitic* gulf, and incorporated themselves with the *Cushites*. If the *Hagareni* did not correspond intirely with the *Ishmaelites*, they must have been nearly related to them. *Kunshi* insinuates, that they were originally the children of *Hagar* by an *Arab*, after she had left *Abraham*; but others rather apprehend they assumed their name from the stony region they inhabited. *Cellarius* thinks, that at first they must have been but an obscure people, though neither *Trajan* nor *Severus* could reduce their metropolis, according to *Dio*. Their territory bordered upon the land of *Moab*, as may be inferred from Scripture. In after-ages, the names of all the nations here touched upon, were absorbed in that of *Saraceni*, which continued famous for several centuries over the eastern and western parts of the world. It is observable, that the *Jerusalem Targum* styles the *Ishmaelites* *Saraceni*. That the *Arraceni* of *Pliny* were the *Saraceni* of *Ptolemy* and *Dioscorides*, may be evinced by several arguments:
1. The same proper name has frequently an S and a vowel for its initial letters in different authors; as *Ἀραμειῶτες* and *Σαλμειῶτες*, *Ἀραμειῶτες* and *Σαλμειῶτες*, *Ἑξίταρια* and *Σίξίταρια*, *Τασιράτης* and *Σιασιράτης*, *Ἀρδιαῖοι* and *Σαρδιαῖοι*, *Elana* and *Selana*, *Samnita* and *Amnita*, &c.
 2. *Ptolemy* assigns the same situation to the *Saraceni*, that *Pliny* does to the *Arraceni*.
 3. They had both the same origin, and deduced their names from that of the same city. This will more evidently appear from the account we shall give of the *Saraceni* in the following section.

- c BEFORE we leave *Arabia Petraea*, our readers will expect us to touch upon the following remarkable places: 1. The town of *Colzum* or *Kolzum*, giving name to the sea adjoining to it, the *Chysma*, as may be supposed, of *Ptolemy*, which stood on the western extremity of the *Red sea*, near the spot where the present city of *Suez* was erected, and not far from the ancient *Heroopolis*. Betwixt this place and *Elatb* or *Ailab* was *Eziongeber*, a celebrated port in the reigns of *Solomon* and *Jehosaphat*, called afterwards *Berenice*. 2. The promontory of *Phara* or *Paran*, betwixt the *Heroopolitan* and *Elanitic* gulfs, on which stood the town of the same name. 3. The wilderness of *Sur*, extending from *Palestine* to the *Arabian* gulf, so celebrated in sacred writ. 4. The desert of *Sin*, which the *Israelites* entered into after they had left that of *Sur*. 5. The wilderness of *Sinai*, which the same nation traversed after the former. 6. That of *Paran*, terminated by *Kadeshbarnea*, on the confines of the land of *Canaan*. 7. That of *Zin*, contiguous to the south-western part of *Idumaea*, and terminated by *Kadesh*. This may possibly have been the wilderness or solitude of *Kadesh* or *Cades*, mentioned by the *Psalmist*. 8. The mounts *Casius* and *Sinai*, both which were in *Arabia*, according to *St. Paul*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*. 9. The several stations of the *Israelites* here, on their march to the land of *Canaan* from *Egypt*, viz. *Zalmona*, *Pbunun* or *Fenon*, *Oboth*, *Jim*, *Abarim*, &c. 10. *Adra*, in the northern part of *Arabia Petraea*; an episcopal see, over which *Proclus* presided at the council of *Chalcedon*, according to *Lucas Holstenius*. 11. *Elusa*, which, according to the *Jerusalem Targum*, seems to have corresponded with *Sur*, and likewise the seat of a bishop. 12. *Bosira*, twenty-five miles from *Adra*, a town of this region greatly honoured by *Trajan*, and called also *Philippopolis*, from the emperor *Philip*, surnamed *Arabi* by *Aurelius Victor*. 13. *Moca*, a city taken notice of by a medal of *Antoninus Pius* as governed by its own laws. We shall pass over in silence here every thing relating to the *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Edomites* or *Idumæans*, *Amalekites*, and *Midianites*, though settled in *Arabia Petraea*, since they have been already treated of at large in the first volume of this history.

Some remarkable places of Arabia Petraea

¹ DIOD. SIC. l. ii. & iii. OVID. metam. l. i. ver. 61. STRAB. l. xvi. PLIN. l. v. c. 11. l. vi. c. 18. & l. xii. c. 17. EPIPHAN. hæres. ix. 1 MACC. c. ix. ver. 35. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. PTOL. ubi supra. GEN. c. xxv. ver. 18. & c. xxxvii. ver. 25, 27. HIERONYM. in loc. Hebr. & alib. PSAL. lxxxiii. ver. 6. & KIMCHI in loc. DIO, ubi sup. & alib. EUSEB. in voc. *Madian*. PROCOF. de bell. Pers. l. i. c. 17, 19. MARCIAN. HERACLEOT. peripl. Sin. Arab. BOCHART. Phal. l. iv. c. 2. & alib. pass. CELLAR. geog. ant. l. iii. c. 14. TARG. HIEROSOL. in GEN. c. xxxvii. ver. 25. Is. CARAUS. in comment. ad Strab. p. 32. col. 2. GAGN. ubi sup. sect. 9, 9, & alib. ² GOSN. NOTÆ ad AGRAD. p. 88, 144, 145. PTOL. HIERONYM. CELLAR. &c. ubi sup. GEN. c. xvi. ver. 7, 14. c. xv. ver. 1. c. xxv. ver. 18. EXOD. c. xv. ver. 22. c. xvi. ver. 1. c. xvii. ver. 1. c. xix. ver. 1. NUM. c. x. ver. 12. c. xiii. ver. 3. & c. xxxii. ver. 8. DEUT. c. ix. ver. 23. NUM. c. xxxiv. ver. 4. JOS. c. xv. ver. 4. DEUT. c. xi. ver. 8. 1 KIN. c. ix. ver. 26. c. xxii. ver. 49. c. xiv. ver. 22. 2 CHRON. c. xvi. ver. 2. MEL. l. iii. c. 8. & ISARD. VOSS. in loc. JOSEPH. antiq. l. viii. c. 2. & alib. DIOD. SIC. STRAB. STEPH. BYZANT. ubi sup. SALMAS. in Solia. p. 344. AUR. VICT. TARS. HIEROSOL. & LUCAS HOLSTENIUS, apud Cellar. ubi sup. ANTIQ. MARGEL. l. xiv. c. 27. ed. VALEF. NUM. Antioq. P. apud Paxin. antiq. num. ant. apud Cellar. in loc. citat.

Arabia Des-
erta.

Arabia Deserta was bounded on the north by the *Euphrates*, which, bending its a course easterly, separated it from *Mejopotamia* (F); on the west by *Syria*, *Judæa*, and *Arabia Petraea*; on the east by *Chaldaea* and *Babylonia*, or more precisely by a ridge of mountains dividing it from those countries; and on the south by *Arabia Felix*, from whence it was likewise disjoined by several ranges of hills. The *Cauchabeni*, according to *Ptolemy*, inhabited that part of this province bordering upon the *Euphrates*, as the *Batanai* did that upon the confines of *Syria*. The *Agubeni* and *Rbaabeni* were placed more southerly, towards the frontiers of *Arabia Felix*; and by the *Persian* gulf the *Orcheni*. Under the *Cauchabeni*, near the borders of *Babylonia*, the *Æsita* had their habitation; and above the *Rbaabeni* the *Masani*. In the interior part the *Agrai* were seated; and in the mountainous region, near *Chaldaea*, the *Mar-* b *teni* or *Martini*. All these nations, or rather tribes, except the *Æsita* and *Agrai*, were very obscure; but those deserving some regard, a word or two concerning them may not prove unacceptable to our readers ¹.

The Æsita.

Bochart supposes the *Æsita* to have inhabited that tract, where the holy and patient *Job* was seated. He believes, that *Ptolemy* wrote *Αυσίται Αυσίται*; and that *Uz* the son of *Nabor*, settling here, gave name to the whole district. This notion, it must be owned, as well as the emendation that supports it, is not void of a good degree of probability; for the septuagint version renders in the land of *Uz* *εἰς χώραν Αυσίταις*, in the land of the *Ausitæ*; and *Haran* or *Charræ*, where *Terah's* family resided, was on the opposite bank of the *Euphrates*, and consequently in the neighbourhood of this c place. Add to this, that the *Chaldeans* and *Sabeans* are represented as *Job's* neighbours in Scripture; which circumstance agrees extremely well with the country of the *Ausitæ* or *Æsita*, as being contiguous to *Chaldaea*, and having, according to *Pto-* lemy, a city called *Sabe* situate in it. Further, *Buz* was *Nabor's* second son; and we find, adjoining to this territory, a district called *Busitis*, of which *Elibu*, one of *Job's* friends, was a native; and another of them came from *Tema* or *Thema*, a town of *Arabia Deserta*, not very remote from hence: which considerations, as well as several others that might be offered, render it not a little probable, that the land of *Uz*, and the territory of the *Ausitæ* or *Æsita*, were one and the same country ^m.

The Agrai.

THE *Agrai* lay more westerly, and even close upon the skirts of *Arabia Petraea*; d which possibly may have induced some learned men to call them *Agarai*, and make them the same people with the *Hagareni* above-mentioned, whom we have placed in *Arabia Petraea*. If this be admitted, they must have possessed a good part of *Arabia*, and been much more powerful than *Cellarius* is willing to allow them. Be that as it will, it is certain *Pliny* in the same passage takes notice of the *Agrai* and the city of *Egra* or *Agra*; that, in the cabinets of the curious, antique (G) coins have been discovered, with the words *ΖΕΥΣ ΑΓΡΕΥΣ*, *Jupiter of Agra*, or *Jupiter the protector* of *Agra*, upon them; and lastly, that the situation the *Oriental* geographers assign *Hagr*, a name not very remote from *Agra*, quadrates well enough with such a sup- e position. But as it is not a matter of any great moment whether the *Agrai* and *Haga-* reni were the same people or not, whether their territories were extensive, or confined within narrow bounds, we leave our readers to take which side of the question they please ⁿ.

¹ PTOL. ubi sup. ^m BOCHART. Phal. l. ii. c. 8. LXX. in Job. c. i. PTOL. & CELLAR. ubi sup. FRID. SPANHEM, in Jobi hist. p. 50. GEN. c. xxii. ver. 22. Job. c. xxxii. ver. 2, &c. ⁿ JACOB. DE BARRY apud Reland. Palæst. tom. ii. p. 933, & seq. PLIN. l. vi. c. 28. PTOL. ubi sup. MOHAM. ALFRAG. in clim. ii. astronom. c. 9. ut & GOL. in loc. & lex. Arab. Vide etiam not. ad CHRIST. CELLAR. geogr. ant. l. iii. c. 14. p. 592. & ABULFED. in Arab.

(F) It appears from *Strabo*, that all the *Arab* tribes bordering on *Mejopotamia*, from their way of life, were by the *Greeks* and *Romans* denominated *Arabes Scenitæ*. That roving people, whom some authors make the same with the *Saraceni* and *Nabathæans*, dispersed themselves over several parts of *Arabia Petraea* and *Arabia Felix*, as well as through almost every district of this barren province (6).

(G) That the coins here mentioned belonged to this city, seems plain, not only from the legend they

exhibit, but likewise from the workmanship, taste, and manner of them, since they agree intirely with those of the cities in the neighbourhood of *Palestine*. They prove therefore *Pliny's* text to have been corrupted, and that his present *Egra* was originally *Agra*. That *Jupiter* should have been honoured with such an appellation, will not appear strange, when we consider the *Diana Ephesia*, *Apollo Delphicus*, *Apollo Clarus*, &c. of the antients (7).

(6) *Strab.* l. xvi. p. 526. *Plin.* l. v. c. 24. & l. vi. c. 28. Vide etiam *Chr. Cellar. geogr. antiq.* l. iii. c. 14. p. 586, 587, 594. (7) *Jacob. de Barry apud Hadrian. Reland. Palæst. tom. ii. p. 933, & seq. Vide etiam Plin. Macrob. &c. & Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iii. c. 14. p. 592.*

- a It is very well known, that the antient *Ituræans*, *Edomites*, *Nabathæans*, people of *Kedar*, and other nations settled in *Arabia Petræa* and *Arabia Deserta*, led, for the most part, a wandering life, like their posterity the present *Bedoweens*, without houses, towns, or any fixed habitations. By far the greatest part of both these provinces or kingdoms was a lonesome, desolate wilderness, no otherwise diversified than by plains covered with sand, or mountains consisting of naked rocks and precipices; neither were they ever, unless sometimes at the equinoxes, refreshed with rain. The few vegetables therefore, which they produced, must have been stunted by a perpetual drought, and the nourishment afforded them by the nocturnal dews sufficiently impaired by the intense heat of the sun in the day. Throughout the sandy deserts were found huge mountains of sand, formed by the violence of the winds, that continually blew over them in the day-time, though they ceased in the night. As for wells and fountains, they were so very rare in these parts, that it is no wonder they should have occasioned so much strife and contention. However, notwithstanding the natural sterility of the tract we are now upon, those vast plains of sand above-mentioned were here-and-there interspersed with fruitful spots, which appeared like so many little islands surrounded by an immense ocean, as has been observed by *Pliny*. These being rendered extremely delightful by fountains, rivulets, palm-trees, a variety of vegetables, and most excellent fruits, the *Arabs*, with their flocks, encamped upon some of them, and, having consumed every thing there, retired to others, as is the custom of the *Bedoweens* at this day. Such fruitful spots were likewise frequent in *Libya*, and by the *Egyptians* called *Anafes* or *Abafes*, as we learn from *Strabo*. The barren part of *Arabia Felix*, bordering upon the *Red sea*, was, in like manner, interspersed with such *Abafes*; which probably gave name to the *Abaseni*, a nation settled there, and in the adjacent fertile region. A body of these, crossing the streights of *Bab-al-Mandab*, passed into *Ethiopia*, which from them received the denomination of *Abassia*. This, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by *M. Ludolphus*, appears to us much more likely, than that either the *Arabs* or *Ethiopians* should have been called *Abassines*, from we know not what mixture peculiar to the former nation; for the very notion of such a mixture is repugnant to the whole stream of *Oriental antiquity*, and even to the sacred writings themselves, as our readers will easily collect from several passages of this history. It is certain the *Nubians* (H), a people inhabiting part of *Libya Interior*, abounding with *Abafes*, and *Ethiopia*, went antiently under the appellation of *Abaseni*; which adds no small weight to our opinion. That even the fruitful part of *Arabia Felix* itself should be called *Abaseni*, is not to be wondered at, since it might as well derive this name from *Arabia Petræa*, as it did from thence that of *Arabab* or *Arabia*; for that *Arabia Petræa* was styled *Abasene*, appears from *Herodian* and *Dio*, who have given an account of *Severus's* expedition into this country, in conjunction with a coin of that emperor, having on the reverse the word *ABASHNON*, exhibited by *Goltzius*. And this takes off the whole force of the objection offered by *M. Ludolphus* against the etymon of *Abasene* or *Abassia* here proposed.

THOUGH *Ptolemy* has handed down to us a large list of the towns appertaining to *Arabia Deserta*, our readers will be apt to conclude, from the foregoing observations,

* HEROD. STRAB. MEL. PLIN. &c. pass. SHAW, ubi sup. STRAB. l. ii. & alibi. CASAUB. in Strab. l. xvii. p. 719. PLIN. l. v. c. 25. Voyage au camp du Grand Emir par le chevalier D'ARVIEUX, p. 55. Voyage de l'Arab. heur. p. 121, 123, &c. SCALIG. in comput. eccles. Æthiop. de emend. temp. l. vii. Univers. hist. vo. vii. p. 192, 193. BALTH. TELLEZIUS, l. i. c. 2. p. 5. J. LUDOLPH. comment. ad hist. Æthiop. p. 50, 51, 52. NONNOSUS apud PHOT. HESYCH. in voc. Νῦβαι-Πρυμαῖος. ARISTOT. hist. animal. l. viii. c. 12. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. PTOL. l. iv. c. 8. GEORG. ELMACIN. hist. Sar. l. i. c. 17. DIO, ubi sup. HERODIAN. l. iii. c. 28. edit. Oxon. 1678. HUBERTUS GOLTZIUS in thesaur. rei antiquar. p. 217. edit. Antwerp. 1618.

(H) That the *Nubians* were a branch of the antient *Ethiopians*, appears from *Aristotle*, *Ptolemy*, and others; and that the *Ethiopians* were nearly related to the *Egyptians*, after consulting *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Strabo*, no one can doubt. The *Ethiopic* and *Egyptian* languages therefore, in early ages, must have been, in a manner, the same; which likewise may be immediately collected from the afore said

authors. *Anafes* or *Abafes* therefore was probably an *Ethiopic* as well as an *Egyptian* word. Now, that the *Arabic* tongue antiently agreed with the *Ethiopic*, cannot well be denied, so uncommon an affinity betwixt them remaining to this day; so that *Anafes* or *Abafes* may be considered likewise as a word used by the antient *Arabs*. These points add great weight to the conjecture here proposed (8).

(8) Herodot. l. ii. Strab. l. xvii. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Aristot. hist. animal. l. viii. c. 12. Ptol. l. iv. c. 8. Hesyck. in voc. Νῦβαι-Πρυμαῖος. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Suid. Nonnosus apud Phot. Vide etiam Plin. l. vi. c. 29. Elmacin. hist. Sar. l. i. c. 17. & Bochart. Phal. l. ii. c. 23. l. iv. c. 26, &c.

that few of them were places of any great repute. That geographer makes *Thapsacus* on the *Euphrates*, a city of some note on account of the bridge over which *Alexander* and *Darius* marched their respective armies, its frontier on the side of *Mesopotamia*; but *Pliny* and *Stephanus* think this town belonged to *Syria*. Near the mountains separating *Arabia* from *Chaldaea* stood *Themma*, *Thema*, or *Tema*, so called from *Thema* or *Tema* the son of *Ishmael*, and mentioned in various passages of Scripture; for the *Ishmaelites* extended themselves from the land of *Havilah* near the *Euphrates* to the confines of *Egypt*. *Seba* was upon the borders of *Arabia Felix*, and founded probably by *Seba Abraham's* grandson; since all that patriarch's children by *Keturah*, according to *Moses*, moved towards the east. *Gadirtha*, *Auzara*, *Audathba* or *Adithba*, *Balatæa*, *Pbarga*, *Belgnæa*, and the other antient cities situated along the banks of the *Euphrates*, have long since disappeared; unless we will allow some traces of *Audathba*, or *Adithba*, and *Balatæa*, to be still visible in the modern *Haditha* and *Balladoc*. *Ammæa*, *Idacara*, and *Jucara*, towards the *Persian gulph*, are equally obscure; except the present *Al-Kere* should be thought to bear some resemblance to the two latter. *Salma*, *Calathusa*, *Arrade*, *Tedium*, *Odagena*, *Luma*, *Dumathba*, &c. in the mediterranean parts; *Artemita* and *Abæra* on the skirts of *Arabia Felix*; *Tbauba*, *Erupa*, *Alata*, *Aurana*, *Cboce*, *Barathena*, &c. to the northward, never probably made any considerable figure. However, that some memory of *Salma* seems at this day to be preserved in mount *Salma*, of *Dumathba* in *Dawmat-al-Jandal*, of *Aurana* in *Auran*, and of *Alata* in *Adadi*, we think, cannot well be denied.

Arabia Felix.

Arabia Felix was limited on the north by the two provinces or kingdoms just described; on the south by the *Erythræan sea*; on the east and west by part of that sea, together with the *Arabian* and *Persian gulphs*. In short, it pretty nearly answered to that tract, which is looked upon as the proper peninsula of the *Arabs* by the *Oriental* geographers. *Strabo* tells us, that in his time it was divided into five kingdoms, which well enough corresponds with the division of the proper *Arabia* into five provinces by the eastern writers. These provinces are *Yaman*, *Hejaz*, *Tebâma*, *Najd*, and *Yamama*; to which some add *Babrein*, as a sixth. But the more exact make this a part of *Irâk*, and therefore come nearer to an agreement with *Strabo*. However, others reduce them all to two, *Yaman* and *Hejaz*, the last including the three provinces of *Tebâma*, *Najd*, and *Yamama*. The principal nations taken notice of by the antients as settled here were the *Sabæi*, *Gerrai*, *Minæi* or *Minnæi*, *Airamitæ*, *Maranitæ*, *Catabani*, *Asitæ*, *Homeritæ*, *Sapphoritæ*, *Omanitæ*, *Saraceni*, *Nabatæi*, *Thamydeni*, *Bizomenæ*, &c. As the limits and situation of these nations cannot be determined with any manner of precision, we shall be as concise as possible in the particular geography of the *Happy Arabia*.

The Sabæi.

THE *Sabæi* seem to have possessed a very considerable territory in the southern and best part of this peninsula. Their country was greatly celebrated amongst the antients for the vast quantity of frankincense it produced. *Saba* or *Sabæ*, its metropolis, according to the antient geographers, stood upon a hill, at no very considerable distance from the *Red Sea*, being a large, opulent, and strong city. It was defended by a castle, and, as has been supposed by many learned men, together with the *Arab* nation in general, the residence of the queen of *Sbeba*. However, provided we allow the modern *Mâreb*, in the province of *Hadramaut*, to correspond with the antient *Saba*, this last must have been seated more to the south, and near the coast of the *Erythræan sea*, or, as it is now called, the *Indian ocean*. And that the modern *Mâreb* answers to *Saba*, must be admitted at least extremely probable from *Pliny*, who, together with *Strabo*, mentions *Mariaba* or *Meriaba*, the same words apparently with *Mâreb*, as the capital of the *Sabæi*, but is intirely silent as to the city of *Saba*. According to the eastern geographers, the town of *Mâreb* or *Mârab* is something above three days journey from *Sanaa* the capital of *Yaman*, in an eastern direction. From the same authors it also appears, that *Saba* was originally the name of a district, as well as a city, which could only be deemed a small part of the kingdom of *Yaman*. But that this district should have been always confined to the province of *Hadramaut* or *Sbibâm*, if not a part of it, as they seem to insinuate, cannot be allowed; since frankincense, for the production of which the territory of

^P PTOL. ubi sup. ARRIAN. l. i. p. 116. & l. iii. p. 163. STRAB. l. xvi. PLIN. l. v. c. 24. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. Vid. etiam chart. geograph. Arab. a SEN. SAL. &c. ed. ^Q PTOL. ubi sup. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 1129. GOLII not. ad Altragan. p. 78, 79. HERODOT. DIOD. SIC. AGATHARCHID. CNID. MEL. PLIN. STEPH. BYZANT. MARCIAN. HERACLEOT. AGATHEN. aliique antiq. script. passim.

a the *Sabæi* was so famous, is only found in the province of *Sibir*, different from that of *Hadramaut*. The *Arabs* assert both the town and district to have been so denominated from *Saba* the son of *Jexbab*, and grandson of *Joktan*, whose name imports to lead into captivity, because he was the first who reduced men to a state of servitude. *Pliny* makes the *Persian* and *Arabian* gulphs the eastern and western boundaries of this nation. The maritime towns were *Marana*, *Marma*, (I) *Corolia*, *Sabaiba*, &c. and inland cities *Nascus*, *Cardaua*, *Carnus*, &c. *Rbegama* or *Rbegma*, founded probably by *Raamab* the son of *Cush*, seated on the *Persian* gulph, seems likewise to have appertained to the *Sabæi* ^r.

b THE *Gerræi* and *Minæi*, according to *Strabo*, brought vast quantities of frankincense, and other kinds of perfumes, from the upper or southern parts of *Arabia Felix* to the sea-ports; which is a strong presumption of their being two tribes or cantons of the *Sabæi*. We find the towns of *Bilæna* or *Bilbana*, *Gera*, and *Magindana*, mentioned by *Ptolemy* as belonging to the *Gerræi*; and the *Minæi*, a powerful nation, joined with the *Gerræi* by *Diodorus* and *Strabo*. The last author calls the region of the *Minæi* *Minæa* or *Meinæa*, and makes its northern frontiers seventy days journey from *Ailab*. Its principal city was *Carna* or *Carana*, called, as should seem, *Carnus* by *Pliny*, and placed by him in the country of the *Sabæi*; which brings no small accession of strength to what we have just advanced. Some authors take notice of the *Charmæi* as a people contiguous to the *Minæi* and *Gerræi*, but deliver nothing of moment concerning them ^c.

As for the *Atramitæ* or *Adramitæ*, they undoubtedly inhabited part at least of the province at this day named *Hadramaut* or *Hadramutta*, and consequently were a tribe of the *Sabæi*. Their metropolis was called *Sabota* or *Sabaiba*, as may be inferred from *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*; besides which the port of *Cane*, at the southern extremity of *Arabia Felix*, belonged to them. *Xibân*, or *Sbibâm*, and *Tezim*, are now the principal towns of *Hadramaut*, both of them about a day's journey from the *Indian* ocean. *Sbibâm* stands upon a rough and rocky mountain of the same name, is fortified with a citadel of great strength, and rendered almost impregnable by its situation. It goes likewise under the name of *Hadramaut* amongst the *Arabs*, lies in about 13° 30' N. latitude, and is seven days journey from *Aden*. The province was denominated *Hadramaut* from one of the sons of *Joktan*, whose descendants first peopled it. *Sbibâm* and *Tezim* were also the names of two tribes, who founded, and settled themselves in, the cities so called, as we learn from the *Arab* historians. *Ebisma*, *Dama*, *Ægisthæ*, *Trulla*, *Mapbatb*, and other places fixed by *Ptolemy* here, deserve not the least attention ^d.

THE *Maranitæ* or *Maranenses* must have been in the neighbourhood of the two former cantons, though we cannot pretend to ascertain their situation. The metropolis of this nation was probably the *Mara* or *Amara* of *Ptolemy*, and the *Mara* of some of the *Oriental* geographers ^e.

Cellarius makes the *Catabani* a people of good consideration; which is confirmed by *Pliny*, who tells us, that the *Larendani*, *Catabani*, and *Gebanitæ*, had many towns, particularly *Nagia* and *Tamna* that contained sixty-five temples. *Tamna* must have been the seat of some *Arab* prince governing the *Catabani*, according to *Strabo*; from whence we may conclude, that they inhabited the province of *Tebama* stretching out as far to the southward as the city of *Aden*. *Goli* says, that the word signifies a violent heat; and that the country was so denominated from its being greatly exposed to the solar rays, whose heat there is very intense. But as many other places in *Arabia* were subject to the same inconvenience, our readers may possibly suppose it

^r DIOD. SIC. l. iii. AGATHARCHID. CNID. peripl. p. 63. PTOL. ubi sup. DIANYS. perieg. v. 927. &c. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 86, 87. Geogr. Nub. clim. ii. par. 6. & alib. ^d DIOD. SIC. l. iii. STRAB. l. xvi. ^e PLIN. ubi sup. PTOL. ibid. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 82. ^a PTOL. l. viii. CUTOBODIN & EBN JOUN. apud Gol. ubi sup. p. 84. PTOL. geogr. l. viii.

(1) It is possible, that this town might be seated on some part of the *Red Sea* abounding with coral, especially since that sea was famous for the production of this marine vegetable; which if we admit, it may appear probable, that *Corolia* received its name from the coral in its neighbourhood. Notwithstanding what has been advanced by *Pliny*, the

word coral seems to be of *Oriental* extraction. For חרל חרל or חורל signifies a thorn, a nettle, a thistle, &c. which are vegetables, and consequently bear some analogy to coral. Some may perhaps imagine, that coral was so denominated from the town we are here speaking of (9).

(9) *Plin. l. xxxii. c. 2. Schind. pentaglot. in voc. חרל.*

rather

rather to have deduced its name from *Tema* the son of *Ismael*, whose posterity in a process of time might settle themselves in it. This seems to be confirmed by *Almotarezzi*, who says, that *Ismael* himself resided in *Araba* a district of *Tebama*. *Tebala*, the capital of *Tebama*, a town of considerable note, built by *Tebala* the son of *Midian*, stands in the road from *Mecca* to *Sanaa* the metropolis of *Yaman* ^a.

The *Afritæ*.

THE *Afritæ* possessed all that tract about the promontory *Syagrus*, the cape *Ras al Gbat* of the moderns, including, as should seem, part of the provinces of *Omân* and *Mabra*. Nay, they must have spread themselves much farther, if we suppose *Hâsec*, a maritime town on the coast of *Hadramaut*, to have been so denominated from them. Whether any traces of the *Afritæ* are still visible in *Masfat* an Arab town on the bay of *Ormuz*, a little above a degree north of the extremity of cape *Ras al Gbat*, and almost under the tropic of *Cancer*, we must submit to the judgment of our curious and inquisitive readers ^b.

The *Homerites*.

Ptolemy mentions the *Homerites* as a nation seated in the southern part of *Arabia Felix*, and bounded on the east by the *Adramitæ*, or province of *Hadramaut*. His *Arabia Emporium* he likewise places in their country, as *Pliny* does his *Massala*. Some authors make them the same people with the *Sabæans*, whilst others consider them in a different light. For our part, we look upon *Sabæi* and *Homeritæ* to have been different names of the same nation, and are countenanced herein by the *Oriental* historians. For these inform us, that the *Sabæans* were called *Hamyarites* from *Hamyar* the son of their great ancestor *Saba*; and that they ruled over almost the whole country of *Yaman*. Though the kingdom of the *Hamyarites*, or *Homerites*, was at length translated from the princes of *Hamyar* to the descendants of *Cabân* his brother, yet they all retained the title of king of *Hamyar*. We find them styled *Immireni* by *Theodorus Lector*, and *Theophanes Byzantius* gives them the name of *Ethiopians*, insinuating them to be the *Macrobi* of *Herodotus*, which yet we are by no means disposed to admit. They made a great figure amongst the antient *Arabs* before the time of *Mohammed*, as will more fully appear in the sequel of this history ^c.

The *Sapphoritæ*.

THE *Sapphoritæ* of *Ptolemy* cannot be considered as a people distinct from the *Homerites*, notwithstanding the authority of *Ptolemy* and *Cellarius*. They were only the citizens of *Sapphar*, or, as *Pliny* has it, *Sapbar*, a city of note in the dominions of the *Homerites*. *Ptolemy* assigns this place a position nearly agreeing with that of the present *Sanaa*, which we cannot help looking upon as extremely probable, especially as *Sapbar* is affirmed to be the metropolis of this country by *Pliny*. The *Arabs* believe, that all the mountainous part of the region producing frankincense went, in the earliest times, by the name of *Sepbar*; from whence the excellent *Golius* concludes this tract to have been the mount *Sepbar* of *Moses*. A strong presumption of the truth of which notion is, that *Dbafâr*, the same word with the modern *Arabs* as the antient *Sapbar*, is the name of a town in *Sibir*, the only province of *Arabia* bearing frankincense, on the coast of the *Indian* ocean, five parasangs from (K) *Merbât*, as we learn from *Safioddin*, who likewise informs us, that this thuriferous mountainous country of *Dbafâr* is about three days journey long, and of an equal breadth. *Bochart* therefore deserves little regard, when he intimates, that the *Mesha* of *Moses* was the *Muza* of *Ptolemy*, or the *Mocha* of the moderns, a celebrated port of the *Red Sea*, about four or five days journey from *Dbafâr*; since this is much too narrow an extent of territory to receive all the posterity of the thirteen sons of *Joktan*, as we are assured by *Moses* the tract between *Mesha* and *Sepbar* did. For which reason we cannot help preferring the sentiment of *R. Saadias* and *R. Abraham Zacbutus*, who assert *Mesha* to be *Mecca*; especially since it is a point agreed ^d ^e ^f

^a CELLAR. ubi sup. p. 598, 599. PLIN. PTOL. STEPH. BYZANT. ubi sup. GOLIUS not. ad Alfragan. p. 95. KELEBAUS in lib. de etymis locor. apud Gol. ubi sup. p. 85. Geogr. Nubiens. & Yacut ibid. ALMOTAREZZI in *Mogreb* apud Cl. Pocockium, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 33. ^w PTOL. & ABULFED. in Arab. ^x PLIN. & PTOL. ubi sup. GOLIUS in Alfragan. p. 86, 87. Poc. spec. hist. Arab. p. 65, 66. PHILOSTORGIUS, l. ii. num. 6. & l. iii. num. 4. THEODORUS LECTOR, l. ii. p. 567. THEOPHANES BYZANTIUS in excerpt. de legat. VId. & CELLAR. ubi sup. p. 599.

(K) A parasang is about three miles. Eight parasangs, according to *Abulfeda*, or twenty-four miles, make a station, or a day's journey. But the Nu-

bian geographer says, that a station consists of thirty miles (10).

(10) *Abulfed. Geogr. Nub.*

a upon by the *Arabs*, that *Mesba* was one of the most ancient names of *Mecca*. Some authors believe, that in early times there stood a city called *Dbafûr* or *Sapbar*, the Arabic letter *Ḍ* frequently answering to the Hebrew *Ḍ* and Greek *Ξ*, in the neighbourhood of *Sanaa*, and others that *Sanaa* itself went formerly by that name; which in a great measure confirms what we have just advanced ^γ.

We find the *Omanitæ* taken notice of by *Ptolemy*, and *Omanum* their chief city ^{The Omanitæ.} represented by him as one of the most considerable places in *Arabia*. It cannot be doubted but the *Omân* of *Alfraganus*, and capital of the province of the same name, the common boundary of *Taman* and *Babrein*, is the *Omanum* of *Ptolemy*, and the country in which it is seated, the district of the ancient *Omanitæ*. From whence b it appears extremely probable, that they were under the jurisdiction of the *Homerites*, and consequently ought to be looked upon as a clan of that people. The citadel of *Omân* is defended by a strong garrison of *Arabs*. Either the tract itself, or the metropolis, seems also to have been called antiently *Sobâr*; but at this day the former is denominated *Omân*, and the latter *Sobâr*. The province of *Omân* stretches itself out three hundred miles on the coast of the *Persian* sea, which is there called the sea of *Omân*. In the time of *Ptolemy*, *Omanum*, or *Sobâr*, was a famous mart, but has been in a manner deserted by merchants for several ages ^z.

THE *Saracens* or *Nabatæans* possessed that part of *Arabia Felix* bordering upon ^{The Saracens.} *Arabia Petraea* and *Arabia Deserta*; but what extent this territory was of, we no-where find. Contiguous to them the antients placed the *Thamydeni*, *Thamuditæ*, or *Tbamydeni*, a people also mentioned in the *Koran*. *Diodorus Siculus* relates, that the (L) *Thamydeni* inhabited part of the coast of the *Arabian* gulph; and *Pliny* intimates their principal city to have been named *Badanatba*. In fine, *Goli* believes them to have occupied a good part at least of the province of *Hejâz*, and particularly that district wherein *Hagr* or *Al Hejr*, the *Egra* or *Agra* of *Stephanus* and *Ptolemy*, is situated; which, as well as other considerations that might be offered, plainly evinces them to have been nearly related to the *Saracens* and *Nabatæans*, if not intirely the same people with them ^a.

Diodorus Siculus tells us, that in the neighbourhood of the *Thamydeni* were like- ^{The Baizomenæ.} wise seated the *Baizomenæ*, who lived upon wild beasts taken in hunting. In their country stood a temple held in the highest veneration amongst all the *Arabs*. It is probable this temple was sacred to *Isis*, as *Diodorus* relates an island near the *Baizomenæan* coast to have been more immediately under her protection. These likewise must have been settled in some of the maritime parts of *Hejâz*, but their situation, for want of sufficient light from ancient history, cannot now be exactly determined. However, we doubt not but they appertained to the *Nabatæans*, as well as their neighbours the *Thamydeni* ^b.

We might here mention several other nations, or rather tribes, taken notice of by the antients as appertaining to *Arabia Felix*. But since these either coincide with c some of the *Ethiopic* cantons already described, as the *Troglodytes*, &c. or may be considered as branches of the *Saracens*, *Nabatæans*, *Sabæans*, *Homerites*, &c. our readers will excuse even a bare enumeration of them. The same may be said of that large catalogue of obscure and insignificant towns and villages, belonging to these tribes, to be met with in *Ptolemy*, of which that geographer himself had no idea. However, they will not dispense with an omission of certain towns and seaports of *Arabia* hitherto passed over in silence, that were held in good repute by the old geographers and historians ^c.

Nysa was a town of *Arabia* on the *Red Sea*, near the confines of *Egypt*, famous for the education of *Bacchus*, who from thence, and his father *Jupiter*, received the name f of *Dionysus*. *Arga* and *Badeo*, two maritime cities in a southerly direction from ^{Remarkable places in Arabia Felix.}

^γ PTOL. & CELLAR. ubi sup. PLIN. l. vi. c. 23. & l. xii. c. 14. ARRIAN. peripl. mar. Erythr. Gen. c. x. v. 30. R. SAADIAS in vers. Arab. Pentat. POCK. in spec. hist. Arab. apud GAGN. ubi sup. sect. 2. SAFFODIN. in lex. geographic. BOCHART. Phal. p. 163. RR. ABRAH. ZACHUTUS & SAADIAS apud BOCHART. ibid. GOL. ubi sup. p. 84. ^z PLIN. l. vi. c. 28. PTOL. in Arab. GOLII NOTÆ ad Alfraganum, p. 80, 81. Geogr. Nubienf. & philosophus Xirafita in clim. ii. ^a PLIN. & CELLAR. ubi sup. GOLII NOTÆ ad Alfraganum, p. 97. GAGN. ubi sup. sect. 9. ^b DIOD. SIC. l. iii. ^c Vide STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. &c.

(L) The *Thamydeni* were the tribe of *Thamid*, so famous amongst the *Arab* writers, of whom we shall have occasion hereafter frequently to speak (11).

Nyfa, had royal palaces in which the sovereigns of the country sometimes resided. ^a *Pudni* we find esteemed by *Ptolemy* as one of the principal places of *Arabia Felix*. *Musa* or *Muza* was a celebrated emporium and harbour, to which the *Arab* merchants resorted with their frankincense, spices, and perfumes. The best authors take the modern *Mocha* or *Mokba* to correspond with the ancient *Musa*; but, in our opinion, *Mofa*, at present a small, but handsome town near ten leagues from *Mokba*, seems to bid the fairest for that ancient mart. This does not only appear from the very great affinity, or rather identity, of their names and situation, but likewise from hence, that *Mofa* is the rendezvous and thoroughfare of the fruits which come from the mountainous parts of *Arabia*, a circumstance well enough suiting with what the antients have related of *Musa*. Be that as it will, we cannot well deny, that some ^b traces of *Musa* are still preserved in *Mofa*; especially as *Pliny* intimates the *Arab* merchants to have brought in his time vast quantities of the produce of their country to the former place. *Ocelis*, according to *Pliny* and *Arrian*, stood upon the shore of that narrow sea called by the moderns the streights of *Bab al Mandab*, and supplied the merchants with fresh water in their *Indian* voyages. *Arabia Emporium* has been already mentioned, and will be described when we come to speak of the city of *Aden*, which is supposed to answer to it. The port of *Mofcha* our readers will probably place upon the spot occupied at this day by the city of *Masfat*, which is all that we can say of it. As for the *Itamas portus*, the memory and situation of it still remain in *Cadabema*, a town or village on the *Persian* gulph, or bay of *Bas-* ^c *ra* ^d.

Oriental geo-
graphers of
Arabia.

BEFORE we conclude this section, our readers will expect a sketch of the *Oriental* geography of the peninsula of the *Arabs*. The best eastern writers, as has been already observed, divide this peninsula into five provinces or kingdoms, viz. *Yaman*, *Hejaz*, *Tebama*, *Najd*, and *Yamama*. This division is of great antiquity, as appears from *Strabo*; which is not to be wondered at, since the *Arab* customs, names of towns, &c. are nearly the same now that they were above three thousand years ago ^e.

Yaman.

THE province of *Yaman*, so called either from its situation to the right-hand or south of the temple of *Mecca*, or else from the happiness and verdure of its soil, extends itself along the *Indian* ocean from the streights of *Bab al Mandab* to cape *Ras-falgat*; part of the *Red Sea* bounds it on the west, as the towns of *Najran*, the *Nagara Metropolis* of *Ptolemy*, *Haly* or *Haljo* on the sea *Al Kolzom*, and *Omân* or *Sobar*, do on the north. It is subdivided into several lesser provinces, as *Hadramaut*, *Sibir*, *Omân*, *Mabra*, &c. of which *Sibir* alone produces the frankincense. The very learned Mr. *Sale* did not sufficiently attend to the *Oriental* geographers, when he limited *Yaman* on the north by *Hejaz*, and made *Najran* a province, neither of which particulars have any foundation in them ^f.

Principal an-
cient cities of
Yaman.

THIS country has been famous from all antiquity for its fertility, riches, and happiness of its climate. The principal cities in it known to the antients are the following: 1. *Mokba*, if it was the *Musa* or *Muza* of *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and *Arrian*; which yet, we apprehend, will admit of a dispute. It is at present a port and town on the *Red Sea* of considerable trade; contains ten thousand inhabitants, *Jews*, *Armenians*, and *Mohammedans*; is surrounded with walls, after the ancient manner; and has four gates without a ditch, though strengthened by four towers with a proper number of cannon ^g placed upon them. 2. *Aden*, a celebrated mart on the *Indian* ocean, not far from the streights of *Bab al Mandab*, so called, according to the *Arabs*, from its founder *Aden* the son of *Saba*, and grandson of *Abraham*. Some believe the name to be the same with *Eden*, the *Hebrew* word denoting *Paradise*, and that the town under consideration received this name from the delightful country in which it was situated. It stands at the foot of several high mountains, which surround it almost on all sides. The *Arabs* have erected five or six forts on the summits of these mountains, with curtains, and many other fortifications on their necks. A fair aqueduct conveys from thence the waters into a great canal or reservoir, built

^a HERODOT. l. ii. & l. iii. DIOD. SIC. l. i. & l. iii. APOLLODOR. bibliothec. l. iii. c. 4. sect. 3. EXER. p. 159. EUSEB. PRÆP. EVANG. l. ii. c. 2. ARRIAN. PLIN. PTOL. ubi sup. GAGN. ubi sup. sect. 2. LA ROQUE, voyage de l'Arab. heur. 1711, 1712, 1713. ARRIAN. peripl. p. 8. CELLAR. ubi sup. ^b STRAB. l. xvi. GOLIUS not ad Alfragan. p. 79. ^c LA ROQUE, voyage de l'Arab. heur. p. 121. GOLIUS ubi sup. & p. 87. PTOL. ubi sup. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 2. ^d STRAB. PLIN. p. 11. DIODYS. AF. ubi sup. ^e LA ROQUE ubi sup. GOLIUS not. ad Alfragan. p. 84.

- a about three quarters of a mile from the city, which supplies the inhabitants with very good water. *Goli* produces several reasons to prove, that *Aden* is the *Arabia Emporium* of *Ptolemy*, which seem to carry considerable weight. It can scarce be doubted, but that *Aden* is the *Adana* which *Stephanus* mentions from *Uranius*¹. 3. *Sanaa*, the capital of *Yaman*, a very antient city, greatly resembling *Damascus*. It is seated in a mountainous territory, and blessed with a most delightful air; insomuch that it enjoys a double summer, or rather a perpetual spring. It is about fifty leagues distant from *Mokha* on the borders of *Hadramaut*, and was denominated *Ozâl* from its founder the son of *Joktan*, as the *Arabs* pretend. They likewise make *Sanaa* the son of *Ozâl* to have communicated that name to it by which it goes at present.
- b Some assert it to be the *Sapbar* of *Ptolemy*, as above observed. *Sanaa*, towards the beginning of the last century, consisted of good houses built with lime and stone, being as large as *Bristol*. It stands in a barren and stony valley, surrounded at a small distance with high hills, one of which overlooks the town to the northward. On this hill the *Arabs* have built a small castle to keep off the neighbouring mountaineers, who sometimes insult the city. The inhabitants have no water but what they receive from wells, which are very deep. Wood is brought from far, and consequently very dear. On the east side stands the castle invironed with mud-walls, flanked with towers and redoubts, in which every night are posted proper guards. The king of *Yaman* does not now reside here, but at *Muab*, a town built by one of the last monarchs of this country, not a mile from *Dhamâr* a little to the S. E. of *Sanaa*. About three quarters of a mile from this place, on a pretty high hill, the prince above-mentioned built a palace or pleasure-house, to which he frequently retired, in order to divert himself; and, from the pleasant country in which it was seated, styled it *Hish almawâbeeb*², or the castle of delights. 4. *Saba* or *Mâreb* in the province of *Hadramaut*, of which an account has been given above. It is at present little better than a village, and stands above three days journey E. of *Sanaa*³. 5. *Sbibâm*, *Dbafâr*, &c. towns of a very high antiquity, have been⁴ already described. 6. *Omân* or *Sobâr*, the *Omanum* of *Ptolemy*, was formerly frequented by merchants of various nations; but has for several ages been deserted by them. This
- d seems to have been occasioned by the vicinity of a small rocky island called *Kis*, so low that it cannot be discovered at any distance, on which many ships were dashed to pieces. *Kis* lies a little to the east of *Charec*, another small island opposite to the coast of *Omân*, and famous for a pearly-fishery, according to *Abulfeda*. *Iacûtus* and the *Nubian*-geographer make both these islands, now called the isles of *Sobâr*, about half a day's sail from the main land of *Arabia*; but authors are not agreed in this point. The heats in *Omân* are frequently so intense, that they have passed into a proverb amongst the *Oriental*s. The town of *Sobâr* must be in something more than 24°. N. lat. though *Ptolemy* places his *Omanum Emporium* in 19°. 45' N. lat. and *Ebn Marûb*, mathematician to sultan *Morad* or *Amurâb* II. asserts *Omân* or *Sobâr* to be in about
- e 23°. N. lat. All other particulars of note relating to this place our readers will find in the authors here referred to⁵.

THE best part of *Arabia Felix*, or that which the *Greeks* called most happy, was probably the country of *Yaman*; the delightfulness and plenty of which ought to be attributed to its mountains. For all that part lying along the *Red Sea* is a dry barren desert, in some places ten or twelve leagues over; but in return bounded by the aforesaid mountains, which, being well watered, enjoy an almost perpetual spring, and besides coffee, the peculiar produce of this country, yield great plenty and variety of fruits, and in particular excellent corn, grapes, and spices. The principal of these mountains taken notice of by the antients were *Cabubatbra*, *Melan*, *Prionatus*, and *Didymi*, whose *Arabic* names have not hitherto been brought into *Europe*. As the *Greeks* and *Romans* were little acquainted with this region, we must allow *Ptolemy* to have been very inaccurate in his geography of it; which might also be proved by an induction of particulars, were it in any manner necessary. Admit this, and we may be allowed to suppose, that the present *Arab* river *Falj*, emptying itself into the *Bay* of *Basra*, is the *Prion* of *Ptolemy*; and the modern city *Masfa*

¹ URANIUS apud Steph. Byzant. de urb. GOLII ubi sup. p. 83. LA ROQUE ubi sup. ABULFED. in Arab. ² LA ROQUE, p. 232, & alih. GOL. ad Alfrag. p. 83, 84. SIR HENRY MIDDLETON'S journey to Sanaa. ³ GOLII not. ad Alfragin. p. 86, 87. ⁴ Idem ibid. p. 82. ut & ABULFED. in Arab. ⁵ PLIN. PROL. ubi sup. Geogr. Nubiens. & philos. Xisita in clim. ii. ABULFED. in Arab. YACÛT. & EBN. MARÛB. apud Gol. ibid. p. 78, 81.

his *Mapbath*, situate about $0^{\circ} 30'$ N. of the source of that river. However, it must be owned, that a river of *Omân*, falling into the *Indian* ocean at *Sûr*, about $0^{\circ} 40'$ N. of *Masfat*, possibly the *Moscha portus* of *Ptolemy*, bids likewise fair for the *Prion*. No other rivers of note are to be met with in *Yaman*; which is not to be wondered at, since the streams, which at certain times of the year descend from the mountains, seldom reach the sea, being for the most part drunk up and lost in the burning sands of that coast.

Hejaz, with
its chief cities,
&c.

Hejaz, either so named, because it divides *Najd* from *Tebama*, or because it is surrounded with mountains, is limited on the south by *Yaman* and *Tebama*; on the west by the sea ' *Al Kolzom* ; on the north by the deserts of *Sbâm* or *Syria* ; and on the east by the province of *Najd* p. This province is famous for its two chief cities *Mecca* and *Medina*, one of which is celebrated for its temple, and having given birth to *Mohammed* ; and the other for being the place of his residence for the last ten years of his life, and of his interment. The soil of *Hejaz*, as well as that of *Najd*, *Tebama*, and *Yamama*, is much more barren than that of *Yaman* ; the greater part of their territories being covered with dry sands, or rising into rocks, interspersed here and there with some fruitful spots, which receive their greatest advantages from their water and palm-trees. The chief towns in *Hejaz*, deserving any attention on account of their antiquity, are these that follow : 1. *Mecca*, sometimes also called *Becca*, which words are synonymous, and signify a place of great concourse, is certainly one of the most antient cities in the world. Some authors imagine it to be the *Mesa* or *Mesha* of the Scripture, as above observed, and that it deduced its name from one of *Ismael*'s sons. It stands in a stony and barren valley, surrounded on all sides by mountains under the same parallel with the *Macoraba* of *Ptolemy*, and about forty *Arabian* miles from the sea ' *Al Kolzom*. The length of *Mecca*, from *Maalah* to *Masphalab*, is about two miles ; and its breadth, from the foot of the mountain *Ajjad* to the top of another called *Koikaân*, about a mile. In the midst of this space the town is seated, built of stone cut from the neighbouring mountains. The *Arab* authors tell us, that near a chapel, or holy house, for so the *Arabs* term it, in the centre of ' *Al-Hharâm*, or great temple, here, called ' *Al-Caabah*, stands a white stone, which was the sepulchre of *Ismael* ; and that ' *Al-Caabah* was first built by *Adam* of stone, but destroyed by the deluge. However, add they, God commanded *Abraham* and *Ismael* to rebuild it ; which they did, covering it with the boughs of olive-trees, and for pillars erecting the trunks of palm-trees. There being no springs at *Mecca*, at least none but what are bitter, and unfit to drink, except only the well *Zemzem*, the water of which, though far the best, yet cannot be drank for any continuance, being brackish, and causing eruptions in those who drink plentifully of it, the inhabitants are obliged to use rain-water, which they catch in cisterns. But this not being sufficient, several attempts were made to bring water thither from other places by aqueducts ; and particularly about *Mohammed*'s time, *Zobair*, one of the principal men of the tribe of *Koreish*, endeavoured at a great expence to supply the city with water from mount *Arafat*, but without success ; yet this was effected not many years ago, being begun at the charge of a wife of *Solimân* the *Turkish* emperor. But long before the time of that prince, another aqueduct had been made from a spring at a considerable distance, which was, after several years labour, finished by the *Khalif al Moktader Abbassida*. Notwithstanding the sterility of the soil near *Mecca*, it being so barren as to produce no fruits but what are common in the deserts, yet a traveller is no sooner out of its territory, than he meets on all sides with plenty of good springs and streams of running water, with many gardens, and cultivated lands. The prince or *Sbarîf* of *Mecca* has a garden well planted at his castle of *Marbaa*, about three miles westward from the city, where he usually resides. This prince is lineally descended from *Hassem*, *Mohammed*'s great-grandfather, who, being the head of his tribe, appointed two caravans to set out yearly, the one in summer, and the other in winter, to foreign parts, in order the more effectually to supply his countrymen with provisions, the people of *Mecca* having no corn or grain of their own growth. They are supplied with dates in vast abundance from the adjacent country, and with grapes from *Tayef*, about sixty miles distant, very few growing at *Mecca*. As for the citizens of *Mecca*, they are generally very rich, being consider-

* LA ROQUE voy. de l'Arab. heur. p. 121, 123, 153. PTOL. STRAB. PLIN. ubi sup. ABULFED. in Arab. GOL. ad Alfragan. p. 98. ABULFED. in Arab. p. 5.

- a able gainers by the prodigious concourse of people of almost all nations at the yearly pilgrimage, at which time there is a great fair or mart for all kinds of merchandize. They have also great numbers of cattle, and particularly of camels: however, the poorer sort cannot but live very indifferently, in a place where almost every necessary of life must be purchased with money. The *Sharif* of Mecca's troops consist intirely of infantry, which the *Arabs* call '*Al-Harrabah*, i. e. archers or dartmen. We must not omit observing, that *Safa* and *Marwab* were two places in Mecca, in which the idols *Asaph* and *Nayelab* were placed before the time of *Mohammed*. As for the temple of Mecca, and the reputed holiness of this territory, they will be treated of in the modern history of the *Arabs*. Some authors write, that the interior or middle part of Mecca only had the name of *Becca* assigned it, because it was greatly crouded with inhabitants, which that word imports; others believe, that *Mecca* was the name of the city, and *Becca* of the temple; and lastly, others think, that *Becca* passed into *Mecca*, as *Balbec* into *Malbec*, *Banbe* into *Manbe*, &c. which seems to us the most probable opinion. We must distinguish between the *Hbaram* of Mecca, considered as the territory of the *Sharif*, extending some miles beyond the city, and the magnificent temple in it so called, being three hundred and seventy cubits long, three hundred and fifteen broad, and supported by four hundred and thirty-four^a pillars. It must not be forgot, that the *Arabs* have a tradition amongst them, that *Ishmael*, with his mother *Hagar*, fixed his residence here; which
- b seems to have induced them frequently to visit Mecca, and hold it in high veneration, even before the age of *Mohammed*. They likewise believe *Zemzem* to have been the well, near which *Hagar* sat down with her son *Ishmael*, and was comforted by the angel. *Abulfeda* places the city we are now upon in 67°. 31'. long. and 21°. 20'. N. lat. Some of the *Orientalists* make the patriarch *Abraham* to have been the founder of it; but others with more reason attribute its foundation to one of the sons of *Ishmael*. It does not follow from *Moses's* mentioning *Mesba* as inhabited by the posterity of *Joktan*, that Mecca was built before the time of *Ishmael*, supposing those places to have been the same, since he more than once uses the appellations by which towns went in his age, as might be proved by an induction of particulars,
- d were it in any manner necessary^r. 2. *Medina*, which, till *Mohammed's* retreat thither, was called *Yatbreb*, is a city standing in a plain, surrounded with a brick wall, and about half a degree from the coast of the *Red Sea*. *Abulfeda* intimates, that one of its antient names was *Taibab*, a word importing *salubrious*, derived from the healthy air its inhabitants breathed. It is about half as big as Mecca, ten days journey from thence, and salt in many places. In some parts its territory produces palm-trees, fruits, and several *salsuginous* plants. About the mountains *Air* and *Obud*, the first of which is about two leagues to the south, and the other as many to the north, of *Medina*, the country is fruitful in dates. The name *Yatbreb* was derived from the chief of the tribe that first settled here, whom the *Arabs* make the
- e great-grandson of *Aram*. *Goli* takes it to be the *Ἰάβριττα* of *Stephanus*, and the *Ἰάβριττα* of *Ptolemy*. Here *Mohammed* lies interred in a magnificent building, covered with a *cupola*, and adjoining to the east side of the great temple, which is built in the midst of the city. Its situation has not been exactly defined, some authors determining its longitude to be 67°. 30'. and others 65°. 20'. and its latitude either 24°. or 25°. N. The most ingenious Mr. *Sale* must be deemed guilty of an error, when he makes mount *Thabir* two leagues distant only from *Medina*, since that mountain is in the neighbourhood of Mecca. *Medina* is dignified by the *Mohammedans* with the title of the city of the prophet, from the kind reception *Mohammed* met with there, as we shall hereafter have occasion more fully to observe^s.
3. *Thaifa* or *Taifa*, a town sixty miles to the east of Mecca, behind mount *Gazwan*,

^a R. SAADIAS in version. Arab. Pentat. ABRAHAM ZACHUT. in *Sefer Iuchasin*, 135. Gen. c. x. ver. 30. c. xxv. v. 15. PITT'S account of the religion and manners of the *Mohammedans*, p. 96, 107. GOLII notæ ad *Alfraganum*, p. 82, 98, 99. SHARIF AL EDRISI apud Pocock. in not. ad specim. hist. Arab. p. 122, 124, 125. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid. p. 51. ALGIAWHARY apud *Abulfed.* in Arab. p. 40. ALB. SCHULT. in ind. geographic. ad vit. Saladin. sub voc. *Manbesium* & Mecca. SHARIF AL EDRISI apud Gagn. in not. ad *Abulfed.* Arab. p. 29, 30. ut & ipse ABULFED. ibid. Vid. etiam ADR. RELAND. lib. de relig. Mohammed. & effig. *Caaba* cum Templ. ei circumd. ibid. ^r GOLII notæ ad *Alfraganum*, p. 99. Gen. c. x. & c. xxxi. ABULFED. & ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup. ^s GOLII notæ ad *Alfraganum*, p. 97, 98. ABULFED. in Arab. p. 40, 41. ALB. SCHULT. in ind. geographic. ubi sup. PTOL. & STEPH. BYZANT. apud Gol. ubi sup. SHARIF AL EDRISI, vulgo geogr. Nubienf. clim. ii. par. 5. KALKASHENDI p. 400. Pocock. in not. ad specim. hist. Arab. pass. SAFIODDIN.

ⁱn compend. lexic. Yacut. & ipse Yacut. sub litera ع *Ain*. At SHARISTANI apud Pocock. ubi sup. Vid. etiam Cl. GAGN. not. ad *Abulfed.* Arab. p. 31. & SAL. prelim. disc. p. 5.

where the cold is more intense than in any other part of *Hejaz*, but the air most ^a salubrious. It had the name of *Vegja* given it at first by its founder. The *Turks* call it the region of *Al Abbās* from the uncle of *Mohammed*, who fixed his residence here. The word *Taifa* plainly alludes to the wall with which this town is surrounded. Lat. 21°. 20' N. 4. *Gjudda* or *Jodda*, a port and maritime city, the bulwark of *Mecca*, must undoubtedly be a place of great antiquity, though scarce ever taken notice of by the *Greek* or *Roman* authors. The town of *Aidūb*, on the confines of *Abassia*, stands on the opposite shore, where great numbers of the *African Mohammedans* take shipping, in order to visit the holy city of *Mecca*. Lat. 21°. 45' N. 5. *Yanbo'*, or *'Al-Yanbo'*, is undoubtedly the *Iambia* of *Ptolemy*, and not far from *Medina*, or, as the *Arabs* more properly style it, *'Al-Madinab*. We find it represented as a small city by *Abulfeda*, who ^b likewise cites *'Ebn Sa'id*, as affirming it to have a castle, and several fountains, in its neighbourhood. The port is about a day's journey from the high road leading to *'Al-Madinab*. A little to the east of *Yanbo'* stands mount *Radwā*, about seven stations from *'Al-Madinab*, from whence a vast quantity of the whetstone is exported into various regions. All the district of *Yanbo'* produces palm-trees, water, corn, &c. and was inhabited by the *Hbasanites*, who lived after the manner of the antient *Arabes Scenitæ*, and resembled them in all particulars. *Ebn Hbawkal* observes, that the *Hbasanites* and *Giasarites*, whose territories were contiguous, so weakened one another by bloody wars, that their country became a prey to the king of *Yaman* ^c. 6. *Madian*, the *Modiana* of *Ptolemy*, and *Midian* or *Madian* of Scripture, is a city of *Hejaz*, at present little better than a heap of ruins. It is situated on the eastern shore of the sea *'Al-Kolzom*, at no great distance from the gulph of *Ailab*. The *Arabs* have several traditions relating to this place, viz. that it received its name from the tribe of *Madian*, who first built and inhabited it; that *Shoa'ib*, the son of *Mika'il*, the son of *Yashjar*, the son of *Madian*, of that tribe, was the same person with the father-in-law of *Moses*, called in Scripture *Reuel* or *Reguel*, and *Yelbro*; and that the well, whence *Moses*, or, as they call him, *Mūsa*, watered *Yelbro's* flocks, still remained when *Abulfeda* wrote his geographical description of *Arabia*. Most authors agree, that the *Midianites* ought to be looked upon as the descendants of *Abraham* by *Keturab*, who afterwards seem to have coalesced with the *Ishmaelites*; since *Moses* ^d names the same merchants, who sold *Joseph* to *Potiphar*, in one place *Ishmaelites*, and in another *Midianites*. The sacred historian makes *Yelbro* both the priest and prince of *Midian*. *Ptolemy* asserts the latitude of *Modiana* to be 27° 45' N. which almost exactly corresponds with that assigned it by *'Ebn Sa'id*, viz. 27° 50' N. though other *Oriental* writers place it in 29° 00' N. lat. 7. *Hejr*, or *'Al-Hbeg'r*, in 28° 30' N. lat. according to *'Ebn Hbawkal*, was the seat of the tribe of *Tbamud*, the *Tbamydeni* of the antients. This clearly evinces *Hejr* to be the *Egra* or *Agra* of *Pliny*, since that author makes the *Tbamydeni* neighbours to that city. As *Ptolemy* likewise is far from being accurate in his determination of the longitude and latitude of places, we may safely enough take his *Negra* for the *Egra* of *Pliny*, and ^e *Hejr* of the moderns, since the latitude of the former differs but two degrees from that of the latter of these towns. *'Al-Hbeg'r* stands amidst a ridge of rocky mountains, out of which many houses have been cut, as some suppose, by the *Amalekites*, or their ancestors the *Adites*, *Iramites*, *Tbamudites*, &c. But this notion we cannot rely upon, as depending chiefly on the authority of the *Koran*. *'Ebn Hbawkal* calls this ridge of mountains *'Al-Atbāleb*, i. e. the fragments of stones ^f.

Tchama.

Tibama, or *Tebama*, is a small province, whose limits have not been sufficiently defined by the *Arab* geographers, who have sometimes confounded it with *Yaman* and *Hejaz*. *Tebama*, according to *Goliuz*, derived that name from its sandy soil, as it did another, viz. *Gaur*, from its low situation. It is bounded on the west by the *Red Sea*, and on the other sides by *Hejāz* and *Yaman*, extending

^a GOLIUS ubi sup. p. 99, 100. SHARIF AL EDRISI Clim. 2. par. 5. ATWAL, RASM, ULUGH BEIGH apud Abulfed. ubi sup. ^b GOLIUS, SHARIF AL EDRISI ubi sup. ATWAL, KANUN, RASM apud Abulfed. ibid.

^c EBN SAID & EBN HHAWKAL apud Abulfed. in Arab. p. 45. ut & ipse ABULFED. ibid. & alib. PTOL. in Arab. ^d PTOL. in Arab. GOLIUS notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 143, 144. ABULFED. & EBN SAID ubi sup. SHARIF AL EDRISI clim. iii. par. 5. p. 109. AL BEIDAWI, TARIKH MONTAKHAB. GEN. c. xxv. ver. 2. c. xxix. ver. 1. c. xxxvii. ver. 36. Exod. c. ii. ver. 18. c. iii. ver. 1. Vide etiam D'HERBELOT, bibl. Orient. art. *Shoa'ib*. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 24, & alib. *Shafhel hakkab*. p. 12. Deut. c. xxv. ver. 13, 14. SAL. in not. ad *Al-Kor*. sur. vii. p. 126. & GAGN. ubi sup. sect. 6. ^e EBN HHAWKAL apud Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 43. GOLIUS notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 96. PTOL. in Arab. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. PLIN. l. vi. c. 28. ABULFED. ubi sup. SHARIF AL EDRISI apud Bochart. Phal. l. i. c. 44. Pocock. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 37. ALB. SCHULTZ. in Ind. geographic. ad vit. Salad. sub voc. *Errakimum*. Vide etiam *Al-Kor*. sur. lxxxix. ver. 9.

^f PTOL. in Arab. GOLIUS notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 143, 144. ABULFED. & EBN SAID ubi sup. SHARIF AL EDRISI clim. iii. par. 5. p. 109. AL BEIDAWI, TARIKH MONTAKHAB. GEN. c. xxv. ver. 2. c. xxix. ver. 1. c. xxxvii. ver. 36. Exod. c. ii. ver. 18. c. iii. ver. 1. Vide etiam D'HERBELOT, bibl. Orient. art. *Shoa'ib*. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 24, & alib. *Shafhel hakkab*. p. 12. Deut. c. xxv. ver. 13, 14. SAL. in not. ad *Al-Kor*. sur. vii. p. 126. & GAGN. ubi sup. sect. 6. ^g EBN HHAWKAL apud Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 43. GOLIUS notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 96. PTOL. in Arab. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. PLIN. l. vi. c. 28. ABULFED. ubi sup. SHARIF AL EDRISI apud Bochart. Phal. l. i. c. 44. Pocock. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 37. ALB. SCHULTZ. in Ind. geographic. ad vit. Salad. sub voc. *Errakimum*. Vide etiam *Al-Kor*. sur. lxxxix. ver. 9.

almost

- a almost from *Mecca* to *Aden*. *Abulfeda* mentions several towns in this province undoubtedly of great antiquity, but unknown both to the *Greeks* and *Romans*. The *Tamna* of *Pliny*, and *Tbumna* of *Ptolemy*, by the latitude he assigns it, viz. 17° 15' N. seem to bear some relation to *Tebama* ^a.

As the *Nabathæans* possessed the best part, if not all, of the province of *Hejâz*, contiguous to *Tibama*, the *Tbimanci* of *Pliny*, neighbours to the *Nabathæans*, must be the *Arabs* of *Tibama*.

- THE province of *Najd*, which word signifies a rising country, lies between ^{Najd.} those of *Yamama*, *Yaman*, and *Hejaz*, and is limited on the east by *Irâk*. *Najd* is peculiarly opposed to *Tebama*, as the name implies, though this last has several
b ridges of mountains in it ^a.

- Yamama*, also called *Arud*, from its oblique situation in respect of *Yaman*, is ^{Yamama.} encompassed by *Najd*, *Tebama*, *Babrein*, *Omân*, *Sibir*, *Hadramaut*, and *Saba*. The chief city is *Yamâma*, which gives name to the province, and was antiently called *Jaw*, or *Gjauva*. It is four degrees to the E. of *Mecca*, and deduced its name, according to the excellent *Golius*, from the niece of *Tasm*, whose brilliant and piercing eyes rendered her so famous amongst the *Arabs*, that one of their proverbs was, more sharp-sighted than *YAMAMA*. This lady governed *Yamama*, and therefore the quality above-mentioned was the more conspicuous in her. However, some authors relate, that there was a river, or fountain, in this province, called
c *Yamama*, from whence the province itself was so denominated. The false prophet *Mosailama*, *Mohammed's* competitor, rendered this place famous by residing in it. But, he being vanquished and killed, it submitted to *Abubecr* ^b.

- THOUGH the more accurate *Oriental* geographers make *Babrein* part of *Irâk*, yet ^{Babrein.} a short description of it ought not to be omitted here. *Babrein* then, in the most extensive acceptation of the word, denotes that maritime tract lying between *Basra* and the farthest limits of *Omân*; to which the *Arabs* have given the name of *Babrein*, i. e. Of two seas, or the country of two seas, because it connects the *Persian* gulph with the *Indian* ocean. In a more confined sense it is applied to an island, or rather two, of the *Persian* gulph, in 26° 30' N. lat. about a league from the
d town of *Al-Katif* seated on that gulph. One of these islands seems to be the *Ichara* of *Ptolemy*, and *Icharia* of *Strabo*. As *Jûsfâr* and the other principal towns of *Babrein* were built after *Mohammed's* death, our readers will expect some account of them in the modern history of *Arabia* ^c.

- As for the islands of *Ænus*, *Timagenes*, *Zygana*, and many others, both in the *Arabian* and (M) *Persian* gulphs, enumerated by *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, ^{The principal islands on the coast of Arabia.} *Ælian*, &c. as appertaining to *Arabia*, they merit not the least attention. But it may not be improper to observe, that, in our opinion, *Ptolemy's* island of *Socrates* may be looked upon as the same with the *Socotra* of the moderns. 'Tis true, he places the former two or three degrees more to the northward, than the latter is found
e to be by experience. However, his inaccuracy, which we have frequently had occasion to observe, and the little acquaintance the *Greeks* and *Romans* had with the people of *Arabia Felix*, sufficiently account for such a difference; which being admitted, the affinity of the names *Socrates* and *Socotra* seems no inconsiderable argument in favour of the conjecture here proposed. With this observation we shall close our description of *Arabia* ^d.

^a GOLIUS ubi sup. p. 95. SHARIF AL EDRISI clim. ii. par. 5. PLIN. l. vi. c. 28. PTOL. ubi sup. ^b GOLIUS ubi sup. p. 94. ABULFED. in Arab. pass. ^c GOLIUS notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 95. SHARIF AL EDRISI clim. ii. par. 6. GEORG. ELMACIN. hist. Sir. l. i. c. 2. ^d GOLIUS ubi sup. p. 96. PTOL. ubi sup. STRAB. l. xvi. ÆLIAN. de animal. l. xi. c. 9. SHARIF AL EDRISI, YACÛT, & ABULFED. apud Gol. ibid. p. 78, 81. ^e DIOD. Sic. l. iii. STRAB. PTOL. & ÆLIAN. ubi sup.

(M) The antients frequently called the *Persian* gulph, or gulph of *Basra*, as well as the *Indian* ocean, the *Erythraean* or *Red Sea*, as we learn from *Herodotus*, *Polybius*, *Strabo*, *Philostrophus*, *Mela*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *Dionysius Afcr*, and *Ælian*. Several reasons have been assigned for that appellation; but the most probable seems to be the reflexion of the solar rays in that hot climate, which gave the water a reddish colour. The learned Dr. *Frideaux* without a sufficient

foundation asserts this to have been the only proper *Red Sea* of the antients; since, according to *Pliny*, the *Arabian* and *Persian* gulphs were both branches of that sea. He seems likewise to be mistaken, when he affirms the whole *Arabian* gulph to have been the *Yam Soup* of the *Hebrews*; since 'tis highly probable, that the *Heroopolitian* gulph only was so called by that people (12).

(12) *Herodotus* l. i. c. 180. & l. iv. c. 37. *Strabo* l. xvi. *Polybius* l. v. *Philostrophus* vis. *Apollon* l. iii. c. 50. p. 136. *Mela* l. iii. c. 8. *Pliny* l. vi. c. 23, 26. *Solinus* c. 58. *Dionysius Afcr* v. 1132. *Ælian* hist. animal. l. xvi. c. 14. *Frideaux* & *Shaw* ubi sup.

S E C T. II.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, learning, arts and sciences, disposition, manner of life, &c. of the Arabs.

Some of the
posterity of
Cush settle in
Arabia.

THE descendants of *Cush* formed a kingdom in that part of *Arabia Petraea* ^a bordering upon *Egypt*, and extending itself along the eastern shore of the *Red Sea* towards the frontiers of *Palestine* and *Arabia Felix*, in very early times, as has been already observed in the history of the *Ethiopians*. His sons *Seba* or *Saba*, *Sabtab*, *Regma* or *Raamah*, *Sabtecha*, and grandsons *Sbeba* and *Dedan*, seated themselves likewise in the Happy and Desert *Arabia*, as appears from the cities *Sabota*, *Rbegana*, *Rbegama* or *Rbegma*, *Saba*, *Saue*, *Saptha* or *Saptab*, *Dedan*, and the country of the *Sabæi*, whose metropolis was the great city *Saba*; all of which preserved very sensible footsteps of the names of the first planters of those two provinces or kingdoms. However, it seems to us most probable, for the reasons already given, that the bulk of the *Cushites* made settlements in other parts. As a farther proof of this, it may ^b be observed, that the eastern writers take little or no notice of them.

Castubhim,
Caphtorim,
Hhorites, &c.

As for the *Castubhim*, *Caphtorim*, and *Hhorites*, occupying the hilly district about mount *Seir*, though very antient, they never made any considerable figure. The posterity of *Edom*, who after their excision seized upon the tract they inhabited, in process of time intermixing with the proper *Arabs*, formed one people with them. But neither do the present *Arabs* look upon *Esau* or *Edom* as one of the proper founders of their nation ^f.

We have already observed, that the *Arraceni* and *Saraceni* of the antients were the same people. From the situation assigned them by the old geographers, it can scarce be doubted but that the *Arra* of *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* was the capital of the ^c region they inhabited, and gave them the appellation they went under. *Strabo*, describing *Ælius Gallus's* expedition into *Arabia*, intimates, that the province of *Ararena* was thirty days journey from *Petra*, and fifty from the city of the *Negrani*, or *Nagara Metropolis* of *Ptolemy*, i. e. the modern *Nag'ran*; that it was for the most part desert, and inhabited by the *Nomades*, or *Arabes Scenitæ*; and that the interjacent tract betwixt it and the former city was a wild pathless region, interspersed in some parts with palm-trees. All which particulars, as well as the name itself, clearly evince this province to be the country of the *Arraceni* or *Saraceni*, which had the above-mentioned *Arra* for its capital city. From several circumstances in the description of the expeditions into *Arabia* made by *Trajan* and *Severus*, to be met with in *Dio*, ^d it appears that the *Arraceni* or *Saraceni* were likewise sometimes in the east denominated *Agareni*, and their chief town *Arra Atra*, or, as *Herodian* calls it, *Atræ*. It is therefore highly probable, that the antient *Saraceni* were styled *Hagarenes*, either from the disposition of the tract they inhabited, or from *Hagar* the mother of *Ishmael* ^e.

In order to confirm what is here advanced, it may be farther observed, that *Stephanus* mentions a country called *Saraca*, inhabited by the *Saraceni* (N), as con-

^a Univ. hist. vol. vii. p. 181, 182, 192, 193, & alib. Gen. c. x. ver. 7. AGATHARCHID. CNID. apud Phot. Diod. Sic. l. iii. STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. ubi sup. HYDE hist. rel. vet. Pers. p. 37, & alib. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 9.

^b Gen. c. x. ver. 14. c. xxxvi. ver. 8. c. xiv. ver. 6. Deut. c. ii. ver. 12. Vide etiam CL. GAGN. distrib. sect. 4.

^c Univ. hist. vol. vii. p. 227. PLIN. l. vi. c. 28. PTOL. in Arab. STRAB. l. xvi. p. 781. Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 785. & l. lxxv. p. 855. HERODIAN. l. iii. c. 28. edit. Oxon. 1678. CELLAR. geogr. ant. l. iii. c. 14.

(N) Mr. Gagnier thinks, that the *Saraceni* of *Arabia Felix* and *Arabia Petraea* were two different nations; and that the latter received their name *Araceni* from the city of *Arke*, *Arakeme*, or *Petra*, their metropolis. But in the first article, we humbly conceive, he seems to contradict himself; since in the former part of the *Distrib.* so often cited, he appears to us to be of opinion, that the *Ishmaelites* spread themselves gradually over *Arabia Felix* as well as *Arabia*

Petraea; and that the *Ishmaelites*, *Arabes Scenitæ*, and *Saraceni*, were frequently taken for the same people. This notion we own ourselves inclined to espouse, as being not only supported by the proofs brought by Mr. Gagnier for that purpose, but likewise by Scripture, all those authors who have so justly represented the *Saraceni* as a most numerous and powerful nation, *Mohammed*, *Al-Firauzabadi*, and other eastern writers (13).

(13) Gagn. distrib. sect. 11. Vide etiam sect. 1, 4, 6. Isai. c. xxi. ver. 13. Jer. c. xlix. ver. 28. Targ. Hierosol. in Gen. c. xxxvii. ver. 25. Mohammed. Al-Firauzabadi apud Pocockium, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 110. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid.

■ tiguous to that of the *Nabatæans*; and that the *Arab* geographer *Yakût* takes notice of the town 'Al-'Arakb seated on *Agja*, one of the two celebrated mountains of the *Taïtes*, or tribe of *Tai*, the *Taueni* of *Pliny*, and *Tairoi Taini* of *Bardeſanes* in *Eusebius*, who joins them with the *Saracens*. From hence, in conjunction with the reasons alledged by the learned Mr. *Gagnier*, we may conclude, that *Pliny* called this nation *Arraceni*; and that *Dioſcorides* was the first of the antients now extant that prefixed to that word the hissing letter S, as has been determined by the excellent *Salmaſius*^b.

THE *Jerusalem Targum* takes the names *Iſhmaelites* and *Saracens* to have been of an equal extent, and to have denoted the same nation. This not only included the
b *Arabes Scenitæ*, bordering upon *Palestine*, *Syria*, and *Chaldæa*, but likewise those separated by the *Red Sea* from *Ethiopia*; all of whom we find in Scripture going under the general name of *Arabians*. That the word *Saraceni* cannot be derived from any of the following sources, notwithstanding the authority of the learned men here mentioned, we believe our readers will allow^c.

1. *Joannes Damascenus*, *Nicetas Choniates*, and others, suppose this word to have been of *Greek* extraction, alluding to *Sarah's* sending away *Hagar* empty, without any sort of necessaries or accommodations. But this is too absurd to merit any attention. 2. *Scaliger* deduces the name *Saraceni* from the *Arabic* سرك *sarak*, i. e. He stole privately, alluding, as that great critic observes, to their ancestor
c *Iſhmael*, who lived upon rapine and robbery. This, it must be owned, carries with it a greater appearance of truth than the former, since 'tis much more probable that the word should be of an *Arab* than a *Greek* origin. But the misfortune is, that *Iſhmael* was not a pickpocket, but a robber or highwayman; and therefore the root سرك *sarak* by no means comes up to the signification of *Saraceni* as determined even by this author himself. 3. Dr. *Pocock* asserts *Saraceni* to import *Oriental*, or people of the east. But as Mr. *Gagnier* has demonstrated, that the chief arguments he has offered in defence of this opinion hold equally true of the *Chaldæans*, *Persians*, *Indians*, and *Chinese*, they prove too much, and therefore we think not the least regard is due unto them. The etymon of *Saraceni* we have given must therefore be
d allowed to approach the nearest to truth. As the *Saracens* were so celebrated a nation, and such different notions relating to their name, which points out their origin, have been advanced, we could not well avoid the prolixity our readers may possibly think us guilty of on this occasion^e.

IF we follow the *Oriental* writers, we must divide the *Arabs* into two classes, viz. Two classes of the old lost *Arabians*, and the present. The most famous tribes amongst the former
e the *Arabs*. were *Ad*, *Tbamûd*, *Tasm*, *Jadis*, the first *Jorham*, *Amalek*, *Amtem*, *Hasbem*, *Abil*, and *Bar*. Though these were very numerous, yet they are now either all destroyed, or lost and swallowed up among the other tribes; nor are there any certain memoirs or records extant concerning them. However, as the memory of some very remarkable events, that happened amongst them, and the catastrophe of some of these tribes have been preserved by tradition, and since confirmed by the authority of the *Koran*, we think it not improper to give our readers a succinct and concise account of them^f.

THE tribe of *Ad* deduced their origin from *Ad*, the son of *Aws*, or *Uz*, the son *Ad* of *Aram*, the son of *Sbem*, the son of *Noab*, who after the confusion of tongues settled in *Al Abkâf*, or the winding sands in the province of *Hadramaut*, upon the confines of *Omân* and *Yaman*, where his posterity greatly multiplied. The first prince that reigned over them was *Sheddâd* the son of *Ad*, of whom we find many
f fabulous things related by the eastern writers. Some of these however tell us, that *Ad* had two sons *Sheddâd* and *Sheddîd*, who jointly swayed the sceptre after his decease, and extended their dominions from the sands of *Alaj* to the trees of *Oman*.

^b STEPH. BYZANT. in VOC. Σάρακ. PROL. ubi sup. YAKUTUS geogr. Ar. apud Gagn. ubi sup. sect. 9. PLIN. ubi sup. BARDESANES apud Euseb. de præp. evang. p. 277. Vide etiam HARDUIN. in Plin. ubi sup. GAGN. diatr. sect. 9. & SALMAS. in exercit. Plinian. p. 344. col. 2. sub init.

^c Targ. Hierosol. in Gen. c. xxxvii. ver. 25. 2 CHRON. c. xvii. ver. 1. & c. xxi. ver. 16. ISAI. c. xlii. ver. 20. GAGN. ubi sup. sect. 4. sub fin.

^d JOANNES DAMASCENUS de hæres. apud Cotelerium in lib. de monument. eccles. Græc. p. 326. NICET. CHONIAT. MS. in bibliothec. Colbert. HIERONYM. comment. in Ezech. l. viii. c. 25. FULLER. in Miscel. sacr. c. 12. JOS. SCALIG. ap. Fuller. ibid. POCCOCK. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 33. GAGN. ubi sup. sect. xi. p. 62, 63. MOHAMMED. AL-FIRAUZABADIUS, & SAFIODDIN. apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 35. ^e GREG. ABULFARAG. p. 159. SALE's prælim. disc. p. 5. JALLALO'DDIN. in lib. Mefhar. Vide & Pocockium ubi sup. p. 38, 39.

Sheddîd dying first, his brother became sole monarch, and having built a sumptuous palace, made a delightful garden in the deserts of *Aden*, in imitation of the celestial paradise, which he called *Irem*, after the name of his great grandfather. When it was finished, he set out with a great retinue in order to take a view of it; but, being arrived at a place within a day's journey of it, they were all destroyed by a terrible noise from heaven. However, according to them, the city still remains, though invisible, being preserved by Providence as a monument of divine justice, *Sheddâd* proposing by this impious imitation to create in his subjects a superstitious veneration of himself as a god. *Al Beidawi* adds, that one *Abdullah Ebn Kelabab*, or, as *D'Herbelot* calls him, *Colabab*, in the reign of the *khalîf Mcâwiyah*, accidentally had *Irem* discovered to him, as he was seeking a camel he had lost; but seeing no creature there, he was so terrified, that he stayed no longer than to take with him from thence some fine stones, which he shewed the *khalîf* ^m.

AFTER the death of *Sheddâd*, the kingdom of *Ad* was governed by a long series of princes, of whom the *Oriental* historians deliver many particulars, that have no great appearance of truth. The *Adites* in process of time falling from the worship of the true God into idolatry, God sent the prophet *Hûd*, supposed to be the same with *Heber*, to preach to and reclaim them. But they refusing to acknowledge his mission, or to obey him, God sent a hot and suffocating wind, which blew seven nights and eight days without intermission, and entering at their nostrils, past through their bodies, and destroyed them all, a very few only excepted, who had listened to *Hûd*, and retired with him to another place. Others relate, that before this terrible destruction they had been previously chastised with a three years drought; and therefore sent *Kail Ebn Itbar*, and *Moribed Ebn Saad*, with seventy other principal men, to *Mecca*, then in the hands of the tribe of *Amalek*, whose prince was *Moâwiyah Ebn Becr*, to obtain of God some rain. *Kail*, continue these authors, having begged of God, that He would send rain to the people of *Ad*, three clouds appeared, a white one, a red one, and a black one; and a voice from heaven ordered him to chuse which he would. *Kail* failed not to make choice of the last, thinking it to be loaden with the most rain; but when this cloud came over them, it proved to be fraught with the divine vengeance, and a tempest broke forth from it which destroyed them all. Some authors affirm, that *Lokmân* king of the *Adites*, after his subjects had been afflicted with a drought for four years, to incline them to hearken to the preaching of *Hûd*, and brought to the very brink of destruction, went with sixty others to *Mecca* to beg rain; which they not obtaining, *Lokmân* with some of the company stayed there, and by this means escaped being involved in the common calamity. They farther relate of this *Lokmân*, that his life was extended by God to the length of those of seven eagles, each of the six last of which was hatched the instant its predecessor expired. The few *Adites* with *Lokmân* that survived their countrymen, gave rise to a tribe called the latter *Ad*, who were afterwards changed into monkeys. *Hûd* returned into *Hadramaut*, and was buried near *Hafec*, where there is a small town now standing called *Kabr Hûd*, or the sepulchre of *Hûd*. When the *Arabs* would signify the high antiquity of any thing, they say as old as king *Ad*, in like manner as the *Greeks*, when they would express any thing extremely antient, made it coeval with *Chronus*, or *Saturn*, and *Ogyges* ⁿ.

Thamûd.

THE tribe of *Thamûd* were the posterity of *Thamûd* the son of *Gather* or *Gither*, the son of *Aram*, who falling into idolatry, the prophet *Sâleh* was sent to bring them back to the worship of the true God. *M. Bochart* takes this prophet to be *Pbaleg*, and *M. D'Herbelot* *Salab* the son of *Arphaxad*, and father of *Heber* or *Hûd*. The learned *Mr. Sale* determines in favour of *M. Bochart*, because, says he, the prophet *Sâleh* lived between the time of *Hûd* and of *Abraham*. On the contrary, ^f we own ourselves of *M. D'Herbelot's* opinion, because the identity of names is a stronger argument in favour of that opinion, than any small inaccuracy in chronology of the *Arab* historians can be against it. Besides, it does not appear from any *Oriental* author, that the prophet *Sâleh* did actually live between the times of *Hûd* and *Abraham*, as *Mr. Sale* suggests; nay, *Mr. Sale* himself disproves this, when he cites with approbation an eastern author making him later than *Abraham*. Some few

^m Gen. c. x. ver. 22, 23. *Al-Kor. Mohammed.* c. 89. *D'HERBEL.* bibl. Orient. p. 51, 498. *AL-BEIDAWI.* JALLALO'DDIN. ubi sup. *Pocock.* not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 35, 36. ⁿ *Pocock.* ibid. *AL-BEIDAWI.* *D'HERBEL.* bibl. Orient. art. *Houd.* *ISM. ABULFED.* AHMED EBN YUSEF, & *AL-JANNABIUS* apud *Pocockium*, ubi sup. p. 36.

- a of the *Thamudites* received *Sâleb* as a true prophet, but the rest, as a proof of his mission, required that he should cause a she-camel big with young to come out of a rock in their presence; which having obtained of God, the camel was immediately delivered of a young one ready weaned. But instead of believing, the *Thamudites* cut the ham-strings of the camel, and killed her; at which act of impiety God being highly displeased, three days after struck them dead in their houses by an earthquake, and a terrible noise from heaven, which, some say, was the voice of *Gabriel* the archangel crying aloud, *Die all of you*. *Jonda Ebn Amru*, prince of the *Thamudites*, proposed this miracle to *Sâleb*, promising, that if it was wrought, he and his people would believe. Accordingly *Jonda* acknowledged the prophet's mission, but the greatest part of his subjects perished in their infidelity, as above observed. *Sâleb*, with those reformed by him, was saved from this destruction. The prophet afterwards went to *Palestine*, and from thence to *Mecca*, where he ended his days. This tribe first dwelt in *Yaman*, but being expelled thence by *Hamyar* the son of *Saba*, they settled in the territory of *Hejr*, in the province of *Hejaz*, where their habitations, cut out of the rocks, mentioned in the *Koran*, are still to be seen, and also the crack of the rock whence the camel issued, which, as an eye-witness hath declared, is sixty cubits wide. These houses of the *Thamudites* being of the ordinary proportion, are used as an argument to convince those of a mistake, who make this people to have been of a gigantic stature. They will likewise confute those commentators on the *Koran*, who affirm that the largest of the old *Adites* were an hundred cubits high, and the least of them sixty. By comparing the eastern writers with those of the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, we shall find, that the tribe of *Thamud* corresponded exactly with the *Thamudeni* or *Tbamydeni* of *Diodorus*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy*°.

- THE tribe of *Tasm* were the descendants of *Lûd* the son of *Shem*, and that of *Tasm and Jadis* a branch of the posterity of *Getber*, as we learn from *Abulfeda*. Both these tribes lived promiscuously together under the government of *Tasm*, till a certain tyrant made a law, that twenty maids of the tribe of *Jadis* should not marry, unless first deflowered by him; which the *Jadisians* not enduring, formed a conspiracy, and, inviting the king and chiefs of *Tasm* to an entertainment, privately hid their swords in the sand, and in the midst of their mirth fell on them, slew them all, and extirpated the greatest part of that tribe. However, the few who escaped obtaining aid of the king of *Yaman*, *Dbu Habshân Ebn Akran*, assaulted *Jadis*, and utterly destroyed them, there being scarce any mention made from that time of either of those tribes. As all the traditions relating to *Tasm* are reckoned of a very dubious authority, when any thing is advanced without a proper foundation to support it, the *Arabs* call it a story of *Tasm*. The notion many of the *Oriental*s have of *Tasm's* grand-daughter *Yamama*, our readers will find in the former section, where we give a short description of the province of the same name P.

- c ALL that we find delivered by the *Arabs* of the former tribe of *Jorham* is, that *Jorham* their ancestor was an antediluvian, and one of the eighty persons, who, according to a *Mohammedan* tradition, were saved with *Noah* in the ark¹. This tribe was cotemporary with that of *Ad*, and utterly perished, in a manner to us unknown.

- SOME of the *Oriental* authors inform us, that *Amalek*, the progenitor of the tribe of the same name, was the son of *Eliphaz* the son of *Esau*, though others make him the son of *Ham* the son of *Noah*. This tribe under their king *Walid*, the first who assumed the name of *Pharaoh*, before the time of *Joseph*, conquered *Egypt*, according to the eastern writers, who seem to confound the *Amalikes* with the *Phœnician* shepherds of *Manetho*. After they had possessed the throne of *Egypt* for a considerable period, they were expelled by the natives, and at last totally destroyed by the *Israelites*².

As for the tribes of *Amtem*, *Hafhem*, *Abil*, and *Bar*, all that the *Oriental*s know Amtem, Hafhem, Abil, and Bar.

° Gen. c. x. ver. 23. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. 366, 740. ABULFEDA, AL-ZAMAKHSHARI. AL-KOT. MOHAMMED. c. vii. & c. xv. BOCHART. geogr. fact. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 7. & note upon the *Koran*, c. vii. p. 124. EBN SHONAN. ABU MUSA AL ASHARI. POCCOCK. ubi sup. p. 37, 57. DIOD. SIC. l. iii. PLIN. & PTOL. ubi sup. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. Salad. sub voc. *Errakim*. P Poc. ubi sup. p. 37, 38, 60. ABULFEDA. GOLII notæ ad ALFRAGANUM, p. 95. UNIV. hist. vol. vii. p. 239. ¹ ABULFEDA. Poc. ubi sup. EBN SHONAN. ² Gen. c. xxxvii. ver. 12. D'HERBEL. p. 110. EBN SHONAN. Num. c. xxiv. ver. 20. MIRAT CAINAT. JOSEPH. cont. Apion. l. i. Exod. c. xvii. ver. 18, &c. 1 Sam. c. xv. ver. 2, &c. & c. xxvii. ver. 8, 9. 1 Chron. c. iv. ver. 43.

of them is, that by some means or other they became extinct, most of them being a cut off, and the rest incorporating with the other tribes'.

The present
Arabs descended
from Kathan
and Joktan.

ACCORDING to their own historians, the present *Arabs* are sprung from two stocks, *Kablân*, the same with *Joktan* the son of *Eber*, and *Adnân* descended in a direct line from *Ishmael* the son of *Abraham* and *Hagar* (O). The posterity of the former they call *al Arab al Ariba*, i. e. the genuine or pure *Arabs*, and those of the latter *al Arab al Mofâreba*, i. e. naturalized or insititious *Arabs*, though some reckon the antient lost tribes to have been the only pure *Arabians*, and therefore call the descendants of *Kablân* also *Môtareba*, which word likewise signifies *insititious Arabs*, though in a nearer degree than *Mofâreba*; those acknowledging *Adnân* for their great ancestor, being the more distant graff. As *Ishmael* was by origin and language a *Hebrew*, it is no wonder those supposed to be descended from him should have no claim to be admitted as pure *Arabs*; however, since he contracted an alliance with the *Jorbanites*, by marrying a daughter of *Modûd*, accustomed himself to their manner of living and language, and became blended with them into one nation, they have certainly a right to be considered as *Mofâreba*. The uncertainty of the descents between *Ishmael* and *Adnân* is the reason why they seldom trace their genealogies higher than the latter, whom they therefore look upon as the father of their tribes; the descents from him downwards being pretty certain and uncontroverted. It is remarkable, that the eastern writers scarce take any notice at all of *Abraham's* progeny by *Keturab*, though they undoubtedly made up a considerable part of the inhabitants of *Arabia*. Their names were, *Zimran*, *Jokshan*, *Medan*, *Midian* or *Madian*, *Ishbak*, and *Shuab*. Notwithstanding the *Arabs* affirm *Ishmael's* wife to have been a genuine *Arabian*, the Scripture says she was an *Egyptian*; which greatly shakes the authority of their historians, except it should be admitted, that he had a second wife, or several at once. His sons were *Nebaiotb*, *Kedar*, *Adeel*, *Mibsam*, *Mishma*, *Dumab*, *Massa*, *Hadar*, *Tema*, *Jetur*, *Naphisb*, and *Kedemab*; besides which he had a daughter called *Mabalatb* and *Bashematb*, whom *Edom* took to wife. Some writers make *Kablân* a descendant of *Ishmael*; but among the *Oriental*s this is not the most received opinion. However, it agrees the best with the *Chaldee* and *Arabic* paraphrasts, who believed the name of *Ishmaelites* to be as general and extensive as that of *Arabs*.

Government of
the Scenite
Arabs.

WE have already observed, that the customs, manners, and genius, of the *Arabs*, except in matters of religion, are in effect the same at this day that they were betwixt three and four thousand years ago; and therefore we may presume, that the antient and modern forms of government of this nation may be considered as agreeing in almost all particulars. The *Arabes Scenitæ*, therefore, as their successors the present *Bedoweens*, were governed by *Shekbs* and *Emirs*. The *Shekbs* superintended only particular *Dou-wars*, that is, collections of tents called *Hbymas*, answering to villages or towns, already described. Every one of these *Dou-wars*, therefore, might have been looked upon as a little principality, governed by the chief of that particular family, which was of the greatest name, substance, and reputation, amongst the *Arabs* that composed it. The *Emirs* or *Emeers*, the phylarchs of the *Greeks*, ruled over a whole tribe, and consequently their authority extended to many of the above-

* JALLALO'DDIN. apud Pocock. ubi sup. p. 39. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid. † Gen. c. xxi. ver. 21. c. xxv. ver. 1, &c. AHMED BEN YUSEF, AL-JAUHAR. AL-FIRAUZABADIUS, ABULFED. SHAHARODDIN. AHMED BEN YAHYA, &c. Vide etiam Pocock. ubi sup. 49—52.

(O) As the genealogy of these tribes is of great use to illustrate the *Arabian* history, our readers would have judged this work incomplete, had we not here inserted the two genealogical tables of the descendants of *Kablân* and *Ishmael*, formed by the late learned and ingenious Mr. Sale from the most approved *Oriental* authors. In order to render that of the descendants of *Ishmael* the more perfect, we have added thereto the nine generations between *Ishmael* and *Adnân*, which is the most approved series of descents between them; though this, as here observed, cannot be absolutely depended upon; for *Al Beihaki* reckons one generation less, differing also in the names, in the following manner: *Ishmael*, *Nabet*, *Tashab*, *Yârab*, *Yârah*, *Yâhur*, *al Mokawwam*,

Odad, *Odd*, *Adnân*, and *Mohammed* himself, according to a tradition of his wife *Omm Salma*, counted but three persons between *Ishmael* and *Adnân*, viz. *Berâ*, *Zeid*, and *Odad*. With the tables here exhibited, we have intermixed some few additional observations, that may tend either to illustrate or correct them, as our readers will find, by comparing them with the originals in Mr. Sale's excellent *preliminary discourse*. We must not forget to remark, that in the first series of descents between *Ishmael* and *Adnân* Mr. Sale has omitted *Odd*, which makes him run counter to the best *Oriental* writers, and therefore in that particular we have dissented from him.

- a mentioned *Dow-wars*. It is probable, that they were sometimes dignified with the title of (P) *Shekh al Kibeer*, as some of their successors are at this day. And lastly, from what has been observed of the *Phylarchs* of the *Nomades*, agreeing in most points with the *Arabes Scenitæ*, we may conclude, that the *Emirs* were under the domination of one particular prince, who was the sovereign of these *Arabs*, or at least distinguished from the other *Emirs* by the title of the *Grand Emir*, consonant to the form of government still prevailing amongst the modern *Bedoueens*. However, we take this prince not to have been intirely despotic, but considered by his subjects only as their supreme magistrate, who maintained them in the possession of their private laws, privileges, and customs.
- b THE *Arabs* that dwelt in cities and towns were undoubtedly ruled in the same manner as the *Bedoueens*. That many cities of *Arabia Felix*, particularly those of the *Adramitæ* or *Chatramotitæ*, were governed by princes of their own, we learn from *Eratosthenes* in *Strabo*. That author likewise informs us, that the order of succession in these cities was not hereditary, but that the first child born in any of the noble families after the king's accession was deemed the presumptive heir to the crown. As soon, therefore, as any prince ascended the throne, a list was taken of all the pregnant ladies of quality, who were guarded in a proper manner, till one of them was delivered of a son, who always received an education suitable to his high birth. However, *Artemidorus* in the same author intimates, that the *Sabæan* nation had only one sovereign; which manifestly implies, that all the little princes or *Emirs* above-mentioned had a supreme head presiding over the whole region. And that regal government prevailed here as described by *Artemidorus* and *Eratosthenes*, seems confirmed by Scripture, when the Psalmist mentions the *KINGS OF ARABIA and SABA*. The *Arabians* were for some centuries under the government of the descendants of *Kâbtan*; *Yûrab*, one of his sons, founding the kingdom of *Yaman*, and *Jorham*, another of them, that of *Hejâz*. The kings of *Hamyar*, who possessed the kingdom of *Yaman*, or at least the best part of it, had the general title of *Tobba*, which signifies *successor*, and was affected by these princes as that of *Cæsar* was by the *Roman* emperors, and *Khalif* by the successors of *Mohammed*. There were several lesser princes, who reigned in other parts of *Yaman*, and were mostly, if not altogether, subject to the king of *Hamyar*, whom they called *the great king*; but of these history has recorded nothing remarkable, or that may be depended upon. *May you avert all malediction, or May God be propitious to you*, was the form in which the antient *Arabs* used to address themselves to their king.
- c
- d

THE principal civil institutions among the *Arabs*, that seemed to wear the face of laws, were the following: 1. That establishing the above-mentioned order of succession. 2. That in force among the *Sabæans*, whereby the king was solemnly invested with his prerogative by an assembly of the people. 3. That injoining the said king never to go out of his palace after he had taken upon him the reins of government. 4. That commanding his subjects to stone him to death, in case he should be found guilty of a violation of the former law. 5. That obliging them to an absolute and implicit obedience to all his commands, consistent with the aforesaid fundamental condition. As the other political maxims the *Arabs* observed may be considered as coinciding with their customs, there is no necessity of touching upon them here.

THE religion of the *Arabs* before *Mohammed*, which they call the *state of ignorance*, was chiefly gross idolatry; the *Sabian* religion having almost over-run the whole nation, though there were also great numbers of *Christians*, *Jews*, and *Ma-*

* *Univ. hist.* vol. vii. p. 117. not. (B). SHAW ubi sup. p. 286, 287, 288, 300, 310. *Univ. hist.* vol. vii. p. 119, 150. APPIAN. in *Libyc.* 67. Les mœurs & les coutumes des Arabes, p. 115, 116, à Paris, 1717. ■ ERATOSTHENES & ARTEMIDORUS apud STRABON. l. xvi. LXX. in *Psal.* lxxii. ver. x. AL-MOTAREZZI in lib. *Mogreb.* AL-JAUHARIUS, ABULPEDA, EBN AL ATHIR, & AL-FIRAUZABADIUS apud Pocock. ubi sup. p. 65, 66, ut & ipse Pocock. ibid. w AGATHARCHIDES CNIDIUS de mar. rubr. l. v. c. 50. apud Photium, p. 1374. ERATOSTHENES apud STRABON. ubi sup. ut & ipse STRAB. ibid.

(P) *Shekh* or *Sheikh* شيخ according to Gosselin, is equivalent to the *Latin* *senex*, *senior*, *doctus*; *Emir* or *Emeer* أمير according to the same author, is to be deduced from the verb امر *mandavit*, or *auctoritate*, *principatu*, *pistate* & *arte* conspicuus. *jussu*, *præcepit*, &c. (15).

(15) *Gol. in vocib.*

gians, amongst them. The idolatry of the *Arabs*, as *Sabians*, chiefly consisted in worshipping the fixed stars and planets, and the angels and their images, which they honoured as inferior deities, and whose intercession they begged, as their mediators with God. For they acknowledged one supreme God, the creator and lord of the universe, whom they called *Allah Taâla*, the most high God; and their other deities, who were subordinate to him, they called simply *Al Ilahât*, i. e. the goddesses. "These words, says Mr. Sale, the *Greeks* not understanding, and it being their constant custom to resolve the religion of every other nation into their own, and find out gods of theirs to match the others, they pretended the *Arabs* worshipped only two deities, *Orotalt* and *Alilat*, as those names are corruptly written, whom they will have to be the same with *Bacchus* and *Urania*; pitching on the former as one of the greatest of their own gods, and educated in *Arabia*; and on the other, because of the veneration shewn by the *Arabs* to the stars." But the impertinence of this observation will be touched upon immediately¹.

Most of the
Arabs Sabians.

THAT the *Arabs* should easily be led into the worship of the stars, is not at all surprising, since by observing the changes of the weather to happen at the rising or setting of certain of them for a considerable period, they might easily be induced to ascribe a divine power to those stars, and think themselves indebted to them for their rains, a very great benefit and refreshment to their parched country. Hence possibly it came to pass, that they had seven celebrated temples dedicated to the seven planets; one of these, in particular, called *Beit Ghomdân*, was built in *Sanaa*, the metropolis of *Yaman*, by *Dabac*, to the honour of *Al Zobarab*, or the planet *Venus*, and was demolished by the *khalif Othman*. By the murder of this *khalif* was fulfilled, as the *Mohammedans* pretend, the prophetic inscription, set, as is reported, over this temple, viz. *Ghomdân*, *He who destroyeth thee, shall be slain*. The temple of *Mecca* is also said to have been consecrated to *Zobal*, or *Saturn*. That planetary worship was the first species of idolatry, we have already observed; and therefore it is no wonder the *Arabs*, at present the most antient nation in the world, should have been infected with it. To what has been already offered on this head, we shall here beg leave to add the testimony of *Pausanias*, who intimates, that the worship of the planets was earlier than the first arrival of the *Pelagî* in *Greece*; and that before this time they had statues erected in their honour. This observation will not only illustrate, but likewise bring a fresh accession of strength to what has been advanced in a former note².

Worship the
fixed stars, as
well as the
planets.

BUT besides those stars which were the general objects of worship throughout *Arabia*, there were some more peculiarly revered in particular provinces. Thus the *Hamyarites* chiefly worshipped the *Sun*; *Misam*, al *Debarân*, or the bull's eye; *Lakbm* and *Jodâm*, al *Moshtari*, or *Jupiter*; *Tay*, *Sobail*, or *Canopus*; *Kais*, *Sirius*, or the dog-star; and *Asad*, *Osâred*, or *Mercury*. *Abu Cabsha*, a worshipper of *Sirius*, whom some will have to be the same with *Wabeb*, *Mohammed's* grandfather on the mother's side, though others make him of the tribe of *Kbozâab*, used his utmost endeavours to persuade the *Koreish* to leave their images, and worship this star. For which reason, when *Mohammed* endeavoured also to draw them off from image-worship, they nicknamed him the son of *Abu Cabsha*. However, the *Arabs*, together with the *Indians* in general, paid a greater regard to the fixed stars, than to the planets; which distinguished the *Sabians* amongst them from those amongst the *Greeks*, who directed their worship to the planets. The *Arabs* did not only attribute their rains to the influence of the fixed stars, but likewise their winds, storms, tempests, heat, cold, and all kinds of alterations in their atmosphere. They differed, however, amongst themselves in this, that some ascribed the influence producing all the meteorological phenomena to the rising, and others to the setting, of the constellations known amongst them by the name of *Al-Anwa*³.

As likewise
angels, or in-
telligences.

OF the angels or intelligences which they worshipped, we find only three mentioned in the *Korân*, viz. *Allat*, *Al-Uzza*, and *Manab*; these they called goddesses,

¹ Poc. not. ad specim. hist. Arab. p. 138. GOLII NOTÆ ad Alfraginum, p. 251. MASONID. in moreh nevochim, par. iii. c. 29. HOTTINGERI hist. Orient. l. iv. c. 8. HYDE hist. rel. vet. Pers. pass. PRIDEAUX in connect. p. 1. b. 3. HERODOT. l. iii. c. 8. ARRIAN. p. 161, 162. STRAB. l. xvi. GREG. ABULPHARAG. hist. dynast. p. 281, &c. AL-SHAHRESTANIUS apud Pocockium, ubi supra, p. 108. ut & ipse Pocockius ibid. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 15, 16. ² Poc. ubi supra, p. 163. AL-JANNABI. SHAHRESTANI. PAUSAN. Laconic. p. 202. Univ. hist. vol. vi. p. 684. not. (R). ³ ABULPHARAG. ubi supra, p. 160. AL SHAHRESTANI. ABULFED. AL JAUHARIUS, EBN'OL ATHIR, & AL-FIRAUZABADIUS apud Pocockium, ubi supra, p. 163, 164. ut & ipse Pocock. p. 130, 132.

and the daughters of God; an appellation they gave not only to angels, but also to their images, which they believed either to be inspired with life by God, or else to become the tabernacles of the angels, and to be animated by them; and they paid them divine honours, because they believed them to intercede for their votaries with God. The Arab Sabians likewise, in common with those of other nations, imagined, that the Sun, Moon, and fixed stars, were habitations of intelligences of a middle nature betwixt men and the Supreme Being, who actuated their orbs in the same manner as the human body does the soul; and that this was the true cause of all their motions. These beings, they had a notion, became mediators between God and them; for the necessity of a mediator they clearly discovered from the beginning, and therefore, as Gods mediators, directed divine worship to them. They first worshipped them by their tabernacles, i. e. their orbs themselves; but these, by their rising and setting, being as much under the horizon as above, they were at a loss how to address themselves to them in their absence. To remedy this defect, they had recourse to the invention of images, in which, after their consecration, they thought these inferior deities to be as much present by their influence, as in the stars themselves; and that all addresses to them were rendered as effectual before the one, as before the other. And this may be considered as the origin of image worship. All other material particulars relating to the Sabians, omitted here, will either be found in note (Q), or the first volume of this history^a.

Allat,

^a Al-Kor. MOHAMMED c. liii. Poc. p. 138. GOL. MAIMONID. HOTTING. HYDE, PRIDEAUX, ubi supra, SHAHRESTANIUS apud Hyde, c. v. p. 124. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 726. HOUSAIN VAEZ comment. Pers. in Al-Koran, c. 2. Lib. Pnar. GJ. apud Hyd. ubi supra. KALKASHEND. apud Hyde, ubi supra, p. 125. EBN AL ATHIR apud Pocockium, p. 138, 139.

(Q) The Sabian, Jewish, and Christian religions, are the only religions tolerated by the Korân. We are told, that the eastern writers vary greatly in their notions of the religious tenets of the first sect; though those here mentioned seem to be attested by the best of them. The Sabians produce many strong arguments for the unity of God, and address themselves to Him in the following terms: *I dedicate myself to thy service, O GOD! I dedicate myself to thy service, O God! Thou hast no companion, except thy companion, of whom thou art absolute master, and of whatever is his.* From whence it appears, that they suppose idols not to be *sui juris*, though they offer sacrifices and other offerings to them, as well as to God, who was also formerly often put off with the least portion, as Mohammed upbraids them. The reason assigned by them for this was, that the idol wanted what was God's, but GOD HIMSELF wanted nothing. A sort of baptism they admit, and profess a great veneration for St. John Baptist, styling themselves, in their language, which is composed of the Chaldee and Syriac, *Mendai Jahin*, i. e. Disciples of St. John; and by this name they go amongst the Christians of the Levant. Besides the book of Psalms, the only true Scripture they read, they have another supposed to have been wrote by Adam, which they regard as their bibles, whose language almost intirely agrees with the Chaldee, but the characters differ from those of all other nations. Ebn Shonah makes them the descendants of the most antient people in the world, and intimates, that besides the books just mentioned, they have others esteemed equally sacred, particularly one full of moral discourses, denominated by them the book of Seth and Enoch, or, as they name him, Edris. They are obliged to pray three, or, according to others, seven times a day; the first half an hour, or less, before sun-rise, ordering it so that they may, just as the sun rises, finish eight adorations, each containing three prostrations: the second prayer they end at noon, when the sun begins to decline, in laying of which they perform five such adorations as the former; and the same they do the third time, concluding just as the sun sets. They are very fervent in their devotions. They fast three times a year, the first time thirty days, the

next nine, and the last seven. They offer many sacrifices, but eat no part of them, burning them all. They abstain from beans, garlick, and some other pulse and vegetables. As to the Sabian Kella, or part to which they turn their faces in praying, authors greatly differ; one affirming it to be the north, another the south, a third Mecca, and a fourth the star to which they pay their devotions. They have a great respect for the temple of Mecca, as also the pyramids, in the third of which they believe Sabi, the author of their religion, lies buried. They go on pilgrimage to Harran, either out of regard to the memory of Abraham, or of Sabi Ebn Mari, who lived in Abraham's time, and is looked upon by some as the first propagator of their religion. Ebn Hazem asserts Sabianism to have been the universal religion till the age of Abraham, from whence all the succeeding sects were derived. According to Al-Sharestani, the Sabians say, that the difference betwixt them and the Mohammedans consists in this, that among creatures they give the preference to spirits, angels, or intelligences moving the celestial orbs; whereas the Mohammedans chuse to pay the greatest honour to body and matter, i. e. men; as prophets, patriarchs, &c. Housain Vaez, in his Persic commentary on the Korân, says, that they were a sort of Sadducees, not believing a future state. We must not omit observing, that at the pyramids they sacrificed a cock and a black calf, and offered up incense. Ebn Khalecan, in his life of Ibrahim al Sabi, affirms, that the Sabians are as antient as the Magians, but different from them; however, that both of them pretended to deduce their origin from Abraham, whom they confounded with Zerdusht. The same author relates, that the word Sabi in the Arabic tongue denotes one who leaves the religion of his forefathers, and introduces a new one; for which reason the Korish, by way of reproach, called Mohammed Sabi, or Sabian. The eastern Christians scruple not to affirm, that Constantine the great himself professed Sabianism before he became a convert to Christianity. Sharestani divides the Sabians into two sects, those that worship the stars, and those that worship images. The first maintain, that God created the world, but has commanded his servants

Allat. *Allat*, whom some of the *Arabs* called *Allab*, was the idol of the tribe of *Tbakif*,^a who dwelt at *Tayef*, and had a temple consecrated to her in a place called *Nakblab*. We shall see more of this deity hereafter, when we come to the modern history of *Arabia*, especially that part of it which relates to the transactions wherein *Mohammed* was more immediately concerned^b.

Al-Uzza. *Al-Uzza*, or *Al-Ozza*, was the idol of the tribes of *Koreish* and *Kenanab*, and part of the tribe of *Salim*, as some affirm; but a tree called the *Egyptian* thorn, or *Acacia*, worshipped by the tribe of *Ghatfan*, first consecrated by one *Dbâlem*, who built a chapel over it named *Bos*, so contrived, as to give a sound when any one entered, according to others. When *Kbâled Ebn Walid*, by *Mohammed*'s order, had demolished the chapel, cut down the image, or tree, and slain the priests of *Al Uzza*, *Mohammed*, alluding to the death of the priests, said, she was *Al Uzza*, who therefore will never hereafter be worshipped. The name *Uzza* is derived from the root *azza*, and signifies *the most mighty*^c.

Manab. *Manab* was the object of worship of the tribes of *Hodhail* and *Kbozâab*, possibly the *Caljanitæ* of *Ptolemy*, who dwelt between *Mecca* and *Medina*, and, as some say, of the tribes of *Awis*, *Kbazraj*, and *Tbakif* also. Dr. *Pocock* renders it highly probable, that the *Manab* of the *Arabs* was the *Meni* of the prophet *Isaiah*. This idol was a large stone, demolished by one *Saad* in the eighth year of the *Hejra*, so fatal to the idols of *Arabia*. The name seems derived from *mana*, to flow, from the flowing of the blood of the victims sacrificed to the deity; whence the valley of *Mina*, near *Mecca*, had also its name, where the pilgrims at this day slay their sacrifices. Some take *Meni*, or *Manab*, to be the name of a constellation; which notion is favoured by the most obvious signification of the word *Manab* in the *Arabic* tongue^d.

Wadd, Sawâ, Yaghûth, Yaûk, and Nafr. BESIDES these, we find five antediluvian idols taken notice of by the *Arabian* writers, viz. *Wadd*, *Sawâ*, *Yaghûth*, *Yaûk*, and *Nafr*. They are said to have been men of great repute and piety in their time, whose statues the *Arabs* at first revered with a civil honour only, which in process of time became heightened to a divine worship^e.

Wadd. *Wadd* was supposed to represent the heaven, and was worshipped under the form of a man by the tribe of *Calb*, in *Dawmat al Yandal*. For a further account of him, we must refer our readers to the authors here cited^f.

Sawâ. *Sawâ* was adored under the shape of a woman by the tribe of *Hamadan*, or, as others write, of *Hodhail* in *Robat*. This idol, lying under water for some time after the deluge, was at length, as the *Arab* writers assert, discovered by the devil, and worshipped by those of *Hodhail*, who instituted pilgrimages to it^g.

Yaghûth. *Yaghûth* was an idol in the shape of a lion, and was the deity of the tribe of *Madbaj*, and others, who dwelt in *Yaman*. Its name seems to be derived from *ghatba*, which signifies to help^h.

^a ABULPHARAG. p. 160. Poc. ubi supra, p. 90.

ABULPHARAG. p. 160. Poc. ubi supra, p. 90.

^b AL-JAUHAR. AL-SHAHRESTAN. & AL-FIRAUZABADIUS apud Pocock. ibid.

^c AL-JAUHAR. AL-SHAHRESTAN. & AL-FIRAUZABADIUS. Isai. c. lxx. ver. 11. Vide etiam Poc. spec. p. 90, 91, 92.

^d AL-KORAN. MOHAMMED. c. 71. Comment. Persic. Vide etiam HYD. de rel. vet. Pers. p. 133.

^e AL-JAUHAR. AL-SHAHRESTAN. f. lidem apud Pocock. p. 93. AL-FIRAUZABADIUS & SAFIODDIN. ibid.

^h AL-SHAHRESTANI. ibid.

vants to pay great regard to the stars, and to turn themselves towards those luminous bodies whenever they pray; the other, that, by the mediation of images, they have access to the stars, and, through the assistance of those intellectual agents informing them, to the Supreme Being. They all believe, that the souls of wicked men will be punished for 9000 ages, but that afterwards they shall be received to mercy. Their feasts in general they have appointed upon the days when the exaltations of the planets happen; but the greatest of them, in particular, upon the day that the sun enters *Aries*, which, with them, is the first day of the year, when they all wear their best cloaths. They celebrate the feast of every planet in a chapel dedicated to him, and derive their religion from *Noah* himself. The *Sabians* of mount *Lebanon* seem to pay a greater regard to *Seth*, than the Supreme Being; for they always keep their oath

when they swear by the former, but frequently break it when they swear by the latter. They likewise maintain, that once in 36425 years there will be a complete revolution in all mundane things. They endeavour to perfect themselves in the four intellectual virtues; God they call God of gods, and Lord of lords; but those intelligences supposed to actuate the stars gods and lords. This sect say, they took the name of *Sabians* from the above-mentioned *Sabi*, though it seems rather to be derived from *שבי* *Saba*, or *Tsaba*, the host of heaven, which they worship. Before the growth of *Christianity* and *Mohammedanism*, the greatest part of the world professed the *Sabian* religion. The other particulars, relating to this sect, our readers will find, either in a former part of this work, or in the authors here referred to (16).

- a *Yaûk* the tribe of *Morâd* esteemed as their proper object of worship, or, according to others, that of *Hamadan*, under the figure of a horse. The name *Yaûk* probably comes from their verb *âka*, to prevent, or avert¹ (R).

Nar seems to have been the proper deity of the tribe of *Hamyar*, whom we may Nasr. consider either as the *Homerita* or *Hamirai* of *Pliny*, or adored at *Dhû'l Kbalaab* in their territories, under the image of an eagle, which the name signifies^k.

- b THE four deities *Sakia*, *Hâjedba*, *Râzeka*, and *Salema*, were peculiar to the tribe *Sakia*, Hâjedba, Râzeka, and Salema. of *Ad*. The first supplied them with rain, the second preserved them from all dangers abroad, the third provided food for their sustenance, and the fourth restored them to health when afflicted with sickness; according to the signification of their several names. To these may be added *Al-Laizan*, or *Saturn*, a most antient Arab idol, *Hbebar*, *Al-Auf*, &c. mentioned by *Al-Jaubarius*, *Al-Firauzabadius*, and others^l.

- c As image-worship in some measure proceeded from the deification of dead men, who had been the authors of some signal advantages and benefits to the people they governed, or else greatly famed for their conquests, as well as the cause above-mentioned, it is no wonder the *Arabs*, as well as other nations, should fall into it. Sir *Izaak Newton* takes hero worship, or the worship of deified dead men, to have been no older than the age of *Sesac*, the great *Egyptian* conqueror so often mentioned, who ordered all the nations he conquered, and amongst the rest a good part of the *Arabians* at least, to pay divine honours to his father *Ammenemes*, or *Ammon*, under the name of *Jupiter*, or *Jupiter Ammon*. This therefore was the great hero-god of the *Arabs*, as well as of the *Egyptians*, *Garamantes*, *Ethiopians*, *Indians*, &c. and his son and successor, *Sesac*, who enjoined this worship, the *Bacchus*, according to Sir *Izaak Newton*, of the antients, little inferior to him. The *Arabs*, it is probable, set up oracles to *Ammon*, who reduced at least a good part of their country, as well as the *Libyans* and *Egyptians*; and *Sesac*, on account of his having coasted *Arabia Felix*, sailed to the *Persian* gulph, penetrated afterwards into *India*, where he erected two pillars on two mountains near the mouth of the *Ganges*, and another at *Dire*, a promontory of *Ethiopia*, was, according to very good authors, esteemed as his father's colleague in *Arabia*, as well as the other regions subjugated by him. This, considering the authorities on which it is founded, is a much stronger proof in favour of the *Arabs* really worshipping *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, or *Ammon* and *Sesac*, than what Mr. *Sale* has offered, from the supposed vanity and ignorance of the *Greeks*, is to evince the *Arab* worship of those deities to be purely imaginary. Nay, we may venture to add, that could he have produced a whole volume of *Arab* traditions, stuffed as they are with fables and absurdities, in support of his opinion, it would not have mended the matter; especially as he gives up the main point, by allowing *Bacchus* to have been educated in *Arabia*. For this concession, though the thing granted is false, must be deemed a sufficient reason, on his part, for the *Arabs* to have paid divine honours to so celebrated a personage as *Bacchus*, as well as his father *Jupiter*, or *Jupiter Uranius* = (S).

We must not omit observing here, that the antient *Arabs*, in order to shew the high veneration in which they had their idols, reckoned it glorious to be accounted their servants and votaries; which they demonstrated by the names given to their children, viz. *Abd Wadd*, *Abd Yaghûth*, *Abd Manab*, *Abdol Uzza*, &c. i. e. the servant of *Wadd*, the servant of *Yaghûth*, the servant of *Manab*, the servant of *Uzzab*, &c.^m

BESIDES the idols already mentioned, the *Arabs* worshipped many others, the chief of whom was *Hobal*, brought from *Belka* in *Syria* to *Arabia* by *Amra Ebn Lobai*, pretending it would procure them rain whenever they wanted it. According to *Safioddiu*, *Hobal* was placed without the *Caaba*, under the figure of a man. His

¹ AL-FIRAUZABADIUS. AL-JAUHAR. EBN CHALECAN in vit. AL-BATTANUS. Poc. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 101, 138, 389, 390. * AL-JAUHAR. SHAHRESTAN. & POCOCK. ubi sup. p. 93. ² ABULFED. D'HERBEL. hist. Orient. in art. Houd. ³ NEWT. chronol. pass. HERODOT. l. iii. DIOD. SIC. l. i. DIONYS. perieg. v. 623. POCOCK. not. ad specim. hist. Arab. p. 106, 107. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 15, 16. ⁴ AL-KORAN. MOHAMMED. Poc. ubi supra. p. 95.

(R) It is said *Yaûk* was a man of great piety, and his death much regretted; whereupon the devil appeared to his friends in a human form, and, undertaking to represent him to the life, persuaded them, by way of comfort, to place his effigies in their temples, that they might have it in view when at their

devotions. This was done, and seven others, of extraordinary merit, had the same honours shewn them, till at length their posterity made idols of them in earnest (17).

(S) The *Arabs* also worshipped *Mars*, according to *Suidas* (18).

(17) Poc. not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 94.

(18) Suid. in voc. * *Agnis*.

statue was made of red agate, which having, by some accident, lost a hand, the *Koreish* repaired it with one of gold: he held in his hand seven arrows without heads or feathers, such as the *Arabs* used in divination. This idol is supposed to have been the same with the image of *Abraham*, found and destroyed by *Mohammed* in the *Caaba*, on his entering it, in the eighth year of the *Hejra*, when he took *Mecca*, and surrounded with a great number of angels and prophets, as inferior deities; among whom, as some say, was *Ishmael*, with divining arrows in his hand. *Hobal*, according to *Al-Jannabius*, was the chief of three hundred and sixty idols, a fresh one of which the *Arabs* might, if they thought proper, worship every day in the year. We are told, that among the idols in the *Caaba* was a wooden pigeon, as likewise another above that structure, to destroy which, *Mohammed* lifted *Ali* upon his shoulders. *Asáf* and *Nayelab*, the former the image of a man, the latter of a woman, were also two idols brought with *Hobal* from *Syria*, and placed the one on mount *Safá*, and the other on mount *Merwa*. They tell us, *Asáf* was the son of *Amru*, and *Nayelab* the daughter of *Sabál*, both of the tribe of *Jorham*, who, committing whoredom together in the *Caaba*, were by God converted into stone, and afterwards worshipped by the *Koreish*, and so much revered by them, that tho' this superstition was condemned by *Mohammed*, yet he was forced to allow them to visit those mountains as monuments of the divine justice. We are told, that these idols were first fixed on the mounts *Safá* and *Merwa* by one *Amru* in the reign of *Sapor* or *Sabur* surnamed *Dil Eñaf*, king of *Persia*; but this notion has been overthrown by *Abulfeda*. As for the idols *Saad*, an oblong stone on the shore near *Giódá*, *Soair* or *Sair* worshipped by the tribe of *Anza*, *Aud* adored by the tribe of *Beer Wayel*, *Nasb* or *Nosb*, *Al-Sbarek*, from whence the Arab name *Abdol-Sbarek* was derived, *Dar*, whence *Abdol-Dar*, *Madan*, *Yalil*, *Awal* peculiar to the tribes of *Beer* and *Taglab*, *Dul Casfain* the deity of the tribe of *Daus*, *Bajar* or *Bajer* that of the tribe of *Azd*, *Al-Okaisar* worshipped in the eastern part of *Syria*, *Bag* or *Bagb*, from whence *Abulfeda* deduces the name of the city *Baghdad*, *Al-Chalasab*, *Dushshara*, the *Dysares* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, &c. it is sufficient just to have mentioned them. Besides these, according to the *Oriental* authors, every housekeeper had his household god, which he last took leave of, and first saluted at his going abroad, and returning home.

Some of these
idols stones.

SEVERAL of the Arab idols, besides *Saad* above-mentioned, and *Manab* in particular, were no more than large rude stones, the worship of which the posterity of *Ishmael* first introduced, according to *Al-Jannabius*. To us it seems most probable, that these great stones were the first public places of divine worship amongst the *Arabs*, on which they poured wine and oil, as *Jacob* did upon the stones that served him for a pillow, when he saw his vision. Afterwards they might worship these stones themselves, as the *Phanicians*, in all probability, did; but this has already been touched upon. Some authors relate, that when the territory of *Mecca* grew too strait for the *Ishmaelites*, so that great numbers of them found themselves obliged to look out for new habitations, those that departed from *Mecca* took with them some of the stones of that reputed holy land; and at first only compassed them out of devotion, as they had accustomed to do the *Caaba*. But this at last ended in rank idolatry, the said *Ishmaelites* forgetting the religion, left them by their father, so far, as to pay divine honours to any fine stone they met with. To the idols already mentioned we may add another peculiar to the tribe of *Hanifa*, which was nothing more than a lump of dough. This they never presumed to eat, till they were compelled to it by famine.

Magian religion
in Arabia.

THE *Persians*, by their vicinity to, and frequent intercourse with, the *Arabians*, introduced the *Magian* religion among some of their tribes, particularly that of *Tamim*, a long time before *Mohammed*, who was so far from being unacquainted with it, that from it he borrowed many of his own institutions. The professors of this religion acknowledged the world to have been created by God, as their successors do at this day: but, being at a loss otherwise to account for the origin of evil, they held two principles, a good *Dæmon* or God, and an evil one. The first they

* ABULFED. AL-SHAHRESTAN. SAFIODDIN. & SUET. lib. *Mostatraf*. Vid. etiam Pocock. ubi sup. p. 95, 97, 98. EBN AL ATHIR. AL-JANNABIUS. AL-KOTER. MOHAMMED. c. ii. MOHAMMED. AL-FIRAUZABADIUS apud Pocock. p. 97. AL-JAUMAR. SUID. in voc. *Δυσάρης*. Poc. p. 98—106. AL JAUMAR. AL-BEIDAWI. & AL-ZAMAKHSHARIUS. Univ. hist. vol. vi. p. 693. AL-MOSTATRAF. AL-JAUMARIUS apud Pocock. p. 110.

a supposed the author of all good, and the other of all evil, believing them to be represented by light and darkness, as their truest symbols, and that of the composition of these two all things in the world are made. The good principle or God they named *Yezad* or *Yezdân*, and *Ormозd* or *Hormizda*, which the *Greeks* wrote *Oromazes*; and the evil *Dæmon* they called *Abârîman* or *Abrîman*, and the *Greeks* *Arimanius*. Though one sect of the *Magi* asserted, as the *Manichæans* and other heretics did, both those principles to have existed from all eternity, yet they were reputed heterodox; the original doctrine being, that the good principle or God only was eternal, and the other created, as appears from *Zoroastres's* description of the supreme BEING. Amongst other tenets they maintained, that there were good and bad angels; the former guarding and protecting men from evil, and the latter instigating them to all kinds of wickedness. They also believed, that the wicked angels, after they had drawn men out of the paths of virtue, became the instruments of their punishment; and that these angels were continually meditating the ruin and destruction of mankind. As for *Zoroastres*, or *Zerdusht*, as the *Persians* called him, he made no alterations in the doctrinal and fundamental points of the *Magian* religion, but only abolished some superstitious rites and practices, that had crept in amongst the professors of it, who, according to *Dr. Hyde*, constantly adhered to the worship of the true God, as they received it from their great ancestors *Sbem* and *Elam*. But, as so ample an account has already been given of the *Magi*, and their system of religion, we shall expatiate no farther on this head; but conclude it with observing, that whether we consider the *Arabs* as *Sabians* or followers of *Zerdusht*, it must be allowed, that they held the existence of *Dæmons*, *Genii*, or middle intelligences, influencing the affairs of the world: a truth indeed near as extensive as the belief of a God, and acknowledged by the antient heathen of almost all denominations ¹.

HOWEVER, some of the pagan *Arabs* believed neither a creation past, nor a resurrection to come, attributing the origin of things to nature, and their dissolution to age. Others allowed both; among whom were those, who, when they died, had their camel tied by their sepulchre, and so left without meat or drink to perish, and accompany them to the other world, lest they should be obliged, at the resurrection, to go on foot, which was reckoned very scandalous. Some believed a *metempsychosis*, and that of the blood, near the dead person's brain, was formed a bird named *Hâmab*, which once in a hundred years visited the sepulchre; though others say, this bird is animated by the soul of him that is unjustly slain, and continually cries *Oscûni, Oscûni*, i. e. *Give me to drink*, meaning of the murderer's blood, till his death be revenged; and then it flies away. Some of the antient *Arabs* seem to have been addicted to augury, since they held an owl in great abhorrence, as imagining that it always brought ill news, and portended something bad. The camel above-mentioned furnished the *Arabs* with a proverb, which they applied to all people doomed to a miserable end. Those, who expected a future judgment, adored idols, as they pretended, that they might be hereby induced to intercede for them with God hereafter. It appears probable from some passages of the *Korân*, and the commentators on those passages, that the antient *Arabs*, under the word *Jin* or *Genii*, comprehended both angels, good as well as bad, and that intermediate species of rational invisible beings going amongst the present *Orientals* by the same name. From the same passages and commentators we may likewise infer, that most of the *Arabians* before *Mohammed's* time, in conformity to the *Sabian* scheme, paid religious honours to these *Genii*. The *Mohammedans* call the evil principle of the *Magi*, the *Satan* of the Scripture, and *Sammaïl* of the *Jews*, *Eblis*, which seems to be a corruption of the *Διδβολα* or *Diabolus* of the *New Testament* ².

Abu Carb Asad king of *Yaman*, about seven hundred years before *Mohammed*, is said to have introduced *Judaism* among the idolatrous *Hamyarites*. The *Jews* likewise, who fled in great numbers into *Arabia* after the destruction of their country by the *Romans*, made proselytes of several tribes, those of *Kanânab*, *al Hareth Ebn*

The notions
some of the
Arabs had of a
future state.

The Jewish religion embraced by some of the Arab tribes.

¹ AL MOSTARAF. LORD'S account of the religion of the Perses, p. 5. DIOG. LAERT. in proœm. p. 6. PLUT. de Isid. & in Dio. Lib. Sad-der apud. Hyd. hist. rel. vet. Pers. pass. DAMASCIUS, PLUTARCH. & SHARITANI. apud Hyd. ubi sup. c. 22. PRIÉAUX in connect. p. i. v. 3. Univ. hist. vol. i. p. 31, 51. & vol. ii. p. 71, & alib. Vid. etiam POCOËKIU in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 146—150. ² AL-SHARITANI. AL-JAURI. EBN AL A'HIR. AL-DAMIRIUS. Vide etiam POCOËKIU, ubi sup. p. 134—136. AL-KORAN. MOHAMMED. c. 6, 7, 72, & alib.

Caaba, and *Kendab* in particular. In time, therefore, they became very powerful, and possessed themselves of several towns and fortresses. At last one *Yusef*, surnamed *Dbu Nowás*, king of *Yaman*, having raised a terrible persecution against all who would not turn *Jews*, putting them to death by various tortures, the most common of which was throwing them into a glowing pit of fire, from whence the *Arabs* gave him the opprobrious title of *the lord of the pit*, *Caleb* or *Elefbaan* king of *Ethiopia*, to revenge the massacre of the christians at *Najrán*, put an end to *Judaism*, and the kingdom of the *Hamyarites*, in *Yaman*, at the same time. This happened in the reign of the emperor *Justin*, as has been already related in the history of the *Ethiopians*, and will be more fully set forth in the following section^a.

And likewise
christianity.

WHETHER St. *Paul* preached in any part of *Arabia*, properly so called, we cannot pretend to determine; but that the christian religion was planted very early in this country, will not admit of a dispute. The *Arabians* we find ranked amongst those nations, some of whose members first had the happiness of being made converts to christianity, several of them being present when the HOLY GHOST first descended upon the apostles. When the eastern church, soon after the beginning of the third century, was greatly harassed by disorders and persecutions, vast numbers of christians sought for shelter in *Arabia*; who being for the most part of the *Jacobite* communion, that sect generally prevailed among the *Arabs*. The principal tribes that embraced christianity were *Hamyar*, *Ghassân*, *Rabiâ*, *Tagblab*, *Babrâ*, *Tonúch*, part of those of *Tay* and *Kodâa*, the inhabitants of *Najrán*, and the *Arabs* of *Hira*. The people of *Najrán* became converts to christianity in the time of *Dbu Nowás* above-mentioned, and those of *Hira* received a great accession by several tribes, who fled thither for refuge from the persecution of that prince. How *Al-Nooman*, surnamed *Abu-Kabús*, king of *Hira*, who was slain a few months before *Mohammed's* birth, came to profess himself a christian, and brought off with him from paganism the whole nation he governed, will be hereafter related. According to *Abulfeda*, his grandfather *Mondar* embraced christianity, and built several churches for the christians in *Hira*. *Safioddin* says, that *Najrán* was a bishop's see, and remarkable for having a christian church in early times. From *Shabrestani* we learn, that *Mondar* king of the *Arabs* declared war against the emperor *Justinian*, because he had treated ill those who asserted only one nature in Christ, since the *Arab* christians at that time were of the *Jacobite* persuasion. This is a sufficient proof, that christianity had got footing in *Arabia* before the reign of that prince. The *Jacobites* give out, and M. *Asseman* thinks it probable, that the *Syrian* bishop *Jacobus Baradaeus*, who, according to *Abulpharagius*, visited all the regions adjacent to *Syria*, and ordained there bishops, presbyters, &c. of the *Jacobite* sect, first infected the *Arabian* christians with *Monophysism*. How our Saviour appeared in the air, surrounded with rays of glory, walking on a purple cloud, to the *Jews* of *Hamyar*, who had challenged some neighbouring christians to a public disputation about *Dbu Nowás's* time, our readers will be informed when we come towards the close of this history^b.

Bishopricks in
Arabia.

It is natural to suppose, that as the christians were so numerous in *Arabia* before the age of *Mohammed*, they had several bishops there, when that impostor first began to form a new system of religion. Accordingly we find, that the *Jacobites* had two bishops of the *Arabs* subject to their *Masriân*, or metropolitan of the east. One of these was styled absolutely *the bishop of the Arabs*, whose seat was for the most part at *Akula*, which some authors make the same with *Cusâ*, others a different town near *Baghdâd*. The other had the title of *the bishop of the Scenite Arabs*, of the tribe of *Tbaalab* in *Hira* or *Hirta*, as the *Syrians* call it, and seated in that city. *Gregentius*, who held a famous dispute *sub dio* for three days with *Herbanus* the *Jew*, before the king of *Hamyar*, was bishop or archbishop of *Dbasâr* or *Tepbra*, as it is called by the *Greek* authors, in the century preceding *Mohammed*; and that *Najrán*

^a Al-Koran MOHAMMED. c. 50, & 85. BARONI anal. ad sec. 6. SIMON episc. BETH-ARSAMENS. apud Asseman. in bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 363—385. METAPHRASTES apud Suriun; tom. v. p. 936, & alib. NICEPH. CALLIST. l. xviii. c. 6. Vid. etiam ABULFED. SHAHRESTANI. & SAFIODDIN, apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 137, 138. ^b Gal. c. i. ver. 17. Act. c. ii. ver. 11. ABULPHARAG. p. 93, 149. ASSEMAN. dissert. de Monophysitis, & bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 166, 167. AL MOSTATRAF. ABULFED. SHAHRESTAN. & SAFIODDIN. apud Pocockium, ubi sup. AL-JANNABIUS, ibid. p. 63. EBN CHALICAN in vit. ABULOL. poet. GREGENT. disput. cum Herban. Jud. in biblioth. patr. Parisiens. tom. i. PAGIUS ad an. 523. à num. 10. Vid. etiam Cl. LAMBECIUM, l. v. p. 231. & ASSEMAN. not. ad Simeon. Beth-Arsamens. episc. in bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 383.

a also was a bishop's see at the same time, has been already observed from *Safioddin*. We find likewise, a prelate of this country styled the bishop of the *Tayites*, though the extent and limits of his diocese cannot so easily be defined. The *Nestorians* had but one bishop, who presided over both the dioceses of *Hira* and *Akula*, and was immediately subject to their patriarch. *Arabia* was in the earliest ages famous for heresies, which might, as Mr. *Sale* observes, be in some measure attributed to the liberty and independency of its tribes. The specification of these heresies will more properly fall under our province in the modern history of the *Arabs*, when we shall enumerate the principal causes, that concurred to favour the propagation of the *Mohammedan* religion ^a.

b BEFORE we conclude our account of the religion, or rather religions, of the ancient *Arabs*, we must observe, that some of them attributed a power to the fixed stars superior to what even the *Sabians* themselves allowed; insomuch that they would not take the least step without receiving a favourable omen from them. Several of them also not only worshipped *Dæmons* or *Genii*, but likewise asserted them to be the daughters of God. The *Koreish* were infected with *Zendicism*, an error nearly related to that of the *Sadducees* among the *Jews*. We are told, that several of this tribe worshipped one God, and differed from all the other religions of the country, before the time of *Mohammed* ^w.

*Other sects in Arabia differ-
ent from those
already men-
tioned.*

As the *Arabs* are one of the most antient nations in the world, having inhabited the country they at present possess almost from the deluge, without intermixing with other nations, or being subjugated by any foreign power, their language must have been formed soon after, if not at the confusion of *Babel*. The two principal dialects of it were that spoken by the *Hamyarites* and other genuine *Arabs*, and that of the *Koreish*, in which *Mohammed* wrote the *Korân*. The first is styled by the *Oriental* writers the *Arabic* of *Hamyar*, and the other the pure or defecated *Arabic*. As *Yarab*, grandfather to *Hamyar*, is supposed by the *Oriental* writers to have been the first whose tongue deviated from the *Syriac* to the *Arabic*, the *Hamyaritic* dialect, according to them, must have approached nearer to the purity of the *Syriac*, and consequently have been more remote from the true genius of the *Arabic*, than that of any other tribe. The dialect of the *Koreish*, termed by the *Korân* the perspicuous and clear *Arabic*, is referred to *Ishmael* as its author, who, say the above-mentioned writers, first spoke it, and, as Dr. *Pocock* believes, after he had contracted an alliance with the family of *Jorham* by marriage, formed it of their language and the original *Hebrew*. As therefore the *Hamyritic* dialect partook principally of the *Syriac*, so that of the *Koreish* was supposed to consist chiefly of the *Hebrew*. But, according to *Jallak'uddin*, the politeness and elegance of the dialect of the *Koreish* ought rather to be attributed to their having, from the remotest antiquity, the custody of the *Caaba*, and dwelling in *Mecca*, the centre of *Arabia*. For by this situation they were not only rendered more incapable of any intercourse with foreigners, who might have corrupted their language, but likewise frequented by the *Arabs* of all the circumjacent country, both on a religious account, and for the composing of their differences, from whose discourse and verses they took whatever words or phrases they judged most pure and elegant; by which means the beauties of the whole tongue became transfused into this dialect. The *Arabs* are full of the commendations of their language, which is very harmonious, expressive, and, as they say, so immensely copious, that no man uninspired can be a perfect master of it, in its utmost extent. How much in this last article it is superior to the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, in some measure appears from hence, that sometimes a bare enumeration of the *Arabic* names of one particular thing, and an explication of them, will make a considerable volume. Thus we are told, that *Ebn Kbalawih*, one of the most learned of the *Arab* grammarians, wrote a whole treatise, which consisted intirely of an interpretation of five hundred words signifying a lion; and another whose only subject was a collection of two hundred words denoting a serpent. *Mohammedes Al-Firauzabadius*, author of the great *Arabic* lexicon called *Kamus*, or the *Ocean*, relates, that

^a SAFIODDIN. apud Pocockium, ubi sup. ABULPHARAG. in chron. Syriac. MS. ABULFEDA in descript. Isaac. GREGENT. disp. cum Herban. ubi sup. SOCRAT. l. iii. c. 27. ASSEMAN. bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 166, 167. tom. ii. in dissert. de Monophysit. & p. 459. LAMBECIUS ubi sup. SALE's prelim. disc. sect. 2. p. 34, 35.
^w SHAHRESTANI. Al-Koran MOHAMMED. c. vi. AL MOSTATRAF, apud Pocockium, p. 136. RELAND. de relig. Mohammed. p. 270. & MILLIUS de Mohammedismo ante Mohammed. p. 311. SALE's prelim. disc. sect. 1. p. 24.

he composed a piece, containing a description of the nature and advantages of *boney*, together with an explication of eighty different terms by which it was styled; and yet that it had several other names. He likewise mentions another of his books, wherein he had enumerated above a thousand words expressive only of a *sword*. Notwithstanding which, the *Arabs* believe the greatest part of their language to be lost; which will not seem improbable, when we consider how late the art of writing became generally practised amongst them. For though it was known to *Job*, their countryman, to the *Edomites*, as well as the other *Arabian* nations bordering upon *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, and to the *Hamyarites* many centuries before *Mohammed*, as appears from some antient monuments, said to be remaining in their character; yet the other *Arabs*, and those of *Mecca* in particular, unless such of them as were either *Jews* or *Christians*, were to the time of *Morâmer* perfectly ignorant of it. It was the antient *Arabic* language preceding the reign of *Justinian* which so nearly resembled the *Ethiopic*; for since that time, and especially since the age of *Mohammed*, all the *Arabic* dialects have been not a little corrupted. This is now the learned language of the *Mohammedans*, who study it as the *European Christians* do the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin*.

A great affinity between the antient and modern Arabic.

A VERY great affinity between the antient and modern *Arabic* must, however, be allowed; so great an affinity, that in substance we may pronounce them the same. Many considerable advantages flow from a knowledge of the *Arabic* tongue, all which may be considered as so many inducements to the study of it: but amongst these, the chief seems to be, an investigation of the true meaning of many *Hebrew* words, whose *radices* cannot be discovered in the *Hebrew* original of the *Old Testament*, though they are still preserved in the *Arabic*. This we might prove by an induction of particulars, did not the discussion of such a point more properly belong to the modern history of *Arabia*. For a complete history of the language we are now upon, as well as a full display of the elegance, beauties, and utility of it, we must refer our readers to a curious and learned piece published by the Reverend Mr. *Hunt*, professor of *Arabic* in the university of *Oxford*, a gentleman as well versed in the whole circle of *Oriental* literature as any of the present age.

Letters.

WE have just observed, that the *Hamyarites* were not strangers to the art of writing. The character used by them, the most antient of any peculiar to the *Arabs*, wherein the letters were not distinctly separate, went by the appellation of *Al Mosnad*, from the mutual dependency of its letters or parts upon one another. This was neither publicly taught, nor suffered to be used, without permission first obtained. Could we depend upon what *Al-Firauzabadius* relates from *Ebn Hashem*, this character must have been of a very high antiquity; since an inscription in it, according to the last author, was found in *Yaman*, as old as the time of *Joseph*. Be that as it will, *Morâmer Ebn Morra* of *Anbar*, a city of *Irâk*, who lived not many years before *Mohammed*, was the inventor of the present *Arabic* character, which *Basbar* the *Kendian*, who married the sister of *Abu Sofiân*, is said to have learned from those of *Anbar*, and to have introduced at *Mecca*, but a little while before the institution of *Mohammedanism*. *Morâmer's* alphabet the *Oriental* authors agree to have been very different from the antient one of the *Hamyarites*, since they distinguish the *Hamyaritic* and *Arabic* pens. In *Mohammed's* time the *Morameric* alphabet had made so small a progress, that not a soul in *Yaman* could either write or read it; nay, *Mohammed* himself was incapable of doing either; for which reason he was called the illiterate prophet. The letters of this alphabet were very rude, being either the same with, or very much like the *Cuphic*, which character is still found in inscriptions, and the titles of antient books; nay, for many years it was the only one used by the *Arabs*, the *Korân* itself being at first written therein. According to *Khalican*, the present *Arabic* character was first formed from the *Cuphic* by *Ebn Moklab*, *Wazîr*, or *Visîr*, to *Al Moktader*, *Al Kaber*, and *Al Râdi*, *khâlîfs* of *Baghdad*, who lived about three hundred years after *Mohammed*; and brought to great perfection by *Ali Ebn Bowâb*, who flourished in the following century, and whose name is yet famous among them on that account. Others, however, attribute the honour of the invention of this character to *Ebn Moklab's* brother, *Abdallab al Hasan*; and the perfecting of it to *Ebn Amîd al Kûteb*, after it had been reduced to near the present form by *Abd' Al-*

* Pocock. ubi supra, p. 150—154. JALLALO'DDIN. in lib. *Mezhar*, c. i. p. 9, 22, 27. AL-JAUHARIUS & MOHAM. AL-FIRAUZABADIUS apud Pocockium, ubi sup. Job c. xix. ver. 23, 24. JOH. LUDOLPH. in comment. ad hist. *Ethiop.* l. i. c. 1. n. 19. p. 60. CL. HUNT, in orat. Oxon. habit. de ant. elegant. utilit. ling. Arab. p. 4—7, &c. edit. Oxon. 1739. HUNT ubi supra, p. 48, & seq. Vide etiam auctor. ibid. laudat.

hamîd.

- a *bamid*. But the best authors contradict the last of these notions, as well as the former, by affirming, that *Yakût al Mostafemi*, secretary to *Al Mostafem*, the last of the *khâ'ifs* of the family of *Abbas*, gave the finishing hand to it, for which reason he was surnamed *Al Khattat*, or the scribe. In order to perpetuate the memory of *Morâmer's* invention, some authors call the *Arabic* letters *al Morâmer*, i. e. the progeny of *Morâmer*. The most remarkable specimens of the *Cupbic* character, so denominated from *Cupha*, or *Cufa*, a city of *Irâk*, where some of the first copies of the *Korân* were written, are the following: part of that book in it on vellum, brought from *Egypt* by Mr. *Greaves*; some other fragments of the same book in it published by Sir *John Chardin*; certain passages of a MS. in the *Bodleian* library; the legends on several *Saracenic* coins dug up about twenty years ago on the coast of the *Baltic*, not far from *Dantzick*; and, according to Mr. professor *Hunt*, those noble remains of it that are, or were lately, to be seen in Mr. *Joseph Ames's* valuable collection of antique curiosities. As to the true origin of the antient and modern *Arabic* alphabets, we must own ourselves pretty much in the dark. However, that very learned and profound orientalist Mr. *Schultens*, seems not very remote from truth, when he deduces the letters, of which they consist, from the most antient *Hebrew* or *Assyrian*.

- b In order to give our readers a clearer idea of what that learned gentleman has advanced on this head, we shall here insert both the antient and modern *Arabic* alphabets, together with that of the *African Saracens* published by *Kircher*, which seems to be the old *Hamyaritic* character mentioned by *Al-Firauzabadius*, *Al-Jannabius*, *Ebn Kbalicân*, and *Georgius Ebn Amid*, under the title of *Al Mofnad*. As the *Persians* were neighbours to the *Arabs*, and of the same religion with part of them, before the time of *Mohammed*, we have thought proper here likewise to give them the old *Persic* alphabet (S), which, we doubt not, they will look upon as a very agreeable curiosity.

Antient and modern alphabets, as likewise those of the African Saracens, and Persians.

The modern *Arabic* alphabet.

Order.	Power.	Name.	Figure.
d 1	A or E.	Elif.	ا ا
2	B.	Be.	ب ب
3	T.	Te.	ت ت
4	T, blæse, or lisping.	Thse.	ث ث
5	G.	Gjim.	ج ج
6	Hh.	Hha.	ح ح
7	Ch.	Cha.	خ خ
8	D.	Dal.	د د
9	D, blæse, or lisping.	Dhsal.	ذ ذ
e 10	R.	Re.	ر ر
11	Z.	Ze.	ز ز
12	S.	Sin.	س س
13	Sj.	Sjin.	ش ش
14	S.	Sad.	ص ص
15	D.	Dad.	ض ض
16	T.	Ta.	ط ط
17	D.	Da.	ظ ظ
18	The Hebrew y.	Ain.	ع ع
f 19	G. Latin.	Gain.	غ غ
20	F.	Fe.	ف ف

^a EBN KHALICAN. BEN HAHMEL. AL-FIRAUZABADIUS. AL-JANNABIUS. GEORG. EBN AMID. Job c. xix. vers. 23, 24. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahom. p. 29, 30. CHARDIN's travels, vol. iii. p. 119. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 590, 108, & 194. GRAVIUS apud Pocockium, ubi supra, p. 158. HART, ubi supra, p. 12. Vide & Monarch. Asiatico-Saracen. stat. a M. GEOR. JACOB. KEHR *Slawinga-Franco* Oriental. Lipsiz, 1724. ALB: SCHULT. institut. ad fundament. ling. Hebr. p. 20. ed. Lugd. Batav. 1737. ^b LOESCH. de caus. ling. Hebr. p. 224. ed. Francof. & Lipsiz, 1706. SCHULT. ubi sup. ATHAN. KIRCH. in prod. Copt. p. 199, 200. Romæ, 1636. AL-FIRAUZABAD. AL-JANNAB EBN KHALICAN, & GEORG. EBN AMID. Vide etiam Pocock. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 154, 155.

(S) For this we are obliged to the Reverend gentleman of great erudition, and particularly eminent for his skill in the *Oriental* tongues.

The modern *Arabic* alphabet continued.

Order.	Power.	Name.	Figure.
21	K.	Kaf.	ق ک
22	C.	Kef.	ك ك
23	L.	Lam.	ل ل
24	M.	Mim.	م م
25	N.	Nun.	ن ن
26	W.	Waw.	و و
27	H.	He.	ه ه
28	I.	Ic.	ي ي

The old *Arabic* alphabet.

The old *Persic* alphabet.

ا	ا	Elif.	ع	
ب	ب	Be.	س	
ح	ح	Gain.	ز	& 2
د	د	Dal.	س	
ذ	ذ	Dfal.	س	
ر	ر	He.	س	
و	و	Waw.	س	
ج	ج	Gim.	س	
خ	خ	Hha.	ب	& 3
هـ	هـ	Ta.	س	
ز	ز	Ye.	و	
ح	ح	Caf.	س	
ط	ط	Lam.	س	
ق	ق	Mem.	س	
ك	ك	Nun.	س	& 3
ل	ل	Sad.	س	
م	م	Ain.	س	
ن	ن	Fci.	س	
هـ	هـ	Ze.	س	
و	و	Kaf.	س	
ز	ز	Re.	س	
ح	ح	Sin.	س	
د	د	Shin.	س	
ذ	ذ	Te.	س	

Like the *English* U.
Like the *English* V,
and at the end of a
word ع .

Like the *English* F.
Like the *English* P.

at the end of a word.

Tch.
Td.

The old *Persic* vowels and diphthongs.

a	ا			u	و
e	ع	ai	اي	ü	ی
ao	او			ei	ی
i	ی				

It appears, from comparing the old *Persic* and modern *Arabic* alphabets, that the following letters of the latter are wanting in the former, viz. ح ه ث. Now *Ludovicus de Dieu*, in his *Persic* grammar, observes, that the true *Persic* words have scarce ever any of these letters in them. It is observable, likewise, that the *Arabic* characters, which the *Persians* adopted in the reign of *Jezdegerd*, do not always answer the sounds they represent, so well as the old *Persic* letters did. In proof of which, it will be sufficient to produce the two following instances.

Arab.

Old Persic.

هسروت

پ ه س د د د د

هسروت

پ ه س د د د د

The *African Saracenic* alphabet, probably the same as the ancient *Hamyaritic*, given us by *Kircher*.

ا ب ت ث ج ح خ د ذ ر ز س ش ص ط ظ
Dh D Sh S Sc S Z R Dh D Ch Hh G Th T B A

ي ي ل ل ه & ل و ه ه ن ن م م ل ل ك ك پ ه ه ا
I I I L L H & L V H H N N M M L L K C Ph Gh Gh Ai

THOUGH by far the greatest part of the *Arabs* before *Mohammed* could neither read nor write, every one of which went under the denomination of *Al Ommio*; yet several of them became famous for their eloquence, and a perfect skill in their own tongue. Herein they exercised themselves by composing of orations and poems. Their orations were of two sorts, metrical and prosaic, the one being compared to pearls strung, and the other to loose ones. They endeavoured to excel in both, and whoever was able in an assembly to persuade the people to a great enterprize, or dissuade them from a dangerous one, or gave them other wholesome advice, was honoured with the title of *Kbâteb*, or *orator*, which is now given to the *Mohammedan* preachers. They called an oration giving a detail of some glorious achievements, delivered from the rostra, *Kbôitab*, according to *Al-Barezi*, a word of the same origin with *Kbâteb* above-mentioned. From what we find in several authors, they pursued a method very different from that of the *Greek* and *Roman* orators; their sentences being like loose gems, without connection; so that this sort of composition struck the audience chiefly by the fulness of the periods, the elegance of the

expression, and the acuteness of the proverbial sayings (T). So persuaded were they of their excelling in this way, that they would not allow any nation to understand the art of speaking in public, except themselves and the *Persians*; which last were reckoned much inferior in that respect to the *Arabians*. Two of the ancient *Arabs*, who immortalized their names by their eloquence, were *Koss* and *Sabban*, of the tribe of *Wayel*. Hence came the proverbs, *More expert in the art of speaking than Koss*, and *More eloquent than SABBAN*. To their poetry they seem to have been chiefly indebted, for the polishing, and even preservation, of their language, before the use of letters was introduced amongst them; for which reason their authors generally consider this and the study of their language together. In their poems, likewise, were preserved the distinction of descents, the rights of tribes, and the memory of great actions. An excellent poet, therefore, reflected an honour on his tribe, so that as soon as any one began to be admired for his performances of this kind in a tribe, the other tribes sent publicly to congratulate them on the occasion, and

(T) Now we are speaking of the *Arab* literature, our readers will expect some account of the fabulist *Lokmán*, so famous over all the east. *Lokmán*, surnamed *Al Hakím*, i. e. *the wise*, or *the sage*, according to *Saddi*, *Akramas*, and *Schaub*, was endued with the gift of prophecy, which came to him by succession, he having been the son or grandson of a sister or aunt of *Job*. The author of *Tafsir* makes him the son of *Baura*, or *Béor*, the son of *Nabor*, the son of *Terah*, and consequently related to *Abraham*. *Aboulis* gives *Lokmán* the surname of *Abou Anam*, i. e. *the father of Anam*, though others call his son *Mathan*. The author of the book intitled *Ain al mani* says, he was born in the time of *David*, and lived till the age of *Yusuf*; but this exceeds all belief. According to the description of his person by the *Arab* writers, he must have been deformed enough; for they say he was an *Ethiopian* or *Nubian* slave, and consequently of a black complexion, with thick lips, and splay feet. But in return he received from God wisdom and eloquence in a great degree, which some pretend were given him in a vision, on his making choice of wisdom preferably to the gift of prophecy, either of which were offered him. The generality of the *Mohammedans* therefore hold him to have been no prophet, but only a sage or wise man. Others relate, that when God, in order to reward his transcendent piety, offered to make him his vicegerent on earth, he chose rather to remain in the condition of a slave, though with an intire resignation to the divine will, begging that God would enable him to execute all His orders, in case He thought proper to fix him in so sublime a post. This, continue the same authors, so exceedingly pleased God, that he made him superior to all other men in wisdom; insomuch that he wrote ten thousand proverbs and fables, for the instruction of mankind. From several authors it appears, that he lived in the reigns of *David* and *Solomon*, and that by nation he was an *Ethiopian*, sold to the *Israelites*, but by religion a *Jew*. The author of *Tarikh Moutakhab* affirms, that the sepulchre of *Lokmán* was to be seen in his time at *Ramlah* or *Ramah*, near *Jerusalem*; and that he was interred near seventy prophets, who had been starved by the *Jews*, and all died in one day. He is said to have obtained his liberty on the following occasion: His master having one day given him a bitter melon to eat, he paid him such exact obedience as to eat it all; at which his master being surprised, asked him how he could eat so nauseous a fruit? To which he replied, it was no wonder, that he should for once accept a bitter fruit from the same hand, from which he had received so

many favours. Our readers will naturally observe, that *Lokmán*, who lived in the time of the prophet *Hud*, or *Hiber*, could not be the same person with the fabulist here mentioned.

As most of the particulars relating to the person of *Lokmán* here recited, as well as the quick repartees of which he is made the author by the commentators on the *Korán*, agree so well with what *Maximus Planudes* has written of *Æsop*, these two sages are generally thought to have been the same person. The great resemblance the fables of *Lokmán* bear to those of *Æsop* is an additional argument in favour of this notion. We are inclined to believe, that *Planudes* borrowed great part of his life of *Æsop* from the traditions he met with in the east concerning *Lokmán*, and concluded these two persons to have been the same from the circumstances above-mentioned. That the fables attributed to *Æsop* were of *Oriental* extraction, cannot well be denied, since they favour much more of the genius of the *Oriental*s than of that of the *Greeks*. Fable or apologue was of a very high antiquity in the east, and even the countries bordering on *Arabia*, if not in *Arabia* itself; as may be learned from the noble example of this form of instruction in the speech of *Jorham* to the men of *Shechem*, which was made near two hundred years before the time of *Lokmán*, supposing him to have been cotemporary with *David*. In fine, we are disposed to think, that the *Arab* traditions concerning the wisdom of *Lokmán* were only corruptions of some passages of Scripture relating to *Solomon* king of *Israel*, especially if we admit the queen of *Sheba* to have been a *Nubian* or *Ethiopian*. This will appear at least probable, from 1 *Kings* c. iii. ver. 9—13. c. iv. ver. 30—34. compared with what has been already observed of *Lokmán* from the eastern writers. The generality of these writers make *Lokmán* cotemporary with *David* and *Solomon*, and of the same religion with those princes; which adds no small weight to our opinion. As for the deformity of his person, that might have been introduced by them, in order to set off to the greater advantage, by such a contrast, the excellency of his wisdom. We must not omit observing, that the thirty-first chapter of the *Korán*, from whence several hints relating to our sage may be drawn, is intitled *LOKMAN*; nor that some fables going under his name have been published by *Goli*, at the end of his edition of *Erpenii's Arabic grammar*. What is here advanced will meet with a better reception from our readers, when they have consulted Mr. *D'Herbelot* in the article *Lokmán* (19).

(19) *Al-Zamakhshari. Al Beidawi, &c. Al-Kor. Mohammed. c. 31. Jud. c. ix. ver. 7. Maraccius in Alc. p. 547. ed. Patavii, 1698. Saddi, Akramas, Schaub, &c. Maxim. Planud. in vis. Æsop. Vahab. in comment. Turcic. ad Al-Korán. Mohammed. Poc. in nos. ad specim. hist. Arab. p. 36. La vie d'Æsop, par M. de Meziriac, Bayle in dict. hist. art. Æsop. Var. auctor. apud D'Herbel. in art. Lokmán. Vido etiam Lokmání fab. in calce gram. Arab. Thom. Erpenii, a Goli ed. Lugd. Bat. 1696.*

- a themselves made entertainments, at which the women assisted, dressed in their nuptial ornaments, singing, to the sound of timbrels, the happiness of their tribe, who had now one to protect their honour, to preserve their genealogies, and the purity of their language, and to transmit their actions to posterity. For this was all performed by their poems, to which they were solely obliged for their knowledge, and instructions, moral and oeconomic, and to which they had recourse, as to an oracle, in all doubts and differences. No wonder, then, that poetry was in such esteem among them, that they looked upon it as a great accomplishment, and a proof of ingenuous extraction, to be able to express one's self in verse with ease and elegance, on any extraordinary occurrence; nor that even in their common discourse they
- b made frequent applications of celebrated passages of their famous poets. As the *Arabs* considered an elegant and instructive poem as the summit of human performances, a spirit of emulation was kept up amongst their poets; in order to which, the tribes had once a year a general assembly at *Ocadb*, a place famous on this account, and where they kept a weekly mart or fair, which was held on our *Sunday*. This annual meeting lasted a whole month, during which time they employed themselves, not only in trading, but in repeating their poetical compositions, contending and vying with each other for the prize; whence the place, it is said, took its name. The poems that were judged to excel, were laid up in their king's treasuries, as were the seven celebrated poems, thence called *Al Moallakât*, rather than from
- c their being hung up on the *Caaba*, which honour they also had by public order, being written on *Egyptian* silk, and in letters of gold; on which account they had also the name of *Al Modbababât*, or the *golden verses*. It is worthy observation, that such a public congratulation as has been already mentioned was made only on the birth of a boy, the rise of a poet, and the fall of a foal of generous breed; which they reckoned three great points of felicity. Though poetry was of so high an antiquity amongst the *Arabs*, they did not at first use to write poems of any just length, but only expressed in verse occasionally; nor was their prosody digested into rules, till some time after *Mohammed*; for this was done, as it is said, by *Al Kbalîl Ahmed al Farâbîdî*, who lived in the reign of the *khalîf Harûn al Rashîd*. The first
- d author of a poem that consisted of thirty verses, or *Al-Kasîdah*, was *Mohalbel*. According to *Al-Khalîl*, there are fifteen different kinds of *Arabic* verse; *Zamakhshari* makes them sixteen, and others only eleven or twelve. *Mohammed* suppressed the fair and assembly at *Ocadb*, which occasioned poetry to decline in his time, and for some years after, the *Arabs* being then employed in extending their conquests; which having done, upon the return of peace this study was revived, and almost all sorts of learning encouraged, and not a little improved by them. However, this interruption occasioned the loss of most of their ancient pieces of poetry, which were then chiefly preserved by memory. The *Arabian* poetry agrees with the *Greek* and *Roman* in this, that it consists of *Ajzac*, parts corresponding with their feet; and
- e these differ, according to the different number and quantity of syllables, as the *Greek* and *Roman* feet did. The whole art of the *Arab* versification consists in the disposition of letters called *moveable* and *quiescent*. A *moveable* letter has its proper vowel; a *quiescent* letter one that has no vowel of its own, but is joined to the preceding letter, and with it makes one syllable. Thus, for instance, in *harson*, هـ (H) has its vowel (a), and therefore is *moveable*; but ر (R) is destitute of one, and therefore joined to the preceding هـ (H), with which it forms but one syllable. We must not here omit taking notice of the quick transitions from subject to subject in the *Arab* poetry, nor of the most celebrated ancient *Arab* poets, whose works were hung up in the *Caaba*, adorned in the above-mentioned manner: viz.
- f 1. *Amriol Kais*. 2. *Tarafah*. 3. *Zobair*. 4. *Labid*. 5. *Antarah*. 6. *Al-Hareth*. 7. *Amru Ebn Kaltûm*. Some authors, in the room of *Antarah* and *Al-Hareth*, substitute *Al-Aasha* and *Al-Nabega*. The title affixed to every copy of verses in the *Caaba* was, *Modbababato Foblan*, i. e. the *golden verses* of a certain poet, which are the best he ever wrote^b.

^b AL-MOTAREZZI, in lib. *Mogreb*. EBN AL ATHIR, JALLALO'DDIN, in lib. *Mezhar*, c. 29, & alib. MOHAMMED, EBN SALAIN, AL-JAUHAK, & AL-FIRAUZABAD, apud Pocockium, ubi supra, p. 159—162. ut & ipse POCOCKIUS ibid. IBRAHIM AL BAREZI in schol. ad sermon. Nobatî. Poc. orat. ante carmen Tograi, p. 10, 11. & not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 162, 348. EBN RASHIK apud Pocockium, ubi supra, p. 160, 381. AL-KHALIL & AL-ZAMAKHSAR. Vide etiam JALLALO'DDIN AL SOYÛTÎ, ibid. & p. 159. Grogr. Nubiens. Pocock. in calce notar. ad carmen Tograi, p. 233. & SALE's prelim. disc. p. 27, 28.

Some particulars relating to the chronology of the ancient Arabs.

BEFORE we dismiss our present subject, it will be proper to take notice of some a few particulars relating to the chronology of the *Arabs*. They divided the year into twelve months, whose ancient names were, 1. *Mutemer*. 2. *Nagir*. 3. *Chavan*. 4. *Savan*. 5. *Kisma*. 6. *Ida*. 7. *Asam*. 8. *Adil*. 9. *Natil*. 10. *Vail*. 11. *Varna*. 12. *Burec*. But *Kelâb*, the son of *Morrah*, from whom *Mohammed* was lineally descended, having, from certain events happening in every month, given new names to them, the old ones in his time began to grow obsolete amongst the *Koreish*; and afterwards, by the authority of *Mohammed*, when he had brought all the rest of the *Arab* tribes under his power, were totally abolished in every part of *Arabia*. As *Mohammed* made the use of the modern names one of the distinguishing characteristics of his followers, it is no wonder they should still prevail amongst the *Mohammedans*. The first day of *Mutemer*, or *Mubarram*, being the first day of the year, was celebrated by the ancient kings of *Yaman* with great festivity and munificence, as it was likewise by the *Persians*, and other eastern nations. The nation we are now upon anciently divided the year also into six seasons: 1. The season of herbs, flowers, &c. 2. Summer. 3. The hot season. 4. The season of fruits. 5. Autumn, or rather the latter part of autumn. 6. Winter. That the ancient *Arab* year was lunifolar, has been already observed; but the custom of intercalating months, in order to make the course of the moon to agree with that of the sun, was abolished by *Mohammed*. The *Arabs*, like the *Egyptians*, *Indians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, &c. anciently computed their time by weeks, or periods of seven days, as we learn c from a very ancient *Arab* poet, who died many ages before the publication of the *Korân*. The old names of these days are given us by that poet in the following order: 1. *Euvel*. 2. *Babûn*. 3. *Gebâr*. 4. *Debâr*. 5. *Mûnis*. 6. *Aruba*. 7. *Xijâr*. We have already delivered our sentiments concerning the origin of this manner of computing time, and may possibly say something farther of it, when we come to the history of the *Indians* b.

The sciences they chiefly cultivated.

THE sciences chiefly cultivated by the ancient *Arabians* were three; that of their history and genealogies, such a knowledge of the stars as to foretel the changes of weather, and the interpretation of dreams. They valued themselves extremely on account of the nobility of their families, and so many disputes happened on that d occasion, that it is no wonder, if they took great pains in settling their descents. Their knowledge of the stars was gathered from long experience, and not from any regular study, or astronomical rules. The *Arabians* and *Indians*, as has been already hinted, applied themselves to observe the fixed stars, contrary to other nations, whose observations were almost confined to the planets; and they foretold their effects from their influences, not their nature. The stars or asterisms they most usually foretold the weather by, were those they call *Arwâ*, or the houses of the moon. These are 28 in number, and divide the *zodiac* into as many parts, through one of which the moon passes every night. As some of them set in the morning, others rise opposite to them, which happens every thirteenth night; and from their e rising and setting, the *Arabs*, by long experience, observed what changes happened in the air; and at length came to ascribe divine power to them, saying, that their rain was from such or such a star. This expression *Mohammed* absolutely forbade them to use in the old sense, unless qualified in such a manner as to make the Supreme Being the director and manager of them. We find *Al-Rayesh*, one of the kings of *Yaman*, surnamed the philosopher, not so much on account of his learning, as of his great prudence, and intellectual endowments. That the *Arabs* understood something of physic before the time of *Mohammed*, appears from hence, that the famous *Arabian* physician *Al Harith Ebn Kbalda*, so celebrated amongst his countrymen, was older than that impostor. They seem to have made no farther progress in astronomy, which they afterwards cultivated with so much success and applause, than to observe f the influence of the stars upon the weather, and to give them names; which it was obvious for them to do, by reason of their pastoral way of life, lying night and day in the open plains. The names they imposed on the stars generally alluded to cattle and flocks, and they were so nice in distinguishing them, that no language has so many names of stars and asterisms as the *Arabic*. For though they have since borrowed the names of several constellations from the *Greeks*, yet the far greater part

b GOLII NOTÆ ad Alfraganum, p. 3—16. AL JAUHAR. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahomet, p. 2. ed. Lond. 1723. Al-Korân. MOHAMMED. pass. MESUD. & NOVEIR. apud Golium, ubi sup. Philos. Xirafic. Poet. antiquiss. apud Golium, ubi sup. Vide etiam Univ. hist. vol. vi. p. 684. not. (R); & p. 712.

a are of their own growth, and much more antient; particularly those of the more conspicuous stars, dispersed in several constellations, and those of the lesser constellations, which are contained within the greater, and were not observed or named by the Greeks. Some of the chief of these are *Auwâ* in *Virgo*, *Benât Al Nash* in *Urja* major, *Aiyûk* and *Al Gjdyân* in *Auriga*, *Ma'laph* and *Al Himarcin* in *Cancer*, &c. To wave all other arguments in favour of the high antiquity of the names of several stars and asterisms amongst the *Arabs*, it will be sufficient to observe, that some of these names were prior to the time of *Job*; nay that, in all probability, they were coeval with the first peopling of *Arabia*, since from the beginning the *Arabs* led a pastoral life, lying altogether in the open air, and continually viewing their flocks
b and the stars; from whence it came to pass, that the first appellations, given to some of the latter, alluded to the former. Neither can we absolutely reject what has been hinted by *Ricciolus*, viz. that some degree of attention is due to those who believe astronomy to be as antient as *Adam*, and consequently that several names of stars and constellations now in use amongst the *Arabs*, may be supposed to precede even the deluge itself. *Onirocritic*, or the art of interpreting dreams, this nation had in common with the *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, &c. as likewise divination by arrows, and, as is probable, something of genethliacal astrology.

THAT some of the *Arabs* had a good degree of knowledge in several mechanical arts, appears from *Strabo*, who informs us, that the people of *Tamna* and the
c adjacent provinces had magnificent temples, and elegant houses, built in the Egyptian taste. The same author likewise relates, that in *Arabia Felix*, besides the husbandmen, there were many artificers, and, amongst others, those who made palm-wine, which, he intimates, was much used by the *Arabs*. As for the exercise of arms and horsemanship, they looked upon this as one of their principal accomplishments; being obliged to practise and encourage it by reason of the independency of their tribes, whose frequent jarrings made wars almost continual amongst them, which for the most part ended in field battles. Hence it became a usual saying amongst them, that God had bestowed four peculiar things on the *Arabs*, viz. turbans instead of diadems, tents instead of walls and houses, swords instead of intrenchments, and
d poems instead of written laws. The principal arms used by the antient *Arabs* were bows and arrows, darts or javelins, and broad swords or cymeters. The bows and arrows were the most antient of these, being used by *Ismael* himself, according to Scripture. It is probable also, that some of them were acquainted with every branch of the military art cultivated by their neighbours, the *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, and *Phœnicians*^d.

WITH regard to the disposition of the antient *Arabs*, it will be proper to remark, that they had their good and bad qualities, their excellencies and defects, as well as
e people in the world to all nations, but particularly some of the *Greeks*. *Hatem* of the tribe of *Tay*, and *Hasn* of that of *Fezârab*, were principally famous on this account: the latter of these, we are told, fell into as great a transport of joy, when he conferred any signal favour upon a petitioner, as others did when they received such a favour. Nay, the contrary vice was so much in contempt amongst the *Arabs*, that a certain poet upbraids the inhabitants of *Wafet*, as with the greatest reproach, that none of their men had the heart to give; nor their women to deny. As a mark of their hospitable disposition, the *Arabs* used to light fires on the tops of hills, which in the night conducted travellers to their tents, and assured them of a kind reception. Every one of these fires they called *the fire of hospitality*, and the larger
f and higher it was, the greater honour and glory it reflected upon the person or persons concerned in lighting it. The highest compliment that could be paid a man was, to pass an encomium upon his munificence; as that most acceptable to a woman was, to celebrate her parsimony, and her beauty. The antients likewise commend the *Arabs* for being exact to their words, and respectful to their kindred; and they

^c AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium, in orat. ubi supra, p. 9. & not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 164. AL JAUHAR. AL FIRAUZABAD. & EDN AL ATHIR, ibid. p. 163, 164. GREG ABULFARAG. p. 161. HYDE, in not. ad tabulas stellar. fixar. Uugh Beighi, p. 4, 5. RICCIOLUS apud Hyde, ibid. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 31, 32. Gen. c. xxi. ver. 30. ^d STRABO, l. xvi. Pocock. in calce notar. ad carmen Tograi, p. 234. SEPHADUS in comment. ad carmen Tograi, apud Pocockium, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 161. SALE, ubi supra, p. 29.

have always been celebrated for their quickness of apprehension, and penetration, as well as the vivacity of their wit; especially those of the desert^e.

On the other hand, that the *Arabs* had a natural inclination to war, bloodshed, cruelty, and rapine, is acknowledged by their own writers. They had always been so much addicted to bear malice, that they scarce ever forgot an old grudge; which vindictive temper, some physicians say, ought to be attributed to their frequent feeding on camels flesh, that creature being most malicious, and tenacious of anger. And at this day the *Arabs* of the desert, who eat little else, are observed to be most inclined to these vices; which account, according to Mr. Sale, suggests a good reason for a distinction of meats^f.

Scenite Arabs
lived chiefly
upon plunder.

THAT the ancient *Scenite Arabs*, *Ismaelites*, or *Nabatæans*, in conformity to the divine prediction, lived upon plunder, harrassing their neighbours by continual robberies and excursions, we learn from *Diodorus Siculus*. That author observes, that it was in a manner impossible either to subdue or attack this nation of robbers; because they had wells digged at proper distances in their dry and barren country, known only to themselves: so that if any body of foreigners ever pursued or invaded them, they for the most part either died of thirst, or were consumed by the fatigues they found themselves obliged to sustain. Neither are their posterity less infamous at present, on account of the robberies they commit on merchants and travellers. This they are sensible of, and endeavour to excuse themselves, by alleging the hard usage of their father *Ismael*, who, being turned out of doors by *Abraham*, had the open plains and deserts given him by God for his patrimony, with permission to take whatever he could find there. This therefore, they think, authorizes them to indemnify themselves, as well as they can, not only on the posterity of *Isaac*, but also on every body else; always supposing a sort of kindred between themselves and those they plunder. And, in relating their adventures of this kind, they think it sufficient to change the expression, and, instead of, *I robbed a man of such and such a thing*, to say, *I gained it*. We must not, however, imagine, that they are the less honest for this among themselves, or towards those whom they receive as friends; on the contrary, the strictest probity is observed in their camp, where every thing is open, and nothing ever known to be stolen. The *Ismaelites* also employed themselves in pasturage, as well as pillaging of passengers, and lived chiefly on the milk and flesh of camels, as above-mentioned. However, some of them used horses flesh, as well as that of camels, according to the *Arab* poet *Tograi*. They often changed their habitations, as the convenience of water, and of pasture for their cattle, invited them, staying in a place no longer than that lasted, and then removing in search of another. They generally wintered in *Irâk*, and the confines of *Syria*. Before the *Romans* subdued *Syria*, the *Scenite Arabs* made dreadful excursions into that country, where they committed great depredations, as we learn from *Strabo*^g.

The more civilized
Arabs
dwelt in towns,
&c.

BESIDES these free-booters, we find a more civilized kind of *Arabs*, who dwelt in cities and towns. These lived by tillage, the cultivation of palm-trees, breeding and feeding of cattle, and the exercise of all sorts of trades, particularly merchandizing, wherein they were very eminent, even in the time of *Jacob*. The tribe of *Koreish* were much addicted to commerce, and *Mohammed*, in his younger years, was brought up to the same business; it being customary for the *Arabians* to exercise the same trade that their parents did, according to *Strabo*. Neither ought it to appear surprising, that the *Arabs* should have had such a genius for traffick, if their country produced such immense quantities of the most precious commodities, as some authors suggest. Balsam, cinnamon, and cassia, the *Happy Arabia* abounded with, as likewise myrrh, frankincense, and all the most noble spices and perfumes. Cattle likewise its inhabitants had sufficient to supply all their neighbours with, and even many of the remoter nations. But, above all, the gold, which was the proper produce of this country, has been represented by *Agatharchides* and *Strabo*^h.

^e GENTIUS in not. ad Gulistan Sheikh Sadi, p. 486, &c. Poet. Arab. apud Poc. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 48. ABU ISHAC & EBNO'L HOBAR. poet. Arab. apud Pocockium, in not. ad carmen Tograi, p. 107. ut & spic Pocock ibid. & p. 111—113. Vide etiam HERODOT. l.iii. c. 8. AGATHARCHID. CNID. apud Photium, p. 1369, 1370. STRABO, l.xvi. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 121. & SALE ubi supra, p. 29, 30. ^f Poc. not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 87, 88. BOCHART. Hierozoic. l.ii. c. 1. SALE ubi supra, p. 30. ^g DION. SIC. l.ii. p. 92. Gen. c.xvi. ver. 12. Voyage dans la Palest. p. 220, &c. FAIDEAUX's life of Mahomet, p. 6. & alib. SALE ubi supra, p. 25, 30, 31. TOGRAI, ver. 24. AGATHARCHID. CNID. & STRABO, ubi supra.

a to be so copious as to exceed all belief. According to them, the *Alilai* and *Cassandrini*, in the southern parts of *Arabia*, had gold in that plenty amongst them, that they would give double the weight of gold for iron, triple its weight for brass, and ten times its weight for silver. In digging the earth they found some pieces of pure gold, which needed no refining, as big as olive-stones, others as big as medlers, and lastly others equal to walnuts. Hence it came to pass, that all the furniture of their houses, even their chairs, beds, cups, and vessels of all kinds, consisted of gold and silver. Nay, according to *Agatharchides*, they alone enriched *Syria* to a great degree under the *Ptolemies*, and rewarded the mercantile diligence and labour of the *Phœnicians*. Contiguous to the *Alilai* and *Cassandrini* were the *Dedebe* or *Debe*, through whose country passed a river so abounding with small gobbets of gold, that the mud at the mouth of it seemed to consist intirely of that metal. *Diodorus* relates, that this gold was of so bright and glorious a colour, that it added an exceeding lustre and beauty to the most valuable gems set in it. In short, continues the last author, *Arabia Felix*, at least the region of the *Sabai*, was so immensely rich, that all the treasures of the world seemed to centre there; all the commodities of *Asia* and *Europe* being brought thither, as to an universal mart. But, notwithstanding the happiness of its climate, its fertility and riches, *Strabo* intimates, that *Arabia* was aggrandized solely by trade, and that in reality a great part of the riches, which the ancients imagined were the produce of *Arabia*, came from the *Indies*, and the coasts of *Africa*. For, the *Egyptians*, who had engrossed that trade, which was then carried on by way of the *Red Sea*, to themselves, industriously concealed the truth of the matter, and kept their ports shut, to prevent foreigners from penetrating into those countries, or receiving any information from thence. And this precaution of theirs on the one side, and the deserts, unpassable to strangers, on the other, were the reason why *Arabia* was so little known to the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Amongst other vessels the *Arabs* used on the *Red Sea*, to carry on their commerce with *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, were some made of leather, the invention of which the reflux of that sea suggested to them^b.

Amongst the principal customs of the ancient *Arabs*, besides those couched under d some of the former general heads, may be ranked the following:

1. THE ancient *Arabs* used circumcision, either on the eighth day, according to *Philostratus*, or after they had completed the thirteenth year of their age, when *Ishmael* was circumcised, as *Josephus* asserts. *Al-Gazali* intimates, that they underwent the rite of circumcision when all their teeth were completely formed, and *Ebn al Abir* betwixt the tenth and fifteenth year, which seems to correspond pretty well with what we find advanced by *Josephus*. The *Arab* writers affirm *Mohammed* to have been born both without a navel and a prepuce. 2. They frequently fed upon black-puddings, which consisted of the intestines of camels filled with their blood, which they called *moswadd*. 3. They were extremely addicted to divination and augury. When any one of them set out upon a journey, he observed the first bird he met with; and, if it flew to the right, he pursued his journey, but if to the left, he returned home. Some of them paid the like regard to the motions of all other animals. When a person, distrusting the fidelity of his wife, went a journey, he tied together some of the boughs of a tree called *Al-Ratam*, and if upon his return he found them in the same position, he judged she had been faithful to him, otherwise not. For the manner of their divination by arrows, we must beg leave to refer our readers to Dr. *Pocock's Specimen historiae Arabum*. All the species of augury and divination were forbid by *Mohammed*; as likewise the plays of chess, dice, cards, &c. which in the *Korân* are comprehended under the name *Al Majser*. 4. When a she-camel or ew had brought forth twins ten times, she had an ear cut off, and was afterwards sent to graze at liberty; but women were never permitted to taste of her flesh. 5. According to some authors, many of the idolatrous *Koreish* buried their daughters alive as soon as they were born, upon a mountain near *Mecca*, called *Abu-Dalamah*. 6. It was not uncommon for the *Arabs* to marry their father's wife, who, as they imagined, by an hereditary right, belonged to the eldest son, or, if he was already provided for, to one of his brethren; but this the most virtuous of them condemned as an ignominious and shocking crime, and stiled the person

Customs of the ancient Arabs.

^a AGATHARCHID. CNIQ. DIOD. SIC. STRAB. ubi sup. GEN. c. xxxvii. ver. 25. LA ROQUE, voyage dans la Palest. p. 109, & alib. Vid. etiam SALE, ubi sup. p. 25.

guilty of it *Al Daizan*. 7. Some of them married two sisters; which *Shabrestani* a looks upon as one of the worst things they were guilty of. 8. Most of them went a pilgrimage to the *Caaba*, observing some particular ceremonies, which our readers will find described by *Abulfeda*. 9. The *Caaba*, their great temple or place of religious worship from the remotest antiquity, was their *Keblab*, or place towards which they turned themselves when they prayed. 10. Every third year they intercalated a month, their years consisting of lunar months, as already observed. 11. They frequently washed their mouth and nostrils, combed their hair, cleaned their teeth, pared their nails, and had other usages conducive to external purification. 12. Whenever any one was found guilty of theft, they immediately cut off his right hand. 12. They addressed themselves to their kings in these terms, *May you avert all malediction*, or, according to Dr. *Pocock*, in order to shew their profound respect and reverence for, as well as submission to, his person, *He bath averted all malediction*; i. e. *May God be propitious to you*, or *May God prolong your life*. This form of salutation was first used to *Yarab* the son of *Kâbtan*, whose memory is held in great veneration by the *Arabs* to this day. 13. In *Arabia Petraea* a prince of one family, called the royal family, always governed, and was attended and served by a person styled the king's brother. 14. In *Arabia Felix* the king's brothers preceded his sons, and had greater respect shewn them, as being more advanced in years. 15. The *Trogodytes*, in the neighbourhood of *Arabia*, lived a pastoral life, and kept their wives and children in common. They were governed by several tyrants, who had wives, whom none of their subjects must lie with, under the penalty of a sheep. The women hung a fish-shell about their necks, which they believed to be a preservative against all kinds of fascination. 16. *Strabo* seems to intimate, that there was but one wife in a family, amongst some tribes of the *Arabs*, with whom all the men lay by turns; and that, whilst one was engaged with her, a staff, which all of them walked with, was erected before the door of the tent, as a signal to prevent another's approach. But the senior of the family, who always governed it, lay with her in the night. Adultery they punished with death; but esteemed him only guilty of it, who had to do with a woman of another tribe. 17. The *Nabathæans* were good œconomists, and therefore inflicted punishment publicly d on such as squandered away their substance; but paid great respect to such as increased it. 18. As they had very few slaves amongst them, relations either served at meals, and on other occasions, or they assisted one another, or, lastly, served themselves; which usage likewise extended to their phylarchs. 19. At their feasts they generally admitted only thirteen persons; and had always two musicians to perform during the whole entertainment. 20. Their phylarchs had so little power, that they were almost upon a level with the populace, and had their conduct frequently inspected into, and were obliged to give an account of it in person to a public assembly of their respective tribes. 21. Their cities were not walled round, scarce any foreign invader ever attempting to disturb them. 22. It was a common practice e amongst the *Saracens* or *Scenite Arabs* to have mercenary wives, hired for a time, marrying in one place, bringing forth in another, and educating their children in a third. Nor is this matter much altered since the admission of divorces; on the contrary, amongst many of them it is in all respects the same. 23. According to some authors, the antient *Arabs* circumcised their daughters, as well as their sons. 24. When the *Sabæans* found themselves near overcome by the strong odours emitted by their perfumes and aromatic plants, they had recourse to the fumes of bitumen, and the hair of goat's-beard, set on fire under the nose of the patient, which recovered them. 25. They reaped twice a year, having two harvests as well as the *Indians* and *Ethiopians*. 26. In their wars they brought into the field a great number f of camels, carrying each of them two archers sitting back to back, that in any general action they might be able to oppose the enemy both in rear and in front at the same time. Several other customs prevailing amongst the antient *Arabs*, depending upon the authority of the *Korân*, will be touched upon hereafter occasionally, when we come to consider the tenets and doctrines of that book i.

C H A P.

ⁱ AGATHARCHID. CNID ubi sup. DIOD. SIC. l. ii. & l. iii. STRAB. l. xvi. PHILOSTORG. hist. ecclesiast. l. iii. JOSEPH. ANTIQ. l. i. c. 23. AL-GAZALUS & EBN AL-ATHIR apud Pocockium, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 319. AL-ZAMAKHSAR. AL-BEIDAWI in c. v. AL-KORÂN. MOHAMMED. AL-MOSTATRAP. MOHAMMEDES AL-FIRAUZABADIUS & AL-DANIRIUS apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 321, 322, 323, & seq. KORÂN. MOHAMMED.

C H A P. IX.

The history of the Arabs, to the time of Mohammed.

- ^a **JOKTAN** the son of *Eber*, whom the *Arabs* call *Kabtân*, had thirteen sons, who, some time after the confusion of languages at *Babel*, settled in *Arabia*, extending themselves from *Mesha* to *Sepbar*, a mountainous district in the south-eastern part of that peninsula. To this district, in all probability, part of the provinces of *Hadramaut* and *Sbibr* corresponds, particularly that adjacent to the city of *Dbafâr* or *Saphâr*, in which some traces of *Moses's Sepbar* seem still to be preserved. The names of these thirteen planters were, *Almodad*, *Sheleph*, *Hazarmaveth*, *Ferab*, *Hadoram*, *Uzal*, *Diklah*, *Obal*, *Abimael*, *Sbeba*, *Opbir*, *Havilah*, and *Jobab*. As for *Hadramaut*, *Seba*, *Ofir*, and *Kawilah*, the sons of *Kabtân*, mentioned by *M. D'Herbelot*, they were undoubtedly the same with *Hazarmaveth*, *Sbeba*, *Opbir*, and *Havilah*; as appears, not only from the affinity of names, but likewise the order in which the three last are placed. According to *Abmed Ebn Yusef*, *Kabtân* had thirty-one sons by the same mother, of whom all but two, leaving *Arabia*, went and settled in *India*. *Yarab*, the elder of those two, succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Yaman*, giving name, if we will believe the *Arab* writers, both to their country and language, as has been already observed: *Jorham*, the younger, founded the kingdom of *Hejâz*, where his posterity kept the throne till the time of *Ishmael*. That *Yarab* and *Jorham* are the *Ferab* and *Hadoram* of Scripture, we cannot help thinking probable, though we are far from insisting upon it. Let this be admitted, and it will follow, that the second king of *Yaman* was called *Ferab* or *Yareab*, not *Yarab*; and consequently, that the peninsula of *Arabia* (A), and the *Arabic* tongue, could not have received their denominations from that prince, as the *Arabs* pretend. But whether *Yarab* and *Jorham* be the same persons with *Ferab* and *Hadoram* or not, we cannot infer from the disagreement betwixt their names, as *M. Gagnier* seems to have done, that every thing related by the *Arabs* of the former is a downright fiction; because, as their language differed gradually more and more from the *Hebrew*, the *Arabs* undoubtedly altered the most antient proper names. Of this *Hazarmaveth* and *Hadramaut*, *Joktan* and *Kabtân*, which confessedly denote the same persons, are a sufficient proof. *Elmacinus* says, that *Kabtân* was the father of the *Arabs*, and that he begat many children, who chose for their princes or leaders *Saba*, *Opbir*, and *Gjawilah*, i. e. *Sbeba*, *Opbir*, and *Havilah*; which runs counter to what we find advanced by *Abmed Ebn Yusef*, *Abulfeda*, and others. And this disagreement between the most celebrated eastern writers, with regard to the first kings of *Arabia*, clearly evinces, that none of them, at least in this point, can be intirely depended upon *.

MED. PASS. AL-SHARIZ. AL-IALLALAN. & AL-JAUHAR. apud Pocock. ubi sup. p. 324—339. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid. HADRIAN. RELAND. de relig. Mohammed. p. 79, 94, 117, 118. AL-MOTAREZZI apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 55, 56, 57. ut & AL JAUHAR. AL FIRAUZABAD. EBN AL ÂTHIR, & ipse POCCOCK. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. xiv. c. 4. & l. xxiii. LUDOLPH. hist. Æthiop. l. i. HEIDEG. hist. patriarch. tom. ii. exercit. 7. sect. 29. p. 241. HADR. RELAND. de relig. Mohammed. l. i. p. 75. Vid. etiam AL-KORÂN. MOHAMMED. ABULFED. anolq; script. Orient. pass. * ABULFED. hist. cap. 4. AHMED EBN YUSEF apud Pocockium, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 40. GEN. c. x. ver. 25—31. SAFIODDIN. in lex. geographic. R. SAADIAS in version. Arab. pentat. R. ABRAHAM. ZACHUT. in Sefer Iuchasin. GOLII notiz ad Altraganum, p. 82, 83. POCCOCK. ubi sup. p. 40, 45, 78, 151. D'HERBEL. bibl. Oriental. art. *Saba* & *Hejiaz*. GAGN. in distrib. sect. 1, 2. GEORG. 'EBN'OL-'AMIB 'ELMACIN in cod. MS. apud Gagn. ibid. Vid. etiam Univers. hist. vol. i. p. 130, 131.

(A) It is at least equally improbable, that the peninsula of *Arabia* should have been so denominated from we know not what mixture of different nations inhabiting it: for the *Arabs* agree, that they had only two principal planters, viz. *Kabtân* and *Ishmael*, whose families by intermarriages became one and the same. And it is generally allowed, that no people in the world have had a less mixture with foreigners than the *Arabs*, nor have preserved their antient customs and manners more invariably

the same than they have done. Nor indeed can we conceive an introduction of foreign customs amongst them likely to be effected, since neither the *Persians*, *Greeks*, or *Romans*, could ever subdue them; and as for the *Egyptians*, though *Sesac* obliged a good part of *Arabia* to submit to him, his successors could not long keep their footing there. All the other etymons of *Arabia*, except that we have already given, are so apparently remote from truth, that not the least regard is due unto them (1).

(1) Gagn. distrib. sect. 1. Abulfed. Vol. VII. N^o. 4.

Ahmed Ebn. Yusef apud Pocock. &c.

As does Ishmael the son of Abraham.

Ishmael forms an alliance with the Jorhamites, by marriage.

Some particulars relating to the kings of Hamyar.

Ishmael, and his mother *Hagar*, having been dismissed by *Abraham* in the manner already related, retired into the wilderness of *Paran*, where they were supported by the Divine favour and assistance. God had assured *Hagar* in her distress, before the birth of *Ishmael*, that her son should be the father of a most numerous and potent nation; that he and his descendants should be wild, and live in a state of enmity with the rest of mankind; and yet that they should never be thoroughly subjugated by any foreign power. The truth of which most surprising prediction to demonstration appears, from the manner of life, disposition, power, government, &c. of the *Scenite Arabs*, or, as they are frequently now styled, the *wild Arabs*, from the age of *Ishmael* to this very day. For, from *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, to omit other ancient authors, as well as the relations of all modern travellers, who have visited the countries they inhabit, they now live in the same manner their father *Ishmael* did, and have always done so from his time to the present. Their disposition likewise is the same that it was predicted to be, as it always has been; that is, *their band has been against every man*, and consequently *every man's band against them*; since they always have, and still do, for the most part, live by pillaging passengers of all nations. They never were reduced to, or at least for any time continued in, a state of servitude, as appears from all the principal ancient historians mentioning them, and their present almost absolute independence on the *Turk*; which gives us an idea of their power and government, sufficient to convince us of the agreement of both with the Divine prediction, relating to *Ishmael* and his posterity. The vast puissance and conquests of the *Saracens*, the descendants of *Ishmael*, as well as the similitude of their manners and those of the *Ishmaelites*, as foretold by God himself in the *Mosaic* history, likewise confirm the authority of Scripture in this particular. But this point our readers will find set in a just and proper light by two authors, who deserve well both of literature and religion.

Ishmael, as we learn from the sacred historian, held his residence in the wilderness of *Paran*, and married an *Egyptian*. In conformity to the Divine prediction to *Abraham*, he had twelve sons, the heads of so many tribes, which in after-ages grew exceedingly potent, whose names we have already given. The *Arab* writers say, that he took to wife the daughter of *Modad* king of *Hejaz*, descended lineally from *Jorham* the founder of that kingdom. Be that as it will, he died at an hundred and thirty-seven years of age, probably not far from the borders of *Egypt*. As the *Arabs* have always considered him, and still do consider him, as the father of the greatest part of their nation, and this notion is strongly countenanced by Scripture, we may look upon him and *Joktan* as the principal planters of *Arabia*. This seems an additional proof to those already offered, that the (B) *Cushites* did not settle in any great numbers here, or at least, that their settlement was not of any long continuance, but that they passed, either through *Egypt*, or on the eastern coast of the *Red Sea*, and over the streights of *Bab al Mandab*, into *Ethiopia*. The silence of the *Orientalists*, with regard to such a settlement, seems to confirm what is here advanced. We must not imagine, that the *Scenite Arabs* were the only descendants of *Ishmael*, though probably they might be the bulk of them; since *Moses* gives us to understand, that some *Ishmaelites* had castles and towns. For all other particulars relating to *Ishmael*, our readers may have recourse to the *Jewish* history.

In order to render our history of the ancient *Arabs* as complete as possible, we shall here give our readers catalogues of the kings of *Hamyar*, or *Yaman*, *Hira*, *Ghassân*, and *Hejaz*, extracted from the best *Oriental* historians.

As the kings of *Hamyar* were the most considerable princes in *Arabia*, it will be proper to begin with them. But, before we do this, some particulars relating to

^b Gen. c. xxi. ver. 14—22. c. xvi. ver. 12. Univers. hist. vol. i. p. 426. DIOD. SIC. STRAB. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. ubi sup. LA ROQUE, voyage dans Palestine, p. 213, 220, &c. Dr. JACKSON's works, vol. ii. Lond. 1673. Revelat. examined with cand. dissert. iv. p. 114—152. ^c Gen. c. xxi. ver. 20, 21. c. xvii. ver. 20. AL-JANNABIUS. Vid. etiam POCOCK. not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 78, 79. Gen. c. xxv. ver. 17. ADULFED. AL-FIRAUZABADI alioq; scriptor. Arabic. Univers. hist. vol. vii. p. 192, 193. Gen. c. xxv. ver. 16.

(B) The Scripture seems to distinguish the *Arabs* from the *Cushites*, when it makes a branch of the former contiguous to the latter. The passage here referred to will give great strength to what has been already advanced, in relation to the first settlements of the *Cushites* (2).

(2) 2 Chron. c. xxi. ver. 16. Univ. hist. vol. vii. pass.

- a them must be premised. The kingdom of *Yaman*, or at least the better part of it, particularly the provinces of *Saba* and *Hadramaut*, was governed by princes of the tribe of *Hamyar*, the son of *Saba*, the great-grandson of *Kablân*, though at length the kingdom was translated to the descendants of *Cablân* his brother, who yet retained the title of king of *Hamyar*. The *Hamyarites* were called *Homerites* by the later Greek and Latin authors, and *Immireniens* by *Theodorus Leitor*; all their princes had the general title of *Tobba*, which signifies *successor*, as the Egyptian kings had that of *Pharaoh*, the Roman emperors that of *Cæsar*, and the successors of *Mohammed* that of *Khalif*. Several lesser princes reigned in other parts of *Yaman*, but they were chiefly, if not intirely, subject to the king of *Hamyar*, who was styled the great king. But, as history has recorded nothing of these *reguli*, that deserves the least attention, we shall drop them, and immediately proceed to the series of the kings of *Yaman* or *Hamyar*^d.
1. *Kablân*, or *Joktan*, the son of *Eber*, is said to have first reigned, and wore a *Kablân* diadem, in *Yaman*; but how long he sat upon the throne, or what remarkable events happened during his reign, we no-where learn^e.
2. *Yarab*, the son of *Kablân*, was a prince greatly celebrated by the Arab histo- *Yarab* rians; but as the principal things related of him have already been taken notice of, we shall proceed to his successor^f.
3. *Yasfab*, son to the preceding prince, has had only his name transmitted down *Yasfab* to us^g.
4. *Abd Shems*, i. e. the servant of the sun, surnamed *Saba*, the son of *Yasfab*, next *Abd Shems* ascended the throne; who, the Arab historians tell us, was successful in his expeditions against his enemies, carried off great spoils, and took many of them prisoners. Hence, they pretend, he derived his surname, which to us seems by no means probable: it is more likely, that it was used before in his family, since the Scripture mentions *Sbeba*, or *Saba*, one of the sons of *Joktan*. He is said to have built the city of *Saba* or *Mâreb*, as likewise that stupendous mound or building, which formed the vast reservoir above that city. By means of this reservoir, which received all the water that came down from the mountains, the kings of *Yaman* did not only supply the inhabitants of *Saba*, and their lands, with water, but likewise kept the territories they had subdued in greater awe; since, by cutting them off from a communication with it, they could at any time greatly distress them. *Abd Shems* had many sons, but the most noted of them were *Hamyar*, *Amru*, *Cablân*, and *Albaar*^h.
5. *Hamyar*, the son of *Abd Shems* or *Saba*, according to the Oriental authors, was *Hamyar* so called from the red cloaths he wore. This seems a plain indication, that *Hamyar* was only a surname. He expelled *Thamûd* from *Yaman*, who took refuge in *Hejâz*. From this prince the tribe or kingdom of *Hamyar* deduced its name. Some assert, that not *Kablân*, but *Hamyar*, was the first king of *Yaman* that wore a diademⁱ.
6. *Wayel*, the son of *Hamyar*, according to *Abulfeda*, succeeded him in the king- *Wayel* dom; but other authors make his brother *Cablân* his successor^j.
7. AFTER *Wayel* reigned his son *Alfascac*^k. *Alfascac*.
8. *Yaasar*, the son of *Alfascac*, next mounted the throne^l. *Yaasar*.
9. To him succeeded *Dhu Riyash*^m. *Dhu Riyash*.
10. AFTER him *Al Nooman*, the son of *Yaasar*, swayed the sceptre of *Yaman*ⁿ. *Al Nooman*.
11. THEN came *Asmab*, the son of *Nooman*^o. *Asmab*.
12. *Shaddâd*, the son of *Ad*, the son of *Al Matata*, the son of *Saba*, a very *Shaddâd* potent prince, succeeded *Asmab*^p.
13. *Lokmân*, the brother of *Shaddâd*, was the next king, according to the most *Lokmân* received opinion, though some authors are of a different sentiment^q.

* MOHAMMEDES AL-FIRAUZABADIUS, EBN ATRIA, ABULFED: AL-JABHAN, Vide etiam Pocock. not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 65, 66. & SALE ubi supra, p. 9, 10. THEODOR. LECT. l. ii. p. 567. Vide etiam ASSEMAN. not. in Sim. episc. Beth. Arsamens. in bibl. Orient. tom. i.

• ABULFED. hist. c. 4. Scholiast. in poem Ebn Abduni, GEORG. ERNO' L AMID ELMAC. ubi sup.

† AL MOTAREZZI in lib. Mogr. ARMED EBN YUSEF apud Pocockium, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 40. Pocock. in orat. ante carmen

Tograi, sub init. & alib. EBN SHOHNAH. Vide etiam ABULFED. ubi sup.

‡ Pocockius, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 57.

§ Idem ibid. Geogr. Nubiens. clim. ii. par. 6. GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 87. Vide etiam SALE ubi supra, p. 10.

¶ AHMED EBN YUSEF. AL-JANNABIUS, GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. ubi sup.

• ABULFED. apud Pocock. ubi supra, p. 58.

† Idem ibid.

‡ Idem ibid.

§ Idem ibid.

¶ Idem ibid.

• Idem ibid.

† Idem ibid.

‡ Idem ibid.

§ Idem ibid.

¶ Idem ibid.

• Idem ibid.

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• Idem ibid.

† Idem ibid.

‡ Idem ibid.

§ Idem ibid.

¶ Idem ibid.

• Idem ibid.

† Idem ibid.

‡ Idem ibid.

- Dhu Sadâd. 14. He was succeeded by his brother *Dbu Sadâd* ^a.
- Al Hareth. 15. *Al Hareth*, the son of *Dbu Sadâd*, next ascended the throne. He greatly enriched the kingdom of *Yaman*, and was the first who had the title or surname of *Tobba* above-mentioned given him by his subjects ^c.
- Dhu'l Karnain. 16. *Dbu'l Karnain Affaab*, the next king, was the son of *Rayesh*. This was the *two-born* prince mentioned in the *Korân*, and not *Alexander the great*, as we learn from *Ebn Abbas* ^a.
- Dhu'l Manar. 17. *Dbu'l Manar Abrakab*, the son of *Dbu'l Karnain*, succeeded his father; but nothing remarkable happened during his reign ^w.
- Africus. 18. *Africus*, the son of *Dbu'l Manar Abrakab*, from whence that part of the world called *Africa* was so denominated, according to some of the eastern writers, b next took the reins of government upon him ^a.
- Dhu'l Adbaar Amru. 19. *Dbu'l Adbaar Amru*, the son of *Africus*, who reigned after his father, received the name or surname of *lord of terrors*, from the terror with which his subjects were struck at the sight of certain monstrous men, or satyrs, or apes, as some will have it, whom he had taken prisoners in war, and brought into *Yaman*.
- Sharhabil. 20. The *Hamyarites* placed upon the throne *Sbarhabil*, of the posterity of *Alfascac*, in the room of *Dbu'l Adbaar Amru*, whom for some enormity they expelled from thence ^a.
- Al Hodbad. 21. *Al Hodbad*, the son of *Sbarhabil*, succeeded his father ^a.
- Balkis. 22. *Balkis*, the son of *Hodbad*, is said to have reigned twenty years. According c to some authors, *Al Hodbad* was succeeded by a daughter named *Balkis* or *Belkis*, whom they assert to be the famous queen of *Sheba*, who had an interview with *Solomon*, king of *Israel*, at *Jerusalem* ^b.
- Nasherol'neam. 23. *Nasherol'neam*, so called from his surprising magnificence and liberality, was likewise styled simply *Malec*, or king. Having had bad success in an expedition, wherein his army was overwhelmed by torrents of sand, he caused a brazen statue to be erected, with this inscription, in the old *Hamyaritic* character, engraven upon it; *There is no passage behind me; no moving further; the son of Sharhabil* ^c.
- Shamer Yaraash. 24. *Shamer Yaraash*, the son of *Nasher*, swayed the sceptre after *Nasherol'neam*. We are told, that he was so denominated from the tremor that always possessed him, d and that he gave name to the city of *Samarcand*. That *Samarcand* was built by one of the *Hamyaritic* kings, surnamed *Tobba*, seems to be a point agreed upon by the best of the eastern writers. To confirm this notion, it is pretended, an inscription in the old *Hamyaritic* character was found under one of the gates of *Samarcand*; though what this inscription imported, we are no-where informed. It is possible the authors that relate this may mistake the old *Cufic* character for the *Hamyaritic*, since in the time of *Arabshah* considerable quantities of *dirhems*, and a small coin called a *salous*, with *Cufic* letters upon them, were frequently dug up at old *Samarcand*. That the *Hamyaritic*, *Cufic*, and modern *Arabic* alphabets were derived from that of the *Hebrews*, as the excellent *Loefer* and *Schultens* with great reason suppose, seems e farther to appear from hence, that the *Arabs*, in order to help the memory, distribute their letters into six words, *Abjad*, *Howaz*, *Hotai*, *Colman*, *Saaphas*, and *Karshat*; wherein the order of the *Hebrew* alphabet is exactly preserved. This, in conjunction with others, we take to be no contemptible argument in favour of what *Loefer* and *Schultens* have advanced ^a.
- Abu Malec. 25. *Abu Malec*, the son of *Shamer*, after his father's death, took possession of the throne ^c.
- Amran. 26. *Amran*, the son of *Amer*, a descendant of *Cablân*, the brother of *Hamyar*, to whose family the kingdom of *Hamyar* was now translated, was invested with the regal power upon the decease of *Abu Malec*. The *Oriental*s represent this prince as a f wife man, or soothsayer ^f.
- Amru. 27. *Amru*, the son of *Amer*, surnamed *Mazikia*, or *Dilacerator*, because every night he tore to pieces two garments he had worn the preceding day, succeeded the former king ^e.

^a Poc. ubi sup.
cockium, ubi sup.

^b Ebn Abnuni, &c.

^c notæ ad Alfragan. p. 296. Geogr. Nubiens. clim. 1. par. 6.

^d Pocockius, ubi sup.

^e Poc. in orat. ante carmen Tograi, p. 4.

^f FIRAUXAPADIUS, &c.

^a Idem ibid.

^w Pocock. ubi sup.

^y Pocockius, ubi supra, p. 59.

^d Idem ibid. p. 60.

^e Idem ibid.

^f Idem ibid.

^a Al Korân MOHAMMED. c. 18. EBN ABAS. Vide etiam Poc-

^b AL JANNABIUS, AHMED EBN YUSEF, Scholiast in poem.

^c Idem ibid.

^d Idem ibid.

^e Idem ibid.

^f Idem ibid.

^a AL KORÂN MOHAMMED. c. 18. EBN ABAS. Vide etiam Poc-

^b AL JANNABIUS, AHMED EBN YUSEF, Scholiast in poem.

^c Idem ibid.

^d Idem ibid.

^e Idem ibid.

^f Idem ibid.

- a 28. *Al Alkran*, the son of *Abimalec*, governed *Yaman* after *Amru*¹. Al Alkran.
 29. *Dbu Habshan*, the son of *Akran*, upon the last prince's demise, took possession of the government. This prince put to death *Tasm* and *Jadis*². Dhu Habshan.
 30. *Tobba*, or *Tobbaa*, the son of *Alkran*, succeeded *Dbu Habshan*³. Tobba.
 31. *Colaicarb*, or, according to some, *Molaic Yacrab*, ascended the throne of *Ha-myra* after the death of the last prince⁴. Colaicarb.
 32. *Abu Carb Asaad*, the succeeding king, we find mentioned in the *Korân*. He lived seven hundred years before *Mohammed*, adorned the *Caab* with hangings or tapestry, and first introduced *Judaism* amongst the *Hamyarites*. The *Oriental* writers say, that he was put to death by his subjects, probably on the score of religion⁵. Abu Carb.
 b 33. *Hassan Tobbai*, his son, cut off all his father's murderers, and was at last slain by his brother⁶. Hassan Tobbai.
 34. *Amru Tobbai*, the son of *Hassan Tobbai*, was surnamed *dominus lignorum*, or *Amru Tobbai Lord of wood*, because through the whole course of his reign he was so infirm and indisposed, that he was always carried about in a wooden chair⁷.
 35. *Abd Celal*, the son of *Dul'awad*, entered upon the government after *Amru Abd Celal Tobbai*⁸.
 36. *Tobba*, the son of *Hassan*, the son of *Colaicarb*, surnamed *Tobba minor*, succeeded *Abd Celal*⁹. Tobba.
 c 37. Next came *Al Hareth*, who embraced *Judaism*¹⁰. Al Hareth.
 38. The thirty-eighth king of *Yaman* was *Morthed*, the son of *Celal*¹¹. Morthed.
 39. *Waciaa*, the son of *Morthed*, was declared king after his father's decease¹². Waciaa.
 40. *Abrahah*, the son of *Aljabab*, reigned after *Waciaa*¹³. Abrahah.
 41. *Sabban* mounted the throne upon *Abrahah's* death, or, according to some of the *Oriental* writers, *Ebn Dakikan*. *Ebn Dakikan* had that famous sword of *Ebn Maad Cerb* called *Samsama*; this sword came afterwards into the hands of the *khâlif Râsîd*, who with it cut in two several noble swords, sent him as a present by the *Greek* emperor, in the presence of that prince's ambassadors, who brought them, without doing it the least damage. How far this story may be depended upon, we shall not take upon us to determine¹⁴. Sabban.
 d 42. *Dbu Shanater*, according to *Al Firauzabadius*, had six fingers on each hand. He was dethroned by the *Hamyarites* for being abandoned to an unnatural species of lust, and abusing several youths of some of the noblest families amongst them¹⁵. Dhu Shanater.
 43. *Yusef*, surnamed *Dbu Nowas*, from his flowing curls, lived about seventy years before *Mohammed*. He persecuted all who would not turn *Jews*, putting them to death by various tortures, the most common of which was, throwing them into a glowing pit of fire; whence he had the opprobrious appellation of the lord of the pit. This persecution we find mentioned in the *Korân*¹⁶.
 44. *Dbu Jadan*, i. e. the person with a sweet voice, succeeded *Dbu Nowas*, and was the last of the *Hamyaritic* monarchs, according to *Abulfeda*; but *Abmed Ebn Yusef* and *Al Jannabius* make *Dbu Nowas* the last prince of the true *Hamyaritic* line, reigning in a continual succession. He was a bigotted *Jew*, as just observed, and treated his *Christian* subjects with such barbarity, that *Elesbaas*, or *Eleshaan*, king of *Ethiopia*, sent over forces to assist them. *Dbu Nowas*, not being able to make head against the *Ethiopians*, was at last drove to that extremity, that he forced his horse into the sea, and lost both his crown and life together. According to *Abmed Ebn Yusef* above-mentioned, he reigned sixty-six years, which, though improbable, does not exceed all belief, as does the length of his reign recorded by *Al Jannabius*. The *Najâshi*, or king of *Ethiopia*, after this, established the *Christian* religion in *Yaman*, and fixed upon the throne there,
 e 45. *Aryat*, an *Ethiopian*¹⁷. Aryat.
 f 46. *Abraha Ebn al Sabab*, surnamed *Al Aftram*, i. e. the slit-nosed, from a slash in his face, where he had formerly received a wound, was the second *Ethiopian* king, or rather viceroy to the *Najâshi*, in *Yaman*. He was styled the lord of the elephant;
 1 Poc. ubi sup. 2 Idem ibid. 3 Idem ibid. 4 AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL JANNABIUS, &c.
 5 AL KORÂN. MOHAMMED. c. 50. AHMED EBN YUSUF, AL JANNABIUS, Scholiast. EBN ABDUNI, &c. 6 Pocock. ubi supra, p. 61. 7 Idem ibid. 8 Idem ibid. 9 ABULFED. apud Pocockium, ubi sup.
 10 Pocock. ubi sup. 11 Idem ibid. 12 Idem ibid. 13 Pocock. ubi sup. 14 ABULFEDA, AL JANNABIUS.
 15 AL FIRAUZABADIUS. Vide etiam Pocock. ubi supra, p. 62. 16 BARONIUS in annal. ad æc. 6. THEOPHAN. NICEPH. CALLIST. SIM. METAPHRAST. PAG. &c. Vide etiam ASSAMAN. bibliothec. Orient. vol. i. p. 359—385. 17 ABULFEDA, AHMED EBN YUSEF, & AL JANNABIUS. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahom. p. 61.

the reason of which appellation appears from the following story, handed down to a us by the commentators upon the *Korân*. *Abraba* built a magnificent church for the *Christians* in *Sanaa*, the metropolis of *Yaman*, with a design to draw the *Arabs* to go in pilgrimage thither, instead of visiting *Mecca*, as they before had done; which he imagined would greatly contribute towards their conversion to *Christianity*: for he doubted not abolishing paganism, could he destroy the veneration of the *Arabs* for the *Caaba*, by bringing them to a place more sumptuous and grand, and which would more strongly attract their curiosity, and gradually excite their devotion. This had soon such an effect, that the devotion and concourse of the pilgrims at the *Caaba* began considerably to diminish; which being observed by the *Koreish*, who were superstitiously fond of that place, they sent one *Nosail*, as he is named by some, b of the tribe of *Kenânah*, to offer an indignity to the *Christian* church at *Sanaa*, in order to lessen that religious regard, which the *Arabs* began to have for it. *Nosail* therefore getting into it by night, upon a solemn festival, defiled the altar and walls thereof with his excrements; and, making his escape by favour of the night, published every-where what he had done. At this profanation *Abraba* being highly incensed, vowed the destruction of the *Caaba*, and to that end assembled a considerable body of forces, wherein were several elephants, which he had obtained of the king of *Ethiopia*, their number being, as some say, thirteen; though others mention but one, at the head of which he advanced towards *Mecca*. The *Meccans*, unable to defend their temple and city, and terrified at *Abraba's* approach, parti- c cularly on account of his elephants, none of which creatures had ever before been seen in *Arabia*, retired to the neighbouring mountains, where they intrenched themselves. But GOD HIMSELF, at this juncture, interposed in an extraordinary manner: for when the *Ethiopian* drew near to *Mecca*, and would have entered it, the elephant on which he rode, being a large one, and named *Mahmud*, refused to advance any nigher to the town, but knelt down whenever they endeavoured to force him that way, though he would rise, and march briskly enough, if they turned him towards any other quarter. As he was the chief of the elephants, and, both by reason of his size and whiteness, greatly revered by the others, they immediately followed him, so that *Abraba* could not so much as reconnoitre the town. The *Meccans*, observing d this from their retrenchment, were at a loss to what to attribute so unexpected a motion, believing that the enemy were going to return home. In the mean time, whilst matters were in this situation, a large flock of birds, called *Ababil*, like swallows, came flying on a sudden from the sea-coast, every one of which carried three stones, one in each foot, and one in its bill, of a middle size betwixt a small lentil and a vetch, but so ponderous, that, being let fall, they pierced through the helmets and bodies of men, and even, according to some, the elephants likewise, which they threw down upon *Abraba's* soldiers, certainly killing every one they struck. Then God sent a flood, which swept the dead bodies, and some of them who had not been struck by the stones, into the sea: the rest fled towards *Yaman*, but perished by the e way, none of them reaching *Sanaa*, except only *Abraba* himself, who died soon after his arrival there, being struck with a sort of plague, or putrefaction, so that his body opened, and his limbs rotted off by piece-meal. It is said, that one of *Abraba's* army, named *Abu Yacsum*, or, according to others, *Abraba* himself, escaped over the *Red Sea* into *Ethiopia*, and, going directly to the king, told him the tragical story. Upon which, that prince asked him what sort of birds they were, that had occasioned such a destruction; in answer to which question he pointed to one of them, which had followed him all the way, and was at that time hovering directly over his head; which he had no sooner done, than the bird let fall the stone, and laid him dead at the king's feet. Some of the *Mohammedan* writers say, that the names of all the persons to be destroyed were inscribed on the stones that destroyed f them; that this flock of birds consisted of two sorts, one whose feathers were black, and bill white; the other all over green except the bill, which was yellow: and that they threw all their stones at once upon the *Ethiopians*. This memorable event, according to the *Mohammedans*, is said to have happened in the time of *Abd al Motalleb*, the grandfather of *Mohammed*, and the very year in which that impostor was born^h.

^h Al *Korân*. MOHAMMED. c. 105. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL BEIDAWI. JALLALAN. AL CEHAF. ABULFED. hist. Gen. AL JANNAB. AHMED EBN YUSEF, EBN O'L ATHIR apud Abulfed. AL GJUZIJUS, in lib. de ritib. peregrinat. c. 78. KHONDEMIR, HOUSSAIN VAZ COM. in Al *Kor*. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. in voc. *Abraba*. PRIDEAUX'S life of Mahomet, p. 61. Vide etiam PO'OCKIUM ubi supra, p. 64.

- a THAT this piece of history has all the air of one of those fictions, with which the Arab writings in general, and the *Korân* in particular, abound, will be readily acknowledged by all our intelligent readers. We therefore, with Dr. *Prideaux*, rather take the fact therein asserted to be a creature of *Mohammed's* brain, than a feat of evil spirits, as is suggested by father *Marracci*; and yet, supposing it a real fact, we see no absurdity in this last notion. The very learned Mr. *Sale*, to our no small surprize, is of opinion, that this ridiculous story, for so we cannot help terming it, is not without some foundation, since "it seems to him, that there was something extraordinary in the matter." The reasons he alledges in support of this opinion, are the two following: 1. The event is said to have happened not above fifty-four
- b years before the pretended revelation mentioning it was made; and therefore had it been a fiction, several living witnesses could have disproved it; which we find never was done, and consequently may presume, that the reality of this remarkable action could not be denied. 2. *Mohammed* had no occasion to coin a miracle to gain the temple of *Mecca* any greater veneration, the people of *Mecca* being already so religiously attached to it, that he was obliged, contrary to his original plan, to make it the chief place of his new-invented worship. In answer to the first reason, it will be sufficient to observe, that, according to Mr. *Sale* himself, after *Abu Beer* had vouched for *Mohammed's* veracity, in the twelfth year of his mission, which falls within the time mentioned, his disciples were ready to swallow whatever he was
- c pleased to impose upon them; that the story, as told in the *Korân*, is supposed a revelation, and therefore might only describe the supernatural unknown cause of a noted defeat; that Mr. *Sale* himself allows the thing might be worked up into a miracle, at which it must be owned, none of the preceding *Arabs* had so excellent a knack as *Mohammed*; and, lastly, that the same turn and genius appear in this as in the most extravagant absurdities of that impostor. To the second reason it may be replied, that we are under no necessity to allow, though Dr. *Prideaux* supposes it, that the gaining a veneration to the *Caaba* amongst the pagan *Arabs* was the motive to the forging such a story; on the contrary, it appears that this could not possibly be the motive, even from Mr. *Sale's* own observation, viz. because the *Meccans*, or pagan *Arabs*,
- d held their temple in the highest veneration at the time this pretended revelation happened. But, notwithstanding this, *Mohammed* might coin a miracle, either to draw the christian *Arabs* to *Mecca*, and make them converts to his religion, or to render them odious to all the other *Arabs*; which, from the whole tenour of the story, appears to have been his design. But as what Mr. *Sale* has offered on this occasion seems rather to proceed from a desire of shewing some disrespect to Dr. *Prideaux*, on account of his attachment to religion in general, than a full persuasion of the truth of what he seems to advance, we shall offer nothing farther on this head, but immediately resume the thread of our history e.

47. *Yacsum*, the son of *Abraba*, succeeded him; but we find nothing remarkable *Yacsum*.
e related of him by any ancient historians d.

48. *Masruk*, another son of *Abraba*, and the last of the *Ethiopian* princes in *Masruk*.
Taman, came to the throne after *Yacsum*. The *Ethiopians*, according to some eastern writers, occupied the kingdom of *Hamyar* about seventy-two years e.

49. *Seif Ebn Dhu Yazan*, of the old royal family of *Hamyar*, having obtained *Seif Ebn Dhu*
succours of *Khosrû Anushirwân*, king of *Persia*, which had been denied him by the *Yazan*.
emperor *Heraclius*, recovered the throne, and drove out the *Ethiopians*, but was himself slain by some of them, who were left behind. The *Persians* appointed the succeeding princes, *Wabzar*, *Marzaban*, *Siban*, *Jorjis* or *Georgius*, and *Bazan*, till *Taman* fell into the hands of *Mohammed*, to whom *Bazan*, or rather *Badbân*, the
f last of them, submitted, and embraced his new religion. This induced *Mohammed* to give *Sababr*, the son of *Bazan*, part of his father's dominions f.

THUS stands the series of the kings of *Hamyar*, which we wish was more perfect. Duration of
The petty princes already mentioned, tributary to the king of *Hamyar*, were styled the kingdom of
Al Kail, and the governors of provinces *Al Makawel*. According to *Abulfeda*, this Ha.ny.r.
monarchy continued 2020 years, or above 3000, if we will believe *Abmed Ebn Yusuf*,
and *Al Jannabius*. The length of the reign of each prince must be allowed to be
very uncertain. The history of the kings of *Hamyar*, surnamed *Tobba* or *Tobbai*,
which the *Arabs* pronounce *Tababéab*, and *Tabbâiab*, has been wrote by *Shababeddin*

e SALE's translation of the *Korân*, ch. cv. p. 501, 502. & not. PRID. ubi supra, & seq. LUDOVICUS MARRACCIUS, in refut. Alcoran. p. 823. Patavii. 1693.

d Pocock. ubi sup.

e AL JANNABIUS.

f Pocock. ubi supra, p. 64, 65. AHMED EBN YUSEF, ibid.

Ahmed Ebn Abdalwahab, Al Bekri, Al Taimi, Al Kendi, surnamed Nouairi, author of a universal history, which he dedicated to Nasser Mohammed Ebn Caloun, sultan of the Mamalukes. For an account of this work, we must refer our readers to M. D'Herbelot. Nouairi died in the year of the Hejra 732.

The inundation
of Al Arem.

It has been already observed, that *Saba* made a vast mound or dam, to serve as a basin or reservoir, to supply the inhabitants of the city built by him, and called after his name, with water, which it constantly received from the mountains, as also to keep the country his predecessors had subdued in greater awe, by rendering him master of the water. This building stood like a mountain above the city, and was by the *Sabaans* esteemed so strong, that they were under no apprehension of its ever failing. The water rose to the height of almost twenty fathoms, and was kept in on every side by a work so solid, that many of them had their houses built upon it. Every family had a certain portion of this water distributed by aqueducts. But at length God, being highly displeased at their pride and insolence, and resolving to humble and disperse them, sent a mighty flood, which broke down the mound by night, while the inhabitants were asleep, and carried away the whole city with the neighbouring towns and people. This inundation is styled in the *Korân* the inundation of *AL AREM*, and occasioned so terrible a destruction, that from thence it became a proverbial saying, to express a total dispersion, that *they were gone and scattered like Saba*. *Al Beidawi* supposes the aforesaid mound to have been the work of queen *Balkis*, and that the above-mentioned catastrophe happened after the time of *JESUS CHRIST*. But both these notions run counter to the most received opinion, which attributes the building of *AL AREM* to *Saba*, and fixes its destruction about the time of *Alexander the great*. Be that as it will, no less than eight tribes, viz. those of *Anmâr, Jodhâm, Al Azd, Tay, Kbozâab, Banu Amela, &c.* were forced to abandon their dwellings on this occasion, some of which gave rise to the kingdoms of *Hira* and *Ghassân* (B).

Foundation of
the kingdom of
Hira.

THE kingdom of *Hira* was founded by *Malec*, a descendant of *Cablân*, in *Chaldæa* or *Irâk*; but after three descents the throne came by marriage to the *Lakbmians*. These princes, whose general name was *Mondar*, preserved their dominion, notwithstanding some small interruption by the *Persians*, till the khalifat of *Abubecr*, when *Al Mondar Maghrûr*, the last of them, lost his life and crown by the arms of *Khaled Ebn al Walid*. The kingdom of the *Mondars*, supposed to be the descendants of *Nadar Ebn Rabia*, continued, according to *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, six hundred twenty-two years and eight months. Its princes were under the protection of the kings of *Persia*, whose lieutenants they were over the *Arabs* of *Irâk*, as the kings of *Ghassân* were for the *Roman* emperors over those of *Syria*. The *Lakbmians* were descended from *Lakbm* the son of *Amru*, the son of *Saba*. If the kingdom of the *Lakbmians* or *Mondars* was not of any longer duration than six hundred and twenty-two or twenty-three years, *Al Beidawi* seems not to be much mistaken, when he affirms the inundation of *Al Arem* to have happened after the birth of *Christ*, notwithstanding the authority of those who carry it above three centuries higher. This space was taken up by the reigns of the following kings, according to the best *Oriental* historians¹.

Malec.

1. *Malec*, who, say some of the eastern writers, flourished in the time of the kings of the provinces, that is, of the governors *Alexander the great* appointed to preside over the provinces of *Persia*².

Amru.

2. *Amru*, *Malec's* brother³.

Jodaimah.

3. *Jodaimah*, the son of *Malec*, surnamed *Al Abrash*, who first used amongst the *Arabs* that military engine called a *ballista*. He defeated *Amru*, an *Arab* prince of the tribe of *Amalek*, who reigned in *Mesopotamia*, and put him to the sword; but was afterwards

¹ AL JAUHARIUS, ABULFEDA, AL FIRAUZABADIUS. Vide etiam AHMED EBN YUSEF, & AL JANNABIUS, apud Pocockium ubi supra, p. 62, 63. D'HERBEL. in voc. Nouairi, p. 674, 675. & voc. Tobba, p. 589. ² GOLII notæ ad Afraganum, p. 87. Geogr. Nubient. clim. 2. par. 6. Al Korân. MOHAMMED. c. 34. AL BEIDAWI. JAL-LAL. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 42, 45, 66. ³ Poc. ubi supra, p. 66, 74. PROCOPIUS in Pers. apud Photium, p. 71, &c. AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL BEIDAWI, &c. ⁴ Poc. ubi supra, p. 66. ⁵ Idem ibid.

(B) At this time likewise, probably happened the migration of those tribes or colonies which were led into *Mesopotamia* by three different chiefs, *Becr*, *Mondar*, and *Rabia*; from whence the three provinces of that country are still named *Diyar Becr*, *Diyar Modar*, and *Diyar Rabia* (2).

(2) Golii notæ ad Afragan. p. 232.

himself

- a himself assassinated, by the contrivance of *Zoba*, *Amru's* daughter, with whom he was greatly enamoured ^m.
4. *Amru*, the son of *Ad* and *Rakab* the sister of *Jolaimab*, by the assistance of *Amru*. one *Kofair*, who had been servant to *Jodaimab*, revenged the murder of his uncle by the following stratagem: *Kofair*, at his own desire, had his ears cut off, and was whipped in a most cruel manner, by *Amru's* order; after which he fled to *Zoba*, making the heaviest complaints of the inhuman treatment he had met with. By this means he soon became a confident of *Zoba*, who permitted him to convey into her castle some large chests, full, as was given out, of wares, but, in reality, of armed men, who immediately dispatched her. The memory of *Amru* is still preserved
b amongst the *Arabs* by several proverbs which particularly allude to him ⁿ.
5. *Amrio'l Kais*, the son of *Amru*, surnamed *Albada*, succeeded his father ^o. *Amrio'l Kais*.
6. *Amru*, the son of *Amrio'l Kais*, flourished in the time of *Sabur*, or *Sapor*, *Dil Amru*. *Ataf*, king of *Persia*. This *Persian* monarch, whose surname imports as much, according to *Abulfeda*, cut off the shoulders of all the *Arabs* he took prisoners, in a war he had with that nation. His mother's name was *Mary*, whose ear-rings occasioned a proverb amongst the *Arabs*. If this piece of history may be depended upon, it is an additional proof of the truth of what *Al Beidawi* has advanced in relation to the time when the inundation of *AL AREM* happened ^p.
7. *Aus*, the son of *Kalam*, an *Amalekite* ^q. *Aus*.
- c 8. ANOTHER *Amalekite* prince, whose name is not known, succeeded *Aus*; after whose decease the crown reverted to the family of the *Lakhmians*, after an interruption of two descents ^r. *An anonymous king*.
9. *Amrio'l Kais*, the son of *Amru*, next ascended the throne. He was surnamed *Amrio'l Kais* *Amobrek*, or *the burner*, because he first tortured criminals with fire ^s.
10. *Al Nooman*, the son of *Amrio'l Kais*, surnamed *Alawar*, or *the blinkard*, who, *Al Nooman*. when he had reigned thirty years, abdicated the government, and retired from the world, saying, *What signifies a kingdom that will certainly have an end?* *Al Nooman* built those castles or towers called *Kbaouarnak* and *Al Sadir*, so celebrated by the *Arab* poets and proverbs. *Senemmar*, the builder of *Kbaouarnak*, was thrown head-
d long from thence by *Al Nooman's* order, which gave occasion to the proverb, *The reward of Senemmar*. We are told, that *Al Nooman* became a convert to the *Christian* religion, and in consequence thereof thought fit to resign the reins of government to his son *Hendu*, as just hinted. *Jezdegerd*, king of *Persia*, committed the care of his son's education, and the establishment of his constitution, to *Al Nooman*, who was afterwards very instrumental in fixing him upon the throne of his ancestors. The cause of *Senemmar's* tragical end, and all the other remarkable particulars relating to the reign of the prince we are now upon, our readers will find an ample account of in the history of the *Persians* ^t.
11. *Al Mondar Ebn Noomab*, the *Hendu* of the *Persian* historians, attended *Ba-* *Al Mondar*. *haram*, the son of *Jezdegerd*, into *Persia*; with an army of 40000 men, to enable *Ebn Noomab*. him to dethrone one *Kerfa*, an usurper whom the *Magi* had elected king. The success and particulars of this expedition have been already related at large in that part of this work to which they most properly belong ^u.
12. *Al Aswad*, son to *Al Mondar*, overthrew the king of *Ghassan*, and took many *Al Aswad*. of his relations prisoners, according to some of the *Oriental* historians; but *Abmed Ebn Yusef* relates, that the king of *Ghassan* prevailed against him, and slew him, after a short reign ^v.
13. He was succeeded by his brother *Al Mondar*, whose true name has not reached *An anonymous* us. It is probable, nothing of moment happened whilst this prince sat on the throne, *king*.
f since the eastern writers say little of him ^w.
14. *Al Kamab*, successor to the last king, was styled *Al Damyali*, from the family *Al Kamab*. of *Damyal*, of which he was a member. All the transactions that happened during his reign, are likewise buried in oblivion ^x.
15. *Amrio'l Kais*, the son of *Nooman*, the son of *Amrio'l Kais al Mohrek*, next *Amrio'l Kais*. swayed the sceptre of *Hira*. *Abmed Ebn Yusef* asserts, that it was he who threw *Se-* *the son of* *Nooman*.

^m MOHAMMEDES AL FIRAUZABADIUS, AL JANNABIUS, AHMED EBN YUSEF.

p. 67, 68.

ⁿ Idem ibid.^o ABULFEDA. AL BEIDAWI.^p Pocockius ubi supra,^q Pocock. ubi supra, p. 68.^r Idem

ibid.

^s Idem ibid.^t AL FIRAUZABADIUS, SAFIUDDIN. AL MEIDAN. LEBTARIKH. MIRKHOND.^u KHONDENIR. &c. Vide etiam Univ. hist. vol. iv. p. 382, 383.^v LEBTARIKH. MIRKH. KHONDEN. ubi

supra. Univ. hist. ubi supra.

^w AHMED EBN YUSEF.^x Pocockius ubi supra, p. 69.^y Idem ibid.

nemmar headlong from the top of the castle of *Kbaouarnak*, with whom agree herein *Abulfeda* and *Al Jannabius* ^a.

Al Mondar
Ebn Amriol
Kais, Ebn
Nooman.

16. *Al Mondar*, the son of the last king and *Mawwab* the daughter of *Ans*, a lady of such transcendent beauty, that she was called *Maiffamai*, i. e. *water of heaven*, governed after his father in *Hira*. From his mother he and his posterity were likewise surnamed *Al Mondar Ebn Maiffamai*; which appellation they had in common with the kings of *Gbassan*, according to *Al Jaubarius*. For these last princes were so denominated from *Abu Amer*, of the tribe of *Azd*, the father of *Amru Mazikia*, who by his surprising liberality and beneficence supplied the want of rain, furnishing his people with corn, when an extreme drought had rendered it so dear, that they were incapable of buying it. This prince was deposed by *Kbofrú Kobád*, king of *Persia* ^b.

Al Hareth.

17. *Al Hareth Ebn Amru*, of the tribe of *Kenda*, was placed on the throne of *Hira* by *Kbofrú Kobád*, in the room of *Al Mondar Ebn Amriol Kais*, whom he had deposed. However, *Kobád's* son and successor *Anushirwán*, surnamed *the just*, in whose reign *Mohammed* was born, restored the lawful king to his dominions, and drove away the usurper *Al Hareth Ebn Amru*. *Kobád* embraced the tenets of an impostor called *Mazdak*, who pretended himself a prophet sent from God to preach a community of women and possessions, since all men were descended from the same common parents; and in most points agreed with *Manti*. By rendering wealth and women common, he proposed taking away the lust of both; from whence, he insinuated, generally arose the feuds, quarrels, and animosities, that disturbed the repose and tranquillity of mankind. Such a doctrine well suiting the disposition of *Kobád*, he not only professed himself a convert to *Mazdak's* religion, but likewise obliged all his dependents to do the same; and therefore, when *Al Mondar Ebn Amriol Kais* refused this, he stripped him of his dominions, and appointed *Al Hareth*, who had declared himself a zealous follower of *Mazdak*, to preside over them in his stead. But *Anushirwán*, called *Nouschirvan* by the *Persian* historians, in consequence of a vow he had made before his accession, restored the *Mondar* family to the throne of *Hira*, put *Mazdak* to death, and abolished the profession of his impious opinions. It is said, when *Mazdak* knew his fate, he told *Anushirwán*, that God had raised him to the throne of *Persia* to protect his subjects, and not to destroy them. To which that monarch answered, True, abandoned villain; but dost thou not remember, that with the utmost difficulty, even by kissing thy bathsome feet, I prevailed upon thee not to lie with my mother, when my father, at thy impudent request, had given thee a permission to do so? Yes, replied *Mazdak*. Upon which, the king ordered him to be executed immediately, cut off many of his followers, and established once more amongst his subjects the ancient *Magian* religion ^c.

Al Mondar,
Ebn Amriol
Kais, Ebn
Nooman.

18. *Al Mondar Ebn Amriol Kais* was succeeded by his son *Al Mondar*, styled, according to *Al Jaubarius*, *Modret ol' Hajarab*, from his surprising strength, and unparalleled bravery. Other authors, from his mother *Henda*, give him the surname of *Ebn Henda*. In the eighth year of his reign the false prophet *Mohammed* was born ^c.

Kabus.

19. *Kabus*, the brother of *Amru*, comes next, of whom we find nothing worthy of notice related by the eastern writers ^d.

His brother,
Al Mondar,
Al Nooman
Abu Kabus.

20. *Al Mondar*, brother to the former prince, succeeded him ^e.

21. *Al Nooman*, surnamed *Abu Kabus*, was the twenty-first king of *Hira*, and became a convert to *Christianity* on the following occasion: In a drunken fit he had ordered two of his intimate companions, who, overcome with liquor, had fallen asleep, to be buried alive. When he came to himself, he was extremely concerned at what he had done; and, to expiate his crime, not only raised a monument to the memory of his friends, but set apart two days, one of which he called the *unfortunate*, and the other the *fortune's day*; making it a perpetual rule to himself, that whoever met him on the former day, should be slain, and his blood sprinkled on the monument; but he that met him on the other day, should be dismissed in safety, with magnificent gifts. On one of the unfortunate days, there came before him accidentally an *Arab*, of the tribe of *Tay*, who had once entertained this king, when fatigued with hunting, and separated from his attendants. The king, who could neither discharge him, contrary to the order of the day, nor put him to death, against

^a AHMED EBN YUSEF, ABULFEDA, & AL JANNABIUS. *ANUSHIRWÁN. SHARESTAN. apud Pocockium, ubi supra, p. 70. AHMED EBN YUSEF, ibid. p. 71. MIRKÁ. KHOND. & UNIV. HIST. ubi supra, p. 390, 391.*

^b AL JAUBARIUS.

^c ABULFED. in vit.

^d Pocockius ubi supra, p. 72. ^e Ibid. the

- a the laws of hospitality, which the *Arabs* religiously observe, proposed, as an expedient, to give the unhappy man a year's respite, and to send him home with rich gifts, to make his family amends for the great loss they were to sustain, on condition that he found a surety for his returning at the year's end, to suffer death. One of the prince's court, out of compassion, offered himself as his surety, and the *Arab* was discharged. When the last day of the term came, and no news of the *Arab*, the king, not at all displeased to save his host's life, ordered the surety to be brought out to execution. Those who were by, represented to the king, that the day was not yet expired, and therefore he ought to have patience till the evening: but in the middle of their discourse the *Arab* appeared. The king, admiring the man's generosity, in offering himself to certain death, which he might have avoided by letting his surety suffer, asked him, what was his motive for so doing? To which he answered, he had been taught to act in that manner by the religion he professed; and *Al Nooman* demanding what religion that was, he replied, the *Christian*. Whereupon the king, desiring to have the doctrines of *Christianity* explained to him, was baptized, together with all his subjects; and not only pardoned the man and his surety, but abolished his barbarous custom. This prince, however, was not the first king of *Hira* who professed himself a convert to the *Christian* religion; *Al Mondar*, the son of *Amr ibn Kais*, his grandfather, declared himself a *Christian*, and built large churches in his capital. As *Al Nooman* took a particular delight in tulips, and would not permit them to grow in all gardens, the *Arabs*, from him, call them the variegated flowers of *Al Nooman*. After a reign of twenty-two years, *Al Nooman* was slain by *Khosrû Parwiz*, by whom the kingdom of *Hira* was translated from the family of the *Lakhmians* to *Ayas* the *Tayile*.

22. *Mohammed's* mission commenced in the sixth month of *Ayas's* reign.

Ayas.

23. *Zadawaih*, the son of *Mahan* of *Hamadan*, succeeded *Ayas*.

Zadawaih.

24. *Al Mondar*, *Ebn Nooman*, *Ebn Mondar*, *Ebn Mondar*, *Ebn Maissam*, surnamed *Al Maghrûr*, governed *Hira*, from the death of *Zadawaih* to the conquest of the kingdom of *Hira* by the arms of *Khaled Ebn al Walid*. The four royal families of *Persia*, governing that kingdom before this period, were the *Pisbadadian*, the *Catanian*, the *Asfganian*, and that of *Khosrû*; which, as *Hira* was a state dependent on the *Persians*, we thought not improper to be observed.

Al Mondar.

Ebn Nooman.

Ebn Mondar.

Ebn Mondar.

Ebn Maissam.

Al Maghrur.

The kingdom of *Ghassân*, as well as that of *Hira*, owed its origin to the invitation of *Al Arem*. The founders of this kingdom were of the tribe of *Azd*, who, according to some, settling in *Syria Damascena*, near a water called *Ghassân*, thence took their name; though others make them to have gone under this appellation before they left *Yaman*. Having driven out the *Dajadman Arabs*, of the tribe of *Salib*, who before possessed the country, they made themselves masters of a very considerable territory. Here they maintained their kingdom four hundred years, as others say, six hundred, or, as *Abulfeda* more exactly computes, six hundred and sixteen. If *Ghassân* was their name prior to this migration, they probably were the *Cassanite* of *Ptolemy*. Be that as it will, five of the kings of *Ghassân* were named *Hâreth*, which the *Greeks* and *Latins* wrote *Aretas*; and one of them it was, whose governor ordered the gates of *Damascus* to be watched to take *St. Paul*. *Dr. Pocock* gives us the following list of the kings of *Ghassân*, extracted from the *Oriental historians*.

The kingdom of
Ghassân.

1. *Jafnah Ebn Amru*, *Ebn Thaalibab*, *Ebn Amru*, *Ebn Mazikia*, to whom, after *Jafnah*, the extinction of the royal family of *Salib*, the *Kodaensian Arabs*, and the *Greeks* in *Syria Damascena*, submitted themselves.
2. *Amru*, the son of *Jafnah*, who is said to have built many monasteries in *Amru*.
3. *Amru*, the son of *Thaalibab*.
4. *Al Hâreth*, or *Aretas*, the son of *Thaalibab*.
5. *Jabalab*, the son of *Al Hâreth*.
6. *Al Hâreth*, the son of *Jabalab*.
7. *Al Mondar Al Achar*, that is, the great, the son of *Al Hâreth*.
8. *Al Nooman*, the brother of *Al Mondar*.
9. *Jabalab*, the brother of *Al Nooman*.

Amru.

Al Hâreth.

Jabalab.

Al Hâreth.

Al Mondar.

Al Nooman.

Jabalab.

^a *AL MEIDANI, AHMED EBN YUSEF, ABULFED. &c. Vide etiam SALE ubi supra, p. 23, 24.* ^b *Po- cockius ubi supra, p. 73, 74.* ^c *Idem ibid.* ^d *PAOCOP. de bell. Petf. AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL JANNAB. ABULFED. AL-FIRAUZABADIUS, & POCCOCK. ubi supra, p. 74, 75.* ^e *AL BEIDAWI. POCK. not in spec. hist. Arab. p. 42, 45, 66, 75, 76, 77.*

- Al Ayham. 10. *Al Ayham*, brother to the last two princes. a
 Amru. 11. *Amru*, who was brother to his three last predecessors.
 Jafnah Alafgar. 12. *Jafnah*, surnamed *Al Afgar*, the son of *Mondar Al Acbar*, who set the city of *Hira* on fire; whence his posterity were said to be of the family of the incendiary.
 Al Nooman. 13. *Al Nooman Al Afgar*, brother to *Jafnah*.
 Al Nooman. 14. *Al Nooman, Ebn Amru, Ebn Mondar*.
 Jabalah. 15. *Jabalab, Ebn Nooman*, who waged war with *Al Mondar Ebn Maiffamai*.
 Al Nooman. 16. *Al Nooman*, the son of *Al Ayham*.
 Al Hareth. 17. *Al Hareth*, brother to *Al Nooman Ebn al Ayham*.
 Al Nooman. 18. *Al Nooman*, the son of *Al Hareth*.
 Al Mondar. 19. *Al Mondar*, the son of *Al Nooman*. b
 Amru. 20. *Amru, Al Mondar's* brother.
 Hajar. 21. *Hajar*, brother to *Al Mondar* and *Amru*.
 Al Hareth. 22. *Al Hareth*, the son of *Hajar*.
 Jabalah. 23. *Jabalab*, the son of *Al Hareth*.
 Al Hareth. 24. *Al Hareth*, the son of *Jabalab*.
 Al Nooman. 25. *Al Nooman*, the son of *Al Hareth*, who is called by some eastern writers *Abu Carb*, and *Kotam*.
 Al Ayham. 26. *Al Ayham*, the son of *Jabalab*, who was likewise lord of *Tadmor*.
 Al Mondar. 27. *Al Mondar*, brother to *Al Ayham*.
 Sharahil. 28. *Sbarabil*, brother to the two last princes. c
 Amru. 29. *Amru*, another of their brothers.
 Jabalah. 30. *Jabalab, Ebn al Hareth, Ebn Jabalah*.
 Jabalah. 31. *Jabalab*, the son of *Al Ayham*, and the last of the kings of *Ghassân*, who, on

the great successes of the *Arabs* in *Syria*, under the khalif *Omar*, professed *Noaham-meism*; but, receiving afterwards a disgust from him, returned to his former faith, and retired to *Constantinople*. As in the regal line of *Hamyar, Hejûz, and Kenda*, we find the name of *Hareth*, or *Al Hareth*, we think *Scaliger* had some colour of reason, when he asserted this to be a general name amongst the *Arab* emirs or phylarchs, though *Dr. Pocock* is of another opinion. The scholiast on the poem of *Ebn Abduni* differs something from *Abulfeda* in his account of the kings of *Hira*. For he tells d us, that *Al Hareth Ebn Amru, Ebn Amer, Ebn Hareth, Ebn Amriol Kais, Ebn Niazzen, Ebn Al Azd*, surnamed *Ebn Abi Shamer*, was the first king; and that the whole series of these princes contained thirty-seven kings, the last of which was *Jabalab*, who embraced *Christianity* in the khalifat of *Omar*: which if we admit, and that *St. Paul* was at *Damascus A. C. 34.* as *Calvisius* will have it, the *Aretas* mentioned by that apostle was in all likelihood one of the most antient kings of *Ghassân* (C), and probably the first of them. From whence it will follow, that *Al Beidawi* has probability on his side, when he affirms the inundation of *Al Arem* to have happened after the birth of *Christ*; since the kingdom of *Ghassân* commenced immediately after that inundation. And some sort of sanction is given to this notion even by *Abulfeda* e himself, when he intimates, that *Amru* the son of *Jafnah*, the second king of *Hira*, founded many monasteries in *Syria*. Be that as it will, had the *Arab* historians not been so defective in point of chronology, their works would have been much more valuable, and deserved a much greater degree of credit, than at present the learned are willing to allow them¹.

¹ SCALIG. apud Pocockium, ubi supra, p. 77. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid. & p. 78. ABULFEDA, Scholiast. in poem. Ebn Abduni. a Cor. c. xi. ver. 32. SETH. CALVIS. apud Pocockium, ubi supra, p. 78. AL BEIDAWI. Vide etiam SALE's notes on the Koran, p. 354. & OCKLEY's hist. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 174.

(C) In opposition to this it may be urged, that we find several princes called *Aretas*, kings of the *Arabs*, seated in *Syria*, or, at least, near the frontiers of that country, mentioned in the *Maccabees*, as likewise in *Josephus*, before the period here hinted at. But to this it may be replied, that these princes might preside over the *Dajassian Arabs*, expelled by those of the tribe of *Azd* above-mentioned, or reign in *Arabia Petraea* and *Deserta*, especially if we admit *Hareth* to have been a general name amongst the *Arab* emirs or

phylarchs. And, in support of the last notion, it may be observed, that *Petra* was the metropolis of the *Aretan* princes mentioned by *Josephus*. But we leave our readers to determine for themselves, in relation to the commencement of the kingdoms of *Hira* and *Ghassân*. The transactions specified in the passages here referred to, in which the *Arabs* were concerned, our readers will find an account of in the history of the *Jews*, to which they properly belong (3).

(3) 1 Maccab. c. v. ver. 39. c. xi. ver. 16, 37. c. xii. ver. 31. 2 Maccab. c. v. ver. 8. c. xii. ver. 10, &c. Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. xiv. c. 2. l. xvi. c. 9, 10. l. xvii. c. 3. de bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 7. & alib. Univ. hist. vol. iv. p. 101, 107, 108, 203, & alib.

a It has been already observed, that *Jorham*, the son of *Kab'dn*, founded the king-^{The kingdom of} dom of *Hejâz*, where princes of his line reigned till the time of *Ismael*, who mar-^{Hejâz.} ried the daughter of *Modâd*, one of those princes. Some authors relate, that *Kidâr*, one of *Ismael*'s sons, had the crown resigned to him by his uncles the *Jorbamites*; but, according to others, the descendants of *Ismael* expelled that tribe, who retiring to *Jobainab*, were, after various fortune, at last all destroyed by an inundation. The following catalogue of the kings of *Hejâz*, taken from Dr. *Pecock*, is the best that has been hitherto exhibited to the public^m.

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|--|-----------------------|
| 1. <i>Jorham</i> , the brother of <i>Yaarab</i> . | <i>Jorham</i> . |
| 2. <i>Abd Yalil</i> , the son of <i>Jorham</i> . | <i>Abd Yalil</i> . |
| b 3. <i>Jorsham</i> , the son of <i>Abd Yalil</i> . | <i>Jorsham</i> . |
| 4. <i>Abdo'l Madan</i> , the son of <i>Jorsham</i> . | <i>Abdo'l Madan</i> . |
| 5. <i>Nogailah</i> , the son of <i>Abdo'l Madan</i> . | <i>Nogailah</i> . |
| 6. <i>Abdo'l Masib</i> , the son of <i>Nogailah</i> . | <i>Abdo'l Masib</i> . |
| 7. <i>Modâd</i> , the son of <i>Abdo'l Masib</i> . | <i>Modâd</i> . |
| 8. <i>Amru</i> , the son of <i>Modâd</i> . | <i>Amru</i> . |
| 9. <i>Al Hâreth</i> , brother to <i>Amru</i> . | <i>Al Hâreth</i> . |
| 10. <i>Amru</i> , the son of <i>Al Hâreth</i> . | <i>Amru</i> . |
| 11. <i>Basfer</i> , brother to <i>Amru</i> . | <i>Basfer</i> . |
| 12. <i>Modâd</i> , the son of <i>Amru</i> , the son of <i>Modâd</i> . | <i>Modâd</i> . |
| c 13. ——— <i>Anonym</i> . | <i>Anonym</i> . |
| 14. <i>Kidâr</i> , the son of <i>Ismael</i> , whose mother, according to the <i>Oriental</i> histo- ^{Kidâr.} rians, was of the house of <i>Jorham</i> . | |

*Form of go-
vernment in
Hejâz.*

After the expulsion of the *Jorbamites*, the government of *Hejâz* seems not to have continued many centuries in the hands of one prince, but to have been divided among the heads of tribes; almost in the same manner as the *Arabs* of the desert are governed at this day. The tribe of *Kbozdab*, descended from *Cablân*, the son of *Saba*, after the inundation of *Al Arem*, fled into the kingdom of *Hejâz*, and settled themselves in a valley called *Marri*, near *Mecca*; in which territory they founded an aristocracy, assuming to themselves both the government of the city of *Mecca*, and the custody of the *Caaba* or temple there. Their name they derived from their being cut off or separated from the other tribes of *Taman* by the accident above-mentioned. They continued masters of the city and territory of *Mecca*, as well as presidents of the *Caaba*, for several ages; till at length one *Kofa* (C), of the tribe of *Koreish*, circumvented *Abu Gabshan*, a weak and silly man, of whom, while in a drunken humour, he bought the keys and custody of the *Caaba*, for a bottle of wine. But when *Abu Gabshan* grew cool, and came to reflect upon what he had done, he sufficiently repented of his imprudence; whence the proverbs of the *Arabs*: *More vexed with late repentance than Abu Gabshan*; *More foolish than Abu Gabshan*; which are applied to those persons who part with things of great moment for a trifle, and are afterwards sorry for what they have done. The tribe of *Kbozdab* endeavoured afterwards to give some disturbance to the *Koreish* in the possession of what *Kofa* had purchased; which furnished the latter with an opportunity of divesting the former of the civil government of *Mecca*. Notwithstanding what has been said, it is not certain, whether the tribe of *Kbozdab* were the descendants of *Ismael* or *Joktan*. We find *Amru*, one of their kings, a descendant of *Cablân*, frequently mentioned by the *Arab* historians; but as nothing remarkable is related either of him, or his son *Caab*, we shall take no further notice of them. After the *Koreish*

^m ALJANNABIUS. Poc. ubi supra, p. 38, 78, 79. Vide etiam SALIS prelim. disc. p. 11, 12.

(C) *Kofa* was the son of *Kalâb*, who first gave the months of the year those names by which the *Arabs* ever since have called them, even to this day. The ancient names were *Musumet*, *Nagiv*, *Chavan*, *Savan*, *Risma*, *Ida*, *Asam*, *Adil*, *Nasil*, *Vad*, *Varna*, and *Burec*. The present names *Kalâb* derived from some contingencies that happened in the months to which they are applied; which names, receiving a sanction from *Mohammed*'s authority, who made them one of the distinguishing marks of his followers, have been continued ever since they

were first imposed. It will not be improper to observe here, that the *Arabs* had antiently four sacred months, in which they could not carry on any war, especially amongst themselves. Something of this kind was observed amongst the *Greeks*; since, according to *Pausanias*, they had always a respite from war, during the time of the celebration of the Olympic games. Some authors intimate, that the ancient *Arabs* abstained from war only in that month which is at present called *Muharrem* or *Maharrem* (3).

(3) Gellii nota ad *Alfraganum*, p. 3, 4, 5. *Cassiodorus* in lib. de admirandis creatur. rer. *Alkodanis* apud *Porockium*, ubi sup. p. 272, 273, 274. *Jankar*, in thesaur. ling. Arab. *Raufan*, p. 293. Vid. etiam *Mesfaden* & *Nowairium*, apud Gell. ubi sup.

had possessed themselves of Mecca, they kept up there the same form of government that before had prevailed^a.

BESIDES the kingdoms that have been already taken notice of, there were some other tribes, which in latter times had princes of their own, and formed states of lesser note. The tribe of Kenda in particular had several kings, of which the three following were the principal^b:

Hojr.

1. *Hojr*, surnamed *Acelo'l Morar*, i. e. *the eater of Morar*, a fruit of a bitter taste, on which camels feed. That surname was given him by his wife, who had an aversion to him, because his lips were so contracted, that they did not cover his teeth; which made him resemble a camel, when brouzing upon the aforesaid shrub. *Kenda*, from whom the tribe deduced its name, was also called *Tbour*. *Abulfeda* asserts, that before the time of *Hojr* the people of *Kenda* were without any kind of government, from whence many inconveniences ensued; which induced them to chuse him for their king^c.

Amru.

2. *Amru*, the son of *Hojr*, surnamed *Al Maksur*, i. e. *contracted*, or *confined*, because he did not attempt to extend the dominions left him by his father^d.

Al Hâreth.

3. *Al Hâreth*, the son of *Amru*, was by *Kbofrâ Kobâd* elevated to the throne of *Hira*, and deposed by *Anushirwân*, for the reasons already mentioned. He endeavoured to avoid his enemies by flying to *Diyar Calb*, where he died, but in what manner we are not told. *Al Hâreth* placed his son *Hojr* over the *Bani Asad*, and his other sons over other tribes. *Hojr* was the father of *Amrio'l Kais* a celebrated poet. The *Bani Asad* endeavouring to take off *Hojr* by treachery, he treated them with great rigour and severity; which occasioned his meeting with a violent death. *Amrio'l Kais*, being apprised of this, assembled a body of forces out of the tribes of *Beer* and *Taglab*, with which he defeated the *Bani Asad*. But afterwards, his troops being dispersed through the fear of *Al Mondar*, he found himself obliged to fly to the *Romans*, in order to implore their protection, and died in his return home near *Ancyra*. Some authors say, that *Cæsar* gave him a poisoned garment, which was the cause of his death; but *Abulfeda* looks upon this as a downright fable, meriting no regard. To the kings of *Kenda* here mentioned we find one *Ebn Ommil' Kotam* added by *Al-Firauzabadius*^e.

THE following princes, or chiefs of tribes, deserve likewise a place in the history of the ancient Arabs:

Zohair.

1. *Zohair*, *Ebnol Habab*, who presided over the tribe of *Kelâb*, and, by reason of his wonderful sagacity, was surnamed *the wise*. He attained to a very old age, and died at last covered with glory. He invaded the *Bani Gafsan* with a powerful army, because they pretended to build a temple in opposition to the *Caaba*, and entered into an alliance with *Abrahah al Ashram*, styled *master of the elephant*. Notwithstanding what has been said of him here, some authors intimate, that he came to his end by excessive drinking^f.

Col ib.

2. *Colab Ebn Rabiab* governed the *Bani Maad*, the *Saraceni Maadani* of *Procopius*, and was so proud, that he would not suffer any one to hunt in his neighbourhood, nor any camels to be watered with his, nor any fire to be lighted near that which he himself used. He was at last slain by one *Jassas*, for shooting a camel named *Sarab*, that he found grazing on a prohibited spot of ground. This camel belonged to an Arab, who had been entertained by *Basus*, a near relation of *Jassas*. The murder of *Ebn Rabiab* occasioned a forty years war; whence came the Arab proverbs: *A worse omen than Sarab*; *More ominous than Basus*. It may not be improper here to observe, that the kings and chiefs of the Arabs generally forbade others to bring their flocks upon those places and pastures, which they chose for themselves. In order to ascertain the limits of these pastures, when they came to a fruitful valley or plain, they caused a dog to bark, and the whole extent of ground over which he could be heard, they appropriated to themselves (D)^g.

^a POCOCCIUS, ubi sup. p. 41, 50, 342. ECHELENS. hist. Arab. p. i. c. 3. FORTAL. Fidei, l. iv. confid. 1. ABULFEDA. Vide etiam PRID. life of Mahom. p. 2, 3, 4. ^b POCOCCIUS, ubi sup. p. 79, 80. ^c ABULFEDA. AL-JAUHARIUS. AL-FIRAUZABADIUS. ^d POCOCCIUS, ubi sup. p. 79. ^e ABULFEDA in vit. Anushirwân, & alib. AL-FIRAUZABADIUS spud POCOCCIUM, ubi sup. p. 80. ut & ipse POCOCCIUS ibid. ^f Poc. ubi sup. p. 81. ^g PROCOP. de bel. Pers. c. 19, 20. AL-JAUHAR. AL-FIRAUZABAD. EBNO'L ATHIR. POCOCCIUS in not. ad carmen Tograi, p. 80. & ubi sup. p. 82.

(D) Though the flocks and herds of inferior people were absolutely prohibited coming into that spot of ground, which was looked upon as the property of the prince, yet his flocks and herds might go into any of their pastures. Mohammed abolished

this custom, and did not permit a spot of ground to be confined to the use of any particular animals, except horses that had served in wars carried on for the propagation of his religion, or camels consecrated to, and set apart for, sacred uses (4).

(4) Poc. not. in carm. Tograi, p. 81. & not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 333.

3. *Mohalbel Ebn Rabiab*, brother to *Colaib*, formed an army out of the Families *Mohalbel*, of *Taglab*, with which he carried on a long and bloody war; as hinted above, with those of *Beccr*, in order to revenge his brother's death.

4. *Zohair Ebn Jodaimab*, who received a certain toll or tribute from the *Arabs*, *Zohair*, that frequented the celebrated fair of *Ocadh* above-mentioned, was assassinated by one *Khaled*, who afterwards fled to *Al Nooman* king of *Hira*. That prince took him under his protection; however, he was privately murdered by one *Al Hâreth*, who had pursued him, which occasioned long and bloody broils.

5. *Kais*, the son of *Zohair Ebn Jodaimab*, had two famous horses called *Dabes Kais* and *Gabrab*, which ran with two others, upon a challenge, belonging to one *Hadifa*, for a prize of a hundred camels. This event gave rise to that bloody war called by the *Arab* historians the war of *Dabes* and *Gabrab*, which continued, without intermission, forty years. King *Kais*, in order to atone for so great an effusion of blood, is said to have embraced the christian religion, and even entered upon the monastic state.

Thus have we gone through the history of the ancient *Arabs* before *Mohammed*, as far as it can be collected from the most noted of the *Arab* historians. But, in order to render that branch of this work we are now upon the more complete, we shall give a brief account of the principal transactions the ancient *Arabs* were concerned in with the *Egyptians*, *Persians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*, extracted from the most approved writers of the two last nations.

ACCORDING to *Diodorus Siculus*, *Sesostris*, that is, as *Josephus* and *Sir Isaac Newton* will have it, *Sesac*, in his father's life-time, subdued *Arabia*. However, that the *Arabs* were never thoroughly subjugated, nor even long paid any sort of homage to the kings of *Egypt*, appears from hence, that, according to the same author, *Sesac* himself was obliged to draw a line from *Heliopolis* to *Pelusium*, in order to secure *Egypt* from the excursions of the *Arabs* and *Syrians*. The *Scenite Arabs* contiguous to *Palestine* and *Syria*, therefore, at least, must have been independent on that prince. Nor indeed can it be inferred from *Diodorus*, that he ever traversed *Arabia Felix*, though he had a fleet of four hundred sail upon the *Red Sea*, but only coasted it, or at farthest seized upon some of its maritime provinces in his voyage to *India*. As the word *Arabia* sometimes denotes only *Arabia Deserta*, at other times *Arabia Petraea*, and sometimes *Arabia Felix*, or a part of that country, in the *Greek* and *Latin* authors, it can by no means be inferred from any of them, that the whole peninsula of the *Arabs* ever was, at least for any considerable time, in a state of servitude to the *Egyptians*. But the contrary seems to appear, even from *Diodorus Siculus* himself, who gives us the most pompous account of the conquests of *Sesostris* or *Sesac*.

We learn from the same author, that neither the *Assyrians*, *Medes*, nor *Persians*, could ever get any considerable footing amongst them. The *Persian* monarchs, indeed, were their friends, and so far respected by them, as to have an annual present of frankincense: yet they could never make them tributary; and were so far from being their masters, that *Cambyfes*, on his expedition against *Egypt*, was obliged to ask their leave to pass through their territories. This we learn from *Herodotus*; nor does any other ancient author, that we know of, contradict him herein.

When *Alexander the Great* had subdued the *Persian* empire, notwithstanding his exorbitant power, the *Arabians* had so little apprehension of him, that they alone, of all the neighbouring nations, sent no ambassadors to him, either first or last; which, with a desire of possessing so rich a country as that they inhabited, made him form a design against them; and, had he not died before he could put it in execution, this people might possibly have convinced him, that he was not invincible. The happiness of its climate, and its great fertility, as well as riches, induced him to attempt the conquest of *Arabia*, in order to fix there his royal seat, after his return from his *Indian* expedition. But, according to *Strabo*, he had another motive likewise to this hazardous undertaking: for, being informed, that the *Arabs* had only two divinities, *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, whom they worshipped, because they supplied them with all the good things they enjoyed, he was likewise desirous, that they should esteem him as their third deity; and, in order to deserve this, he proposed first to conquer them, and then to leave them in the full possession of their ancient liberty and independency; which he believed would merit divine honours as

* Poc. ubi sup. p. 82.

* Idem ibid.

* Idem ibid. p. 83.

* Dion. Sic. l. i.

JOSEPH. in antiquit. NEWT. in chronol. aliq. script. plurim. pass.

* Dion. Sic. l. ii. p. 151. HE-

RODOT. l. iii. c. 91, 97.

much as the greatest benefaction. Full, therefore, of this scheme, he fitted out a powerful fleet, composed of ships built in *Phœnicia*, *Cyprus*, and *Babylonia*, to favour the operations of the land-forces. But death put an end to this, as well as all the other towering projects of that ambitious prince ^a.

The Arabs cut in pieces a body of troops sent against them by Antigonus.

Antigonus, after the reduction of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, advanced into that part of *Arabia* bordering upon those countries, having entertained a notion, that the *Arabs* were not favourably disposed towards him. However, he did not formally invade them, but detached *Aibeneus*, one of his captains, with a body of four thousand foot, and six hundred horse, to ravage and lay waste the territories of the *Nabathæans*. That general marched to *Petra* without opposition, which finding in no posture of defence, the *Nabathæans*, then under no apprehension of an enemy, being gone to a neighbouring fair, and having left only their wives, children, sick and aged in *Petra*, with an inconsiderable garrison, he seized upon it, put to the sword, or took prisoners, all the soldiers found therein, and carried off a booty of five hundred talents of silver, together with a vast quantity of frankincense and myrrh. However, this advantage was owing rather to expedition and surprize, than the valour of his troops, he having traversed two thousand two hundred stadia in thrice twenty-four hours, and they not being apprised of his design; so that no dispositions could possibly be made by them for giving him a proper reception. But the *Arabs*, receiving intelligence of what had happened, left the fair, and, having assembled a considerable body of forces, pursued the *Greeks* with great celerity. They found them asleep about two hundred stadia from *Petra*, without any guards posted to apprise them of any impending danger, not imagining it possible for the *Arabs* to come up with them so soon. Whereupon they fell upon them, and destroyed the whole detachment, except fifty horse, that made their escape to *Antigonus*, and brought him the melancholy advice of the blow he had received ^b.

Demetrius undertakes a second expedition against them without success.

HOWEVER, the *Nabathæans*, dreading the resentment of *Antigonus*, sent a letter to him written in the *Syriac* (E) character, to complain of *Aibeneus*, and to excuse what had happened. That prince, finding it impossible to deal with men inhabiting a desert by pure force, dissembled his resentment, and disowned the orders he had given *Aibeneus*, telling their ambassadors, that he was well served for his unjust invasion of their country. This gave great satisfaction to the *Arabs*, though, in order to secure themselves against any unforeseen event, they erected watch-towers to give notice of an approaching enemy, and took care always to have ready a body of troops to repel any sudden incursion. *Antigonus*, finding them upon their guard, for some time continued in a state of friendship with them; but at last imagining, that a fair opportunity of revenging the late disgrace offered, he sent his son *Demetrius*, with a choice detachment of four thousand foot, and as many horse, to chastize them for it. But the watch-towers above-mentioned giving them timely notice of the enemy's approach, they threw a sufficient garrison into *Petra*, and made all the other necessary dispositions for their defence. However, *Demetrius* arrived before *Petra*, and immediately attacked it with great fury; but was repulsed, and obliged to draw off. The next day, when he began to renew the attack, an *Arab* from the walls spoke to him in the following terms: "King *Demetrius*, what would you have? "What has induced you to invade a people inhabiting the wilderness, where neither water, corn, wine, nor other things you cannot subsist without, are to be found? We inhabit these desolate plains for the sake of liberty, and submit to

^a STRAB. L. XVI. ARRIAN. 161.

^b DIOD. SIC. I. XIX.

(E) It is evident from this curious passage, that the *Nabathæans*, or *Ismaelites*, used letters above three hundred years before the commencement of the christian æra. These letters probably were the same with those we see on several of the ancient *Syriac* coins, struck in the times of *Alexander's* successors, which resemble the *Phœnician*, if they were not that character. They likewise bear some resemblance to the most ancient *Syriac* character called the *Estrangela*, which the learned believe to be three hundred years more ancient than the birth of Christ. This passage, in conjunction with the above-mentioned coins, seems to confirm that notion. The probability of a great affinity betwixt the most an-

tient *Syriac* and *Arabic* alphabets from hence likewise plainly appears; and that they both, as well as the *Phœnician*, were deduced from the ancient *Hebrew* or *Assyrian* letters, we have elsewhere observed. The present *Arabic* letters derive their origin from the same source. The alphabet of the *Mendeans* or *Nabathæans*, at present in use amongst the posterity of the old *Assyrians* and *Chaldeans*, given us by Dr. Hyde, is only a corruption of the old *Syriac* letters. In short, this passage, as we apprehend, may lead us, by a proper attention to it, to several curious discoveries, equally entertaining and useful (s).

(s) DIOD. SIC. in loc. cit. Bernard. tab. alph. Univ. hist. vol. i. p. 377. & vol. vi. p. 702. Hyde hist. relig. vet. Pers. p. 524. Monarch. Asiatico-Saracen. a Georg. Jacob. Kehr. edit. Lipsiæ, 1724. p. 3—6.

"such

a "such inconveniences as no other people can bear, in order to enjoy it. You can never force us to change our sentiments, nor way of life, neither can you, for want of necessaries, stay long here: therefore we desire you to retire out of our country, as we have never injured you, to accept of some presents from us, and to prevail upon your father *Antigonus* to rank the *Nabathæan Arabs* amongst his friends." *Demetrius*, having received such presents as were agreed upon between him and their chief, and hostages for their future good behaviour, raised the siege, and marched with his army to the lake of *Asphaltitis*, where he encamped. *Plutarch* relates, that *Demetrius's* surprising intrepidity in the most imminent dangers so astonished the *Arabs*, that they not only suffered him to retire quietly out of their territories, but also to carry off with him an immense booty, and, among other things,
b seven hundred camels c.

Antigonus was greatly dissatisfied with the ill success of this expedition, imagining, that the *Arabs* would grow more insolent upon it. But he appeared highly pleased with his son *Demetrius*, for discovering the lake *Asphaltitis*, which, it seems, till that time, had been unknown to the *Greeks*, especially as he imagined his revenue would be much increased by the bitumen brought from off that lake. He appointed, therefore, *Hieronymus Cardianus* the historian his treasurer for that part of the revenue, ordering him to build ships, and collect all the bitumen that could be got out of the lake. But the *Arabs*, being apprised of this, drew together a body of six thousand men, with which they attacked the people *Cardianus* employed, and cut them almost all off; which obliged *Antigonus* to lay aside the project he had formed. *Mr. Sale* says, he does not find any of *Alexander's* successors, either in *Asia* or *Egypt*, ever to have made any attempts upon the *Arabs*, which we own ourselves astonished at. As greatly are we surprised to find, that the passage he quotes on this occasion makes directly against him d.

As for the *Romans*, they never conquered any part of *Arabia* properly so called; though that the *Arabs* submitted to *Lucullus*, is asserted by *Plutarch*. The most they did was to make some tribes tributary to them, as *Pompey* did one commanded by *Sampsiceramus* or *Sbams' alkerâm*, who reigned at *Hems* or *Emesa*. His people were more civilized, and lived under a better form of government, than the other *Arabs*, as we learn from *Strabo* e.

THAT the *Arabs* frequently made dreadful incursions into *Syria*, whilst under the *Romans*, we have already observed from *Strabo*; and are now farther to observe, that these incursions sometimes brought upon them the *Roman* arms. *Pompey*, as we learn from *Plutarch*, obliged one *Aretas*, an *Arab* prince, whose dominions bordered upon *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*, to submit to him, and to receive a *Roman* garrison: and the same general likewise subdued the *Arabs*, who dwelt about mount *Amanus*, by his lieutenant *Afranius*. After which the king of the *Arabs* residing in *Petra*, who till now had made no account of the *Romans*, submitted himself by letter to him; but that *Pompey* ever possessed himself of that strong-hold, does not appear. *Plutarch* rather seems to insinuate, that he was recalled from thence, by the death of *Mithridates*, before he could make full proof of the sincerity of that prince's submission. And this is the more probable, because *Gabinus*, who succeeded soon after to the government of *Syria*, made preparations for an expedition against the *Arabians*, but was diverted from his design by *Ptolemy's* solicitation to be restored to his kingdom f.

Agbarus, or, according to others, *Ariamnes*, not far from the time we are now upon, an *Arab* emir or phylarch, misled and deluded *Crassus* to his own destruction. Not long after which event, the *Arabs* probably defended the *Palmyrenians*, when *Antony* sent a detachment of horse to ravage their city. For *Appian* tells us, that the body of troops defending them consisted of archers, who excelled in that way; which is one of the most distinguishing characteristics of the *Arabs* g.

BUT none of the *Romans* ever penetrated so far into *Arabia* as *Ælius Gallus*, or *Ælius Gallus's* *Ælius Lartus*, as he is called by *Dio*, in the reign of the emperor *Augustus*. That general, after traversing vast deserts, came within two days journey of the aromatic parts of *Arabia*. For the carrying on of this expedition, he built eighty biremes, besides several triremes, and a great number of smaller vessels, imagining,

* Idem ibid. PLUTARCH. in Demetr. * DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 13, 14. * PLUT. in Lucul. STRAB. l. xvi. † PLUT. in Pomp. & alib. ‡ APPIAN. de bel. civil.

much as the greatest benefaction. Full, therefore, of this scheme, he fitted out a powerful fleet, composed of ships built in *Phœnicia*, *Cyprus*, and *Babylonia*, to favour the operations of the land-forces. But death put an end to this, as well as all the other towering projects of that ambitious prince ^a.

The Arabs cut in pieces a body of troops sent against them by Antigonus.

Antigonus, after the reduction of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, advanced into that part of *Arabia* bordering upon those countries, having entertained a notion, that the *Arabs* were not favourably disposed towards him. However, he did not formally invade them, but detached *Abdenaus*, one of his captains, with a body of four thousand foot, and six hundred horse, to ravage and lay waste the territories of the *Nabathæans*. That general marched to *Petra* without opposition, which finding in no posture of defence, the *Nabathæans*, then under no apprehension of an enemy, being gone to a neighbouring fair, and having left only their wives, children, sick and aged in *Petra*, with an inconsiderable garrison, he seized upon it, put to the sword, or took prisoners, all the soldiers found therein, and carried off a booty of five hundred talents of silver, together with a vast quantity of frankincense and myrrh. However, this advantage was owing rather to expedition and surprize, than the valour of his troops, he having traversed two thousand two hundred stadia in thrice twenty-four hours, and they not being apprised of his design; so that no dispositions could possibly be made by them for giving him a proper reception. But the *Arabs*, receiving intelligence of what had happened, left the fair, and, having assembled a considerable body of forces, pursued the *Greeks* with great celerity. They found them asleep about two hundred stadia from *Petra*, without any guards posted to apprise them of any impending danger, not imagining it possible for the *Arabs* to come up with them so soon. Whereupon they fell upon them, and destroyed the whole detachment, except fifty horse, that made their escape to *Antigonus*, and brought him the melancholy advice of the blow he had received ^b.

Demetrius undertakes a second expedition against them without success.

HOWEVER, the *Nabathæans*, dreading the resentment of *Antigonus*, sent a letter to him written in the *Syriac* (E) character, to complain of *Abdenaus*, and to excuse what had happened. That prince, finding it impossible to deal with men inhabiting a desert by pure force, dissembled his resentment, and disowned the orders he had given *Abdenaus*, telling their ambassadors, that he was well served for his unjust invasion of their country. This gave great satisfaction to the *Arabs*, though, in order to secure themselves against any unforeseen event, they erected watch-towers to give notice of an approaching enemy, and took care always to have ready a body of troops to repel any sudden incursion. *Antigonus*, finding them upon their guard, for some time continued in a state of friendship with them; but at last imagining, that a fair opportunity of revenging the late disgrace offered, he sent his son *Demetrius*, with a choice detachment of four thousand foot, and as many horse, to chastize them for it. But the watch-towers above-mentioned giving them timely notice of the enemy's approach, they threw a sufficient garrison into *Petra*, and made all the other necessary dispositions for their defence. However, *Demetrius* arrived before *Petra*, and immediately attacked it with great fury; but was repulsed, and obliged to draw off. The next day, when he began to renew the attack, an *Arab* from the walls spoke to him in the following terms: "King *Demetrius*, what would you have? What has induced you to invade a people inhabiting the wilderness, where neither water, corn, wine, nor other things you cannot subsist without, are to be found? We inhabit these desolate plains for the sake of liberty, and submit to

^a STRAB. l. xvi. ARRIAN. 161.

^b DIOD. SIC. l. xix.

(E) It is evident from this curious passage, that the *Nabathæans*, or *Ishmaelites*, used letters above three hundred years before the commencement of the christian æra. These letters probably were the same with those we see on several of the antient *Syriac* coins, struck in the times of *Alexander's* successors, which resemble the *Phœnician*, if they were not that character. They likewise bear some resemblance to the most antient *Syriac* character called the *Estrangelo*, which the learned believe to be three hundred years more antient than the birth of Christ. This passage, in conjunction with the above-mentioned coins, seems to confirm that notion. The probability of a great affinity betwixt the most an-

tient *Syriac* and *Arabic* alphabets from hence likewise plainly appears; and that they both, as well as the *Phœnician*, were deduced from the antient *Hebrew* or *Affyrian* letters, we have elsewhere observed. The present *Arabic* letters derive their origin from the same source. The alphabet of the *Mendaans* or *Nabathæans*, at present in use amongst the posterity of the old *Affyrians* and *Chaldaans*, given us by Dr. Hyde, is only a corruption of the old *Syriac* letters. In short, this passage, as we apprehend, may lead us, by a proper attention to it, to several curious discoveries, equally entertaining and useful (f).

(f) DIOD. SIC. in loc. cit. BERNARD. tab. alph. Univ. hist. vol. i. p. 377. & vol. vi. p. 702. Hyde hist. relig. vol. Pers. p. 324. Monarch. Asiatico-Saracen. a Georg. Jacob. Kehr. edis. Lipsiæ, 1724. p. 3—6.

“ such

a "such inconveniences as no other people can bear, in order to enjoy it. You can
 "never force us to change our sentiments, nor way of life, neither can you, for
 "want of necessaries, stay long here: therefore we desire you to retire out of our
 "country, as we have never injured you, to accept of some presents from us, and
 "to prevail upon your father *Antigonus* to rank the *Nabathæan Arabs* amongst his
 "friends." *Demetrius*, having received such presents as were agreed upon between
 him and their chief, and hostages for their future good behaviour, raised the siege,
 and marched with his army to the lake of *Asphaltitis*, where he encamped. *Plutarch*
 relates, that *Demetrius's* surprising intrepidity in the most imminent dangers so asto-
 nished the *Arabs*, that they not only suffered him to retire quietly out of their ter-
 ritories, but also to carry off with him an immense booty, and, among other things,
 b seven hundred camels c.

Antigonus was greatly dissatisfied with the ill success of this expedition, imagin- They did not
 ing, that the *Arabs* would grow more insolent upon it. But he appeared highly suffer Antigo-
 pleased with his son *Demetrius*, for discovering the lake *Asphaltitis*, which, it seems, nus to collect
 till that time, had been unknown to the *Greeks*, especially as he imagined his revenue bitumen on the
 would be much increased by the bitumen brought from off that lake. He appointed, Lake Asphalt-
 therefore, *Hieronymus Cardianus* the historian his treasurer for that part of the reve-
 nue, ordering him to build ships, and collect all the bitumen that could be got out
 of the lake. But the *Arabs*, being apprised of this, drew together a body of six
 c thousand men, with which they attacked the people *Cardianus* employed, and cut
 them almost all off; which obliged *Antigonus* to lay aside the project he had formed.
Mr. Sale says, he does not find any of *Alexander's* successors, either in *Asia* or *Egypt*,
 ever to have made any attempts upon the *Arabs*, which we own ourselves astonished
 at. As greatly are we surprised to find, that the passage he quotes on this occasion
 makes directly against him d.

As for the *Romans*, they never conquered any part of *Arabia* properly so called; Pompey made
 though that the *Arabs* submitted to *Lucullus*, is asserted by *Plutarch*. The most an Arab tribe
 they did was to make some tribes tributary to them, as *Pompey* did one commanded tributary to the
 by *Sampsiceramus* or *Shams' alkerâm*, who reigned at *Hems* or *Emesa*. His people were Romans.
 d more civilized, and lived under a better form of government, than the other *Arabs*,
 as we learn from *Strabo* e.

THAT the *Arabs* frequently made dreadful incursions into *Syria*, whilst under
 the *Romans*, we have already observed from *Strabo*; and are now farther to observe,
 that these incursions sometimes brought upon them the *Roman* arms. *Pompey*, as
 we learn from *Plutarch*, obliged one *Aretas*, an *Arab* prince, whose dominions bor-
 dered upon *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*, to submit to him, and to receive a *Roman* gar-
 rison: and the same general likewise subdued the *Arabs*, who dwelt about mount
Amanus, by his lieutenant *Afranius*. After which the king of the *Arabs* residing in
Petra, who till now had made no account of the *Romans*, submitted himself by letter
 e to him; but that *Pompey* ever possessed himself of that strong-hold, does not ap-
 pear. *Plutarch* rather seems to insinuate, that he was recalled from thence, by the
 death of *Mithridates*, before he could make full proof of the sincerity of that prince's
 submission. And this is the more probable, because *Gabinus*, who succeeded soon
 after to the government of *Syria*, made preparations for an expedition against the
Arabians, but was diverted from his design by *Ptolemy's* solicitation to be restored
 to his kingdom f.

Agbarus, or, according to others, *Ariamnes*, not far from the time we are now
 upon, an *Arab* emir or phylarch, misled and deluded *Crassus* to his own destruction.
 Not long after which event, the *Arabs* probably defended the *Palmyrenians*, when
 f *Antony* sent a detachment of horse to ravage their city. For *Appian* tells us, that
 the body of troops defending them consisted of archers, who excelled in that way;
 which is one of the most distinguishing characteristics of the *Arabs* g.

BUT none of the *Romans* ever penetrated so far into *Arabia* as *Ælius Gallus*, or *Ælius Gallus's*
Ælius Largus, as he is called by *Dio*, in the reign of the emperor *Augustus*. That expedition.
 general, after traversing vast deserts, came within two days journey of the aroma-
 tiferous parts of *Arabia*. For the carrying on of this expedition, he built eighty
 biremes, besides several triremes, and a great number of smaller vessels, imagining,

* Idem ibid. PLUTARCH. in Demetr. d DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 13, 144. * PLUT.
 in Lucul. STRAB. l. xvi. f PLUT. in Pomp. & alib. g APPIAN. de bel. civil.

that a fleet of such ships would be of signal service to him. But, finding him-
 self deceived in that expectation, he equipped another fleet consisting of a hundred
 and thirty transports, with which, after he had put on board all his forces, he sailed
 for *Leucocome*, a maritime city of the *Nabathæans* on the coast of the *Red Sea*. As this
 was an extremely dangerous navigation, on account of the many rocks and shelves,
 which are in that part of the *Arabian* gulf, and *Syllæus*, who had undertaken to
 be his guide, treacherously conducted him the worst way through it, he was fifteen
 days in his passage, and lost many of his ships. Had he marched his army by
 land, as was at first intended, he might have avoided this disaster; but *Syllæus* pre-
 vented the execution of that salutary design, informing *Gallus*, that there was no
 safe passage by land for his troops through the country of the *Nabathæans*, though
 nothing was more common than for merchants to travel through it in caravans al-
 most as numerous as an army. Soon after his arrival at *Leucocome*, a strange distem-
 per, that chiefly affected the mouth and thighs of the patient, made great havock
 in his army, which obliged him to remain inactive in that neighbourhood the remain-
 ing part of the summer, and the following winter. This distemper, according to
Dio, first seized the head, where, if it settled, it proved mortal; but if the humour
 occasioning it retired into the thighs, the patient recovered. Early in the spring
Gallus, moving out of his winter-quarters, advanced to the frontiers of *Hira*, where
 he met with a most kind reception from *Al Hareth*, or, as *Strabo* names him, *Aretas*,
 a near relation of *Abd Wadd*, or *Obodas*, king of the *Nabathæans*, his ally. After
 a short stay here, he resumed his march, and in thirty days having crossed a vast
 desert, he arrived upon the borders of *Arrarena*, a country inhabited by the *Sce-
 nite Arabs*, and governed by one *Sabus*. This region he likewise traversed in fifty
 days, and took post with all his forces at the city of *Najrân*, seated in a plea-
 sant and fruitful country, whose king abandoned it upon his approach. *Gal-
 lus*, having taken this city by assault, continued his march southward, and arrived
 the sixth day at a river, where he was met by a numerous body of *Arabs*, who had
 assembled with a design to dispute his passage; but as they were only a raw and
 undisciplined multitude, armed with lances, bows and arrows, swords, slings, hatchets,
 &c. in an irregular manner, *Gallus* easily routed them, and cut ten thousand of
 them in pieces, with the loss of two men only. He then made himself master of
 several considerable places without opposition, and penetrated as far as *Marisyabæ*,
 a city of the *Rhamanites*, governed by a petty prince named *Ilasarus*, or *Al Asar*,
 which he besieged ineffectually, being obliged to drop that enterprize for want of
 water. In the mean time, finding his men carried off daily in great numbers, by
 various distempers proceeding from the heat of the climate, the insalubrity of the
 air, water, and herbs of the country, he thought it adviseable to march back into
 the country of the *Nabathæans*, and from thence pursue his route into *Egypt*. Ac-
 cordingly, he set out on his march homeward, and, by the assistance of more faith-
 ful guides, reached the city of *Negra*, one of *Obodas*'s maritime towns, by the road
 of *Anagrana*, *Cbaalla*, *Maloiba*, &c. in sixty days. Here he imbarqued his troops,
 and, crossing the *Arabian* gulf, landed at *Myos Hormus*, on the *Egyptian* side; from
 whence he led back the poor remains of his army to *Alexandria*. The bad success
Gallus met with on this occasion ought to be attributed chiefly to the treachery of
Syllæus, whose view, in the total destruction of the *Roman* army, seems to have
 been the acquisition of some of the *Roman* conquests for his master *Obodas*, who
 likewise concurred with his chief minister, by not supporting *Gallus*, as he had pro-
 mised. Be that as it will, the *Roman* general discovered the perfidy of *Syllæus* be-
 fore his return out of *Arabia*; but, for some political reasons, he thought proper
 then to dissemble his resentment. However, after his arrival in *Egypt*, he sent the
 traitor to *Rome*, where, for this, and other enormous crimes, he had his head struck
 off by the emperor's order; that thereby others might be deterred from the like
 villainous conduct for the future. We must not omit observing, that *Gallus* spent
 two years in this unfortunate expedition^f.

The Roman
 historians falsely
 assert Trajan
 to have con-
 quered Arabia.

FROM this time to the reign of *Trajan*, we hear little of *Arabia*; but the eighth
 year of that reign was famous for the intire reduction of *Arabia* *Petræa* by *Aulus*
Cornelius Palma, governor of *Syria*, according to *Dio*. *Eusebius* relates, that the

^f STRAB. ubi sup. PLIN. l. vi. c. 28. DIO, l. liii. p. 516, & seq. ad an. U. C. 730. Vide etiam Univers.
 hist. vol. v. p. 301, 302.

inhabitants

- a inhabitants of *Petra* and *Bostra* computed their time from this year, in which their country was first annexed to the Roman empire. Nay, *Arrian*, *Eutropius*, *Lucian*, and *Dio*, intimate, that *Trajan* conquered *Arabia Felix*, which seems to be confirmed by some medals coined after the fourteenth year of his reign; and meditated the conquest of *India*. But all this was gross flattery, meriting not the least regard, as will appear from the reception the *Hagarenes* gave him, when he marched against them about six years after the period above-mentioned. This, which happened in the last year of *Trajan*, is a convincing proof, that he never was master of *Arabia Petraea*, much less *Arabia Felix*, notwithstanding the mean adulation of his coins, orators, and historians.
- b *Trajan*, receiving intelligence, that the *Hagarenes* had declared against him, marched from *Ctesiphon* into their territories with a powerful army, and laid siege to their capital city. As it was situated on the top of a high and steep mountain, surrounded with strong walls, seated in a barren country, and defended by a numerous garrison, *Trajan* could not reduce it, though he made a breach in the wall. The emperor narrowly escaped being killed in one of the attacks; for, having laid aside the ensigns of his dignity, that he might not be known, he headed his men in person: but the enemy knowing him, notwithstanding that disguise, by his grey hairs, and majestic air, aimed chiefly at him, wounded his horse, and killed a horseman by his side. Besides, as often as the *Romans* advanced to the attack, they were driven back by violent storms of wind, rain, and hail, and dreadful flashes of lightning. The apparitions of rainbows likewise dazzled and frightened them in an extraordinary manner. And at the same time they were in a strange manner infested in their camp by swarms of flies; so that *Trajan* was in the end obliged to raise the siege, and retire. As the metropolis of the *Hagarenes*, from some circumstances hinted at by *Dio*, must have been the same with the modern *Errakim* or *Arrakeb*, we cannot help thinking, that the *Romans* were never absolute masters of even *Arabia Petraea*, whatever homage they might have received from the *Arabs* of that country. Neither are their coins, an evidence of good authority in some points, to be relied on in the present case; as will more fully appear from an observation already made towards the close of the history of the *Ethiopians*.
- c ABOUT eighty years after, the emperor *Severus*, being greatly incensed at the *Arabs* bordering on *Syria*, for assisting *Niger*, laid siege to *Ara* their capital with a formidable army, and a vast train of military engines invented by *Priseus*, the most celebrated mechanic of his age. He pushed on the siege with incredible vigour, not being able to bear, that of all nations the *Hagarenes* only should stand out still against the *Romans*. Being repulsed in the first attack with great slaughter, he ordered a second to be made; when he might have carried the place, but chose rather to sound a retreat, hoping, by this means, to induce the *Arabs* to sue for peace; which he was determined not to grant, except they would discover their hidden treasures supposed to be consecrated to the *Sun*. But for a whole day they made not the least overture. In the mean time the ardor of his troops cooled to such a degree, that the *Europeans* refused to begin another assault, and the *Syrians* were repulsed in one that they made. This so chagrined the emperor, that, when one of his officers represented to him, that he would engage to storm the place with five hundred and fifty *European* soldiers, he replied, *But where shall I find so many?* God, says the historian, preserved the town by the backwardness of the emperor one day, and by that of his troops the next. He was, therefore, obliged to raise the siege, and retire, with great precipitation, into his own dominions.
- d FROM this time to the birth of *Mohammed* we find not many particulars of moment related of the *Arabs* in general, or of the *Saracens*, the most noted people of them, in particular, by the *Greek* and *Latin* historians. The *Saracens*, however, we are told, ravaged *Mesopotamia* in the time of the emperor *Constantius*, and joined the *Persians* against *Julian*. That prince, it seems, and some of his predecessors, had paid the *Saracens* a pension, that they might have a body of troops always on

That emperor is forced to retire out of Arabia.

As is Severus, after he had ineffectually laid siege to Ara.

Short account of the Arabs in the time of Mohammed.

* Dio. l. ixviii. p. 777. EUSEB. in chron. p. 206. ARRIAN. in peripl. Mar. Erythr. p. 6, 8, 46. FRANCISC. MEDIOBARI. BIRAG. p. 116. OCCO. p. 215. FEST. in brev. p. 551. EUTROP. in Trajan. LUCIAN. philop. Vid. etiam Univ. hist. vol. v. p. 22. IDAT. & CASSIODOR. in Fast. Dio, ubi sup. p. 785. & l. lxxv. p. 854. HERODIAN. l. iii. p. 528. Vid. & Univ. hist. vol. vi. p. 24. & vol. vii. p. 216. Dio. p. 948. HERODIAN. l. iii. EUSEB. chron. SPARTIAN. in Sever. GOLTZ. p. 84. Univ. hist. vol. vi. p. 110.

foot for the service of the *Romans*: but this he took into his head to discontinue; and when they sent deputies to complain of this treatment, *Julian* told them, that a warlike prince had steel, but no gold; which they resenting, went over to the *Persian*, and ever after continued faithful to him. *Mavia*, queen of the *Saracens*, sent a body of her troops to the assistance of the *Romans* against the *Goths*, who, after the defeat and death of *Valens*, by their vigorous sallies, forced those barbarians to retire from before *Constantinople*, which metropolis they had besieged. About the year of the christian æra 411. they committed great disorders on the frontiers of *Egypt*, *Palestine*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*; but soon retired of their own accord. In the reign of *Theodosius*, *Alamundarus*, or *Al Mondar*, with a numerous army, assisted the *Persians* against that prince; but the greatest part of his men, being seized with an unaccountable panic, threw themselves headlong into the *Euphrates*, where, to the number of an hundred thousand, they are said to have perished. A. D. 452. the *Saracens*, *Nubians*, and *Blemmyes*, broke into the *Roman* empire; but were overthrown by the troops of the emperor *Marcian*, and forced to sue for peace, which the emperor granted them upon terms highly advantageous to the empire. In the beginning of the sixth century, a prince of the *Mondar* family, who was a renowned warrior, did incredible damage to the *Romans*, as we learn from *Procopius*. He so harassed them for fifty years together, by ravaging all their territories from the borders of *Egypt* to the confines of *Mesopotamia*, killing vast numbers of their subjects, and exacting immense sums for the redemption of others taken prisoners, that, to use *Procopius's* expression, he brought them quite down upon their knees. He flew from *Egypt* to *Mesopotamia* like lightning, being so quick in his incursions, that the *Roman* troops scarce ever began their march to put a stop to his depredations, before he had brought his plunder home. He generally defeated the *Romans*, when he found himself obliged to come to an engagement with them. In one action he made a whole *Roman* corps prisoners, with their general *Demostratus*, the brother of *Rufinus*, and *John* the son of *Lucas*, for whose ransom he had an immense sum of money paid him. Being at the head of all the *Saracens* bordering upon the *Persian* dominions, and capable of making an irruption into which of the neighbouring *Roman* provinces he pleased, he was one of the most formidable enemies the *Romans* had. None of their generals, nor any of the *Arab* phylarchs in their interest, could ever make head against him. *Justinian*, in order to annoy him, vested *Aretas*, another *Arab* prince, with the regal dignity, thinking this would enable him to push on the war with greater vigour against *Alamundarus*, for so *Procopius* calls him. However, *Al Mondar* was victorious in every engagement with *Aretas*, either vanquishing him by downright force, or prevailing upon him to betray the *Romans*. In fine, this prince, with *Azaretbes* the *Persian* general, defeated the renowned *Belisarius*, and scattered terror where-ever he came. The dispute he had with *Aretas*, who pleaded the cause of the *Romans*, about a territory called *Strata*, our readers will find related in *Procopius*. But as the rapid conquests of the *Saracens*, and the principal transactions they were concerned in, happened after the death of *Mohammed*, we shall reserve what we have to say of that warlike nation, till we come to the modern history of *Arabia*.

Arabia famous
for heresies,
after the intro-
duction of
christianity.

THAT *Arabia*, after the introduction of christianity, was famous for heresies, has been already observed. The *Hamyarites* were infected with the *Arian* heresy in the reign of the emperor *Constantius*, as we learn from *Theophilus Indus* in *Philostorgius*. Some christians of this nation believed, that the soul died with the body, and was to be raised again with it at the last day. These *Origen* is said to have convinced. The heresies of *Ebion*, *Beryllus*, the *Nazaræans*, and *Collyridians*, were also broached, or at least propagated, among the *Arabs*. The *Collyridians* were so denominated from a sort of twisted cake called *collyris*, which they offered to the virgin *Mary*, whom they worshipped as God. Other sects likewise there were within the borders of *Arabia*, who took refuge there from the proscriptions of the imperial edicts; several of whose notions *Mohammed* incorporated with his religion, as will hereafter be shewn.

* AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. xiv. l. xxv. & l. xxix. SOCRAT. p. 357—360. EVAGR. l. ii. c. 5. p. 205. PROCOPIUS. de bel. Pers. l. i. p. 49. 50. 51—54. 55. 88. Vid. etiam Univ. hist. vol. vi. p. 289, 329, 387, 467, 475, & 498. ¹ SULPIC. SEVER. in hist. fact. p. 112, &c. SOZOM. hist. ecclesiast. l. i. c. 16, 17. EUSEB. hist. ecclesiast. l. vi. c. 33. & c. 37. EPIPHAN. de hæres. l. i. hæres. 40. ut & l. iii. hæres. 75, 79. THEOPHILUS INDUS apud PHILOSTORGIUM, l. iii. SALE'S prelim. disc. p. 34, 35.

^a THE *Jews*, though an inconsiderable and despised people in other parts of the world, were very powerful in *Arabia*, whither they fled from the destruction of *Jerusalem*, as well as the great havock made amongst them by the emperor *Haarian*, and brought over several tribes to their religion. The *Jews* of *Hamyar*, we are told, not far from the time of *Dbu Nowás* above-mentioned, challenged some neighbouring christians to a public disputation, which was held *sub dio* three days, before the king and his nobility, and all the people. The disputants were *Gregentius*, bishop of *Tephra* or *Dbasár* for the christians, and *Herbanus* for the *Jews*. On the third day *Herbanus*, to end the dispute, demanded, that *Jesus* of *Nazareth*, if he were really living, and in heaven, and could hear the prayers of his worshippers, should appear from heaven in their sight, and they would then believe on him; the *Jews* crying out, with one voice, *Shew us your Christ, alas, and we will become christians*. Whereupon, after a terrible storm of thunder and lightning, *Jesus* Christ appeared in the air, surrounded with rays of glory, walking on a purple cloud, having a sword in his hand, and an inestimable diadem on his head; and spake these words over the heads of the assembly: *Behold, I appear to you in your sight, I, who was crucified by your fathers*. After which the cloud received him from their sight. The christians hereupon cried out, *Lord, have mercy upon us*; but the *Jews* were stricken blind, and recovered not, till they were all baptized ^m.

Many Jews converted by a miracle to christianity.

^c *Dbu Nowás*, as has been observed, was a *Jew*, and persecuted all, the christians particularly, who were not of his religion. He burnt three hundred and forty christians in the city of *Najrán* only. Not content with this, he sent an embassy to *Ab Mondar*, king of *Hira*, offering him large sums of money, if he would persecute the christians throughout his dominions. The patriarch of *Alexandria* pressing *Elefbaas* (E) the *Najasbi*, or king of *Ethiopia*, to revenge such inhuman cruelty, that prince crossed the streights of *Bab-al-Manaab* with a fleet of four hundred and twenty-three sail, and an army of an hundred and twenty thousand men, with which he made a descent in *Yaman*. With these forces he overthrew *Dbu Nowás*, seized upon his kingdom, and made *St. Aretas's* son governor of *Najrán*. The *Abassines* kept possession of this kingdom, till they were driven out by *Seif* the son of *Dbu Yazon* of the tribe of *Hamyar*, who was, however, himself slain by some of them that had been left behind. The war of the elephant we have already given our readers an account of; and therefore shall conclude our history of the ancient *Arabs*, or the time of ignorance, as it is called by the *Mohammedans*, with observing, that *Abd al Motalleb*, the grandfather of *Mohammed*, was prince or chief of the *Koreish* at the time this war happened; that *Mohammed* himself was born the very year the *Abassines* were overthrown in their expedition to *Mecca*; that on this year, *A. D.* 578. commenced the æra of the elephant, from which the *Arabs* computed their time for

Conclusion of the history of the ancient Arabs.

^m GREGENTIUS in disput. cum Herban. Judæ. & SALE ubi sup. p. 22, 23.

(E) According to some of the *Syriac* writers, *Elefbaas* or *Elefbaan*, whom they call *Aidog*, king of *Ethiopia*, undertook an expedition against one *Dimian*, king of the *Hamyarites*, for massacring some christian merchants, that were *Romans*, in their passage through *Yaman* into *Ethiopia*; which he did, to revenge the cruelties exercised on the *Jews*, of whose communion, it seems, he was a member, in the dominions of the *Roman* emperor. They add, that *Elefbaas* did not undertake this expedition out of a religious motive, but to revenge the injury his subjects might sustain in point of trade on this occasion. Before the *Arab* and *Ethiopian* armies engaged, *Elefbaas*, according to

the same authors, vowed solemnly to embrace the christian religion, in case he was victorious. The armies then joining battle, *Dimian* was vanquished and slain, and *Elefbaas* or *Aidog* professed himself a christian, and placed a christian prince upon the throne of *Hamyar*. Upon the death of this king, the *Jews*, who were still very numerous there, found means to fix *Dbu Nowás* upon that throne, who, at their instigation, proved a bitter enemy to the christians. The particulars of his cruel behaviour towards them are set forth at large by *Metaphrastes*, *Simeon Beth-Arsamensu*, and other authors of good repute already mentioned (5).

(5) *Simeon Beth-Arsamens. episcop. & Joann. Asia episc. apud Assaman. in bibl. Oriental. vol. i. p. 359—385. ut & ipse Assaman. ibid.*

twenty years; and that another, called the æra of *the unjust war* (F), succeeded this, a which continued to the *Hejra* (G).

^a ABULFED. *hif. gen.* AL-GJUZUS in *lib. de ritib. peregrinat. cap. 78.* AL ZAMAKHSIAR. AL BEIDAWI, JALLAL. D'HERBEL. *bibl. Orient. art. Abraham. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 61, &c.* AL KODATUS apud Pocockium, *ubi sup. p. 172, 173.* SIM. METAPHRASTES in *vit. S. Aret. & Socior. apud Surium, tom. v. p. 943.* AL JAUHAR. AL FIRAUZABAD. AL SHARESTAN. JOB. LUDOLPH. in *comment. ad hif. Æthiop. p. 61, 62, 255, 256.* GOLII *not. ad Alfragan. p. 54. aliq; auctor. supra laudat.*

(F) This was called *the unjust and impious war*, because the principal actions of it happened betwixt the *Kais Ailan* and the *Koreish*, two powerful *Arabian* tribes, in the sacred months above-mentioned. These sacred months were *Moharram*, *Rajeb*, *Dulkaada*, and *Dulhaga*. In them all acts of hostility amongst the jarring tribes, how violent soever their resentment might be, intirely ceased. They then laid aside all weapons of war, and conversed together in the most friendly manner. Nay, if an *Arab* met with the person that had killed his father or brother, he could not then offer any violence to him. The *Hejra* did not take place, till it was agreed upon

in the khalifat of *Omar*, that the *Arabs* should suppose their time from thence (6).

(G) Several remarkable events supplied the *Arabs* with epochs before the *Hejra*, viz. the invasion and reduction of *Yaman* by the *Abassines*; the expulsion of the *Amalekites*, by the family of *Jorham*, from the territory of *Mecca*; the battle of *Ebn Weyel*; the wars called *Al Bajus* and *Dakes*; the inundation of *Al Arem*; the fire *Derar*, which appeared in a stony district of the kingdom of *Yaman*, &c. The people of *Yaman*, however, for the most part, supposed their time according to the reigns of their kings (7).

(6) Golii *not. ad Alfragan. p. 54.* *Al Janhar. Al Firanzabad. Al Sharestan. Al Kodaius, & Pocock. ubi sup. p. 173, 174.* (7) *Al Kodaius apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 172, 173, 174. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid. Vid. & Ludolph. ubi sup.*

CHAP. [X].

The history of the empires of Nice and Trapezond, from their foundation, the former by Theodore Lascaris, and the latter by the Comneni, to their final abolition, the one by Michael Paleologus, the other by Mohammed the Great.

THESE are the two last empires we have left to mention on the other side ^b the *Mediterranean*, and before we repass into *Europe*. We have given them the last place, and have joined them in the same chapter, as they were of the modernest date, smallest extent, and shortest duration, of any of those we have had occasion to speak of, either in *Asia* or *Africa*, that are now extinct; and as they were both dismembered from the *Greek* empire about the same time, that is, soon after the taking of its great metropolis by the *Latins*, mentioned in a former volume^a. That of *Nice* was founded by *Theodore Lascaris*, and that of *Trapezond* by *David* and *Alexius Comnenus*, whilst *Baldwin* reigned at *Constantinople*. As for the *Vandals*, and their kingdom in *Africa*, it made so small and short a figure, and we know so little of its extent, and other particulars, except what we have so lately taken notice ^c of in their history, that we think we need not repeat it here; but refer our readers to a former chapter of this volume, p. 532—559, & seq.

The empire and emperors of Nice.

Theodore La-^a 1. **T**HEODORUS Lascaris, son-in-law to the tyrant *Alexius Angelus*, having happily escaped out of *Constantinople*, and fled into *Bithynia*, was there received with such demonstrations of joy by the inhabitants, that he soon made himself *Nice*.

^a See vol. vi. p. 627. p. II.

- a master of *Phrygia*, *Myfia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionis*, from the *Meander* to the *Black or Euxine Sea*. These he erected into an empire, and fixed his imperial residence in the famous city of *Nice*, from which this new empire took its name^b. It was not long, however, before he saw himself invaded by two powerful enemies, his father-in-law, and *Jathelines* sultan of *Iconium*, his old friend and ally, whom he called to his assistance against the new emperor. They marched accordingly against him with an army of twenty thousand men, and laid siege to the city of *Antioch*, on the *Meander*, the then boundary of this new empire on that side. *Lascares*, though he could then muster but two thousand men, was yet forced to march to the relief of that place, lest its falling into their hands should open them a way to the heart of his dominions. They were surprised to find him come so suddenly, and with such a handful of men, against them; but such was his valour, and that of his troops, especially of eight hundred of his *Italians*, that he gave the enemy a signal overthrow: but his *Greeks* being somewhat intimidated at the sight of the superior enemy, the sultan, thinking that a proper time to renew the onset, fell suddenly upon them, and, having singled *Lascares* out, threw him off his horse at the first blow. *Lascares* soon recovered himself, unhorsed his competitor, struck off his head, and, fixing it on the point of a lance, threw the enemy into such a panic, that they betook themselves to flight. *Alexius*, the author of this war, was taken prisoner, and carried in triumph to *Nice*, where he ended his days in a monastery, where *Lascares* had confined him. The *Turks* were soon after glad to accept of such a peace as he was pleased to grant to them; and another being concluded between him and *Henry* the brother and successor of *Baldwin*, he was then at full leisure to secure his new-founded empire to himself and successors, which he did with vast success and bravery, both against the *Turks* and *Latins*, during the space of eighteen years^c.

Defeats Angelus and the Turks.

- At his death he left only a son, then an infant, and three daughters, the eldest of whom, named *Irene*, he had married to the brave *John Ducas*, surnamed *Valaces*, to whom he bequeathed his new monarchy; tho' he had two brothers, viz. *Alexius* and *Angelus*, whom it might be expected he would have entrusted with the care of his son and empire: but he seems to have been more intent in strengthening and enlarging the latter, than to secure it to his nearest kindred; and accordingly named his son-in-law his successor, as the most capable of answering his design; and such he really proved.

His death and successor.

2. *John Ducas* was accordingly crowned at *Nice* by *Manuel* the great patriarch, and proved no less brave and successful than his predecessor. We have formerly had occasion to mention his great success against the *Turks*, and especially the *Latins*, whom he defeated in several battles, and from whom he took a considerable number of places, which we shall forbear repeating here^d. He died after a glorious reign of thirty-three years, in the sixty-second of his age, after having extended his conquests, not only in *Asia*, but in *Europe*, and even almost to the gates of *Constantinople*; and was succeeded by his son,

John Ducas crowned emperor. A. C. 1222.

3. *Theodore Lascares*; who, during his short reign, was likewise very successful against the *Bulgarians*, and the despot of *Epirus*, as we have formerly seen^e. One great oversight this prince was guilty of, was, the recalling the traitor *Michael Pateologus*, who was gone from him over to the *Turks*, and restoring him to his former dignity; for that gave him an opportunity of depriving his son of the empire, as we shall soon see. *Theodore* died in the third year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son,

Theodore Lascares crowned. A. C. 1225.

4. *John Lascares*, then about nine years of age; for which reason his father committed him, and the care of the empire, to *Arjenius* the then patriarch of *Nice*, and to the famed *Muzalo*, a person indeed of mean extract, but of great merit and fidelity, and deservedly raised to the highest posts in the empire. For this, *Muzalo* incurred the envy of the nobles, who, notwithstanding the solemn oath which he had obliged them to take to the young prince, rushed with their swords drawn upon that brave minister, on the very day and place where the funeral obsequies of the deceased monarch were performed; and, in the midst of the divine service, dispatched

John Lascares crowned. A. C. 1258.

Muzalo assassinated.

^b Nicet. in BelJ. c. 1, & seq.

^c Idem ibid. c. 12. ad fin. See before vol. vi. p. 629, pass.

^d Ibid. p. 630, & seq. Vid. & GEOR. ACROP. l. i. c. 2.

^e Idem ibid. c. 12, & seq. See before

vol. vi. p. 630, & seq.

Paleologus
chosen protector.

him at the foot of the altar, to which he had fled for sanctuary. It is not improbable, a that the treacherous *Paleologus* had the greatest hand in the contriving and conducting of this assassination, as it was the most likely means to open him the way to the seizing on the imperial dignity, which he never must have so much as aimed at, whilst the young prince was under the care of so brave and worthy a guardian. However that be, *Muzalo* was no sooner dispatched out of his way, but the traitor caused himself to be chosen to succeed him in the guardianship of the young emperor, and to be declared protector of the empire, without the least notice or regard to the patriarch, who, tho' no consummate statesman, was yet a person of singular learning and merit.

His treachery
and treason.
A. C. 1259.

A. C. 1261.

His new dignity was soon after signalized with a complete overthrow, which his b brother *John* gave to the despot of *Epirus*, who had then invaded the provinces of *Thrace* and *Macedon*. The news of this action no sooner reached *Magnesia*, the place where the new protector then resided, but he was saluted emperor by a number of his creatures, both of the nobility and populace. For this the worthy patriarch threatened to excommunicate him, and all his adherents; and *Paleologus* found no better expedient to ward off the blow, than by binding himself under a solemn oath to resign the empire to the young prince, as soon as he came to be of age. This having for the present satisfied the too credulous prelate, he was easily persuaded to crown him emperor. As we are no further concerned with any particulars of that usurper's reign, than as they relate to the *Nicean* empire, to which he now put c an end, we shall refer our readers to what has been said of them in a former volume f; and only add here, that having soon after, that is, in the second year of his reign, taken *Constantinople* from the *Latins*, he removed the seat of the empire from *Nice* to that antient metropolis, where he caused himself to be crowned afresh emperor of the east. The unfortunate young prince fell a sacrifice to that tyrant's ambition, who caused, not long after, his eyes to be put out, and himself to be proclaimed the sole lawful and rightful possessor of the empire. *Arsenius*, now convinced, though too late, of his fatal credulity, thundered out an excommunication against him, and all his adherents; but neither this, nor the great opposition which he met with from abroad, could wrest the empire from him, tho' it proved d a very troublesome and thorny one, as we have elsewhere shewn e. This was the end of the *Nicean* empire, about fifty-seven years after its foundation. As for *Nice*, the metropolis of it, though it was in a great measure divested of its grandeur by the removal of the court to *Constantinople*, yet it continued to be so considerable a city, that it passed once and again from the *Greeks* to the *Turks*, and back again, till it was at length taken by *Orchanes* in the manner as has been heretofore related h.

The empire of Trapezond.

The foundation
of the empire
of Trapezond.
A. C. 1204.

THIS monarchy, which was founded, as we lately hinted, much about the e same time with that of *Nice*, lasted much longer, and made a much more considerable figure in the world. It took its name from the famed city of *Trapezond* or *Trapezus*, which was now made the imperial seat of the *Comneni*, and metropolis of this their new empire (A). *David* and *Alexius Comneni*

f Before vol. vi. p. 632, & seq. p. 641, & seq.

* Ibid. p. 634, & seq. ex PACHYM. l. i. & ii. pass.

b Before, ibid.

(A) *Trapezus* or *Trapezond*, called also *Trebizond*, and by the *Turks* *Tarabozan*, was a Greek city in *Pontus*, founded by the antient *Sinopians*, and tributary to them, as we learn from *Xenophon*, who marched by it in his famous retreat, spoken of in a former volume (1). It is situate on the foot of a hill, which makes a kind of peninsula, on the *Black* or *Euxine Sea*, where it begins to turn towards the east. Its port is large and convenient, and the city itself well peopled, and surrounded with steep moun-

tains (2).

It was formerly of such consideration, that the emperors of *Constantinople* always kept a deputy there; and, since its being brought under the *Turks*, it is become the residence of a begler-beigh. After the overthrow of *Mithridates*, who had taken it, the *Romans* restored it, as they did most of the Greek cities in *Asia*, to its former privileges and liberty (3).

(1) See before vol. ii. p. 139, & seq. vol. iii. p. 722. a—c.

(2) See *Stephan. de urb. Baudran. &c. al. in voc.*

(3) See before,

But

^a *neni* (B), grandsons to the tyrant *Andronicus*, who had been lately put to such a cruel, yet deserved death by *Isaac Angelus*, as we have formerly seen¹, were the first founders of it. These, having the good fortune to escape out of *Constantinople* together, came and seized on the more eastern parts of *Pontus*, *Galatia*, and *Cappadocia*, and erected them into an empire; and *Trapezond* being then the strongest and most considerable city in their dominions, they made it the seat of their residence, and called their new empire by its name. It doth not indeed appear, that they immediately took upon them the imperial title; much less, that they were soon acknowledged as such. On the contrary, *Vincent de Beauvais* styles them only lords of *Trapezond*^k; but it is plain, that they soon arrived at a considerable height of power and interest, since the emperor *Baldwin*, about thirty-four years after their settling at *Trapezond*, sought their alliance and friendship, and was by them assisted in some considerable enterprizes against *Vasaces* emperor of *Nice*, who had invaded some of his dominions, as we hinted under the last article, and elsewhere^l. However, it is not improbable, that neither these of *Trapezond*, nor those of *Nice*, took upon them the title of emperors till some time after the foundation of their monarchies; perhaps, as some conjecture^m, not till the usurper *Michael Paleologus* had seized on that of *Nice*, and got himself crowned emperor at *Constantinople*; at which time the *Comneni*, either in contempt to him, or because they could not brook an inferior title to his, did likewise assume the imperial dignity. However that be, it is certain, that, after they had once assumed it, their successors maintained it with great success and bravery; and caused themselves to be acknowledged as such by foreign powers, as long as their empire lasted, that is, till it was subdued and put an end to by *Mohammed the Great*, who, like an irresistible inundation, drove all before him, as we shall see at the conclusion of this chapter.

THE *Trapezuntines* were of the Greek church, and after the foundation of this new empire they had a patriarch of their own; but, whether chosen by the emperor, or the clergy, can only be darkly guessed at. After their becoming subject to the *Turks*, the latter still chose their patriarchs, who were afterwards confirmed by the sultan. This was done every-where, it seems, throughout the *Turkish* conquests, in the same manner as it was practised under the christian emperors, that is, without paying any fine to the treasury. The clergy of *Trapezond* were the first who caused this dignity to be saddled with one of a thousand ducats; which by degrees came afterwards to extend to those of their other conquests. The occasion of it being somewhat remarkable, we shall give it our reader in the margin (C). As for other particulars of their religion, laws, customs, &c. there is the less necessity to dwell longer

Their religion.
patriarchs, &c.

¹ Ibid. p. 611, d—f.
in Varac. c. 12. & seq.

^k See before vol. iii. p. 721, b.

^l See before, vol. vi. p. 631, e. & ACROST.

^m CRUSIUS annotat. in lib. i. Turco-Græc. p. 60, & seq. BAUDRAND. sub voc. *Trapez.* Du FRESNE, hist. Byzant. p. 166, & seq.

But what rendered it still more famous, was, its being made and continued the imperial residence of the *Comneni* from the foundation of their empire we are now upon, to the taking it by *Mohammed II.* of which we shall speak in due place. The reader may see an account of its present situation, commerce, &c. in the volume last quoted.

Aristotle tells us of a kind of honey that was gathered off the box-trees in the neighbourhood of *Trapezond*, which was an almost infallible cure for the epilepsy; but adds, that if any person in health did venture to eat of it, it bereaved them of their senses (4): he doth not tell us indeed whether it was this very *Trapezond* we are speaking of, or some other; for there were more cities of that name, particularly one in *Arcadia*, said to have been founded by, and named from, *Trapezus* the son of *Lycæon*.

(B) The family of the *Comneni* was very antient and considerable. The reader may see a long account of it in the author quoted in the margin (5); but it became much more so after its having been

honoured with the imperial diadem in the person of *Isaac Comnenus*, who was raised to that dignity against *Michael Stratioticus*, by the officers of the army, as we have formerly seen (6). *Andronicus*, the grandfather of these *Comneni*, was of that family, and uncle to *Alexius Comnenus* then upon the throne, but no more than twelve years of age: against him he raised a revolt, in which he caused himself and young *Alexius* to be saluted as co-partners, and took him as his colleague to the empire, but soon after caused him to be murdered; for which, and his other tyrannies and cruelties, he was put to a most shameful and dreadful death (7).

(C) The *Trapezuntines* were at that time under a patriarch named *Mark*, who was so ill beloved by his clergy, and by the nobles and people, that they agreed upon depriving him of his dignity, and to nominate unto it one *Simeon*, a countryman of theirs, then a monk or canon at the great church of *Constantinople*, a person of merit on several accounts, but especially for his extraordinary hospitality. To compass their design, they fell upon the fol-

(4) De mirab. orb. Vid. & Steph. de urb. sub voc. de familiis *Comnen.* p. 160, & seq. *stemm.* 28.
610, e. 611, e—f.

Vol. VII. No. 4.

Pausan. in Arcadic.

(6) See vol. vi. p. 601, e, f, & seq.

(5) Du Fresno, hist. Byzant.

(7) Ibid.

Trade.

longer on them, considering that these two empires were only dismembered from the a grand one, and differed in nothing from it but in their change of government, or rather governors. As for their trade, considering the excellent situation of their metropolis, and of some other of their cities, of which we have formerly given an account in the *Pontic* history *, we need not doubt but the emperors encouraged it all they could; and the medals produced by *Tournefort* †, as well as the coins mentioned by *Du Fresne* ‡, leave us no room to doubt of the trade and opulence, both of their empire, and its metropolis, tho', since their falling into the hands of the *Turks*, they have fared like all the rest of their conquests, and greatly failed of their ancient commerce and splendor. It only remains, that we give an account of the *Trapezontine* monarchs from *Alexius* their founder to *David* their last emperor, and of their b different wars, by which they maintained themselves in their high dignity against so many powerful enemies, such as were, some time, the *Latins* and the *Greeks*, especially those of the new *Nicean* empire, and at other times the *Turks*, *Saracens*, *Persians*, &c. These would doubtless make a considerable figure in this history, had they been transmitted to us in an uninterrupted series; but the misfortune is, that the *Byzantine* historians, from whom we have all our chief intelligence, have only mentioned them occasionally, and as they were immediately linked with the affairs of the *Constantinopolitan* empire; so that we must be content with the series of those eleven emperors, and with such few particulars as we find recorded of them. We shall only add, that the duration of the *Trapezontine* empire was about two hundred c and fifty-seven or two hundred fifty-eight years, being founded in the year of Christ 1204. and subdued *An.* 1461. or 1462.

Emperors of Trapezond.

Alexius the Great.

11 *ALEXIUS Comnenus*, surnamed *the Great*, and his brother *David*, were the sons of *Manuel*, and grandsons of the tyrant *Andronicus Comnenus*. We have already spoken of the usurpation and tyranny, as well as the dismal end, of the latter. As for *Manuel*, he was the eldest son of *Andronicus*; but was so unlike his d father in his vices, that he was disinherited and imprisoned by him (D), and his next brother *John* appointed his successor; but, when he found the whole populace exasperated at it, he then tried in vain to appease them, by pretending, that he always designed the empire for *Manuel*, and promising to name him to it. Upon the death of *Andronicus*, and the restoration of *Isaac Angelus*, or rather soon after the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Latins*, *Manuel's* two sons, *Alexius* and his brother *David*, fled into *Pontus*, seized on *Heraclea*, and soon after made themselves masters of that

* See before, vol. iii. p. 712, & seq. p. 168.

† Voyages au Levant.

‡ Hist. Byzant. stemm. 28.

lowing doughty expedient: they accused *Mark* of having introduced a new kind of simony, till then unheard of among them, that is, to have agreed to pay one thousand ducats into the sultan's treasury, as soon as he was confirmed in his dignity. The innocent patriarch in vain endeavoured to wipe off the foul accusation by the most solemn oaths; his enemies had bribed so many considerable persons, some of them ecclesiastics, to swear it against him, that he was adjudged guilty, and not only *ipso facto* deprived of his dignity, but also worthy of excommunication and banishment. This being done, they took one thousand ducats, and went with them to the sultan, and told him, that since *Mark*, a person odious to the clergy and laity, had promised him that sum upon his elevation to the patriarchate, they would now pay it to his highness, provided they might be permitted to raise their favourite monk to it.

The sultan, who knew nothing of such a promise, could not at first forbear smiling at the proposal, and hesitated some time whether he should

accept of it; at length considering, that this would serve for a good precedent to oblige the future candidates to that dignity to the payment of the like sum, owned to them, that *Mark* had indeed promised it to him: But, continued he, and taking the money at the same time, since he is so obnoxious to you, c'en turn him out, and appoint whom you will in his place; which was done accordingly (8).

(D) Among other things, by which *Manuel* disobliged his father, one was, that he constantly refused to marry *Agnes* the daughter of *Philip* king of the *Franks*, and wife of *Alexius* the deposed emperor of *Constantinople*, though his father earnestly pressed him to it, and promised him, upon his complying, to make him partner in the empire. His refusal, which, our author says (9), he excused on account of such a marriage being contrary to the ecclesiastical laws, did so incense the tyrant, that at last he cast him into a prison, and appointed his next son to succeed him (10).

(8) *Du Fresne, hist. Byzant. stemm. 28. p. 169.*

(9) *Crusius Turco-Græc. p. 124, & seq.*

(10) *Nices. in Andronic. lib. ii. n. 8. & seq. in Alex. Mag. n. 4. & in Isaac. l. i. n. 1.*

- a whole province, together with *Paphlagonia*, *Colchis*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, with some others of less note; and *Alexius* fixed his imperial seat at *Trapezond* 9. He soon after made an alliance with *Baldwin* emperor of *Constantinople*, and assisted him against *Theodore Lascaris*, as we have already hinted. It doth not however appear, that he took the imperial title, most authors being of opinion, that it was either his grandson or great-grandson that first assumed it; and that he only took that of duke or lord of *Trapezond*, as he is called by an ancient author, who mentions him on account of his being used to furnish the sultan of *Iconium* with two hundred lances. He was succeeded by,
2. — *Comnenus*; and he by
- b. 3. — *Comnenus* (E); of whose name and father we know nothing but what was hinted in the last note.
4. *John Comnenus*; the first, as is generally supposed, that took upon him the title of emperor. We hinted, a little higher, the probable reason of his assuming it, viz. out of emulation against *Michael Paleologus*. To this we may add what a contemporary author, who was protonotary to the said *Paleologus*, says; viz. that *John* rather suffered himself to be complimented with it by the *Greeks*, out of spite and contempt to that usurper, who, by his submission to the pope, and uniting the *Greek* and *Latin* churches, had rendered himself odious to them. Another, who lived near the same time, hints much the same thing, when he says, that the province of *Trapezond* was antiently under the government of dukes, who were sent thither in that quality by the *Constantinopolitan* emperors; that one of those governors, having made himself absolute master there, took upon him the title of king; and that he that then reigned there, had assumed that of emperor. We do not find, however, that *Michael* made any opposition to this new-assumed title. The odium and other misfortunes he then laboured under, of which we took notice under the last article, rather obliged him to confirm it to him; at least he thought fit to court his friendship and alliance by offering him his daughter *Eudocia Paleologina* in marriage; which *John* readily accepted of, and went to *Constantinople* to espouse her: and it is probable enough, that his new title was then acknowledged and confirmed to him by his father-in-law. All that we know further of him is, that he was earnestly courted by pope *Nicolas IV.* to engage in the holy war about the year 1291. and that he died about four years after, and left two sons behind, by his wife *Eudocia*, viz. *Alexius II.* who succeeded him, and *John* his younger brother, whom that princess took with her, being then very young, to *Constantinople*, soon after the emperor's death.
5. *Alexius II.* was born 1282. and left, by his father's last will, under the guardianship of *Andronicus Paleologus* the elder. He married the daughter of an *Iberian* prince, tho' he had the offer of a much richer wife, which *Andronicus Augustus* had designed for him. He defeated the *Genoese*, and soon after entered into an alliance with them. He was succeeded by his son,
6. *Basilus I.* who was forced to fight his way through to gain his paternal inheritance. He was highly courted by pope *John XXII.* to go over to the church of *Rome*. His wife, or, as some think, his second, was *Eudocia* the natural daughter of *Andronicus Paleologus* the younger. He was succeeded by,
7. *Basilus II.* called also the younger, to distinguish him, as is supposed, from his father. He married *Irene Paleologina*, the daughter of *Andronicus* the younger;

9 NICETAS in Baldwin. ACROB. c. 7. AITHON. c. 13. Alex. Mig.

VINCENT. BELLOVAC. sub ann. 1240. sub Joh. Comm.

AITHON. c. 13.

W PACHYM. lib. vi. c. 32, & seq. GREGORAS, lib. v. & vi. BZOV. sub ann. 1181. n. 12. WADD. apud Du Fresnoie sub Joh. Comm. p. 191.

GREGOR. l. v.

Idem ibid. BZOV. ubi sup.

GREGOR. l. xi.

OD. REINALD. sub ann.

1329. n. 95.

GREG. ibid. Vid. Du Fresnoie in Basil. I.

GREGOR. ibid.

Vid. CRUS. ubi sup. Du Fresnoie sub

OGERIUS ap. Wadd. Vid. Du Fresnoie

GREGORAS, lib. v. & vi.

PACHYM. l. ix. c. 27.

OD. REINALD. sub ann.

(E) We have nothing recorded concerning these two, not even their names; only we are told, that *John*, the next in order, was the grandson, according to some, or the great-grandson (11), according to others, of the great *Alexius*. Among these the famed *Ogerius*, protonotary of *Michael Paleologus*,

who wrote about the year 1279. calls the then reigning emperor, that is, the *John* we are now speaking of, the great-grandson of *Alexius the Great*; so that, according (12) to his account, there must have been two princes between these two last-named (13).

(11) GREGORAS, lib. v. (12) OGER. apud Wadd. ubi sup. (13) Vid. Du Fresnoie sub Alex. Comm. p. 191.

which shews, that he must be different from the former, who had married *Eudocia*,^a another of that monarch's daughters; for it was contrary to the canons of the Greek church to marry two sisters. *Irene*, however, was afterward set aside to make way for another woman of the same name, with whom the emperor was fallen deeply in love; which so exasperated his queen, that she soon after hatched both their ruins: him she caused to be killed by some private means, and her she sent with her children under a guard to *Constantinople*. She governed the empire for some time, during which she dispatched some ambassadors to her father, to desire him to send some proper person, to whom she might be lawfully married, and have children by, to succeed to the empire. The matter was no sooner known at *Trapezond*, than an insurrection was made against her; which ended in a civil war,^b in which *Tzanychita*, a *Trapezuntine* nobleman, who was head of one of the factions, was killed.^c What became of her, or how the matter was concluded, we are not told; only that *Basil* the emperor died in the year of Christ 1339^f. He left children both by his wife, and by his concubine; the latter of which were, as we hinted, sent with their mother to *Constantinople*. He was succeeded by a son of the former,

— *Comnenus*. 8. — *Comnenus*, whose christian name has not been transmitted to us, and this last by his son *Alexius*.

Alexius III. 9. *Alexius III* (F). and the famed princess *Eudocia Comnena*, seem, by all circumstances of time, place, &c. to have been brother and sister, though their father's name is not recorded by any historian; neither is it easy to guess, at what time the former began to reign. As to his sister, she was a lady of extraordinary beauty,^c and, after having been married sometime to a *Turkish* nobleman of great distinction, and having several children by him, as soon as she was a widow, she was courted and betrothed to *Manuel* the son of *John*, emperor of *Constantinople*, who brought her accordingly thither to consummate his marriage; but here that old monarch, though decrepit with age, gout, and other infirmities, fell so enamoured with her, that he married her himself about the year 1380^g. that is, towards the latter-end of his life and reign, at which time this *Alexius* was upon the throne of *Trapezond*. This last married, if we may believe *Laonicus*^h, some great lady of the *Cantacuzenian* family, who being already in love with a *Trapezuntine* nobleman, said to have^d been the keeper of the imperial wardrobe, she was reported to carry on a shameful intrigue with him. His eldest son was no sooner apprised of it, than he took an opportunity to dispatch her paramour, and then shut her up with the emperor in a room, with a design to have sent them both out of the world by the same way: he was, however, prevented by the people from committing that double parricide, and forced to flee into *Spain*. *Alexius* was so exasperated at his son, that he disinherited him, and named *Alexander* his younger son to succeed him; but *John* found means, by the help of some *Spaniards* and *Genoese*, to return to *Trapezond*; where he caused his father to be privately murdered, and afterwards to be magnificently interred in the cathedral of that metropolis, to avoid being suspected to have had^e a hand in his deathⁱ.

John II. 1449. 10. *John II*. called also *Calo-Johannes*, having thus dispatched his father, mounted the throne, but found it very difficult to keep himself upon it; for the *Turks*, by this time grown very powerful, fell foul upon him on all sides, so that he was forced to pay an annual tribute of three thousand ducats to *Amurat*, and afterwards to his son *Mohammed II*. to enjoy the quiet possession of it^k. At his death he left only one son, named *Alexius*, then but four years of age, who was afterwards carried captive with the rest of the family at the taking of *Trapezond* by *Mohammed* above-mentioned, and a daughter, named *Catharina Comnena*, who was by her uncle *David* given to *Ajan Beigh*, vulgarly called *Usum Cazanes*, in order to prevail upon that^f

^a Excerpt. ex GREG. 2p. Du Fresnoie in Basil. II. p. 193. ^f GREGOR. ibid. VIGNER. in bibl. histor.
^b LAONIC. l. ii. PHRANZ. l. iii. c. 2. ^g Lib. ix. ^h Id. ibid. Vid. & PHRANZ l. ii. c. 1. DUCAS, c. 22. & 45. Du Fresnoie sub Alex. p. 194. ^k PHRANZ. l. ii. c. 1. & seq. LAONIC. l. ix.

(F) Some have imagined this last to have been the son of *Basilus II*. and have struck out the anonymous one, who stands the eighth in the list; but it is scarce credible, that he could be the son of that *Basil*, who died An. 1339. whereas *Alexius* was still alive A. C. 1428. when he gave *Mary* his daughter to *John* then emperor of *Constantinople* (14).

(14) Du Fresnoie, ibid. p. 193.

a monarch to assist him against the continual irruptions which the *Turks* made against him ^k. This was, however, done with this condition, that she should not be obliged to change her religion. *John* had these two by the daughter of one of the kings of *Spain*, whom she married during his abode there ^l. Some will have her to have been *David's* own daughter ^m, the last emperor of *Trapezond*, but without any foundation; for *Laonicus* expressly calls her the daughter of *John*; and *David* himself, in his letter to *Philip* duke of *Burgundy*, says plainly enough, that she was the daughter of *Calo-Johannes* ⁿ.

11. *David Comnenus*, the third brother of *John*, and last emperor of *Trapezond*, *David, the last emperor.* seized on the crown, in wrong of his nephew, the young son of *Alexis*. He was

b a man of a savage and cowardly disposition ^o. He had married the princess *Irene*, of the *Cantacuzen* family, a lady highly celebrated for her greatness of soul, and constancy under adversities ^p. Against *David*, *Mohammed II.* surnamed *the Great*, who by that time had made himself master of *Græcia*, *Rascia*, and *Servia*, and of the city of *Constantinople*, declared war, under pretence, that he had assisted *Usun Cazanes*, king of *Persia*, and was become tributary to him. *David* had neither courage nor strength sufficient to oppose him; so that he marched directly against his capital, and laid close siege to it by sea and land. The siege had lasted little above a month, when *David*, having in vain implored the assistance of christian princes, particularly of *Charles VII.* king of *France*, agreed to deliver up this metropolis, and with it the whole empire, on condition, that his and his family's lives should be spared, and he permitted to carry with him all his children and treasures into *Europe*; and that, when there, he should have a sufficient revenue assigned to maintain him and them. *Mohammed* at first refused these offers with great indignation, not doubting to be soon master of that metropolis; but a second parley being desired, he in appearance accepted of them; but having once got the unfortunate emperor in his power, he treacherously caused him to be loaded with chains, and to be kept close prisoner. Being now master of the city, he seized on the emperor's wife (G), daughters, and upon the rest of his family, with as many of the nobility as he found in that metropolis, and caused them to be sent in triumph to *Constantinople*. Of the rest of the *Trapezuntines* he chose as many as he thought fit for his service, and ordered eight hundred promising youths to be brought up janisaries. The handsome females he distributed among his captains and favourites, and some of the finest amongst his own sons. He left in the city none but the meanest of the people, put a strong garrison of janisaries into the castle, another of common soldiers in the town, and made his admiral governor of both. The other cities of the empire submitted to the conqueror in a little while after; so that the whole was reduced to his obedience in few months, and he returned triumphant into *Constantinople* ^q.

Trapezond taken by Mohammed.

c Soon after his arrival thither, he sent the emperor *David*, and his children, prisoners to *Adrianople*; and not long after, upon some motions made, or pretended to have been made, in their favour by the wife of *Usun Cazanes*, he caused them to be put to death. He strove to root out, as much as lay in his power, the whole *Comnenian* family; and none of them were spared, but *George* the youngest son of *David*, who turned *Mohammedan*, and one of his sisters, who became afterwards *Mohammed's* concubine ^r. Thus ended the *Trapezuntine* empire, in the year of Christ 1462. and in the 257th or 258th of its foundation ^s.

The royal family butchered by him.
A. C. 1462.

^k LEUNCL. in pand. Turc. n. 188. & VIGNER. bibl. histor. in an. 1456. Vid. & CRUIS. not. in Turco-græc. p. 61. ^l Ibid. ^m SPANDUGIN. plus in Asia, c. 53. & al. ⁿ LAONIC. ubi sup.

^o ENNAE. SYLV. epist. 391. ^p DOROTH. MONEMB. ap. LEON. Allat. de consens. utr. eccles. ^q PHRANZ. lib. iii. SPANDUG. LAONIC. ^r Ibid. DOROTH. MONEMB. & al. Vid. & CRUIS. DU FRESNE, & auct. ab eis citat. ^s LAONIC. lib. ix. & x. Hist. politic. p. 21. RICAUT. Ottoman empire, &c. ^t Ibid.

(G) So some authors affirm, and add, that she saw, with the utmost constancy, her husband, and seven of her sons, cruelly butchered by the tyrant, because they would not turn *Mohammedans*; and that she herself died soon after (15): but *Laonicus* affirms, that she found means, before the Turkish fleet appeared on their coasts, to make her escape

to *Mamia* (16); but what that author means by that word, whether some place of safety, or some relation, or friend, is not possible to guess. Another author affirms *David* to have been killed by a blow which *Mohammed* gave him with his doubled fist (17).

(15) DOROTH. MONEMB. SPANDUGIN. PHRANZ. & al.

(16) Lib. ix.

(17) PHRANZ. lib. iii. c. 2.

C H A P. X.

The antient state and history of Spain, to the expulsion of the Carthaginians by the Romans, and briefly continued to the descent of the Northern nations.

S E C T. I.

Description of Spain.

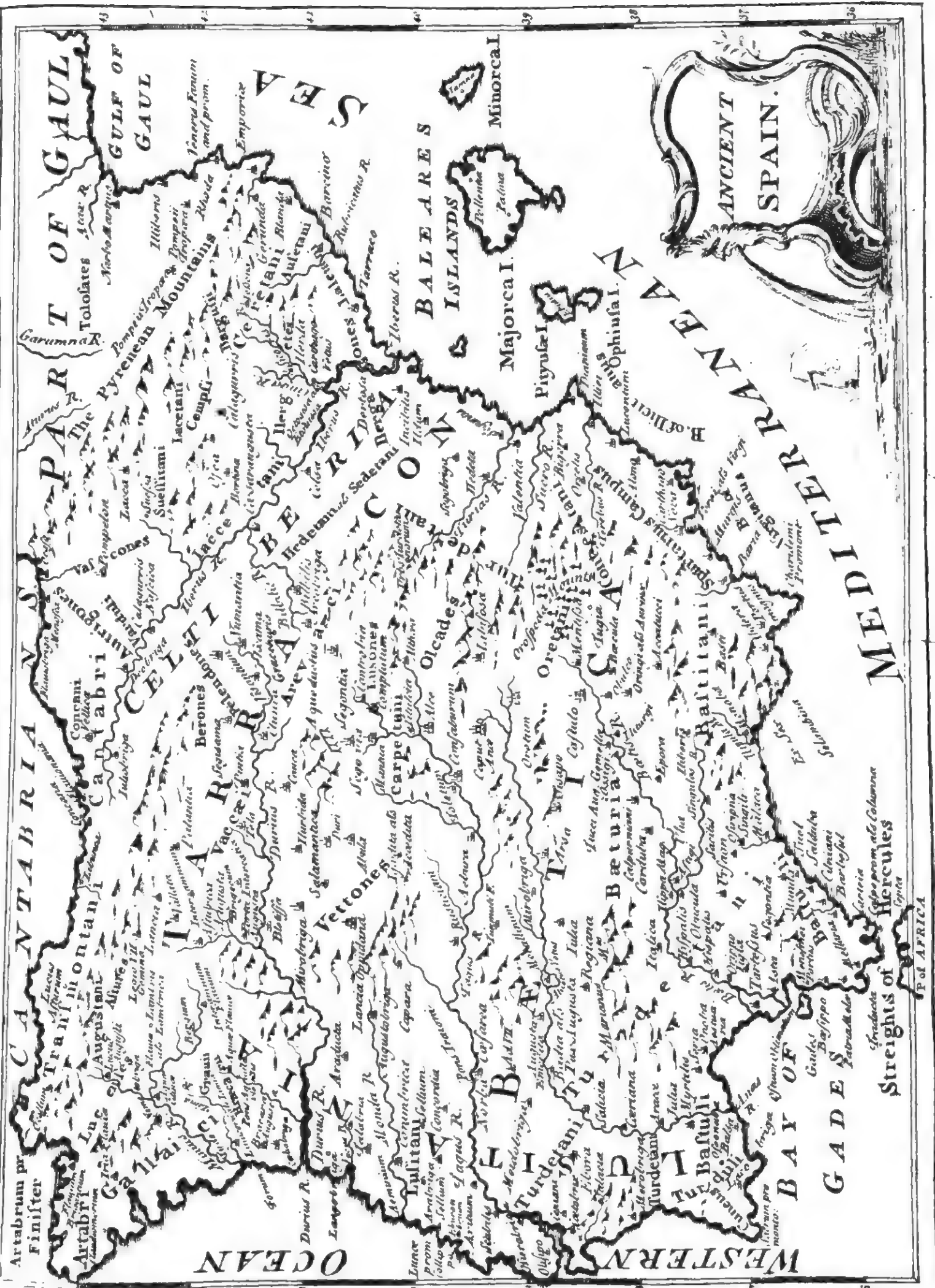
Limits and extent of Spain.

AS the only land contiguous to Spain was Gaul, from whence it was separated, on the N. by the Pyrenees, we may consider it as a peninsula. On the other sides we find it surrounded by the Mediterranean, the Sinus Gaditanus or bay of Cadiz, the Fretum Herculeum or straits of Gibraltar, the western ocean, and sea of Cantabria. It must have extended, from E. to W. near thirteen degrees, since Lisbon is 9°. 30'. W. of London, and cape de Bauger in Catalonia 3°. 15'. E. of that city; and from N. to S. about 9°. 40'. since cape de Ortegal, the northern extremity of modern Spain, is in 44°. 10'. N. lat. and the southermost point of Tariffa in 35°. 50'. N. lat. According to this determination, antient Spain, including Lusitania or Portugal, was about five hundred and ninety-four miles long, and five hundred and eighty broad. As the natural limits of antient and modern Spain are the same, they may be looked upon intirely as the same region. Some modern geographers have assigned this kingdom too large an extent, as our readers will find by consulting them.

Names of Spain.

THE generality of the Greek writers call Spain *Ipsela Iberia*, either from a colony of Iberians, a people bordering upon mount Caucasus, planted there, or from the Iberus, the Ebro of the moderns, one of the most noted rivers of this country. However, the antients who lived before Polybius, by *Iberia* understood only that part of Spain extending from the Pyrenees to Calpe, or the straits of Gibraltar, and terminated by the Mediterranean; the other part being unknown to, and consequently going under no name amongst, the Greeks and Romans. As the Iberus was by far the most considerable river of this tract, it might have received the denomination of *Iberia* from thence, as Egypt, according to some, did its name from the Nile, which Homer intimates to have been called *Ægyptus*. But, notwithstanding what is here advanced, we apprehend, that the true and proper *Iberia* was originally only that part of Spain called *Celtiberia*, from a body of Celts settling in it, bounded by the Iberus, the Pyrenees, and the Mediterranean; which if we admit, it is no wonder, that the Phœnicians gave it the name of *Iberia*. For the Hebrew עבר *Eber*, as well as the Chaldee, Syriac, or Phœnician עבר *Ebra* or *Ibra*, in the singular number, signifies a passage, and in the plural bounds or limits. The Phœnicians, therefore, might either have called the most considerable river of this tract, and one of its boundaries, *Eber*, *Iber*, *Ebra*, &c. and from thence styled the inhabitants of it *Iberians*; or have denominated the tract itself *Iberia*, from its situation, it having been generally considered by them as one of the remotest regions, or western limit, of the earth. Be that as it will, we can by no means think it probable, that any part of Spain was called *Iberia*, from a colony of Iberians settled there, since history does not in the least countenance such a notion. Festus Avienus places the *Iberi* upon the coast of the Atlantic ocean, to the west of the Iberus, a little river between the *Batis* and the *Anas*, the Rio Tinto, or Rio de Azecbe, of the

* STRAB. l. iii. PLIN. nat. hist. l. iii. c. 2. PTOL. geogr. l. ii. c. 4. Vid. & CHRISTOPHOR. CELLAR. in geogr. ant. l. ii. c. i. sub init. JOAN. LUYTS philol. profess. introd. ad geograph. nov. & vet. c. 6. p. 50, 51. Traject. ad Rhén. 1692. MORDEN; MOLL, CLUVER. &c.



a moderns. But his authority, with regard to the situation of the most antient *Iberi*, must give way to that of *Polybius* b:

It appears from *Bochart* and others, that the *Phœnicians* called *Spain*, at least whence called that part of it known to them, *סְפַנְיָא* *Sphanja*, or *Spanja*, from *סַפְּן* *Saphan*, ^{Spania or Hispania.} or *Span*, a *rabbit*, because it abounded with those animals. In support of this notion, it may be observed, that in many manuscripts of *Curtius*, *Justin*, *Capella*, *Apuleius*, *Julius Capitolinus*, *Athenæus*, &c. for *Hispania* is found *Spania*, as we learn from *Casaubon* and *Salmasius*. From the *Phœnician* *Spanja*, the *Romans* deduced their *Spania* or *Hispania*; which appellation, as well as *Iberia*, in common with the *Greeks*, they applied to the whole continent of *Spain*. That this country, or at least a considerable part of it, produced rabbits in vast abundance, may be evinced from the concurrent testimony of *Varro*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Ælian*, and many other writers of good authority; but, that the *Saphan* of the *Phœnicians* answered to the *rabbit*, can by no means be allowed. However, as the former, in many particulars, bore a near resemblance to the latter, the *Phœnicians*, at their first arrival in *Spain*, might take them to be the same animal, and from thence impose upon this country a name, which has ever since prevailed. The antients sometimes, from its situation, denominated *Spain* likewise *Hesperia*, and *Hesperia Ultima*; but these, and other poetical appellations, as being applied to other countries, deserve little or no regard c.

c As *Spain*, before the *Carthaginians* made any conquests there, was inhabited by many cantons, governed by their own *reguli*, and independent on one another, it must have been originally divided into various petty kingdoms, the precise number of which it is impossible for us at this day to determine. What number of provinces the *Carthaginians* divided that part of *Spain* subject to them into, for want of sufficient light from antient history, we must likewise own ourselves incapable of ascertaining. As for the *Romans*, the first division they made of *Spain*, or rather that part of it they had reduced, was into *Hispania Citerior* and *Hispania Ulterior*; and this, according to *Livy*, took place immediately after the conclusion of the second *Punic* war. However, for some political reasons, they thought proper to unite these two provinces, in the beginning of the *Macedonian* war; and again disjoined them in the consulate of *Q. Ælius Pætus* and *M. Junius Pennus*. This last disposition of *Spain* remained till the reign of *Augustus*, who altered it, by dividing *Hispania Ulterior* into two provinces, viz. *Provincia Batica*, and *Lusitania*, and affixing the name of *Provincia Tarraconensis* to *Hispania Citerior*. In some of the succeeding reigns we find *Hispania Ulterior* and *Hispania Citerior* again mentioned; notwithstanding which, that the division introduced by *Augustus* continued as long as the *Romans* had any footing in *Spain*, appears extremely probable, both from the antient geographers, and many antique inscriptions exhibited by *Gruter* and *Reinesius*. Upon this plan, therefore, we shall here beg leave to give our readers a geographical description of antient *Spain* d.

THE limits of (A) *Lusitania* not having been always the same, we cannot take upon us to define them. That it extended from the *Tagus* to the *Cantabrian* ocean, ^{Limits and extent of Lusitania.}

b CHRISTOPH. CELLAR. ubi sup. POLYB. lib. iii. HOMER. spud Bochart. in Chan. l. i. c. 35. ut & ipse BOCHART. ibid. VAL. SCHINDLER. lex. pentaglot. in voc. סְפַנְיָא. CLAUDIAN. in Stilich. STRAB. l. iii. p. 169. & POSIDON. spud Strabon. ibid. PHILOSTRAT. in vit. Apollon. Tyan. l. ii. c. 14. PIND. olymp. iii. sub fin. & scholiast. Pind. in loc. PLIN. nat. hist. l. iii. c. 7. FESTUS AVERN. in or. maritimo. c. Rom. c. xv. ver. 24. 28. THEOPHYL. ad Autolye. l. ii. EUSEB. in chroniq. p. 13. EPIPHAN. in heres. lxvi. sect. 83. PÆAN. de Hadrian. Scholiast. ver. JUVENAL. in sat. xiv. ATHEN. deipnosoph. l. viii. sub init. SALMAS. & CASAB. spud Bochart. in Chan. l. i. c. 35. ut & ipse BOCHART. ibid. VARRO de re rustic. l. iii. c. 12. STRAB. l. iii. p. 144. 168. PLIN. nat. hist. l. iii. c. 5. & l. viii. c. 29. 58. ÆLIAN. de animal. l. xiii. c. 15. GALEN. de aliment. l. iii. SHAW'S physical observations, &c. in Syr. Phœnic. &c. p. 376. PROSP. ALPIN. hist. nat. Egypt. par. i. c. 20. p. 80. & l. iv. c. p. HOR. l. i. od. 26. & CELLAR. ubi sup. d POLYB. & LIV. pass. CIC. pro Fonteio, c. 3. & pro lege Manil. c. 12. STRAB. in extemp. par. geograph. Dio. l. liii. p. 503. POMPON. MEL. l. i. c. 6. SOLIN. c. 23. TACIT. ab. iv. c. 18. PLIN. l. iii. c. 7. STEPH. BYRANT. de urb. & LUC. HOLSTEN. in loc. GRUT. inscript. xiii. p. 32. & alib. REINES. inscript. clas. ii. n. 13. & alib. Vid. & CELLAR. ubi sup.

(A) *Bochart* says, that the country called *Lusitania* derived its name from *לֹז* *Luz*, an almond, because it produced vast quantities of that fruit, as he proves from various authors. But we think, unless our readers should take it to be of *Celtic* original, it ought to be deduced from *לֹז* and *יִשְׂרָאֵל* or *יִשְׂרָאֵלִי* *Luz*

and *Tani* or *Tana*, an almond, and *fig*; for that *Lusitania* produced both those kinds of fruit, *Bochart* clearly evinces in the place referred to. It is plain, therefore, from hence, that the word *Lusitania* is not of *Roman* extraction (1).

(1) *Bochart. Chan. lib. i. c. 35. Val. Schind. lex. pentaglot. in vocib.*

or at least the *Promontorium Celticum*, is intimated by *Strabo*. That part of it situated betwixt the *Anas* and the *Tagus* went by the name of *Celtica*, or the country of the *Celts*, as has been observed by *Isaac Vossius*. After *Augustus* had made the disposition of *Spain* above-mentioned, the *Anas* bounded *Lusitania* on the south, and the *Durius*, or *Douro* of the moderns, on the north; so that the whole tract lying betwixt the *Durius* and the *Cantabrian* ocean was annexed to the *Provincia Tarracoenfis*. The interior limits of *Lusitania*, upon the frontiers of the *Vettones* and *Carpetani*, are fixed differently by different authors; which, as *Cellarius* intimates, may have been owing to a mistake adopted by some of those authors; viz. that the province of *Lusitania* corresponded exactly with the country of the *Lusitani*; whereas, according to *Pliny*, not only the *Lusitani*, but the *Celtici*, *Turduli*, *Vettones*, &c. were seated in that province. The *Lusitani* possessed the district bordering upon the *Atlantic* ocean, and stretching itself from the mouth of the *Anas* to the *Promontorium Sacrum*, now known by the name of *Cape St. Vincent*. As for the *Celtici*, whose true name was *Mirobrigenfes*, according to *Pliny*, their situation may be collected from what has been already observed. Some of the ancient geographers make the *Turduli* and *Turdetani* one nation, particularly *Ptolemy* and *Strabo*; though they seem to have been considered in a different light by *Polybius*. Be that as it will, the *Turdetani* were undoubtedly a powerful people, since they occupied a considerable part both of *Lusitania* and *Betica*, as appears from *Strabo*. The same may be said of the *Vettones*, who spread themselves over a large tract, terminated on the north by the *Durius*, and on the south by the *Tagus*. However, as the ancients differ with regard to the extent of territory every one of those nations or cantons possessed, it is probable, that their frontiers were not always the same. Some authors assert *Vettonia*, or the country of the *Vettones*, to have been a province distinct from *Lusitania*, and limited on the south by the *Anas*; and this notion seems to be countenanced by an inscription in *Gruter*. The principal cities of this province are the following:

- Olisipo.** *Olisipo*, or *Olisippo*, called at present, by the *English*, *Lisbon*, and, by the *Portuguese*, *Lisboa*. It stands at the mouth of the *Tagus*, and was corruptly named, by some of the ancients, *Ulyssippo*; from whence some have imagined, that it was built by *Ulysses*; in his return home from the *Trojan* war. But this notion ought to be looked upon as a mere fiction, destitute of the least shadow of historical proof to support it. We cannot, therefore, but believe, that *Olisipo*, or *Olisippo*, which, from *Pliny*, the *Itinerary*, and *Gruter*, appears to have been the genuine proper name of this city, was originally formed from the two *Phœnician* words *אליס* *אבו* *alis ubbo*, or *olis ippo*, the pleasant bay. For, that the ancient *Olisipo* was seated on a bay, we learn from *Mela*; and that the bay, on which *Lisbon* stands, is extremely pleasant, all the moderns allow. *Olisipo*, or *Lisbon*, the capital of the present kingdoms of *Portugal* and *Algarve*, is in 39°. 10'. N. lat. and 9°. 30'. W. of *London*.
- Talabrica.** *Talabrica*, or *Talabriga*, a city seated upon the *Vacus*, mentioned by *Pliny*, *Antoninus*, and *Appian*. The citizens of *Talabriga*, from their frequent violations of treaties concluded between them and the *Romans*, seem to have had an uncommon aversion to that people; which is the principal thing we find related of them.
- Langobriga.** *Langobriga* (B), a town situated between the *Vacus* and the *Durius*, not far from the sea-coast. As both *Pliny* and *Antoninus* take particular notice of it, it must have been a place of some repute.
- Ara Ducla.** *Ara Ducla*, or, according to *Reinesius*, *Ara Traducla*, a *Roman* town, standing to the W. of *Langobriga*. Our readers will find it in *Ptolemy*'s list of the towns appertaining to *Lusitania*.

* *STRAB.* l. iii. p. 96. 105, & alib. *ISAAC VOSSIUS* in *Pompon. Mel.* *PLIN.* ubi sup. *POLYB.* ubi sup. *PRUDENT.* *passion.* *Eulal.* vet. 186. *PETR. DE MARCA,* *Marce Hispanic.* l. ii. c. 2. *GRUT.* *inscript.* p. 383. n. 7. & *CELLAR.* ubi sup. [†] *SOLIN.* c. 23. *GRUT.* *inscript.* p. 252. num. 5. *PLIN.* l. iv. c. 22. *CELLAR.* ubi sup. p. 56. *POMPON. MELA* & *MERCATOR* *spud* *Bochart.* ubi sup. ut & *ipse* *BOCHART.* *ibid.* [‡] *ANTONIN.* *itinerar.* *PLIN.* l. iii. *APPIAN.* in *bel. Hisp.* [§] *PLIN.* & *ANTONIN.* ubi sup. [¶] *PTOL.* *geograp.* l. ii. c. 5. *THO. REINES.* *apud* *CELLAR.* ubi sup.

(B) The word *Briga* or *Briga*, in the old *Spanish* language, signified a city, as we learn from *Resend.* Therefore *Cnobra*, *Arabra*, *Langobriga*, *Meidobriga*, &c. are equivalent to the city of *Ceto*, the city of *Ara*, the city of *Lango*, the city of *Meido*, &c. Hence, probably, came the words *Brigantes*, *Brigantii*, *Brigacum*, *Brigobanna*, &c. all which are evidently of *Celtic* extraction (2).

(2) *Laur. Andr.* *Resend.* in *antiquitat.* *Lusitan.* l. iv. in *Cetobriga*.

- a** *Aminium*, a city of this province, mentioned by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, near the *Aminium*. northern bank of the *Munda*, a little to the S. of *Talabriga* ^k.
- Conimbrica*, a city seated on the opposite bank of the *Munda*. Out of the ruins *Conimbrica* of this place has arisen the modern *Coimbra*, one of the finest towns in *Portugal*, and celebrated all over the learned world, for the famous university which has so long flourished there ^l.
- Arabriga*, *Sellum*, and *Concordia*, betwixt *Conimbrica* and the *Tagus*, seem to have ^{Arabriga, Sellum, and Concordia.} been places of some note, though we have scarce any particulars relating to them handed down to us by the antient geographers ^m.
- Colippo*, a Roman municipium, between the *Munda* and the *Tagus*, upon the coast ^{Colippo.} of the *Atlantic* ocean. We find this town named, by an inscription in *Gruter*, *COLIPRO*; but, that the *R* there was originally a *P*, appears from the best manuscripts of *Pliny*, as well as another inscription. Not far from this city, in a south-western direction, stood *Eburobritium*, or, as, in our opinion, it ought to have been written, *Eburobriga*. As the stones, that preserved the above-mentioned inscriptions, were in the neighbourhood of *Liria*, some believe, that the ruins of the antient *Colippo* are to be sought for there ⁿ.
- Scalabis*, or *Scalabiscus*, as some think it called by *Ptolemy*, has been considered ^{Scalabis.} by *Cellarius* as the fifth Roman colony of *Lusitania*, surnamed *Præsidium Julium*. The *Spanish* writers almost unanimously agree, that the spot, on which this town stood, is at present occupied by *Santerien*, a *Portuguese* town about forty miles N. E. of *Lisbon*; though the *Scalabiscus* of *Ptolemy* had a situation assigned it to the N. of the *Munda* ^o.
- Aritium Prætorium* and *Hierabriga*, in the neighbourhood of *Scalabis*, are men- ^{Aritium Prætorium, and Hierabriga.} tioned by the *Itinerary*. The former place stood thirty-eight Roman miles from *Olisipo*, and the latter thirty *P*.
- Norba Cæsaria*, a town of repute during the government of the *Romans* in *Spain*, ^{Norba Cæsaria.} on the southern bank of the *Tagus*, near the famous stone bridge built over that river, and dedicated to *Trajan*. *Pliny* calls the inhabitants of this city *Colonia Norbensis*. Some *Spanish* authors believe *Norba Cæsaria* to have been contiguous to *Trajan's* bridge. But other writers of that nation, well versed in the antiquities of their country, maintain the contrary. The latter, in support of their opinion, affirm the city of *Alcantara*, seated on the spot adjoining to the noble structure above-mentioned, to have been built by the *Saracens*; but the former think it may have arisen out of the ruins of the antient *Norba*. *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* seem to favour the sentiment of those, who place *Norba* at some distance from the bridge; since they make that town, or, which is the same thing, the *Colonia Norbensis*, to have been situated in a territory to the south of the *Tagus*. Be that as it will, we are informed by an antient Roman inscription in *Gruter*, that the Roman municipia of *Lusitania*, by sums raised amongst themselves, finished the aforesaid bridge, in the reign of the emperor *Trajan*. The names of these municipia, or rather their inhabitants, have been preserved by a stone, belonging formerly either to the bridge or the town of *Norba*, viz. *Iadita*, *Lancia Oppidana*, *Arabriga*, *Mirobriga*, *Lancia Transcudana*, *Colarnum*, *Meidubriga*, *Interamnia*, &c. Some, if not all, of these municipia undoubtedly made a considerable figure, though we are supplied with very few particulars relating to them by the antient geographers and historians ^p.
- Bletisa* was situated near some of the above-mentioned municipia, on the southern bank of the *Durius*, as may be inferred from an inscription in *Gruter*. The modern name of *Bletisa* is *Ledesma*, according to *Mariana*, who supposes the antient and modern cities, going by those names, to have been the same. As to any farther particulars of this place, we are intirely in the dark ^q.
- Salmantica*, called at this day *Salamanca*, was in the neighbourhood of *Bletisa*, as ^{Salmantica.} appears from the above-mentioned inscription. It is at present famous all over the world, on account of the flourishing university founded there, which, for several ages, has been deemed the principal seat of literature in *Spain* ^r.

^k PLIN. & PTOL. ubi sup. ^l PLIN. ubi sup. LAUR. ANDR. RESEND. in antiquit. Lusitan. l. iv.
^m PTOL. & ANTONIN. ubi sup. ⁿ PLIN. PTOL. & RESEND. ubi sup. GRUT. inscript. p. 323 & p. 1155.
^o PLIN. PTOL. RESEND. & CELLAR. ubi sup. ^p ANTONIN. itinerar. ubi sup. ^q PLIN. PTOL. RESEND. ubi sup. NORTUS & VASAEUS, apud Cellar. ubi sup. p. 58. GRUT. inscript. p. 162. ^r GRUT. inscript. p. 199. num. 2. MARIAN. l. vii. c. 4. CELLAR. ubi sup. ^s PTOL. & GRUTER. ubi sup.

Augusta Eme-
rita.

Augusta Emerita, the capital of this province in the *Roman* times, upon the *Anas*, ^a was built by a body of superannuated soldiers, to whom *Augustus* assigned a district in *Lusitania*; from whence this city deduced its name. This colony we find frequently mentioned by ancient *Roman* coins and inscriptions. *Emerita* at first appertained to the *Turduli*, according to *Strabo*; though afterwards it was ranked amongst the towns of the *Vettones*, as we learn from *Prudentius*. This may be easily accounted for, if we consider, that the *Vettones*, in process of time becoming more powerful than the *Turduli*, at length made themselves masters of their country. Our readers will find a more minute account of this city and colony in the authors here referred to ^r.

Ebora.

Ebora, called, by the *Romans*, *Liberalitas Julia*, was seated between the *Tagus* ^b and the *Anas*, though it approached nearer the latter than the former river. The same spot is at present occupied by *Evora*, where there has long flourished a famous university. This town was a *Latin* municipium, as appears from several ancient coins and inscriptions ^s.

Salacia.

Salacia, the *Alacer do Sal* of the moderns, stood some miles to the W. of *Ebora*. From some ancient inscriptions in *Gruter* it may be inferred, that this place was a *Roman* municipium ^t.

Pax Julia.

Pax Julia, the *Beja* of the moderns, a city in the southern part of the province, stood near the frontiers of the *Turdetani*, if it did not actually belong to that nation. It is taken notice of by *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and *Antoninus*. Near this place a vast number of *Roman* coins and inscriptions have been found within these few years. All the remaining tract to the south of this city, limited on the east, west, and south, by the *Anas*, the *Atlantic* ocean, and bay of *Gades*, from its figure, was called *Cuneus* by *Pomponius Mela* and *Strabo*. *Myrtilis*, *Balsa*, *Ossonaba*, and other places of this tract, deserve not any great regard. However, it may not be improper to observe, that, according to *Resendius*, *Mortola*, or *Mertolo*, a modern town upon the *Anas*, and *Tanilla*, or *Tavira*, a considerable city of *Algarve*, answer to the ancient *Myrtilis* and *Balsa*. As for *Ossonaba*, if we will believe the same author, it has for a long time lain in ruins, though some footsteps of it are still remaining, particularly in the walls of *Faro*, another town of *Algarve* upon the sea-coast. The *Lacobriga* of ^d *Mela* stood under the *Promontorium Sacrum*, known in these times by the name of *Cape St. Vincent*, upon a spot occupied at present by a village called *Lagoa* by the *Portuguese*, near the city of *Lagos*, where some remains of it are still to be seen ^u.

As the other towns of *Lusitania*, whose names only have been handed down to us by the ancient geographers, were either insignificant and obscure, or almost all traces of them have been lost, our readers will not expect any account or description of them. Neither is it reasonable, in a work of this nature, to take any notice of what merits not the least attention ^v.

Promontories of
Lusitania.

THE chief promontories of *Lusitania* were the *Promontorium Sacrum*, *Promontorium Barbarium*, and the *Promontorium Magnum*, or *Olisiponense*; to which some ^e add a fourth, called, by *Pliny*, *Cuneus*. The *Promontorium Sacrum*, or *Cape St. Vincent*, formed an angle projecting into the bay of *Gades* and the *Atlantic* ocean, which was termed the western extremity of the world by *Strabo*. The *Promontorium Barbarium*, at present *Cape Spichel*, lay to the south of *Olisipo*, though not very distant from the mouth of the *Tagus*. The *Promontorium Magnum*, or *Olisiponense*, styled, by some of the moderns, *Cape de Rocca Sintra*, projected into the *Atlantic* ocean near *Olisipo*, and was made by *Pliny* the common boundary of *Earth*, *Sea*, and *Heaven*. As for *Pliny's Cuneus*, it is supposed to be the promontory at this day known by the name of *Cape St. Mary* by *Cellarius* ^f.

Ports and
islands.

THE principal ports of this province were those of *Olisipo*, at present *Lisbon*, ^f and *Hannibal*. The situation of the former is so well known, as not to admit of a dispute; but that of the latter cannot be so easily ascertained. *Mela*, upon whose authority it intirely depends, places it near the *Promontorium Sacrum*; which is all that we can say of it. The only island taken notice of by the antients, on the coast of *Lusitania*, is the *Londobris* of *Ptolemy*, the *Barlenga* or *Barlinges* of the moderns ^g.

^a STRAB. ubi sup. DIO. l. liii. p. 114. NUM. August. & NUM. Tiber. apud Cellar. ubi sup. p. 60. PRUDENT. ubi sup. LUDOVIC. NON. c. 31. ^b PLIN. ubi sup. GRUT. inscript. p. 489. num. 9. NUM. var. August. apud Cellar. ubi sup. p. 62. ^c PLIN. ubi sup. & alibi. GRUT. inscript. p. 13. num. 16. ^d PLIN. PTOL. ANTONIN. ubi sup. POMPON. MEL. & STRAB. ubi sup. LAUR. ANDR. RESEND. in antiquit. Lusitan. & GRUT. in inscript. pass. ^e PLIN. PTOL. &c. ^f STRAB. l. iii. PLIN. l. iv. c. 22. & alibi. & HAR- DUIN. in loc. PTOL. l. ii. c. 5. CELLAR. ubi sup. ^g MEL. l. iii. c. 1. THE

- a THE Mons Herminius of Hirtius, the modern *Arminia*, seems to have been the *Mountains*, only mountain of note in this country; of which we have nothing farther to say, than that, according to Cellarius, *Medabriga* or *Meidabriga*, stood at the foot of it^a.

THE most celebrated rivers of *Lusitania* were the *Anas*, the *Tagus*, and the *Du-^{Rio}rius*. The *Anas* is called at present the *Guadiana*, the *Tagus* the *Tajo*, and the *Du-rius* the *Douro*. To these may be added the *Munda*, which now goes under the name of the *Mondego*; and the *Værus*, now called the *Voga*. They all flow from E. to W. and empty themselves into the *Atlantic* ocean^a.

- We shall here only mention two of the natural curiosities of *Lusitania*: 1. The *Curiolus*.
b lead-mine near *Meidabriga*, from whence *Pliny* denominates the inhabitants of that place *Plumbarius*; which still exists. 2. The golden sand, or small particles of gold mixed with the sand, of the *Tagus*. This we find attested by *Pomponius Mela*, *Ovid*, *Pliny*, *Silius Italicus*, &c. and the truth of it seems confirmed by *Resendius*. For that famous antiquary assures us, that some of these golden particles were found intermixed with the sand of the *Tagus* in his time; that the laws of *Portugal* would not permit people to throw up the interior sand on the banks of the *Tagus*, with which these particles are supposed to be incorporated, lest the neighbouring fruitful fields should be thereby damaged; and that the kings of *Portugal* have a sceptre of the *Tagus* gold, than which no purer is to be found in the world^b.

- c THE second province of *Hispania Ulterior*, or further Spain, was *Bætica*, so called *Bætica de-*
from the famed river *Bætis*, since *Tartessus*, and now *Guadalquivir*, or the great *scribed* river. We have already mentioned its limits on the west or *Lusitanic* side; it was bounded on the south by the *Mediterranean*, and the *Sinus Gaditanus*, or gulph of *Cádiz*; and on the north by the *Cantabric* sea, now the sea of *Biscay*. As to its limits towards the north-east, or province of *Tarraco*, they cannot be so well fixed, because they are rightly supposed to have been in a constant fluctuation, as each petty monarch had an opportunity to encroach upon his neighbour. Hence ancient authors place those on the sea-coast differently, viz. *Ptolemy* at *Barra*^c; *Pliny* somewhat higher, at *Murgis*^d; though both situated on the *Sinus Virgilanus*, a little
d below now *Carthage*. The same may be said of the inland ones, which are likewise differently placed, either higher or lower from the province of *Tarracon*, as may be seen by the authors above-quoted. The *Bætis* above-mentioned divided this province into two parts; on the one side of which, towards the *Anas*, were situate the *Turdetani* (A), from whence the country was called *Turdetania*, but better known by the name of *Baeturia*. On the other side were situated the *Bastuli*, *Bastitani*, and *Contestani*, along the *Mediterranean* coasts. The reader will find, under the next
note, all that can be found concerning these people (B). We forbear mentioning

^a HIRT. c. 48. CELLAR. ubi sup. p. 60, 61.

^b PROL. ubi sup. CELLAR. ubi sup. p. 54, 55.

^c POMPON. MEL. l. iii. c. 4. OVID. MET. l. ii. PARS. l. iii. c. 22. & l. xxiii. c. 4. SIL. ITAL. l. i. ver. 234. PTOL. & CELLAR. ubi sup. LAUR. ANDR. RESEND. in antiquit. LUSITAN. l. ii. ^d UNIV. HIST. l. ii. c. 4. ^e HIST. III. c. 1. VUL. CELLAR. l. ii. c. i. sect. 1. GERUND.

(A) Some add, after *Polybius*, the *Thuruli*, as different from them. We have already spoken of both. They were (1) situate on the same side of the *Bætis*, but higher up; but as that author rather distinguishes them only with regard to their situation; and *Ptolemy* seems to intimate, that they were but one people (2); we see no reason for making two of them, any farther: than the distinction of higher and lower will go; especially as *Strabo* makes the two names to be indifferently given to them (3); and these are by some authors (4) affirmed to have been the antientest people in all Spain.

(B) Of the first of these we have already spoken. The *Bastuli*, supposed to be of *Phœnician* or *Libyan* extract, extended from the straits of *Gibraltar*, along the *Mediterranean* coast, till driven from thence by the *Moor*s, they fled into the mountainous part of *Gallia*, which they then called by their name

Bastula. The *Bastitani* or *Bastitani* were seated higher up on the same coasts. The territories of both these made what since became the kingdom of *Granada*, in which there is a ridge of very high mountains, called, from the latter, the *Bastetanian* mountains. Mention is made also of their capital called *Bastisana*, a place of such strength, that king *Ferdinand* was six months besieging it, before he could take it from the *Moor*s (5).

The *Contestani* are by some placed in this province of *Bætica*, and by others in that of *Tarracon*. They were most likely seated between both. They are said by *Ptolemy* (6) to have been settled there by *Iesta* one of their kings, of whom we shall speak in the sequel, and called from him *Contestani*, as well as a city called *Constantinum* (7); but that king, though mentioned also by *Manetho*, is generally ranked among the dubious, if not fabulous.

(1) Vid. Gerundens. paralip. l. i. Taraph. de reg. Hisp. Gerund. Gariqai. Augued. & al. de gest. F. Ximen.

(2) Lib. ii.

(3) Lib. iii.

(4) Vid. Voss. chronie.

(5) Bulgar. commentar. Serdm. Comes.

(6) Ubi sup. Vid. & Taraph. sub an. 1424.

(7) Ibid. ibid.

a great number of others; of which we know little more than the names. The a reader may see them in *Cellarius* above-mentioned, and, if he cares to depend upon the *Spanish* authors for other situation, cities, and their particulars, he may consult those we have lately quoted both in the text and margin.

Roman colonies.

We come now to speak of the *Roman* colonies in this province; and of these we shall, for brevity's sake, single out only some of the most celebrated ones; viz. that of the *Accitani*, situate between the *Bastuli* and *Bastitani*, along the same shore. We find it mentioned by *Pliny*^c, and by some ancient inscriptions, under the name of COLONIA JULIA GEMELLA ACCITANA^d, whose citizens were called *Gemellenfes*, because that colony was made up of two legions, viz. the third and sixth, as appears by those inscriptions^e. It is supposed to be the present city of b *Guadix* in *Granada*, an ancient episcopal see, formerly called the *Accitanus*, from *Acci*, the name of that city (C). Those of *Gades*, *Corduba*, *Astigi*, and *Hispal*, were famed for their courts of judicature. The other four, whose situation is less known, together with their other municipal and free cities, in a much greater number than in any of the other two provinces, the reader may see in the author above-mentioned^f; all which confirm what *Pliny* says of this^g, that it excelled them by far; for so it did in richness, extent, number of cities and harbours, fertility of its soil, commodious situation for traffick, and many other particulars: and this may be one great reason, why the *Romans* cultivated and encouraged it more than they did the rest.

Their cities.

How few of those ancient cities this province had before the coming in of the *Romans*, is not difficult to guess, if we only consult the best ancient authors with any tolerable attention; though, if we were to trust to the *Spanish* writers, it must have not only abounded with them, but they must likewise have been vastly large, populous, and opulent, even before the coming of the *Tyrians*, *Phenicians*, and other nations, of whom we shall give an account in the sequel. And yet these are affirmed by the same authors, especially the *Tyrians*, to have built some fresh considerable ones, every one in the places where they settled themselves; for all which we have no better grounds, than for that of *Ulippo* and its pretended founder, of which we spoke under the first article of this chapter: but d when we come to examine things more closely, we find no such traces of this boasted number of cities. On the contrary it is plain, when the *Turdetani* had, at the instigation of *Hannibal*, assisted the brave *Saguntines* their neighbours against the *Romans*, we read but of one city they had, the name of which is not so much as recorded (D); and which these caused to be razed, and the inhabitants to be sold for slaves^h, as a determent to others from lending their assistance to any, whom they thought proper to war against. *Ptolemy* mentions but one sea-port town on the coast of the *Bastitani*, viz. that of Οὐρὴν *Urce*, since *Vorgi*, in the bay of that name, tho' we find some considerable ones on those coasts; such as *Menobia*, *Abdera*, *Portus Magnus*, *Beria*, and *Murgis*, and some others. On the islands it has likewise a e considerable number, which *Pliny*, in his *Natural History*, tells us, in his time amounted to an hundred and seventy-two. The greatest part of these being, in all appearance, and from the *Roman* names given them, either founded or enlarged by that nation, such as those of *Asta Nebriſa*, *Ugia*, and *Orippa*ⁱ, on the banks of the *Batis*, below *Hispal*, we have not time to dwell upon them, but shall content ourselves with a short mention of those of the greatest note. Among these is the famed city of *Hispal*, now *Seville* (E), situate on the river *Batis* above-mentioned,

Hispal.

^a Hist. l. iii. c. 3. ^d GRUT. p. 271. n. 6. ^e See CELLARIUS, lib. ii. c. 1. sect. 3. ^f Ubi sup. sect. 2, & seq. ^g Lib. iii. c. 1. De his vid. GERUND. TARAPH. GARIB. VASSEUM, &c. al. ^h LIVY, l. xxi. c. 6. xxiv. c. 42. ⁱ De his vid. CELLAR. ubi sup.

(C) The *Spaniards* pretend, that *Torquatus*, a disciple of *James* the apostle, was by him appointed the first bishop of it (8).

(D) This the *Spaniards* think to have been called *Turvel*, situate near the spring-head of the river *Thurias* or *Durias*, and to which they have given the ancient name of *Turdeta*.

(E) Some pretend, that it was founded and named by *Hispal* one of their fabulous kings, and the son

of *Hercules* (9); others, that it was so called from the *palus*, or marsh, on which it was founded; or rather from the *pali*, or stakes, upon which the foundation of it was laid (10). That of *Seville*, or, as it was anciently written, *Civilia*, is thought to be only a corruption of *Civitas Julia*, as it is called in some ancient inscriptions (11). But, when or by whom it was founded, is not to be guessed at.

(8) Vass. chron. c. 20. *ibid.* c. 9.

(9) Vass. Garib. & al. sup. citat.

(10) Paralip. c. 1.

(11) Id.

and

a and the metropolis of this province. It was formerly a great emporium, by means of that navigable river, which brought vast number of merchandizes up to this city, and thence quite up to *Corduba*. This city is styled by *Pliny* *Colonia Romulensis*, and by some antient inscriptions *Colonia Romulea*. We took notice above, that it was one of the four courts of judicature. The next city in rank to *Hispal* is *Corduba*, now *Cordoua*, no less famed for its rich mines, and fertile soil, or, as the poet calls it^k, *aurifera terra*, than the other was for its trade. It is situate on the banks of the same river, was called a patrician colony, and is said by *Strabo* to have been the work of *Marcellus* (F). *Tartessus* was once a famed antient city, pleasantly situate between the two mouths of the *Bætis* (G), which made a kind of island called, after the name of that city^l, *Tartessida*. This antient city is celebrated by some of the *Latin* poets, as situate on the farthest verge of the western shore^m; but, for the other particulars of it, we must refer our reader to the last note, as we must do, for the remainder of the cities of this province, to the authors so often cited already, and especially to the late and accurate *Cellarius* in the chapter above-quoted; and for *Gades* or *Gadir*, now *Cadiz*, to what we copiously said of it in a former volumeⁿ.

We come now to say something of the famous bays and ports of this province; the first of which, next to *Gades* above-mentioned, is that called *Portus Menestæus*, mentioned by *Ptolemy* and *Strabo*, who doth likewise place here the oracle of that name. The next is that of *Besippo*, the country of the famed *Pomponius Mela*, and some others, without the streight's mouth. *Calpe*, *Carteia*, *Barbesul*, *Cilniana*, *Salduba*, *Suel*, and *Malaca*, within the streight; and on the coasts of the *Bastuli*. *Menoba*, *Selumbina*, *Abdera*, and *Portus Magnus*, and likewise the famed promontory of *Charidemus*, all which are mentioned by *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Mela*, and placed by them on the *Bastitanian* coasts. Beyond the promontory last-mentioned are the cities of *Baria* or *Barea*, and *Murgis*, in the *Virgitanian* bay; the former of which is reckoned by *Ptolemy*, and the latter by *Pliny*, the last sea-port of the *Bastitani*, as we hinted a little higher. Those antient authors are, however, neither well agreed, nor easily reconciled, about the situation, names, and some other particulars relating to those cities. Thus, for instance, *Calpe*, which is by *Strabo* styled a famed antient *Spanish* sea-port, *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, *Mela*, and others, only call a mountain: whence the learned *Bochart* and *Casaubon* have thought, that *Calpe*, in the former, was inserted, by the mistake of the transcriber, for *Carteia*, especially as no mention is made in the others of any city besides it in that bay. But this has been in a great measure answered, by some learned men, from the inscription

^k SIL. ITAL. l. iii. ver. 461.
OVID. metamorph. l. xiv. ver. 416.

^l STRAB. ubi sup.

^m Vol. vi. p. 730, a—c, (A).

ⁿ SIL. ITAL. ubi sup. ver. 399, &c alib.

(F) Our author leaves us in the dark which of the *Roman* generals of that name he meant, so that the *Spanish* writers are much divided about it. *Vasani*, often quoted, thinks, that it was he who was contemporary with *Cæsar* and *Pompey*; because he finds no mention made of this city before him (12). But *Nonius* thinks it to be of much older date (13), since the same *Strabo* calls it *Coloniæ primæ*, or first colony which the *Romans* sent into this part of *Spain*. And it is mentioned by *Silius Italicus* in the second *Punic* war (14). As for the title of *Colonia Patricia* given to it, it is not only mentioned by *Pliny*, but by some antient inscriptions in *Gruter*, to which we refer (15); and this is further explained by what *Strabo* adds, that it was from the beginning inhabited by noble men of the *Romans*, and other nations (16).

(G) *Strabo* says, that the *Bætis* formerly emptied itself into the sea at two different places (17). One of them has been since stopped up. *Mela* mentions the city of *Carteia* in the same bay (18), which,

he says, some falsely to have been the antient *Tartessus*. Hence authors are divided in their opinions, whether these were two distinct cities, or the same, with different names. We find nothing that can satisfy our readers on that head, antient authors often confounding these two names and that of *Gades* together, as the learned *Bochart* and others have justly observed.

As for the fabulous account of its having altered its name from *Tartessus* to that of *Gades*, on account of *Hercules's* setting up his two columns there (19), it is rightly rejected. We have given a truer account of the foundation of *Gades* in a former volume, to which we refer, to avoid repetition (20). As for *Carteia*, a late author endeavoured to prove it to be the present town of *Rocadillo* distant, about four miles from *Gibraltar* (21); but the point is far from being cleared by him, and too dark and prolix for us to dwell longer upon, in a work of this nature.

(12) *Ibid.* c. 20.

(13) *Ibid.* c. 19.

(14) *Lib.* iii. ver. 401.

(15) P. 460.

(16) *Lib.* iii.

(17) *Ibid.*

(18) *De jst. orb. lib.* ii. c. 6.

(19) *Dionysius Alexandr.*

Vid. ant. Hisp. sup. citat. & Gerund. paralip. l. i.

(20) Vol. vi. p. 730, a—c (A).

(21) *Conduir. discourse of the sumas of Car-*

teia.

on a medal, with these letters, C. I. CALPE; that is, as they read it °, *Colonia Julia a Calpe*: and this they back with a passage out of *N. Damascen* v; who says, that *Octavius* overtook *Cæsar* near the city of *Calpia*, which is the same with *Calpe*; so that *Strabo's* text wants no amendment. *Barbesul*, *Asta*, and some others of the sea-ports above-named, appear likewise to have been considerable colonies, as well as a number of inland towns, in particular that of *Munda*, where *Cæsar* overcame the sons of *Pompey*; but, as we are obliged to study brevity, we shall refer the rest to the author last-quoted.

The river
Bætis, &c.

Mountains.

RIVERS of any note there are not in this province, except the *Bætis*, often mentioned already, or, as it is sometimes written, *Bates* and *Betis*. It hath, according to *Pliny* a, its spring-head in the *Tugiensian* forest, so named from *Tugia*, a town b mentioned in the *Itinerarium* of *Antoninus* (H), in the province of *Tarracon*, at the foot of the *Orespodan* mountains. Others of lesser note are the *Barbesula* near the city or mount *Calpe* above-mentioned, the *Saduca* which seems to have divided the *Bastuli* from the *Accitani*, and some few others not worth dwelling upon. Mountains, of a considerable length and height, this province certainly abounds with. We find, however, but few mentioned by antient authors. *Ptolemy* takes only notice of two, viz. the *Mariani* and *Hipylæ*, the latter of which were scarcely known to any other antient writer. These, as they run along the territories of *Hispal* or *Seville*, were, we are told, called *Illipæ*; and, as they came nearer to *Corduba*, *The-marini* and *Orthosdada*: the former, which are by *Pliny* called *Ariani* (I), run c along the famed desert of the same name, now known by that of *Sierra Morena*, in the neighbourhood of the city of *Castulo*. The region of the *Bastitani* was likewise full of them, as we hinted in a former note; and all that needs be added, with relation to them all, is, that they abounded with metals and minerals of several kinds, particularly gold, quicksilver, copper, and lead, the greatest quantities of which appear, however, to have been dug out of those called *Mariani*, which the *Romans* improved to no small advantage, having every-where their *procuratores rei metallicæ*, or overseers of the mines. That of *Calpe*, mentioned a little higher, is neither famed for its height, mines, fertility, or on any account but that of its situation; and so no more need be said of it. d

Soil, climate,
and produce.

THE goodness of the soil and air of *Spain* in general is too well known to need any mention here. This province was particularly remarkable for it, and we shall have occasion in the sequel to give further proofs of it from the healthiness and longevity of its inhabitants; and so little did they know of physick, that, if we may believe *Possidonius*, they used to lay their sick relations along the public streets and roads, to have the advice of such passengers as could give it to them. He adds, that their very women were so robust and healthy, that they knew not what it was to keep their bed after they were delivered; but used to go to their ordinary work, which was commonly agriculture, after they had taken proper care of themselves and the child. Their mountains, as well as valleys, afforded them plenty of corn e for men, and barley for their horses and cattle, the former of which they bred from the beginning in great quantities, and managed with great dexterity both at home and abroad, and especially in their warlike expeditions. The milk of their kine was, it seems, so very rich and fine, from the fragrant herbs they fed upon on those healthy mountains, that it could not be used either for food or drink, or even, as we are told by the above-mentioned author, to make cheese with, without some mixture of water. As for fruits of all kinds, they grow there in the greatest perfection; but these are topics so well known to every reader, that we need not dwell

° SPAN. de præst. numism. p. 766. NOTIS cenotaph. Pisân. p. 207.

Cellar. l. ii. c. 1. sect. 2. art. 34.

° Lib. iii. c. 1.

° L. ii. c. 4.

° Excerpt. VALES. apud

° Vid. MARIN.

SICUL. reb. Hisp. lib. i. sect. de montib.

(H) That author places it in the road between *Castulo* and *Malaca*, at about thirty-five miles distance from the latter.

(I) As these mountains are called, by the generality of authors, and by one antient inscription, by the first name; and, by the second, only by *Pliny*

and the *Itinerarium*; it is supposed, that the M, in these, was, by some mistake of the copyists, dropped; but, whether they were the same, or different, is not of any great consequence to inquire, with so little help, and under so great an uncertainty (12).

(12) De his vid. Cellar. lib. ii. c. 1. in fin. sect. 2.

- a longer upon them. As for mineral waters, they flow, in the greatest quantity, both hot and cold; and the kingdom of *Granada* is famed for them, and for their medicinal virtues; which need not to be wondered at, considering the vast ridges of mountains that are in it, and the variety of metals and minerals they abound with. Some of them rise so hot, as to exceed, we are told, even boiling water. The most famous of the warm kind are those of *Hispal*, *Cordova*, and *Granada*; to which they attribute the virtue of curing the most inveterate, and even the venereal, diseases; which is not altogether improbable, considering the quantity of sulphur, and other minerals, they are impregnated with, and the great perspiration which the heat of the climate gives to its inhabitants. There are two others of great fame here, viz.
- b that called *Batio*, from a small town near it; it springs, in a small rivulet, from the top of a very high rock, and falls, by two streams, into two lakes; and its waters are noted for curing all hæmorrhages, by washing. The other is near the town of *Antiquaria*, which is no less famed for dissolving the stone, and bringing it off by urine. We should be drawn into too great a length, were we to enter into so copious a subject as that of their artificial rarities; their stately buildings, such as bridges, churches, especially their palaces, whether those of the *Gothic*, or of the *Roman* fashion: but one thing we cannot forbear observing, that there are some yet standing almost in their pristine grandeur, especially in the kingdom of *Granada*, built by the *Moors*, in a style peculiar to them, and which has scarce any thing common with the other two, and yet seems to exceed them in taste and magnificence.
- c But as this country, as well as the several authors, who have written upon it, are so well known to us, we shall enlarge no further upon them.

Tarracon was the third province in Spain. It was, as we observed before, styled *Tarracon* ^{described.} by the Romans *Hispania Citerior*, or hither Spain, and distinguished, by the name of *Tarraconensis*, from the antient city of that name, which was then the capital of it, and the residence of the Roman præses, or governor. We have seen, under the two former articles, how hard it is to settle the limits of this province, with respect to those of *Bætica* and *Lusitania*, on account of their frequent fluctuation. On the three other sides they are easily fixed, it having the *Mediterranean* on the east, the ocean on the west, and the *Cantabrian* sea, and the *Pyrenees*, on the north, by which last it is divided from *Gaul*. *Tarracon*, being by far the largest of the three, had a much greater number of cities, and variety of nations, as well as, in all likelihood, of petty kingdoms and governments. It was divided into two parts by the famed river *Iberus*, now *Ebro*, which ran almost across the whole province, having its source on the north-west side of it, between the *Cantabrian* mountains; and, very near the sea of that name, and by a south-east course, emptying itself into the *Mediterranean*, about thirty miles below the city of *Tarraco*. Along the south-west side of that river were seated the *Celtiberians*, the antientest, and by far the most considerable, of all the nations of this province, if the others were not, indeed, so many distinct tribes descended from them, as we are apt to think they mostly were, from the greatest part of their names being of *Celtic*, rather than of any other extract. This canton was called from them *Celtiberia*, and reached from the mouth of the *Iberus* quite to the country of the *Cantabri*, on the opposite coasts. Along the course of it, on that side, were, among other people of less note, the *Illærcæones*, seated just within the mouth of it. Higher up are placed the *Hedetani*, ^{Other nations and cantons.} or *Sedetani*, *Pelendones*, *Berones*, and, last of all, the *Cantabri*. Nearer to *Bætica*, and on the borders of it, were, towards the *Mediterranean*, first, the *Contestani*, mentioned also under the last article; and, as you went forwards, across the country, towards the opposite shore, you found another tribe of the *Turdæani*, the *Loætani*, *Lusones*, *Carpætani*, *Arevacæ*, and *Vaccæi*; and these two last were severed from each other by the river *Duero*, which was the confine of *Lusitania* on that side; and, west of the *Cantabri* and *Vaccæi*, were, on the *Cantabrian* coast, the *Transmontani* and *Artabri*; and in this last was the *Artabrum Celticum*, called also *Promontorium Nericum*, now cape *Finister*. In the inland are placed the *Astures*, *Augustani*, *Lucenses*, and *Gravii*. On the western coast, between the cape above-mentioned and the *Durius*, were the *Callaici*, alias *Callaci*, whose country was called *Callæcia*, one tribe or canton of which were called *Braccarii*, and the country *Bracara*, and these were seated on the banks of the *Durius*; the others were distinguished by the

* MARIN. SICUL. de reb. Hisp. lib. i. cap. de fontibus.

name of *Lucenses*; and both were subdivided by *Ptolemy* into several tribes, such as a we shall speak of, upon another occasion, under the following note (A). All these are mentioned by ancient geographers, such as *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Mela*, as seated, the former on the other side of the *Iberus*, and the latter on the higher side of the *Tagus*. On the other side of the *Iberus*, along the *Mediterranean* coasts, were seated the *Lacetani* and *Ausetani*, who were parted by the river *Rubricatus*, or, as *Mela* calls it, *Lubricatus*, now *Lobragat*, near the city of *Barcelona*. Along the *Iberus* were the *Ilergetes*, *Jacetani*, *Suessitani*, *Vascones*, *Varduli*, *Antrigones*, and *Concani*; and these were sited between the head of the *Iberus* and the *Cantabrian* sea. Nearer to the *Pyrenean* mountains, along that vast ridge, were the *Ceretani*, *Indigetes*, *Cemsi*, *Lacetani*, and some others of less note. Every one of them had its distinct b metropolis, from which they either took their name, or, which is perhaps more likely, to which they gave that of their own tribe, as may be seen by those we shall mention (B). We have already observed in general on this head, that those districts which end in *tania*, and the cities which end in *briga*, are of *Celtic* extract; and we shall add here, that this province abounds with such, more than the other two, as may be seen by the list of the people we have given below; for where their name terminated in *tani* the country of course ended in *tania*, as *Ausetani* and *Ausetania*.

Celtiberians,
their warlike
fierceness.

It is not our design to speak particularly of every one of them, and much less c of their cities, many of which we know little else of, than their names (C). We may say of them in general, that they retained more of the ancient *Celtic* valour, customs, language, and, we may add, fierceness, than those of *Betice*, or even of *Lusitania*, though the *Celtiberians* of this last province are said to have been the bravest people in all *Spain*, as we shall have occasion to shew in the sequel. And the reason, probably, of it is, that they were neither so much under the dominion of the *Romans*, nor so conversant with them, as those in *Betice*; for the descendants of the *Celts* were every-where as famed for their tenaciousness of their ancient religion, laws, customs, language, &c. as the *Romans* were to propagate their own, where- d ever they conquered: and this was one constant cause, why the former chose rather to yield their territories to the latter, when they could defend them no longer against them, and to retire into more mountainous lands, where they could freely live by themselves, than to submit to their laws, and conform to their manners, as we shall have further occasion to shew in the sequel.

Roman colonies.

We find, however, the following colonies of note (for we shall omit the others, for brevity's sake) to have been in time planted amongst these *Celtic* settlements; viz. in *Asturia*, the famed *Colonia Augusta*. It is mentioned by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*;

(A) This canton, which was since called *Gallicia*, and antiently *Celtica*, was, in all likelihood, either inhabited originally by the *Celts*, or was a colony of them sent from *Gaul*; for many such they were forced to send out of that kingdom into this and other countries, for want of room in their own, as we shall see, when we come to their history: the latter seems, however, the most probable, from the names by which they were distinguished, such as *Calerini*, *Grovii*, *Limici*, *Quarquernei*, and some others, which to us appear to be of *Gaulish* extract, and bear a visible analogy with some of those which we find in antient *Gaul*.

(B) Thus the *Bracarii* had *Bracara*, the *Artabri* *Artabrum*, the *Astures* *Asturia*, the *Suessitani* *Suessa*, the *Lacetani* *Lacca*, the *Ilergetes* *Ilerda*, and so of the rest, unless where the *Romans*, settling afterwards their colonies, did call those towns by new names, though the people still retained their old ones; especially we find some few of those places styled *Julia* and *Augusta*, as *Julia Libyca* in the canton of the *Ceretani*; *Casæ Augusta* among the *Lacetani*; *Augusta Bracara*, *Porta Augusta*, *Augusti Lacus*, in *Gallicia*, and the like.

Here, by the way, we must observe, that this last

province was not called so from the *Galli*, as some have imagined, but from its antient metropolis, which was called *Calle*, situate in a pleasant valley upon the *Durius*, and near the mouth of it; and the port of it, being become a considerable one in time, was since named barely *Porto* and *Puerto* by the *Spaniards*, by the *Dutch* *Port a Port*, and by us *Oporto*. From these two, *Porto* and *Calle*, came the name of *Portugal*, or *Portucalla*. As for *Calle*, it must be owned, that it is not mentioned by *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, &c. but we find it in the *itinerarium*, which places it on the road between *Ulisipo* or *Lisbon* and *Augusta Bracara* (1).

(C) Those, who are desirous to know more of these antient people, may consult, if they please, the *Spanish* writers we have often quoted in this chapter; though, for the most authentic account of them, we would rather refer them to the last-quoted and accurate *Cellarius*, who has wholly grounded his own on the testimony of antient authors, and rejected all the fabulous and uncertain trash, which those modern authors have intermingled in theirs upon more precarious, and sometimes upon no authority at all.

(1) Vid. *Cellar. ubi sup. lib. ii. c. 1. sect. 3.*

- a and in some antient medals, though differently placed*, and was a court of judicature, according to *Pliny* in the place last-quoted. It divided the *Astures* into *Augustanos* and *Transmontanos*, which confirms what we lately hinted, the former being, in all likelihood, of *Roman* extract, settled here, whilst the latter, of *Celtic*, removed over the ridge of mountains that parted them; for we find here also the seventh *Roman* legion, which was surnamed *Gemina*, settled between the *Asturian* sea and the capital of this district, called *Asturia Augusta*, now *Astorga*, a city still of some note (D). This country was also celebrated by the poets for the gold it produced. The next was that infamous one of *Calaguris*, distinguished by *Pliny* by the name of *Nasica*, justly execrated, by the *Roman* authors^w, for the
- b insurrection and dread catastrophe of *Sertorius*, mentioned in a former volume, and too black to be repeated afresh^r. The city was at first a municipal one, and in some inscriptions surnamed *Julia* (E), and then made a colony, with some others mentioned by *Pliny*^r, particularly those of *Osca*, *Ilerda*, and *Turiasa*. *Calaguris*, since *Calaborta*, was the head town of the *Autrigones*, seated indifferently by geographers on either side, but, by the most exact, on the other side the *Iberus*, as we hinted in the last note. *Gracburis*, or *Graccuris*, mentioned by *Ptolemy* among the chief cities of the *Vascones*, was, as we are told by *Livy*^z, built by *Tit. Sempron. Gracchus*, who took it from the *Celtiberians*, and called it by his name. Its situation is uncertain, only the *Itinerarium* places it on the road to *Cesar Augusta*, at sixty-four miles distance from it in the road to *Tarraco*. It is in some antient inscriptions styled *Municipium Graccuris*. Some christian champions, who suffered here for the faith in those early times, are in some martyrologies called the *Gracburian*, and in others the *Ilerdan* martyrs, from the vicinity, probably, of those two places. The last we shall name is the famed town of the *Vascai*, called *Intercata*, celebrated by antient authors, for a single combat, which was fought, at the siege of that city, between *Scipio Æmilianus* and a bold *Spanish* tribune, in which the latter was killed; and the former had no sooner escaped one danger, than he exposed himself to a greater, and was the first that scaled the walls of that place^s. We come now to speak of some of the most celebrated cities of this province, at the head of which
- d we may justly place the metropolis of it,

Tarraco, now *Tarragon*, situate on the *Mediterranean* coast, between the rivers *Iberus*, or *Ebro*, and the *Rubricatus*, now *Lobregat*. It was a colony planted there by the two *Scipio's*, *Publ.* and *Cornel.* with a juridical court; and was the capital of *Hispania Romana* (F), not so much on account of the excellency of its harbour, as *Strabo* observes, as for its being commodiously situated for all those, who travelled

* Ap. Gruter. p. 193. n. 3. p. 416. n. 5. Vid. & GOLTZ. HOLSTEIN. & HARDUIN. ap. Cellar. lib. ii. c. 1. sect. 3. § 44. Vid. & STRAB. lib. iii. PLIN. l. iv. c. 22. w Vid. VALER. MAX. l. vii. c. 6. L. FLOR. l. iii. c. 22. JUVEN. sat. xv. ver. 93. z See before vol. v. p. 96, e. y Lib. iii. c. 3. u Epit. xlii. s Liv. epitom. xlviii. AUREL. VICT. in Scip. Æmil. APPIAN. in Iberic. &c.

(D) *Ptolemy* indeed makes the *Astures* to have been of *Libyan* extract, and to have come over with the *Carthaginians*, and settled in this part of *Gallaecia*. The city was called *Astorga*, from its being situate on the banks of a river of that name, which flows into the *Durius*; and the *Romans*, having seized on it, and the adjacent territories, called it *Augusta Asturica* (1). Some derive the names, both of the river and of the city, from *Astir Menmon's* coachman, who came thither with other *Trojans*, and planted a colony here (3); but this we look upon as fabulous.

As for the seventh legion above-mentioned, we find it called in *Ptolemy* *legio septima Germanica*; but as there is no mention of any such, either in other authors, or in any antient inscriptions, but often of *legio septima gemina* (4), it is rightly supposed, that it is in that author a mere error of the copyist, who mistook it for *Germanica*.

(E) It is inscribed, in some *Augustan* coins, *MVN. CALAG. IVL.* that is, *Municipium Calaguris, Julia*; and, in one of *Tiberius's*, *M. C. L. C. CELERE, C. RECTO II VIR.* that is, *Municipium Calaguris Julia, Cais Celero, Cais Recto, Duumviris*.

As there were two cities of that name, viz. this of *Nasica*, and another surnamed *Fibularensis*, some authors have placed them differently on the sides of the *Iberus*; but *Peter de Marca* and *Cellarius*, whom we chuse to follow, place the former on the other side of that river. As for the latter, which was at some distance from it, and inferior to it in point of privilege and opulence (5), it was only remarkable for a manufacture of what the *Romans* called *fibula*, a kind of buckles or buttons to fasten their garments with; and was distinguished by that name, on that account.

(F) It is placed by antient geographers in the region or kingdom of the *Cossietani*, or *Cossuani*, situate

(1) Geogr. l. ii. Vid. & Gerund. paralip. lib. iii.

(4) Neila ap. Vasei chronie. sub an. Chr. 106. c. 1. sect. 3.

(3) Taraph. de reg. Hisp. ex Lucan. & Sil. Ital.

(5) Vid. Caf. communis. lib. i. s. 40. Cellar. lib. ii.

Saguntus.

Valentia.

Complutum.

velled into this kingdom, whether by sea or land ^b. But *Spanish* authors, though ^a they grant those two *Roman* generals to have planted a colony there, will by no means allow, that they founded the city, but fetch its origin and etymon much higher: we have given two of them in the last note. However that be, this city has been all along very famous, having been, since, the metropolis of the kingdom of *Arragon*, an archiepiscopal see, and famed for a council or two held there; the first by *John* the then metropolitan, and his twelve bishops, in the year of Christ 516. in which it was, amongst other things, enacted, that the celebration of the *Sunday* should begin on *Saturday* evening. Hence that custom hath, it seems, spread itself almost all over *Spain*, to leave off all kind of work from that time ^c. In another held under *Berengarius*, primate of the same place, 1180. it was ordained, that ^b the dates of all public writings should be computed from the year of Christ, which before were wont to be reckoned from the reigns of the *Frankish* monarchs ^d. Below *Tarraco* was the famed city of *Saguntus*, or *Saguntum*, on the same coast, of which having spoken amply in the beginning of this volume, and of its dreadful catastrophe, we shall refer our reader to it ^e. *Valentia*, another antient city a little below *Saguntum*, was the capital of the *Edetani*. It is situate on the mouth of the river *Tburias*, about three miles from the sea, and was antiently styled *Colonia Julia*, and founded by *Junius Brutus*, whilst he was consul in *Spain* ^f, and given to his army (G). It was afterwards destroyed, with *Herennius* and his accomplices, by *Pompey*, and rebuilt by *Julius Cæsar*. It hath retained its antient dignity and grandeur, was once the metropolis of the kingdom, as it is still of the province of that name, an archiepiscopal see, and one of the most considerable cities of *Spain*. The people of this city were formerly as much celebrated for their valour and honesty, by *Tully*, as they are now, by their own authors, for their superstition and bigotry ^g.

Before we leave this part of *Spain*, we must not omit the famous city of *Complutum*, now *Alcala de Henarez*, so called from the river *Henarez*, on whose banks it is situate, in a pleasant plain; and, as that river falls into the great *Tagus*, the cities here along are easily furnished with all kinds of provisions and merchandizes. *Complutum* has now no bishoprick, but only a collegiate church, and is a considerable university, having been greatly endowed by the celebrated cardinal *Ximenes*, then archbishop of *Toledo*; under whose auspices, care, and immense charges, the first polyglot bible was compiled and printed in this city, and is from thence called the *Complutensian* polyglot (H). Westward of, and between, *Camplutum*, and the antient city of *Toletum*, now *Toledo*, and on the same river *Tagus*, was situate the *Mantua* of

^a Lib. iii. PLIN. nat. hist. lib. iii.^b VAS. chron. sub an. 516.^c TARAPH. ubi sup. suban. 1176. ^d See before, p. 2, & seq.^e LIV. epit. lv. PLIN. lib. iii. c. 3.^f De his

vid. MARIN. SICUL. de reb. Hisp. in fin. l.iii.

between the two rivers above-mentioned. It appears from antient medals to have been a very flourishing city, especially in *Augustus's* time; and is called by one *Colonia victrix*, by another *Colonia victrix togata Tarraco*; and in a third are found these words, GENIO COL. I. V. TARRAC. that is, *Genio Colonia Victricis Togata Tarraconensis*. There are still, it seems, quantities of such antient coins frequently dug up about the neighbourhood of it; which inclines one to think, it was formerly much larger than it is now, tho' it is at present very spacious, opulent, and considerable (6).

Those, who make *Tubal* to have been the people of *Spain*, pretend, that he founded this city, to be a kind of safeguard for his flocks and shepherds, of which he had vast numbers; and that both he and this place had the name of *Tarraco* given them, that is, *the gatherer up of shepherds* (7). Others will have it to have been built by *Hercules*, and to have been called *Acon*; whence the compound word *Terra-acon* was insensibly contracted into *Tarracon* (8).

(G) The followers of *Berosus* affirm this city to have been built by *Romus* the son of *Tesla*, one of their antient, if not fabulous kings; and to have been called by his own name *Roma*; and that the *Romans*, having since taken and enlarged it, gave it the name of *Valentia* instead of it (9).

(H) This glorious work, the first of that kind, was performed by men of the greatest learning, invited thither by that cardinal at a vast charge. It was a considerable time in compiling, and about four years in printing, that is, from 1514. to 1517. but the whole was not published till 1520. when it came recommended with a bull of pope *Leo X.* in six volumes, including the lexicon. It was printed in four languages, viz. the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, *Greek*, and *Latin*. The *Hebrew* was as correct as it could possibly be done, according to the original; but the *Septuagint*, *Chaldee*, and *Vulgate Latin*, were corrected in such a vast number of places, and from such a prodigious number of manuscripts, as were procured from all parts at no small expence, in order to render those three versions more conformable to

(6) Vid. Cellar. lib. ii. c. 1. sect. 3. § 104. Marin. Sic. de reb. Hisp. l. iii. c. al. Lib. de reg. Hisp. sub initio. (7) Taraph. ex Beros. (8) Vid. Gerund. paralip. lib. v. (9) Vid. Vaf. chron. sub an. 967. Taraph. reg. Hisp. sub an. 1350.

a of *Ptolemy*, near which spot is supposed the town of *Madrid*, the now metropolis of all *Spain*, to have been since built (I); but of this, and many others, both on the sea-coasts, and in the continent, we shall forbear saying any thing further, they being so well known to almost every reader. We have already had occasion to mention some of the most considerable rivers, mountains, and promontories, in the course of this article; the rest, that are of any note, together with such natural rarities that may be worth observing, the reader will find in the following note (K), and in the map annexed.

THE chief islands, belonging to the *Tarraconian* province, are, first, that of *Islands*. *Gades*, situate on the gulph of that name, between the streights of *Gibraltar* and *Gades*.
b the river *Bætis*, and famed, not so much for its bigness, as for the concourse of foreign nations thither from the earliest times, and for its celebrated city and temple, of which, as well as of its foundation, names, and other particulars, we have already spoken in this chapter, and in a former volume^b. *Strabo* gives it the length of one hundred furlongs, and a much smaller breadth; yet it had, according to him, no less than five hundred horsemen in his time^c: we shall have occasion to speak of the famed temple of it in the sequel. As for the city, we have, at the beginning of this volume, mentioned its being plundered by the *Carthaginians*, and taken by the *Romans*^d. It was since erected into a bishoprick, under the title of *Episcopus Gaditanus*^e. The next is the so much celebrated, and so hard to find, island *Erythia*.
c of *Erythia*, where *Geryon* is said to have kept his fine oxen, which *Hercules* came and stole from him^f. Some have placed it near that of *Gades*: others think it was

^b Vol. vi. p. 730. a—c, (A).

^c Lib. iii.

^d See before, p. 72, e, f.

^e Vas. chron. c. 21.

^f HESIOD. theogon. ver. 289, & seq.

the original, that it, by degrees, dwindled into dislike; but both, however, this merit with the learned, that it served for a model to those which were since published in other kingdoms; among which that of *London* is justly esteemed, in all respects, the most useful and exact, though not enriched with such a variety of costly ornaments as that of Mr. *Le Jay*, printed at *Paris* (10).

(I) Hence we find it called by some *Mantua Carpetana*, by others *Madritum* and *Madrit*; but commonly now *Madrid* (11).

(K) Besides the cities above-mentioned, we should take notice of a very famed one, namely, new *Carthage*; but as we have had occasion to speak of it in a former volume, we shall refer our readers to it (12). *Segobriga*, alias *Segobrica*, was, as we are told, the capital of the *Celtiberi* (13), concerning whose situation authors, even *Spanish*, differ so much, that we can hardly say any thing about it. Some think there were two of that name, one in this province of *Tarracon*, and the other at the foot of the *Castellan* mountains; but the former, which is the most considerable, the authors above-quoted place in the neighbourhood of the ancient *Numancia*, mentioned, not only by them, but by the *Itinerary*, which places it between *Uxama* and *Turiso*, near the river *Durius*. This last was, it seems, so excellently fortified by nature, that it neither had nor needed either walls, towers, or other fortifications, being seated on the top of a steep mountain, and sheltered by much higher hills on three of its sides, being only accessible on the fourth, which opened to a plain, but by such narrow defiles, as could be easily guarded by a handful of men. Great wonders are told of this place by the authors under-quoted (14); for it would swell this note too much, were we to descend to particulars. It was, however, quite destroyed by the two *Scipio's*; but, since we find it mentioned by

those ancient authors, and by the *Itinerary*, we need not doubt but it was rebuilt by some of their successors. We have already given a full account of the *Numantine* war, and the sad catastrophe of that famed city; and shall refer our readers to it (15), to avoid repetitions; and for the same reason we shall forbear mentioning any more of those ancient cities, whose names, and further particulars, have been sufficiently taken notice of in the course of the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* history; for those of later date belong not to this, but to the modern part of this work.

Mountains of note, besides those already mentioned, are the *Pyrenæes*, which divide *Spain* from *Gaul* by a continued ridge of vast height and depth, and reaches from sea to sea. They are supposed to have been so called, from a fire which spread itself over the surface of them, and burnt with such fierceness during several days, that it even melted the metals within their bowels, as we shall see in the sequel. The *Ithubedan* hills were another ridge, which crossed one part of this province, and at the foot of which were the heads of several famed rivers, such as those of the *Tagus* and *Ausa*, which flowed westward toward the ocean, on one side; and of the *Suero* and *Thurias*, which ran eastward into the *Mediterranean* on the other. The *Orospeidan* ridge seems to have separated this province in part from *Bætica*. They were also called *Mariani Montes*, and now *Serra Modena*. We spoke of them under the last article. A great many more this province abounded with, for a further account of which, we must refer our readers to the ancient and modern authors, largely quoted, as likewise for those mines, minerals, mineral waters, and other curiosities, they and the neighbouring vallies produced, the bare mention of which would carry us far beyond our design.

(10) Vid. ins. al. *Mantua*. annal. typogr. Palmer, hist. of printing. Calmet, discourse of polyglots, &c. al. mntis.

(11) Vid. *Sicul. Marin. de reb. Hist.* l. ii.

(12) See before, p. 59, & seq.

(13) *Plin.*

lib. iii. c. 3. *Strab.* lib. iii. *Ptol.* lib. ii. c. 6.

(14) *Ibid.* *Ibid.* *Flor. bell. Numant.* *Orat.* l. vi.

c. 7. Vid. & *Martiano*, lib. iii. & *ant.* *Hispan. subintrat.* & *Cellar.* ubi sup. sect. 711.

(15) Vid.

col. iv. p. 782—787.

Cassiterides.

the same with it: and others have thought, that it was either sunk into the sea, or a was to be sought for among the rocks. We have, however, ventured, in a former chapter of this volume, to offer a conjecture concerning its situation; and shall refer our readers to it^a. No less difficult has been the search after those ten famed islands, called by the *Greeks Cassiterides*, from whence the *Phanicians*, the first discoverers of them, did fetch such vast quantities of tin. We should not have mentioned them here, the learned *Camden* having fully shewn, that they are our islands of *Scilly*, had not some of the antients, as *Strabo* and *Ptolemy*^b, placed them on the *Spanish* coasts, somewhat beyond the *Promontorium Celticum* or *Artabrum*, or *Cape Finister*; and others somewhere on the western ocean, about the upper coasts of *Lusitania* P. But as there could never be found any such islands on those coasts, they have been supposed to have undergone the same fate with that of *Erythia* lately mentioned. However, as we shall have occasion to resume them, when we come to speak of the *British* islands^c, we shall say no more of them here, but pass to those which are more considerable, and better known to us; and these are the *Baleares*, or *Gymnesia*, as they are called by the antients.

Baleares.

THESE were distinguished into *Major* and *Minor*, or, as *Mela* expresses it, *Majores* and *Minores*. Their bigness, situation, and other particulars, are so well known to every reader, that it were superfluous to dwell upon them. All that we need to say of them here, is, in what state they were in those antient times. In the former, now *Majorca*, *Ptolemy* and *Strabo* place the two cities of *Palma* and *Pollentia*, the one on the east, the other on the west; and these are by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Mela*, styled *Coloniae*. In the latter, now *Minorca*, they place likewise two cities, viz. *Jamno* and *Mago*; which were, however, no more than castles or forts, if *Mela's* judgment, who was of that country, is to be preferred to the others. But as they seem to have been both built near the mouths of two convenient harbours, which are in this island, it is hardly to be doubted but these soon grew into considerable sea-ports, especially that of *Mago*, which became since a celebrated one, under the name of *Maon*. These two islands were, on account of their situation and harbours, styled *Fortunatae*, and stand at about thirty miles distance from each other. They were at first possessed by the *Phanicians*, who held them till *Q. Metellus* brought them under the *Roman* yoke, for which he got the surname of *Balea-ricus*^d. As to the etymon of *Baleares*, most authors derive it from the *Greek* βάλλω, signifies to throw with a sling, because the inhabitants of them were particularly famed for their skill in it^e: yet, as the *Carthaginians* had these islands before any other, *Bochart* thinks they did give them that name, which is compounded of two *Punic* words, *Baal* and *Jarab*, which amount to the same sense, and signify a *slinging-master*, or a man expert at throwing, &c. Their other name of *Gymnesia*, or *Gymnasia*, is, according to the antient authors above-quoted, of *Greek* extract, and was given them on account of their inhabitants going naked in summer.

FURTHER, towards the streights, over-against the cape *Dianium*, now *Denia*, are the two islands called *Pityusa* by the antients, from the vast quantities of pine-trees which they produced^f; the one of which, by far the larger of the two, tho' smaller than that of *Minorca*, was named *Ebusus*, now *Ivica*; the other, *Ophiusa*, now *Formentera*. They are both mentioned by *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, and *Pliny*; and *Mela* adds, that the former was not only very fertile, but that it bred no kind of poisonous, nor even wild creatures, and that, if any were brought thither, they could not live in it^g, though the island abounded with pasture-ground^h, and with great variety of fruits, particularly a kind of figs, for which it was famed: some have even added sugar-canesⁱ, which, it is said, they boiled into sugar, and made a traffick of; but this *Cellarius* has shewn to be a mistake, and that it means no other, than the dried figs above-mentioned^j. The other, by far the smallest, is thought by some to have been the same with that which the *Latins* called *Colubraria*; but the author last-quoted hath plainly proved, from the testimonies of *Pliny* and *Mela*, that they were two different islands; and that the latter was at a much greater

^a Before, p. 146, (E). ^b STRAB. l. iv. PTOL. l. iii. ^c DIOD. SICUL. l. v. c. 38. PLIN. lib. iv. c. 22, & alib. MELA, & al. ^d See hereafter, p. 402, b, c. ^e De his vid. STRAB. & PTOL. ubi sup. D. SICUL. lib. v. c. 28. MELA, lib. ii. ad fin. FLOR. l. iii. c. 8. ^f Vid. D. SICUL. ubi sup. STRAB. l. xiv. PLIN. l. iii. c. v. EUSTAT. ad Dionys. vet. 457. ^g PLIN. l. iii. c. 5. ^h De sit. in fin. lib. ii. ⁱ FEST. AVIEN. descript. orb. vet. 621. ^j NONN. c. 94. in Stat. sylv. lib. i. ^k Lib. ii. c. i. sect. 4. § 132.

- a distance from that of *Ebusus*, than the former ; and both of them are so small and inconsiderable, that we need say no more of them. As for *Ebusus*, it was the name, both of the island, and of the city in it, though the latter was more commonly called *Ebusium* ; for we find, in ancient inscriptions of *Gruter*, *Ordo Ebusii*, and *Rp. or Respublica Ebusii* ; and are further told, that it was a colony of the *Pbani-sians*¹. The last island worth mentioning was called *Capraria*, and now *Cabrera*, probably from the number of goats it bred, as the *Colubraria* seems to have been from its great quantity of adders. It stands on the south of *Majorca*, and is chiefly noted for being fatal to mariners. All these islands, and a great number of others mentioned by ancient writers, now not to be found, and supposed to have been since sunk into the sea, did belong to this province of *Tarracon*, and underwent the same fate of passing from the *Carthaginian* to the *Roman* yoke. We shall conclude this section with observing from *Pliny*², that this province was divided into seven *conventus*, or provincial assemblies, whose names the reader will find in the margin (L). It had seventy-nine towns, twelve colonies, twelve *Roman*, and eighteen *Latian* cities, and an hundred and thirty-five *stipendiaria* or garrisons in the *Roman* pay, and one confederate.

¹ SIL. ITAL. l. iii. ver. 364.² PLIN. l. iii. c. 3. & 41. sup. citat.(L) These were the *Carthaginienfis*, *Tarracon-ensis*, *Casur-Augustanus*, *Clunienfis*, *Asturnis*, *Lu-*

S E C T. II.

*The religion, laws, government, customs, learning, &c. of the
antient Spaniards.*

- c THERE is no doubt to be made, that, where-ever *Spain* was inhabited by the descendants of the *Celtes*, thither they brought their old religion, govern-
ment, &c. What these were, we have given an account of in a former volume^a ; and shall speak still more largely upon, in the next chapter of the ancient *Gauls*, the undoubted and immediate descendants of the ancient *Celtic* stock ; for we must necessarily suppose, and so, indeed, we find, a great affinity between them in all these particulars, as they all sprang from the same origin. But, as the *Gauls* are better known to us than the *Spaniards*, we shall refer the greatest part of what we have to say on these different heads, till we come to their history : for, could we even admit what the generality of *Spanish* writers affirm after *Berosus*, that *Tubal*, the fifth son of *Japhet*, came and peopled *Spain* so soon as an hundred and forty-three years after the flood, *Gomer*, his eldest brother, and the father of the *Celtes*, must have been as soon in possession of *Gaul* ; and both must, of course, be supposed to have brought the same religion, laws, government, &c. namely, that which they received from their grandfather *Noah* : and how tenacious both these, and other nations of the same *Celtic* descent, were of their own religion and laws, will be easily seen by the sequel, especially in the histories of the ancient *Gauls* and *Germans*. All that we shall say further of their religion here, is, that it was, in all these countries, the same as that of the old patriarchs : they worshipped one supreme Being, not in temples, as the *Greeks* and *Romans*, but in groves consecrated to him. They believed a future state of rewards and punishments, suitable to their behaviour in this. They offered victims to him, and celebrated some festivals in honour of him ; and, in most things, observed a great simplicity in all their religious rites, during a long series of ages, till, by intermingling with other nations, they degenerated into several of their superstitions, especially into their various ways of divination, of which we shall give a fuller account in the next chapter. One bloody and inhuman custom they gave, indeed, into very early, in common with most ancient nations, *viz.* that of human sacrifices ; the origin of which having endeavoured

^a Vol. ii. p. 250. & seq.

voured to account for in a former volume, we shall refer our readers to it, to avoid a prolixity ^b.

BUT, as this country came to be invaded by such variety of other nations, such as the *Egyptians*, who are said to have introduced all the heathenish superstition of their country, the *Tyrians*, *Phœnicians*, *Carthaginians*, and a multitude of others, who settled amongst them, as we shall see in a subsequent section, it is natural to think, that every one brought their own religion and customs with them; and what these were, must be seen in the history we have given of each of those nations in the course of this work; for it were endless to repeat it here. It is plain, such a mixture of different nations must bring, not only a vast variety of religious laws and customs, but produce some alterations in each of them, as they mutually borrowed ^b some doctrines and notions, rites and fashions, from one another, as suited their taste or circumstances. Superstition has no bounds, and persons, either out of wantonness, or impatience, will be easily induced to hunt after a variety of deities, and superstitious ceremonies. This, we find, was the case of the *Israelites*, though restrained from it under such severe penalties: how much more will it be so, where every one is left at his own liberty? However, after the coming of the lordly *Romans*, whose constant policy it was, to introduce every-where their gods, religion, laws, &c. either by fair or foul means, we need not doubt, but those, that fell under their dominion, were obliged to submit to this change. The inundation likewise of the northern nations, such as the *Suevi*, *Goths*, and *Vandals*, must likewise ^c have introduced such changes, as may be better imagined than expressed. We shall have occasion to speak of them in their several histories here ensuing; only thus much may be said here, that, though they had embraced christianity, yet they were all of them infected with the *Arian* heresy. This did not, however, slacken their zeal against the heathenish idolatry and superstition, which had been introduced there by the *Egyptians*, *Carthaginians*, *Romans*, and other nations, whose temples, altars, statues, &c. they destroyed where-ever they came, obliging all, that came under their power, to embrace their religion; but both *Sueves* and *Goths* did at length exchange their *Arianism* for the orthodox faith, the former, under the reign of their king *Ariamirus* alias *Theodimirus*, and the latter under *Reccaredus*, who ^d made open profession of it upon his accession to the crown. Their example was followed by the nobles, bishops, and clergy; and their confession of faith was presented to the famed council of *Toledo*, where some further regulations were made, for the preservation of orthodoxy, and for introducing a general conformity of worship. This great change was so much the more remarkable, considering the tenaciousness of those nations for their old religion, as it was brought about without persecution, or any other violent means. Upon the whole, it must be owned, that the *Goths* did make many excellent laws and regulations, for the better government in church and state. We shall speak of them, in their history, in a subsequent chapter; and shall only mention here a famed liturgy peculiar to them, known by ^e several names, such as, *officium Gothicum*, *Toletanum*, and *Mozarabicum* (A), and supposed by most authors to have been compiled by *Isidore*, then bishop of *Hispal* or *Sevil*. This liturgy was confirmed by the *Toletan* council above-mentioned, tho' the pope did not suffer them to enjoy it many years, before he obliged them to exchange it for the *Roman*, not without a long and strenuous opposition from the *Goths*, especially those of *Catalonia*, who sent a number of deputies to the council of *Mantua*, to expostulate against such a forced innovation. Some extraordinary particulars we are told with relation to this successful deputation, which, as they display the unfair intrigues, and arbitrary sway, of the *Romish* court, as well as the superstitious practices of those times, we shall give to our readers in the margin ^f (B).

IT

^b Vol. i. p. 131 (W). 111. f. 472, d. e. 619. in fin. (V).

(A) So called from the name of *Mozarabes*, which they then gave to those christians, who were under the subjection of the *Saracens*.

(B) The merit of these two liturgies, we are told, was to be decided by single combat; in which one champion was to fight for the *Gothic*, and the

other for the *Roman*. They did so; and the latter lost the battle; but, the *Roman* party raising some fresh chicane about it, it was again agreed to be tried by fire. Accordingly both books were flung into the flames, from which the *Gothic* was preserved, and the other burnt. But such was the prevalence

- a It is probable, that, though the first inhabitants of Spain were under one monarchical government, upon their first settling in it, as well as those of Gaul, Germany, and other European nations; yet, as they came to increase in number, and enlarge their territories, they split themselves into a multiplicity of petty kingdoms and commonwealths. This was the case of the Gauls and Germans, when *Cæsar* first came amongst them, as we shall shew in due time; and much more so may we suppose it to have been so here, considering the great variety of nations that came and settled amongst them, of which we shall give a fuller account in a subsequent section of this chapter; for it is more reasonable to suppose, that most, if not all of them brought and settled their own laws and form of government, than that they should submit to that of the antient inhabitants, especially as many of the former came thither rather as conquerors, than colonies; from all which must necessarily result, not only a vast variety, but likewise a constant fluctuation of them, as they passed from one dominion to another, especially when they came under that of the Carthaginians, Romans, Goths, and Vandals (C). After the expulsion of the Carthaginians by the Scipio's, of which we have given an account in a former chapter of this volume, Spain was governed by consuls, proconsuls, prætors, proprætors, and præsides, from that very time down to the reign of *Tiberius*, if not lower; for we find *L. Piso* prætor of the hither Spain in his time; and a rescript of *Adrian* directed to the consul of *Bætica*. The præsides are mentioned likewise in subsequent reigns; but that title was of a more general signification, and applied to the governors of every inferior province. However, it continued under the government of forty-six emperors, from *Augustus*, who is said to have finished the conquest of it, to *Honorius*, in whose reign the Romans were expelled by the Vandals, Alans, and Suevi. Under these emperors, who governed the empire after their own arbitrary will, Spain was divided into two provinces; but soon after reduced into one, though under several governors, or legati and tribuni^a. About the reign of *Dioclesian* and *Maximinian*, it began to be governed by comites, or counts; and, if any of these were forced to be absent from their jurisdiction, they left the care of it to substitutes, who were called vicarii. And lastly, in the time of the Goths, those provinces, that were subject to the Romans, were set under government of duces and præfecti. Under the Goths they were governed by nineteen kings, during the space of two hundred years, that

^a P. 69, & seq.^a Tacit. an. Vid. & Vas. chronol. c. 13.

prevalence of the pope's party, as it was managed by his then legate, that the synod of *Leon* decided almost in favour of the latter. The Gothic, however, was far from being wholly set aside. It was retained by several congregations, and by seven churches of *Toledo*, during a considerable number of years. Neither did it lose its credit by being disused, since even the famed cardinal *Ximenes* erected a chapel in the city, in which the divine worship was to be performed according to the Gothic or Mozarabic liturgy; but in the end means were found to get it condemned, and wholly set aside, and with it the old character, in which it was writ (1).

This character was not, however, the old famed *Runic*, of which we shall have occasion to speak in the German history, as has been affirmed by several authors; but the old Gothic, in which most, if not all books, especially church ones, were written at that time in Spain, and elsewhere; and was near the same with the old Roman, but of a coarser mould; and was particularly used in all the Visigothic dominions.

(C) How they were governed under the two former, may be seen by their history in the three last volumes; and how by the latter, in some of the subsequent chapters, as well as in the sequel of this. One thing we must, however, observe here, with respect to the Romans, that it was their constant policy, in their conquered dominions, to distin-

guish between those, that, through fear, or necessity, had either sought their friendship and protection, or willingly submitted to them; and those, who were subdued by force of arms. The former of these they permitted to preserve their laws, and form of government; and only obliged them to pay a certain tribute, and to send a number of auxiliary forces, and perhaps to quarter a number of their troops; but the others they forced to submit wholly to the Roman laws and government, as we shall have further occasion to shew in the next chapter; though, by the way, it must be observed, with respect to the former, that if they gave the least umbrage to their pretended protectors, they seldom failed of being stripped of their privileges, and of being reduced to the slavish state of the latter. This proved the case of the Spaniards, who were forced, by degrees, to submit, not only to the Roman yoke, but to their religion, customs, &c. and even to their language (2).

We find, however, in some antient authors, the names of several petty kings of Spain, both in the times of the Carthaginians and Romans, who governed in their several little kingdoms, and lived in peace with, and acknowledged them both, or paid some tribute, perhaps, to them; such as *Mandonius*, whom *Livy* calls king of the *Hergetes*, *Amulius* king of the *Lacetani*, *Andabal* mentioned by *Polybius*, and some others; but to these the Romans only give the title of *reguli*.

(1) De hoc vid. Vas. chron. sub an. 717. Comac. de gest. fr. Ximenii, lib. ii. & al. Vid. & Capxon German. & Leddiard. vers. vol. ii. p. 284.

(2) Vid. Aldrese. compend. hist. de Hispania.

is, from *Albanaric*, who began his reign in the year of Christ 369. to *Leovigild*, a an. 569. The *Suevi* reigned in *Galicia*, according to *Isidorus*, an hundred and seventy-seven years, that is, from *Hermeric*, A. C. 408. to *Andeca*, who was defeated and dethroned by *Leovigild* above-mentioned, and brought that kingdom under his subjection A. C. 581. In this list of *Suevian* kings there is a chain of their names for an hundred years, from *Remismund*, who infected that kingdom with *Arianism*, A. C. 464. to *Theodimirus*, who embraced the orthodox faith, the historians not having thought them worthy to be recorded. The others are ten in number, including *Reccaredus* above-mentioned. Lastly, the united kingdoms of *Goths* and *Suevi*, which began at *Reccaredus* the successor of *Leovigild*, and first orthodox king of the *Goths*, A. C. 568. lasted an hundred and twenty-seven years, that is, to A. C. 713. when the *Moors* put an end to the kingdom, in the third year of *Roderic* their seventeenth and last king. Of all these, and their different nations, we shall speak in the sequel, every one in their order. As for those of *Leo*, *Castile*, *Aragon*, *Navarre*, and *Portugal*, they will be spoken of in the modern history.

Laws.

WHAT laws the antient *Spaniards* originally had, or what new ones were imposed upon them by their conquerors, we are left to guess at. We are, indeed, told, that *Hercules*, upon his coming thither, did give them a body of them, such as he had brought from his own country, whether *Egypt*, *Tyre*, or *Greece*; but what they were, we are wholly in the dark about. If we may, however, offer a conjecture c from what we read about their neighbours the *Gauls*, who had a multiplicity of governments, some monarchical, some aristocratic, and some even democratic, and, of the former, some limited, some despotic, we may reasonably conclude, that every one of them had their own laws, and such as best suited to their genius, interest, and the safety of the whole; but these do not appear to have extended farther, than to the preservation of each of their particular forms of governments: for, in other cases, each of them had their grand council, to deliberate, enact, explain, and decide, according to the present emergency, as they thought for the good of the community. By these all controversies between man and man, town and town, district and district, were adjudged; and their power was such, that d even their kings, where they had not made themselves wholly absolute, of which we scarce meet with any instance, were obliged to submit to their decision, save only, that in all cases, where the plaintiff was not satisfied with it, he had liberty to challenge his adversary, and to determine the affair by single combat. The same was likewise done between city and city, district and district, who appointed one or more champions to appear for them, and the cause was always adjudged to the conquering side; for it was a constant maxim amongst all the descendants of the *Celts*, that providence always interposed in such cases, and that, where-ever the victory fell, there was the surest right.

Valour and discipline.

IN the art of war, and military discipline, we shall hereafter have occasion to e shew, that the *Gauls*, *Germans*, and other nations of *Celtic* extract, were very deficient, trusting too much to their strength and bravery, and despising all other arts, and even defensive weapons, as beneath a man of true courage; but, in this respect, the *Spaniards*, though no less brave and stout, had much the advantage of them, which must be chiefly owing to their being so early and so frequently visited, intermixed, and subdued, by other warlike nations, from whom they received fresh and constant improvements: whereas the *Gauls*, and other northern nations, being scarcely known till after the coming in of the *Romans*, and having no other wars to wage, except what they did amongst themselves, one petty kingdom or commonwealth against another, they were quite ignorant of martial discipline; and even f their weapons were so clumsily made, and so miserably tempered, that they often became useless, before half the action was over. In a word, their way of fighting was so artless and rude, that, in many instances, it gave a double advantage to the enemy, as we shall shew in the sequel. The *Spaniards*, on the contrary, had, by their continual wars with such a variety of polite nations, made themselves masters of, and placed their chief confidence in, their expertness in every branch of the martial trade. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us*, that the *Celtiberians* had such an excellent way of tempering the steel, with which they made their weapons, that no shield or

* Lib. ii. c. 1.

- a helmet could resist them (D); and that they used them with equal dexterity, both on horseback and foot, and alternately, if occasion required. He likewise commends them much for their extraordinary nimbleness in giving or avoiding of blows; and adds, that they used likewise the same defensive weapons that other nations did, such as the shield, &c. And this is the reason why the *Romans* were so long subduing them, and spent more years in the conquest of this country, than *Cæsar* did weeks; if we may believe him, in the reduction of *Gaul*. In the former they were forced to proceed, as it were, inch by inch, against a stout and warlike nation, that knew how to take every advantage of ground, situation, disposition, &c. in the other, every battle gained by *Cæsar*, and these by his own confession, were easily obtained
- b through this want of skill, opened to him a way through whole provinces, who were glad to submit to him on any tolerable terms. What increases the wonder, is, that, at the coming in of the *Romans*, the *Spaniards* had sustained such long and dreadful wars, especially just before, against the *Carthaginians*; that one might have expected them to have been quite exhausted of their strength; and much more likely would they have been so by those, which they were now engaged in, in a new one, against a more potent and numerous enemy; and yet it is plain, they held out against them near, if not quite, two hundred years, before they were entirely subdued; nor were they then wholly so, since we find there was a constant necessity to keep a numerous army, and a watchful eye over them; and even quite to disarm whole provinces, to keep them under a tyranny, which many thousands of them thinking shameful and insupportable, preferred a voluntary death to such a slavish state; so dreadfully abject did it appear to that fierce and warlike nation, says *Livy*, to live without arms: and indeed what *Valerius Maximus* says of the *Celtiberians*, or *Spaniards*, was common to all the *Celtic* nation, and their descendants, That they esteemed nothing so glorious, as to die with their sword in hand, and in defence of their liberty. We shall see many pregnant instances of this noble spirit in some subsequent chapters. Even by the confession of some of their own authors, the victories, which they gained over them, did often cost them so dear, that they deserved nothing less than such a pompous name; and many a triumph
- d they have celebrated over them, which, had it had its due, would have been turned into a doleful mourning for a bloody and signal defeat. Thus much we think is incumbent on an impartial author to say, in justice to any brave conquered people, though it be much more common now-a-days to see them treated with the same contempt and disregard by modern writers, as they were wont to be by their lordly conquerors. We shall conclude this article with a judicious remark, which has been long since made, with respect to this conquest of *Spain*, that though the *Roman* conquerors were always eager of taking the surname of those nations they subdued, such as *Asiaticus*, *Africanus*, *Germanicus*, &c. yet none of them, not even *Augustus Cæsar*, who is complimented by *Livy* with having put the finishing stroke to it, nor any of his successors, though most of them ambitious enough of such high titles, ever took that of *Hispanicus*, *Ibericus*, or any other that this country was called by. *Q. Cæcil. Metellus* was the only one, who aimed at it, and would fain have obtained that of *Celtibericus*, but could not. This seems to argue the *Romans* to have been so conscious of the vast deal of blood and treasure, which it had cost them, more than any other, that they could see no reason for bestowing any such honours upon them; and for which there might not have been the least pretence, had the *Spaniards* been united into one common interest, instead of being divided into so many governments, and under so many heads; for this, after all, will be found the main cause of their falling under the *Roman* yoke.
- e How soon arts and sciences began to flourish in *Spain*, can only be guessed at. That they have an excellent genius for them, is evident from the great number of excellent men it has produced, of which we shall mention only three of the most illustrious; viz. the famed *Stoic* philosopher *Seneca*, who was a native of *Corduba*; the learned orator *Quintilian*, and the great cosmographer *Pomponius Mela*, often quoted thro' this work: and though we find other *European* nations very slow and late in culti-

The length and difficulty of their conquest.

Learning, arts, and sciences.

^f De bell. Mac. lib. iv.

^g L. Flor. l. ii.

(D) This, our author tells us, was done by burying the steel some considerable time under-ground, that is, till the rust had eat up the softest and coarsest

part of the metal: the rest, that had resisted it, was what they made their weapons of.

vating them, such as the *Gauls*, *Germans*, and others, who affected a singular contempt for them, as unsuitable to, and unworthy of, their martial genius; yet, considering the vast concourse of foreign nations into this kingdom, their excellent situation for trade and commerce, the great quantities and variety of metals which it afforded, it is very reasonable to suppose they must have begun to encourage them much earlier than any of their neighbours; and that whatever natural reluctance, such as was common to all people of *Celtic* extract, they may have had against them, necessity must have forced them to overcome it, in their own defence and preservation. We shall say nothing here of those trades and manufactures, for which they have since rendered themselves famous for some ages, till they again relapsed into their antient pride and indolence, out of which they were but lately roused up again. ^b But, with respect to their antient ones, though we have not much of them upon record, it seems almost impossible they could have subsisted without them, considering the continued invasions they were exposed to, and the many enemies they were forced to make head against. Even learning, and the liberal arts, if we may believe *Strabo*, began early to flourish here ^h; for he tells us, that the *Turdetani*, a people of *Bætica*, were become very famous for them, and were possessed of a vast number of volumes of great antiquity, and bodies of laws writ in verse, and other pieces of poetry of above six thousand years standing; which last, however exaggerated, doth at least shew, that there was some foundation for their pretence of having been early encouragers of several kinds of it: and this is further confirmed by several other antient authors, particularly one of their own nation ⁱ, but more manifestly by what *Pliny* tells us ^k of one *Lartius Licinius*, a private person, who made no culy to give an immense sum (E) for a book of *Pliny* II's commentaries.

Their language, the old Celtic.

We make no difficulty to affirm, that the original language of *Spain* was the old *Celtic*, of which we have given some account in a former volume ^l, and shall have occasion to speak further of in the next chapter; for, whether we suppose, with the generality of *Spanish* authors, that *Tubal* came thither by sea, and peopled that country, or, as we have elsewhere hinted, that the *Celtes*, or descendants of *Gomer* his eldest brother, spread themselves thither by gradual migrations, the case will be much the same in this particular, because, on the supposition of the former hypothesis, *Tubal* and *Gomer* parting so soon after the flood, their language must have been the same; that is, the *Tubalians*, or, as they are called by others, *Cetubales*, and the *Gomerians*, must have carried the same language into those countries where they settled, whether we call it by the name of the one, or of the other; with this difference only, that it must have been much purer, and nearer that of the antediluvian patriarchs, whether that was the *Hebrew*, or any other; concerning which we shall not here repeat what we said on the subject at the entrance of this work ^m. But as that *Berosian* account is now, by most learned men, (except the *Spaniards*, who are fond of their own antiquity, beyond other nations) rejected as fabulous, we have ventured here, and elsewhere, to ascribe the first peopling of *Spain* to the *Celtes*, or descendants of *Gomer*. And what confirms this hypothesis, is, that their antient language, as it is still preserved in some parts of *Spain*, appears to be the same with that which is spoken by our *Welsh*, who are descended from *Gomer*, and retain still their paternal name of *Gomerai*, and call their own language *Gomraeg*, as we have shewed in their history, quoted a little higher. We likewise there took notice of the vast affinity there is between it and the antient *Hebrew*, insomuch that to those, who are masters of both, they plainly appear to be only dialects of the same tongue; or, to speak, perhaps, more properly, the *Celtic*, or language of the descendants of *Gomer*, is a dialect of the *Hebrew*, or language of *Noah*. And hence the modern *Spanish*, as it is now spoken throughout that country, will afford us a new proof of what we have advanced on this head. Many learned men have observed, that it retains a great number of names, words, and, we might add, idioms too, which to them plainly appeared to be of *Hebrew* extract, but have been at a loss how to account for it. It is absurd to suppose, that they

^h Lib. iii. ⁱ POMP. MELA. SIL. ITAL. COLUMEL. MARTIAL. LUCAN. & al. plur. ^k Epist. lib. iii. ^l Vol. ii. p. 253. ^m Vol. i. p. 154, c. & seq. 154, a, c. 718, a, b.

(E) This sum is by our author said to have been forty thousand *nummi*; which, according to the computation of his learned commentator, was equivalent to ten thousand golden crowns.

a were brought thither by the *Jews*, who fled from their country, whilst *Nabuchadnezzar* was laying it waste; and came and settled there, as some have imagined; for that nation is rather famed for losing their tongue, than preserving it, much less for propagating it in any country they come to. This made *Aldrete* to think those words to be of *Arabic*, and not of *Hebrew* extract, and to be of no longer date, than the coming in of the *Moors*. Had that learned author had recourse to the old language, which is still kept in some parts of *Biscay*, *Navarre*, and *Catalonia*, he would have found such a vast number of them, as would have convinced him, that they must be a great many centuries older than the coming in of the *Moors*: and, had he known any thing of the affinity there is between the *Hebrew* b and the *Celtic*, he would have easily concluded, that all those words and idioms in the modern *Spanish*, must have come from the latter, and not from the former; which would have removed all the difficulty, without having recourse to the *Arabic*. What seems to have misled him into this notion, is, that there is likewise a great conformity between this last language and the *Celtic*: hence that surprising number of words and idioms common to the *High Dutch* and *Arabic*, which has puzzled so many critics, and cannot be otherwise accounted for, than by supposing them to be of *Celtic* original, which, like the old *Arabic*, was, as we hinted a little higher, a dialect, or, as some chuse rather to suppose it, both the *Hebrew*, and they, were dialects of the original tongue. If we allow then the *Celts* to have been either c the first, or even some of the first inhabitants of *Spain*, there will be the less wonder there should be still found, in the modern language of that country, such primitive words, notwithstanding the length of time, and various changes, it may have undergone, since it is no more than what may be observed, not only in the *High* and *Low Dutch*, and other northern languages, but even in the *French*, the farthest removed, and strangeliest altered, from the old *Gaulish*, or *Celtic*. We may add, that the modern *Spanish* preserves more of the masculine grandeur, beauty, and energy, of the old *Celtic*, than any other in *Europe*. The same may be said of the *Spanish* nation, with respect to the antient *Celtic* grandeur and majesty; and we may safely add of their pride, and singular contempt for, not only trade, d commerce, manufactures, and the like, but even for agriculture, which they looked upon as below their dignity, and martial genius; and therefore turned them over, as much as they could, to their slaves, as we shall shew, when we come to speak of the *Gauls* in the next chapter.

BUT whatever the original language of *Spain* may have been at first, it must have suffered great changes under those different nations, by whom this country was subdued, and of whom we shall give a further account in the sequel: but the greatest of all was under the *Romans*; for these made it their constant business to introduce theirs into every country that fell under their hands; at first, by founding schools, and even universities, where youth might, with the *Latin* tongue and character, be taught the arts and sciences, which was no small inducement to inspire them with a fondness for it; and, where that failed, then more forcible means were used, so that in time almost the whole kingdom came to speak it as their mother-tongue, only those few tribes of the antient inhabitants, who, perhaps, like our *Welsh* here, fled into such mountainous countries, where they could not be conquered, and retained their original one. The *Latin* continued no longer there, than to the coming in of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, under whom it began by degrees to dwindle from its purity, as it did in *Gaul*, *Italy*, and other parts, where those barbarous nations, as they were called, got any dominion, and to adopt their barbarisms, and to decline into the state, in which we see it now. And here it must be observed, f with respect to the *Spanish*, that it has suffered the least corruption, and retains more of the antient *Latin*, of any in *Europe*. This makes us think, that it did not receive any considerable alteration under the *Moors*; otherwise it must have deviated much more from it, than it actually doth: besides, it is not likely, whatever *Aldrete* might infer from his fancied words and idioms of *Arabic* extract, and of which we have given a more probable origin, that *Spaniards*, fond as they ever were of their old ways, would have adopted any thing from a nation, which could not but be hateful to them, as invaders and conquerors; and much more so, on account of their religion.

The Latin introduced by the Romans.

▪ Antegued. de H span. l. ii. c. 8.

Their writing.

FROM what we lately quoted out of *Strabo*, it is plain, the antient *Spaniards* must have admitted writing amongst them many ages before either the *Gauls*, *Germans*, or any others of *Celtic* extract; since these, as shall be shewn in due place, made it a religious maxim to commit nothing to writing, either of their history, learning, or religion, but contented themselves with preserving them in proper poems, which their druids and bards learned by heart, and transmitted in the same way to their disciples. But it is more than probable, that the former were, in some measure, forced to it by some of those many nations, under whose dominion they passed from time to time, such especially as the *Phœnicians*, *Cartaginians*, the *Greeks*, and the *Romans*: but, which of those different characters was first adopted, or became most in vogue, we cannot pretend to say; only that, from the coming of the *Romans*, their letters, as well as language, drove out all the rest, and was in use till their expulsion, when the old *Gothic*, of which we gave an account at the beginning of this section, took place. This last, though far inferior to the *Roman* in beauty, and more tiring to the eyes, continued in such vogue throughout *Europe*, from the coming of the *Goths*, downwards, that all church divinity, and law-books, were written, and (even long after the invention of printing, and reviving of the old *Roman*) were printed in it. We have seen there why, and how, it was at length condemned and set aside.

An odd way of computing time in Spain.

It will not be amiss here to take notice of an odd way, which the *Spaniards* of old had of computing of time, and which was peculiar to that nation. It took its rise in the reign of *Cæsar Augustus*, prevailed all over *Spain*, and was not abolished till after the middle of the thirteenth century; that is, first, in *Aragon*, by *Peter IV.* A. D. 1358. in *Castile*, by king *John*, an. 1383. and, in *Portugal*, by *John I.* an. 1415. This way was, to reckon the years by æras, or rather from the æra, as they called it, without any other explanation, instead of computing from the creation, flood, birth of Christ, or any other remarkable epoch; and this was used, not only in their profane, but, what is still more surprising, in their ecclesiastic records. So that it has puzzled the learned not a little, at first, to fix the point of time of this æra, and to find out a tolerable etymon for that word thus used. It is not worth troubling our readers with their various conjectures upon it; for nothing but conjecture has as yet been offered, and some of them, too, forced and far fetched. It shall suffice to say here, that they are all agreed on one point, viz. that the æra did commence in *Augustus's* time, some add, that it was instituted in honour of him; but they differ about the number of years which it preceded the birth of Christ. Some reckon it but barely twenty-six years, and think those highly mistaken, who give it any more. Others think it began on the year, in which that prince ordered the world to be taxed, as the evangelist words it; and that it was called æra from the *as*, or copper coin which was exacted by that decree^b. Some carry it higher, to fifty-two years before Christ, which was, according to them, the year in which *Julius Cæsar* was killed, and *Augustus* succeeded him: the rightest of them, in our opinion, are those, who deduct the first four years out of that emperor's reign, because, as he was then but one of the triumvirs, it is not likely the *Spaniards* should have begun so soon to compliment him with this new computation; and consequently think, that it did not take place till the fifth year of his triumvirship, when that country, together with *Gaul*, and some other provinces, fell to his lot; and that was forty-eight years before the birth of Christ. As for the original of the word, those that do not like that we mentioned above, which is that of *Isidore* bishop of *Seville*^d, will be less pleased with some others, which *Spanish* critics have fetched still farther. That of *Vaseus*, who thinks that æra was a mark stamped on the coin, to shew the value of it; and that of *Resendius*, who affirms that æra was nothing else but a term to signify a computation, or computed number; would appear most probable to us, if they were backed with any good authority^e.

Education.

THE education of their children in antient days chiefly consisted in training them up to martial deeds, using them to such food and exercises, as tended to make them strong and robust, active and nimble; in inspiring them with a love of liberty, and a contempt of death. These principles were so strongly inculcated into them from their infancy, and so carefully riveted in them both by precept and

^a GERUND. paralipom. Hispan. l. x. in fin. c. 22. ^b Epist. ad Vals. ap. cund. ibid.

^c Id. ibid. ex Isidor. ^d Id. ibid.

^e Vid. VASEI chronic.

- a example, as they grew up, as well as by the hopes of a glorious future life to the bold and brave, and of misery and ignominy to the base and cowardly, that the whole nation seemed unanimously to prefer death before slavery, and looked upon it as the most glorious of all blessings to die fighting in defence of their country. Even their women, by being obliged to train up their children in this martial way, contracted such a habit of bravery, that they seldom or never failed of shewing some signal examples of it to them, as often as an opportunity offered itself. But we shall defer speaking more particularly on this head, till the next chapter, where we shall single out several instances of this native valour, in these and other *Celtic* nations, even in those of the softer sex, and tender years.
- b We have already observed, that this country was not only excellently situate for *Commerce*, trade and commerce, but abounded with such commodities, especially silver, as invited all the trading nations of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, to come thither for them, to settle among them, and even to subdue them; insomuch that scarce any kingdom under heaven ever passed through so many different dominions as this. *Egyptians*, *Phenicians*, *Tyrians*, *Carthaginians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, *Gauls*, *Germans*, *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Moors*, and many others, have had their particular settlements in it; and the greatest part of them, if not all, have held it, or at least some considerable share of it, under their subjection, promoted the trade and navigation of it, and founded great and opulent cities, and contributed towards the enriching of it.
- c What condition the country was in, before those strange nations came into it, we dare not say, though, if we were to believe one half of what the *Spanish* historians have written on this head, it must have been in a more flourishing condition than any other; since we are told by them, that, even before the coming of *Hercules*, it had a great number of rich and stately towns and cities, and these of great antiquity too^f: and this seems in some measure confirmed by antient writers, such as *Strabo*, *Justin*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pomponius Mela*, and others; and indeed, if they really had such a succession as we are going to give in the next section, of long-lived and opulent monarchs, from *Tubal* the grandson of *Noah* to *Geryon*, whom that hero overcame, there would be no room to doubt of the truth of such antient cities having been built before his time. But the misfortune is, that there is no other authority for those reigns, than that of *Berosus*, who, as we shall shew in the sequel, is justly looked upon now as a fabulous author, and that what the *Greek* and *Roman* authors mentioned above have said of the pretended antiquity of those cities, and their founders, was in all likelihood taken upon trust from the *Spaniards* themselves, who appear plainly enough to have been as fond of indulging this passion for antiquity, as ever the *Greeks*, or any other of their neighbours; but of this we must leave every reader to judge for himself.
- To close up the character of the antient *Spaniards*, they possessed all the virtues of the old *Celtic* nation, and inherited fewer of their vices, than any others of their descendants; they were brave, noble, and magnanimous, and hospitable to a high degree, and so famed for their faithfulness, that, even after their being conquered by the *Romans*, several of those emperors made no difficulty of preferring them to other people, to be their life-guard. They were sober, frugal, patient under hardships, jealous of their honour, and, till a few centuries past, rather desirous, as much as they could, to preserve their own territories, than to go in search of new ones abroad. As for the vices they had in common with all others of *Celtic* extract, and of which we shall speak more fully in the subsequent chapters, those of pride, cruelty, superstition, and laziness, are justly laid to their charge, as well as to that of the *Gauls*, *Germans*, and others^g; but it doth not appear, that they imitated them in their sumptuous banquets, much less in their excessive fondness for strong liquors; on the contrary, they are famed for their aversion to them, by which they preserved themselves from such bloody quarrels, as were the natural consequence of those drunken revels, which we find to have been so indulged among their neighbours, and were commonly attended with the worst effects.

^f Vid. int. al. GERUND. ubi sup. l. l. GARR de academ. Hisp. Nomenclat. urb. Hispan. TARAPH. de orig. &c. reg. Hisp. Vas. chron. &c. al. plur. ^g See hereafter, pag. 385, d. e. 387, & seq.

S E C T. III.

The origin, antiquity, and chronology, of the antient Spaniards.

Spain, its first
inhabitants.

WE have, in several parts of this work^a, proceeded on the most probable a hypothesis, founded on the testimony of the best and most antient authors, that the *Celtes*, the descendants of *Gomer* the eldest son of *Japhet*^b, were the first that peopled *Europe*, at least as far as the *Danube* and *Rhine*, and even beyond. Whether this was done by gradual migrations from the place of their dispersion after the flood, or by colonies brought thither by sea, will, we think, be more properly inquired into in the next chapter, where we shall speak of the *Gauls* the immediate descendants of those *Celtes*, and where we shall shew, from the best antient testimonies, that these were, from the earliest times, found settled in every part of it, and even in this of *Spain*, notwithstanding its being surrounded on three sides b by the sea, and on the other by the *Pyrenees*, before any nation that intermingled afterwards among them, of whom we have given an account in the first section of this chapter, and shall have further occasion to speak at the entrance of the next^c. According to this hypothesis, it will be impossible to guess, about what time either this, or any other country of *Europe*, were peopled by them, or which of them claims the preference in point of antientness before the rest, or even to assert any thing of this country before the coming of *Hercules* into it.

Berosian list of
their kings.

Tubal, or Thubal.

BUT the *Spaniards*, ever fond of their own antiquity, beyond any other nation, having once adopted fabulous *Berosus*, have fetched their origin from another spring, namely, from *Tubal*, the fifth son of *Japhet*^d, whom that author affirms to have come into, and reigned in *Spain* from the year of the flood 143. to 258. and from whom they pretend to derive a regular series of long-winded monarchs, down to the three *Geryons*, who were killed by the *Egyptian Hercules*, to say nothing of a much longer one, which they likewise draw from this last hero, and some other new-comers from *Libya*, down to the time in which they allow the *Celtes* to have made their first entrance into *Spain*, viz. in the year of the flood 1350; so that, according to these authors, *Spain* had been a monarchy, and had lasted, one thousand two hundred and twenty-six years before the coming of the *Celtes* into it^e. This account, how fabulous soever, not only with regard to *Tubal's* reign, and of his pretended successor, but likewise, in some measure, with regard to those of *Hercules*, as it is not only adopted by all the *Spanish* authors in general, but likewise by all the followers of *Berosus*, we shall be obliged, before we go further, to give our readers a compendious sketch of it, especially as we have all along in this work given an account of the fabulous, as well as the more certain, part of the history of each nation; and shall do the same in those that follow, especially in that of our own.

1. *Tubal*, having received his grandfather's blessing, came, according to these historians, and settled in some part of *Spain* (A), in the 134th year of the flood, and reigned

^a See before, vol. i. p. 117, & seq. Vol. ii. p. 241, & seq. ^b Genes. x. 2. ^c See hereafter, sect. 3 and 4 of chap. xi. ^d Genes. ubi sup. ^e Vid. int. al. GARIBAY. compend. hist. Hispan. l. iv. c. 4, & seq. VAS. chron. Hispan. c. 10. sub an. diluv. 1350. GERUND. paralip. Hisp. SANT. MARIANNA. & al. mult.

(A) This *Berosian* fable they think sufficiently backed by what we read in *Josephus* (1), who makes *Tubal*, or *Thubal*, at he is called, to have peopled *Spain*; and by *St. Jerome's* comment on the prophets *Isaiah* and *Ezekiel*, where he understands by *Tubal* either *Italy* or *Spain*; but this, at most, will only prove, that some of that patriarch's posterity came and peopled this country, or perhaps came and settled in some part of it; but not, that he came thither himself, and founded a monarchy

in it; which has been sufficiently exploded in some former part of this work (2), and by the generality of authors, who have confuted the fabulous founder of that notion (3).

However, these partial ones, who have adopted it, have built many other conjectural schemes upon it; such as the place where he landed, settled, &c. the system of religion, laws, &c. he left with them, and the like; inasmuch that they affirm, that his descendants did strictly adhere to the precepts given

(1) *Aniq.* l. i. c. 3.

(2) See before, vol. i. p. 141, & seq. ii. 244, & seq.

(3) *Vid. int.*

al. *Bochart. phaleg.* Sir *Walter Rawley, hist. Perizon. Perizon. Calmes. comm. in Genes. x. 2, & al.*

- a reigned there to the year 258; during which interval *Noab*, called, by profane authors, *Janus*, came thither, and built two cities, the one of which he called, from his own name, *Noela* in *Galicia*, and the other *Noega* in *Asturia*, and which, to this day, retains still that of *Navia*.
2. *Iberus*, the son of *Tubal*, who began his reign in the year of the flood 258. *Iberus* reigned thirty-seven years, that is, to the year 295. From him our authors pretend, that the river *Iberus*, from which *Spain* was called *Iberia*, had its name. We have elsewhere given a much more probable etymon of these two names ^f. He was succeeded by his son,
3. *Idubeda*, by some called *Juballa*, and *Jubalda*, who reigned sixty-four years, *Idubeda* gave name to the famed *Idubedan* mountains, peopled the province of *Briga*, now *Riola*, and called it by that name from,
4. *Brigo*, his son and successor (B), who reigned fifty-two years, and left the *Brigo* kingdom to his son,
5. *Tagus*, who reigned thirty years, gave name to the river *Tagus*, and was succeeded by his son,
6. *Batus*, from whom the river *Betis*, and the province of *Batia*, *Batica*, formerly *Turdetania*, and since *Andalusia*, had their names. He is said to have been surnamed *Turdetanus*, on account of his introducing, as well as encouraging, learning.
- c 7. *Geryon*, an *African*, or *Libyan*, of a gigantic stature, and a bloody tyrant, *Geryon* who began his reign in the year of the flood 514. and reigned, according to some, twenty-five, and thirty-four years, according to others ^g. Against him came *Osiris*, or, as he is called by others, *Dionysius* king of *Egypt*, with a powerful army, defeated and killed the tyrant (C), and divided his kingdom between his three sons, commonly called the three *Geryons*, after having first exacted a strict promise from them, that they would reign amicably, and abstain from those plunders, ravages, and cruelties, for which he had so justly punished their father.
8. *THREE Geryons*, said to have been all of one birth, and the last of the *Geryonic* race, reigned with such surprising concord, that they are thought to have given birth to the fable that represents them with a threefold body. These being supposed to have had a hand in the death of *Osiris*, in revenge of that of their father, *Hercules*, his son, brought a great army from *Egypt*, first gave them a

^f See before, vol. ii. p. 241, & seq. 244, (E). vii. 323, b. chron. Hisp. sub an. diluvii 514.

^g Conf. GARIBAY, compend. Vas.

to *Noab* by God, and preserved themselves free from idolatry, polytheism, and all heathenish superstition, till *Hercules* brought those plagues from *Egypt*, and infected *Spain* with them. But of this we shall have a fairer occasion to speak in the next chapter, where we shall enter into a more exact detail of the religion of the *Celts* and *Gauls*.

(B) From him the *Briones*, or *Brigones*, situate along the long ridge of *Idubedan* mountains, are affirmed, by the *Navarrese* historians, to have been named, as well as the city of *Cantabria*, antiently, according to them, *Cantabriga*; whilst the *Castellani* derive both from the *Galli Bracati*, who came and settled there.

The word *Briga*, which had the same signification in *Spain*, and in the cities *Cantabriga* and *Alcidobriga*, which the antient *Gallie* *Dun* or *Dunum*, in the names *Lugdunum*, *Noviodunum*, and the German *Burgh*, in *Friburg*, *Ausburgh*, &c. is likewise affirmed to have had its origin from him. But the word *Brig* or *Brie*, from which *Briga* and *Brica* differ only in termination, is certainly of Celtic extraction, as we shall see in the next chapter. Several other things are said likewise of this king, without any foundation, which the reader may see in the *Spanish* authors lately quoted.

(C) This *Geryon* was also called *Deabus*; and is surnamed, by the *Greeks*, *Chryso*, on account of the vast wealth which he had gotten by his plunders and robberies. He is said to have brought over a number of wild or *Scenite* *Arabs*, and to have been the founder of the city of *Girona* (4). *Diodorus Siculus* makes him the son of *Chrysaor*, or the golden sword, the son of *Medusa*. From his defeat is supposed to have sprung the fable of *Hercules's* overcoming him, and carrying his oxen away, spoken of in a former volume (5). *Justin*, indeed, makes mention of him, and of his vast herds of cattle (6); but *Strabo* and *Pliny* look upon the whole as mere fable (7); and *Arrian* further affirms (8), that there never was such a king as *Geryon* in *Spain*. *Aristotle* says, that *Hercules* (whom even some *Spanish* authors affirm to have been, not the *Egyptian*, but the *Greek* one, and son of *Jupiter* by (9) *Alcmena*) had been enticed over into *Spain* by the richness of its inhabitants: whence a law is pretended to have been enacted amongst them, forbidding the use or possession of silver, which was still in force some time after the coming thither of the *Carthaginians* (10). Something like this law was likewise among some of the antient *Gauls*, of which we shall speak in the next chapter.

(4) *Lib.* iv. c. 4. *Vid.* & *Aldece*, var. *antiquedad*. *lib.* iv. c. 18.

sub not. (6) *Hisp.* l. xlv.

(7) *Strab.* l. iii. *Plin.* l. iv. c. 22.

(8) *De gest. Alex. adag.*

(9) *Vid.* *Gerundenf. paralipom.* l. ii. *Ant. Nebrigenf.* & *al.*

(10) *Vasai chron.* *sub an. diluv.* § 39.

(5) See before, vol. ii. p. 356.

(6) *De gest. Alex. adag.*

(7) *Vasai chron.* *sub an. diluv.* § 39.

(8) *Vasai chron.* *sub an. diluv.* § 39.

(9) *Vasai chron.* *sub an. diluv.* § 39.

(10) *Vasai chron.* *sub an. diluv.* § 39.

total overthrow, and then overcame and slew them, one after another, in single combat. It is said, that the columns between the *Carpean* and *Abylean* mountains were set up in memory of this exploit. They had reigned, according to our authors, near forty years, when they received this overthrow, and were buried in the isle of *Caliz*^b. *Hercules*, who did not come so much to conquer that kingdom, as to deliver the world from tyrants and robbers, had no sooner overcome the three *Geryons*, than he made ready to pass into *Italy*, and left the government of *Spain* to his son,

Hispal. 9. *Hispal* (D), who built the city of that name, now called *Seville*, which was afterwards rebuilt and beautified by *Cesar*: and from *Hispal* began a new succession of *Spanish* kings. He is said to have reigned seventeen years, and to have left his kingdom to his son,

Hispan. 10. *Hispan*, or *Hispanus*, from whom the country took its name, which it hath preserved ever since. He began his reign in the year of the flood 607. and reigned thirty-one years, and is affirmed to have been a noble and magnificent prince (E), and to have made the city of *Caliz* his chief residenceⁱ.

Hercules. *Hercules*, hearing of his son *Hispan*'s death, returned into *Spain*, and reigned there from the year of the flood 639. to 658. Being grown very old, he bequeathed the *Spanish* kingdom to *Hesperus*, one of his captains and companions; and died, and was buried at *Gades*, *Caliz*, where that stately monument was erected to him, which we mentioned in a late note, and which became in high veneration, not only among the *Spaniards*, but was resorted to by most nations of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Afric* (F).

Hesperus. 11. *Hesperus*, from whom both *Spain* and *Italy* were called *Hesperia*, but the former, by way of distinction, *Hesperia Magna*, and his brother *Atlas*, surnamed *Italus*, had accompanied *Hercules* in all his excursions and conquests. Upon the death of that hero, *Hesperus* caused himself to be proclaimed his successor, as by his will and appointment. *Atlas*, who is supposed to have been left in *Italy*, upon the return of the other two in *Spain*, came thither also himself, and drove him out of his kingdom, in the year of the flood 669. after he had reigned there eleven years.

Atlas. 12. *Atlas*, after he had reigned ten years in *Spain*, is said to have returned into *Italy*, in order to drive his brother thence also; for it seems that fugitive prince was fled thither, and was so well received there, as to give him new cause of jealousy. Upon his departure he left the kingdom to his son,

Orus. 13. *Orus*, or *Sicorus* (G), who reigned forty-five years. He gave his name to the river *Sicoris*, now *Segre*, which falls into the *Iberus*, or *Ebro*; and was succeeded by his son,

Sicanus. 14. *Sicanus*, who had followed him from *Italy* into *Spain*; a prince said to have been liberal and magnanimous. He gave name to the river *Anas*, now *Ana*; reigned

^b GARIBAY, ubi sup. lib. iv. c. 12. ad fin.

ⁱ Id. ibid. in fin. c. 14.

(D) In this expedition it is pretended that our *Egyptian* hero introduced the idolatry and superstition of his country; to which another author adds the bloody rite of offering up human victims (11).

He had likewise two favourite companions with him, the one named *Zacynthus*, and the other *Baleon*; the former of whom gave his name to the famed city of *Zacynthum*, since *Saguntum* (12); and the other to the *Balearic* islands, now *Majorca* and *Minorca* (13).

Another ancient author, who was a *Spaniard* by birth, adds, that the *Tyrians* built a stately temple to this *Hercules*, which became famous, both for its antiquity and vast treasures (14).

(E) To him some ancient authors have falsely ascribed, among other sumptuous works, the aqueduct of *Segovia*, which was done by the emperor *Trajan*, and the *Pharus* or famed tower of *Cornunus*,

a maritime city in *Galicia*, which was erected in *Augustus*'s time (15).

(F) It is hardly worth the while to trouble our readers with the various sentiments of the learned concerning this famed hero; whether he was the *Egyptian*, *Phœnician*, or *Grecian Hercules*: especially as we have had occasion to speak of him in some former parts of this work, to which we must here refer our readers (16), as well as to what we shall have further occasion to speak of him in the next chapter.

(G) From this, and the two following princes names, *Sicanus* and *Sicleus*, it is supposed, that their proper names were *Orus*, *Anus*, and *Eleus*; and that the *Sic* was a titular prænomén: and this is further proved by *Anus* giving his name to the river *Ana*, and *Eleus* to that of *Eles* (17).

(11) *Laëlius*. l. i. c. 21.

(12) *Vid. Hieron. proœm. in epist. ad Galas.*

(13) *Luc. Flor. J. l. x.*

(14) *P. Mela, de. sũ. orb. l. iii. c. 6.*

(15) *Vid. Flor. Vaf. chronic. Garib. & al. ubi sup.*

(16) *See*

before, vol. iv. p. 409. 415. vi. p. 690, b. (W). vii. p. 121, d. 154. & seq. *Beuter. Vaf. Garibai, & al.*

(17) *Id. ibid. c. 24. Vid. An. Niebrig. hist. reg. cathol. Vaf. chronic. suban. diluv. 967. & al.*

a thirty-two years, during which he is said to have carried his successful arms into *Italy*, and *Sicily*, which was from him called *Sicania*, as it had been before, *Tinacria*, and since, *Sicily*, from his successor,

15. *Sicleus* succeeded his father, and reigned forty-four years, during which he *Sicleus* is said to have passed over into *Italy*, and performed very great feats, and to have assisted *Iafus*, the grandson of *Atlas*, by *Eleëtra* his daughter, who was then at high wars with *Dardanus*, about the succession to certain states in that country. In this prince's reign the *Deucalian* flood is said to have happened, and that *Moses* was then likewise performing his wonders before the hardened king of *Egypt*.

16. *Sicleus* was succeeded by his son *Lufus*, who had accompanied him in his *Lufus* wars in *Italy*. He is said to have been a brave prince, but vastly addicted to the heathenish superstitions that then prevailed. Some attribute the peopling of *Lusitania*, now *Portugal*, to him, from whom it was called by that name; others, to another *Lufus*, a chieftain and companion of *Bacchus*. We can affirm nothing certain about either. *Lufus* reigned thirty years, and was succeeded by,

17. *Ulus*, or *Sic-Ulus*, whom some make the son of *Lufus*, others of *Atlas*. He *Ulus* was so warlike a prince, kept such vast armies and fleets, that he was called the son of *Neptune*. He passed over into *Italy*, to assist those *Spanish* colonies, that had been settled there by *Atlas*, repressed their enemies there, peopled some countries in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, built some cities, and particularly the famed castle of *Alfino*; thence he passed into *Sicily*, to assist those *Spanish* colonies, which his predecessors had fixed there, and who, it seems, were sadly harassed by the other inhabitants of that island, which, from his great feats there, he called by his own name. He reigned about sixty years, and was succeeded, by what means can scarcely be guessed¹, by,

18. *Tesla*, an *African*, or *Libyan*, to whom, however, the *Spanish* historians give *Tesla* the character of a good and wise prince. Some of them affirm, that it was in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, that a colony of *Greeks*, from the island of *Zacynthus*, now *Jasanto*, came into *Spain* by sea; and, with his permission, settled in that part of it, which they called by the name of their native place, though they became afterwards better known by those of *Saguntini* and *Saguntines*. Here then is a new and different account of the foundation of that famed city and people, of whose valour and sad catastrophe we have spoken at large at the beginning of this volume¹; and this, if right, destroys what we mentioned a little higher concerning the origin, which is given them by other authors. Nothing can be advanced on either side but conjecture. As for *Tesla*, after a long reign of seventy-four years, he was succeeded by his son,

19. *Romus*, who reigned thirty-three years, and is supposed to have founded the *Romus* city of *Rome*, in the province of *Tarragona*, since called *Valentia*, from the *Romans* calling that city afterwards by this name, and enlarging and beautifying it, and making it the metropolis of it (H). In this prince's reign the *Phanicians* are said to have made their first entrance into *Spain*; and about the same time also the famed Greek *Bacchus comes* chieftain *Iacchus*, or *Bacchus*, surnamed *Liber Pater*, with a considerable army, not into *Spain*. so much with a design to conquer that country, as to spread his fame and colonies on this, as he had done on the other, side of the world, where he is said to have carried his conquests as far as the *Indies*. As he travelled through *Andalusia*, he built the famed city *Nebrisa*, in the province of *Batica*, since called *Veneria*, and now *Lebrina*, the native place of the learned *Antony Nebriffensis*, often quoted in this chapter; who says, on this head, that *Lufus* the son of *Bacchus* gave name to *Lusitania*, and that this expedition happened two hundred years before the destruction of *Troy*. *Romus* was succeeded by,

20. *Palatuus*, the supposed founder of the city of *Palentia*, or *Palantia*. This *Palatuus* prince had reigned about eighteen or nineteen years in great tranquillity, when a

¹ Id. c. 23. VAE. sub an. diluv. 893, & al.

¹ See before, p. 2. pass. 5, & seq.

(H) Others will have it, the people of that province built this famed city, and called it by that name, in honour of *Romus*; and that the *Greeks* called it *Rome*, and the *Latins* *Valentia*, as names of the same import in each language (18).

(18) Garib. nb. sup. c. 24. Id. ibid. c. 26.

Cæus defeated. famous warrior, named *Licinius Cæus*, raised a war against him, and deprived him, ^a according to some, of part, and, according to others, of his whole kingdom, and forced him to wander about from country to country, whilst he reigned uncontroubled, and encouraged all kinds of arts and handicraft trades, which, till then, had been much neglected in that country (I). At length *Palæus* found means to recover his kingdom from him, after he had possessed it thirty-six years; and gave him a total overthrow near mount *Cæus*, now *Montcayo*, so called from him, after this overthrow. Some pretend, that he was slain upon it; others, that he retired into *Italy*: however that be, *Palæus* reigned seventy years, and was succeeded by,

Erythræus. 21. *Erythræus*, in whose reign is placed the founding of the famed city of *Carthage*, of which we shall say no more here, having given an ample account of it in ^b a former volume ^m. He is said to have given name to the famed island of *Erythræa*, or *Erythia*, as it is called by *Mela* ⁿ and *Pliny* ^o, an island, which has been sought far and near ^p. We have endeavoured, at the beginning of this volume, to give the best account of its situation, to which we shall refer our readers ^q. *Erythræus* was the last of the line of *Tesla*, in which the monarchy had lasted two hundred and forty-five years, according to some; or an hundred and twenty-three, according to others ^r, including the forty-six years of *Licinius's* usurpation. He was succeeded by,

Gargoras. 22. *Gargoras*, surnamed *Mellicola*, because, as *Justin* hath it, he found out the use of honey, and cultivating of bees. He was a *Spaniard* by birth, a wise prince, ^c and a great promoter of industry. In his reign the famed city of *Troy* having been destroyed by the *Greeks*, of which, as well as its long siege, an account has been given in a former volume ^s, many of those warriors, who either did not care, or were hindered, by contrary winds, from returning into their own country, came and settled in *Spain*, and built cities in several parts of it, and, amongst them, those which the reader will find in the margin (K). To *Gargoras* succeeded, if we may believe *Justin* ^t,

Habis, his excellent reign. 23. *Habis*, his grandson, by a daughter, and a bastard, but in all other respects an extraordinary prince, whether we consider the many and surprising dangers he was obliged to go through, and from which he was delivered, as it were, by as ^d many miracles, or the beauty and talents of his person, or the many and signal benefits which the *Spanish* nation received from him during his reign, to which he was, such was his apparent merit, nominated by his grandfather in his life. The *Spaniards* at that time were still so very rude and uncivilized, that they knew nothing of the use of bread, or of cultivating the earth. It was he, it seems, that first taught them to plough their land with oxen, to sow and reap corn, to grind, knead, and bake it into bread. He likewise gave them many excellent laws, obliged them to live in towns, and appointed them seven courts of judicature in seven cities of his kingdom. Our author adds, that, after his death, his kingdom continued in his posterity during several centuries; but we must not thence suppose, that either he or ^e they, or indeed any of his predecessors, were masters of the whole country, but only of some considerable part, as we hinted a little higher, in speaking of their government. How long this last king reigned, who succeeded him, &c. what other

^m Vid. vol. vii. p. 657—660. ⁿ De situ, l. iii. c. 6. ^o PLIN. lib. iv. c. 23. ^p Conf. ^q Conf. sup. citat. & ARRIAN. cum mult. al. ^r Before, p. 246, (E). ^s Conf. ANT. NEBRICENS. ^t Lib. xlv. ^u Hist. l. xlv. ^v Vol. ii. p. 317—323.

(I) Some authors are so fond of raising the fame of this usurper, that they make him the first, who set about discovering the iron mines in *Spain*, and set up the fabrication of that metal. He might, perhaps, have given greater encouragement to this manufacture than any of his predecessors; but that they should have been such strangers in *Spain* to the working of so necessary a metal, is altogether improbable.

(K) *Tencer*, the son of *Telamon*, one of the first that came into *Spain*, settled in that part where the new *Carthage* was built, since called *Carthagena*, if

he was not the founder of it. From thence he passed into *Galicia*, and gave name to that canton (19). He is likewise said to have built the city of *Salmantica*, now *Salamanca*, in memory of his own native country; though *Stephen* of *Byzantium*, who calls it *Elmantica*, says nothing of his founding it. *Amphilochus*, a companion of *Tencer*, is said to have built that of *Amphiloque*, since called *Agua Caldas*, or hot waters, and now *Orense* in *Galicia*. *Diomedes* built *Tydo* on the banks of the *Minus*, now *Minna*, in memory of his father *Tydeus*. It retains still the name of *Tuy*, *Tuya*, and

(19) *Justin. ex Trog. l. xlv.*

a other kings reigned in other parts of *Spain*, and many other things relating to the ancient history of it, we are wholly left in the dark about, down to the coming of the *Carthaginians*, no ancient historian having left us any thing about it. Only this chasm is filled up, by some fabulous authors of theirs, with such stuff, as smells as rank of the fable, as what we have here in *England* from our own monkish books; we shall mention one or two of them, by way of sample:

IN the year after the flood 1250. that is, thirty-four years after the beginning of *Flabis's* reign, began, according to these authors, such an extraordinary drought, *A long and great drought.* that it did not rain in all *Spain* during the space of twenty-six years, insomuch that all the rivers of it, except the *Bætis* and the *Iberus*, were dried up, and the country become almost a desert, for want of inhabitants. If such a long and universal drought had really happened, it would rather be a wonder, that there were either man or beast alive in most parts of that vast country. They tell us, indeed, that about the same time a certain people, whom they call *Almonides*, came and settled in it; but, if so, is it not very strange, that no ancient author should have taken the least notice of it? for which reason the learned author, often quoted in this chapter, justly rejects both as fabulous. Fifty-seven years after, *Homer*, or, as his right name was, *Melesigenes*, travelled through *Spain* and *Italy*. This was before he lost his sight; and he, according to *Herodotus*, flourished an hundred and sixty-eight years after the *Trojan war*.

c ABOUT forty-two years after, the *Celtes*, or *Gauls*, are said to have come first into *Spain*, and, about twenty-years after, the *Rhodians*. Of the first it is affirmed, that they fought for some time with the *Spaniards*, or *Iberians*, as they were then called, about their settlements; but agreed at length upon a peace, and mutual friendship; so that they, from that time, became so blended with each other, by intermarrying, and living together, that they became as one people, under the name of *Celtiberians*. From which account we would observe by-the-by, that this could only be one of those colonies, which the *Celtes* in *Gaul* sent into the country: for more than one or two they sent from thence hither, as well as into other parts of *Europe*, as often as they were streightened for want of room, as we shall see in the next chapter. It is, therefore, very probable, that these colonies, coming into *Spain*, after a few battles or skirmishes, being found, by the inhabitants, to be originally of the same stock, having the same, or near the same language, religion, and customs, were readily admitted and blended with them. The *Rhodians*, who came thither by sea, landed at the foot of the *Pyrenean* mountains, and built there a city, to which they gave their name. It was a bishop's see till the time of the *Goths*, but is now reduced to a heap of ruins. About ten years after, happened that great fire, which spread itself all over that vast ridge of mountains called the *Pyrenees*, and, from thence, *Incendium Pyreneum*, or, as others will have it, more properly, that those mountains were thence called *Pyrenean*. This fire, we are told, was at first kindled by some shepherds, and burnt with such fierceness for many days, that it spread itself almost over that whole ridge. As for what they add, that the intenseness of the heat melted the silver in the mines, and made it boil up, and run down in rivulets along those hills, it is justly looked upon as fabulous by *Posidonius*, and by *Strabo* after him.

Year of the
Flood 1310.
Before Christ
1649.
The Gauls and
the Rhodians
settle in Spain.

Year of the
Flood 1300.
Before Christ
1699.

It must be owned, however, that *Spain* must have yielded extraordinary quantities of that metal, if what we read in *Aristotle* be not greatly exaggerated, that the *Phœnicians*, who are supposed to have come thither about the 1500th year of the flood, exchanged their naval commodities for such an immense weight of it, that their ships could neither contain, nor sustain its load, though they used it for

The Phœnicians carry off immense quantities of silver hence.

^a VAS. SUBAN.

^{*} A. NEMICENS. ubi sup.

[†] Vid. STRAB. l. iii.

[‡] DIOD. SICUL.

libl. lib. vi. LUCAN. HIERON. & al.

[§] DIOD. SICUL. l. vi. Vid & ARISTOT. de mirab. auscult.

^b Lib. iii.

Tuda. Some other places and colonies these, and a few more, gave name to; as *Astur* to *Asturias*, *Ulysses* to *Ulyssipona*, now *Lisbon*, where he built also a temple to *Pallas*. *Strabo* (20) calls this city *Ulixispolis*, or city of *Ulysses*. *Mnestheus* built and peopled the port, that bore his name, on the coasts of

Andalusia, near the city of *Gades*, or *Calix*; in which last, the *Andalusians* say, was a stately temple, built by the same warrior, which became in time famous, and much resorted to, for its oracle, from all the three parts of the world.

ballast, and made their anchors, and other iron implements, of silver ^c (L). These ^a are supposed to have likewise settled in Spain, and to have built several other cities, especially in *Bætica*, and to have had the mastery of the sea the space of forty-one years, after which they went and settled in the *Balearic* islands.

Other nations
that governed
in Spain.

BESIDES the *Tyrians*, *Egyptians*, and *Phœnicians*, already mentioned, who obtained footing and dominion in this country, *Eusebius* mentions ^d several other nations, who did the same before the coming in of the *Carthaginians*, such as the *Egyptians* a second time, who held the dominion of the sea thirty-five years, and built some cities, especially *Tarracona*, which they so called from *Tarraco* their leader. The *Milesians* are likewise affirmed, by the same author, to have held some government there the space of twenty-nine years. Next, the *Carians*, forty-eight years, from whom *Pto-*
lemy affirms the *Caristi* in Spain to be descended. The *Lesbians* succeeded them, ^b who built several cities, and governed, according to the same *Eusebius*, sixty-eight years. Then the *Phocians*, in the sixteenth year of *Tarquinius Priscus*, and held the government forty-eight years; and from thence went and settled on the south part of *Gaul*, and built the city of *Marseilles*, of which we shall have occasion to speak
In the next chapter. Lastly, *Nebuchadnezzar*, after the destruction of *Jerusalem*,
and conquest of *Judæa*, is affirmed by *Josephus* and *Strabo* to have reigned nine years in Spain^e, at the end of which it is said that he abandoned it to the *Cartha-*
ginians; though it is likely, that, as the *Spanish* writers affirm, a great part of
that vast host, which he had brought with him, settled there, and built cities and
castles, which they called by their own, or some *Chaldee* names, by which they may
be still traced up to their original ^f; but upon the whole it seems probable, that most,
if not all, of these nations, contented themselves with maritime parts, for the sake
of commerce, and the command of the sea, and penetrated but a little way into
the inlands, whilst these might enjoy their own laws and government, and be glad
to trade and barter with them, and so be less solicitous who were masters of the sea-
coasts, and parts adjacent, so they could but enjoy the benefit of their commerce,
and the produce of their own lands, in peace and quietness. If any of these stran-
gers were enticed, by the pleasantness and fruitfulness of the country, to settle
amongst the ancient inhabitants, whether this was done by permission and consent, ^d
or by force of arms, yet it could not be long before they became so blended with
each other, that nothing remained of their origin, but the names they gave to those
places, which they either built, or lived in. As for the *Celtiberi*, mentioned a little
higher, they increased so fast in that pleasant and healthy country, that they were
forced to have recourse to their old method of sending colonies abroad. Some of
them settled in *Lusitania*, where they founded several cities, and called them by
Celtic names (M); and from these colonies the *Lusitanians* had that of *Celtiberi* given
to them: hence *Diodorus Siculus* says, that of all the *Celtiberians* the *Lusitanian* were
the stoutest ^g. Another colony of them went into *Lætica*, where they likewise left
several cities, and other monuments of their settlement. The goodness of the cli-
mate, however, joined to their laborious exercises, and plain way of living, which
made them so stout and long-lived, may be justly esteemed one of the main causes
of their multiplying so fast, and being obliged to send abroad such frequent colo-
nies, a further proof of which we have in the long reigns of some of their monarchs
formerly mentioned; and we shall close this section with one more, in the person
of the famed *Arganthonius* king of the *Tartessii*, who is said to have reigned at *Gades*,

Nebuchadnezzar.

Celtiberians in
Lusitania.

Arganthonius,
his long life and
reign.

^a ARISTOT. & DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. ^d EUSEB. chron. Vid. & TARAPH. reg. Hisp. sub A. ant. C. 840.
^e Antiquit. l. x. c. 9. Geogr. lib. iv. ^f Vid. LIV. decad. iv. TARAPH. reg. Hisp. sub an. 571.
GARIBAI, lib. v. c. 4. VAS. sub an. U. C. 13. & 104. ^g Lib. vi.

(L) In this expedition some of their authors affirm the *Phœnicians*, who landed at *Tartessus*, to have built the city of *Gades*, or *Calix*, tho' *Strabo* affirms it to have been done on their third landing (21). Other authors ascribe the building of it to the *Tyrians* (22); but we shall refer our readers to what has been said of the foundation of that famed place, in a former volume (23). As for the cities of *Malaca* and *Abdera*, *Strabo* plainly says,

that they were built by the *Phœnicians* (24).

(M) Amongst these was the ancient city of *Segovia*, or *Segobia*, famous for its celebrated aqueduct, and afterwards for its woollen manufacture; and another of the same name, and built by another colony of *Celtiberians*, near *Corduba* in *Bætica*, and mentioned by *Caesar* in his commentaries; though the other was the more famed of the two.

(21) GARIB. antiq. Hisp. Vaf. Germ. & al. ubi sup.
sup. vol. vi. p. 730. a, b. (24) Lib. iii.

(22) Plutarch. in Scipion. & al. (23) Fid.

- a now *Cádiz*, full fourscore years^b, and to have died in the hundred and thirtieth, according to oneⁱ, or hundred and fortieth, according to another antient author^k, and is mentioned with admiration by others, for his long reign and life^l (N).

^b VALER. MAX. l. viii. c. 14.

ⁱ ASIN. PELL. ap. eund.

^k VAL. MAX. *ibid.*

^l HERODOT. ANACR. CICER. de senect. BASIL. epist. ad Nepot. Vid. & VAL. sub an. U. C. 129. GERUND. TARAPH. & al.

(N) *Herodotus* says, that he reigned in *Carteia*, al. *Tartea*; *Anacreon*, that he lived an hundred and fifty years; *Pliny* gives him but an hundred and twenty; but *Silius Italicus* three hundred; and, as for the time in which he lived, it is impossible to

ascertain it, some making him cotemporary with king *Siculus*, the seventeenth king in our list, in the year of the flood 1514 (25). Others bring him down as low as the 130th year of *Rome*, or of the flood 1692 (26).

(25) Lib. iii. *Taraph. sub an.* 1485.

(26) *Val. sub an. A. U.* 129.

SECT. IV.

Of the conquest of Spain by the Carthaginians and Romans, to the coming in of the Goths, and other northern nations.

- b THIS remainder of the *Spanish* history we give here in a separate section, not as designing to treat of it in that ample manner that it would deserve, were it detached from the body of this work, for that were a deviation from our original plan, and on the one hand draw us into superfluous repetitions, their conquest by the *Carthaginians* and *Romans* having been fully treated of in the history of those two nations; and, on the other, oblige us to anticipate those of the *Gauls*, *Goths*, *Vandals*, &c. who conquered, or settled in, any part of this country, and which will, therefore, more properly belong to their several histories in the subsequent chapters. Our motives, therefore, for separating this part from that which we gave in the last section, are, first, to distinguish the true from the fabulous, or
- c the certain from the uncertain: of this latter kind; at least, we look upon to be all that has been said in the last section, though, for the reasons mentioned at the beginning of it, we are forced to insert it in such a work as this; and, secondly, because in the remaining part of this volume, still to be spoken of, we shall proceed in a more succinct method, to avoid all such needless repetitions, or anticipations, and content ourselves with giving our readers a kind of chronological summary of those conquests, and refer our readers for those, which have already been spoken of in this work, to the volumes and pages, where they are to be seen at full length; and, for the rest, to the remaining chapters of this volume, where they will be more amply related.

- d THEIR conquest by the *Carthaginians* was, if we may believe *Justin* and *Orosius*, occasioned by the *Tyrians*. These, having founded the city of *Gades*, and built a temple to *Hercules*, were so infested by the jealous *Spaniards*, that they were forced to send to *Carthage* for help; which being readily granted, *Meseus* was sent with a fleet to their assistance, who suppressed their enemies, and enlarged their territories, by the reduction of several considerable places along that coast^m. The richness of the country soon invited them to pursue their conquests, and the vast treasures, both in gold and silver, with which that country then abounded, could not but be a strong temptation to themⁿ, as they were engaged in such a bloody and expensive war with the *Romans*. This was accordingly performed with great suc-
- e cess, at first, by their great general *Hamilcar Barca*, and afterwards by his sons *Asdrubal* and *Hannibal*, the latter of whom he took with him thither, when but nine years old, that he might inspire him with greater hatred against the *Romans*, and with a more eager desire to complete the reduction of this opulent country, to the subjection of *Carthage*. The success which these generals met with, both against the *Spaniards*, and against the *Romans*, whom they had courted to their assistance^o, has been so fully spoken of both in the *Roman* history^p, and in that of the

^m JUSTIN. ex Trog. l. ult.

ⁿ DIOD. Sic. lib. vi.

^o See before, vol. vi. p. 865, c. d. 868, & seq.

& vol. v. p. 58, c. 71, & seq.

^p See vol. iv. 675, & seq. 684, & seq. 690, & seq.

Year of the
flood 2770.
Before Christ
129.

Carthaginians^a, that we shall need only to refer our readers to those places here ^a cited in the margin. *Asdrubal* likewise, another of their generals, who was left there to command during *Hamilcar*'s return to *Carthage*, was no less successful there, and obliged the *Romans* to come to a treaty with him, of which the reader will find an account in a former volume^r, and which he inviolately kept with them whilst he lived; but his death, which happened soon after^t, and his being succeeded by young *Hannibal*, put an end to it: and that enterprising hero, tho' then but twenty-six years of age, began the war afresh, and laid siege to the famed city of *Saguntum*. We have given already a full account of that siege, and the sad catastrophe of its brave inhabitants, and shall refer our readers to it^l. But *Hannibal* having undertaken his fatal expedition into *Italy*^u, the *Carthaginian* affairs began ^b to decline apace, and their forces to receive many consecutive overthrows here, both by sea and land^v, especially under *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, who, being defeated by *Scipio*, was forced to retire to *Gades*^x; where, being again defeated at sea, and, to complete his misfortunes, betrayed by *Masinissa*, he was reduced to such a desperate state, that, in revenge, he committed such horrid cruelties, as rendered him and his nation odious to the *Spaniards* and *Romans*^y. All this while the two *Scipios* not only gained ground against them by these frequent defeats, but by some signal instances of their politeness rendered themselves amiable to the *Spaniards*, as his enemies were become hateful to them^z. At length two decisive battles, which he won over them, were attended with the retaking of *Saguntum*, which had been ^c rebuilt by *Hannibal*. Here he caused the *Turdetani*, who were found there, to be all sold for slaves, for having joined *Hannibal* against that faithful city^a. We shall not repeat here the circumstances of the death of those two generals; which was like to have quite altered the posture of affairs, had not the brave *Marcus* recovered that great loss by a bold and desperate act, and with the few troops, which he could gather up, after the loss of those two battles, surprised and burnt the *Carthaginian* camp, which occasioned, in the confusion that then reigned, the deaths of thirty-seven thousand of them, besides near two thousand more, who were taken prisoners by him^b. He was succeeded by young *Scipio*, who, though at that time but twenty-four years of age, had been unanimously chosen proconsul of *Spain*, ^d and came thither with a reinforcement of ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse. His wonderful success there, the immense spoil he got at the taking of *New Carthage*, his singular behaviour and continence towards a beautiful female captive, and his generous refusal of the vast ransom, which her parents offered to him, gained him the affections of the *Spaniards* to such a degree, that they looked upon him as a demigod, and began every-where to revolt from the *Carthaginians*^c. Their generals made several vain efforts to stop the progress of this young hero, and were as often defeated by him^d; as were also *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, who had revolted from him^e: at length, having thus far reduced the *Carthaginians*, he resolved on a descent into *Africa*, to oblige them to abandon *Spain*. The success of this expedition being foreign to this *Spanish* history, except that he actually forced them out of this country, and brought it under the *Roman* yoke, we shall refer our readers to those places, where a full account is given of both^f.

Year of the
flood 2793.
Before Christ
206.

Strip of its
mines and
treasures.

THE *Romans* being thus become masters of this rich and noble country, or at least of a considerable part of it, by the expulsion of the *Carthaginians*, one of their first cares was, to seize on all its valuable mines, especially those of silver and gold^g, and to strip it of its immense wealth; and how considerable this was, may be guessed by the sketch we shall give in the next note (A), of the prodigious quantities which their

^a Vol. vi. 865, & seq. Vol. vii. 1, & seq. ^r Vol. iv. p. 686, e, & seq. Vol. vi. 865, & seq. ^t Ibid. 690, f, & seq. ^u Vol. iv. 692, b. vii. p. 3, & seq. ^v See vol. iv. p. 690, & seq. ^w See vol. vii. p. 20, c, d. 46, pass. 48, e, f. 49, a, b. 63, b. 68, & seq. ^x Ibid. 69, & seq. 71, & seq. 77, & seq. ^y Ibid. 78—80. ^z Ibid. p. 60, & seq. 62, e, f. ^a See vol. iv. 708, f. 722, e. ^b Ibid. p. 725, & seq. ^c Ibid. p. 730—732. Vol. vii. p. 59, & seq. ^d Vol. iv. 734, a—c. 737, & seq. ^e Ibid. 739. ^f Ibid. p. 740, & seq. Vol. vii. p. 63, & seq. ^g See also our chronology of Carthage, from the year 661, to 684. Vol. vi. p. 717, & seq. ^h See 1 Maccab. viii. 3, & seq. Liv. Oroz. &c.

(A) Thus we are told (1), that *Scipio* above-mentioned, upon his return to *Rome*, carried with him fourteen thousand three hundred and forty-two pounds of silver, besides an immense quantity of coin,

(1) Livy, decad. 4. lib. i. ii. & iii.

a their prætors, even by the confession of their own authors, carried out of it, and brought into the public, as well as into their own treasury : but as it would be impossible to enter into a detail of all those transactions that happened during their *Roman* bondage, without repeating all that has been said in their history, in the foregoing volumes, we must in this, as well as in the subsequent chapters, refer our readers to what has been already said there ; and only add here one or two remarkable events, which have not yet been taken notice of, or but lightly touched upon. One of them is the grand embassy, which the *Celtes* and *Spaniards* sent out of this country to *Alexander the Great*, to congratulate him upon his vast successes, to beg his amity, and that he would send proper persons to adjust some differences that were amongst them, that is, in all likelihood, between some of their petty kings. This embassy, it seems, was highly pleasing to that conqueror, who heard of those nations for the first time, and, having granted their request, sent them very honourably home. *Orosius* tells us, that the head of this embassy was called *Maurinus*.¹

Embassy to Alexander.

THE next is that noble push which was made by the *Celtiberians* in *Lusitania*, to suppress the *Roman* tyranny, and, if possible, to drive them further, if not quite out of *Spain*. What their success might have been, had not their leader *Virgatus*, whom *Florus* calls a shepherd, and *Orosius* a banditto, been dispatched by the treachery of *Servilius Cæpio*, who hired that general's guards to assassinate him, may be easily guessed by the dispatch he had made in crossing the *Durius*, *Iberus*, and *Tagus*, seizing on *Gallicia*, and some other provinces, and putting all the *Roman* colonies to fire and sword ; but his untimely death put an end to all farther opposition, it being found then so dangerous to head an army against so powerful and treacherous a nation as the *Romans* shewed themselves on this occasion². How those two brave brothers, *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, tared, for daring to oppose them some time after, need not be here repeated³, any more than the dreadful catastrophe of *Numantia*⁴, *Saguntum*⁵, and some other cities and people, for daring to defend their country against them. By these cruel and treacherous means these *Roman* invaders so far suppressed that noble love of liberty, for which this nation was justly famed, that very few attempts were afterwards made for regaining it ; and those did prove so unsuccessful, or, to speak more properly, were so severely punished, that it quite deterred them from even betraying the least hope or desire after their ancient freedom, till at length they were quite forced to submit to all their

¹ ARRIAN. gest. Alex. M. lib. vii. seq. Id. ibid. FLOR. l. liv. ² Vol. vii. p. 2—6.

³ Lib. iii. c. 20. ⁴ See before, p. 71. 73.

⁵ SIL. ITAL. OROS. lib. v. c. 8, & Vol. iv. p. 787, & seq.

coin, cloaths, corn, arms, and other valuable things. *L. Lentulus* is said to have brought away a still much larger treasure, viz. forty-four thousand pounds of silver, and two thousand five hundred and fifty of gold, besides the money which he divided among his soldiery. *L. Manlius* brought with him twelve hundred pounds of silver, and about thirty of gold. *Corn. Lentulus*, after having governed the hither *Spain* two years, brought away one thousand five hundred and fifteen pounds of gold ; and of silver two thousand, besides thirty-four thousand five hundred and fifty denarii in ready coin ; whilst his colleague brought from further *Spain* fifty thousand pounds of silver.

What is still more surprising, is, that these immense sums, amounting in all to one hundred and eleven thousand five hundred and forty-two pounds weight of silver, four thousand and ninety-five of gold, besides coin, and other things of value, were brought away within the short space of nine years ; for just so much time elapsed between the first and the last of these *Roman* prætors (1) ; and just after they had been as severely fleeced, in all likelihood, by their other friends the *Carthaginians*. These few instances shall suffice to shew, how rich

this country must then have been, and what an immense treasure it yielded to their conquerors ; for though these last never slackened their hands, but kept still on bringing fresh supplies from thence, yet we do not find, that it was at all exhausted. On the contrary, it was this prodigious richness of the country that invited the northern nations many centuries after to come and seize upon, and drive the *Romans* out of it, as we shall see in some subsequent chapters.

We are, indeed, told by *Strabo*, that when the *Carthaginians* first came thither, they found silver in such amazing plenty, that their utensils, and even managers, were made of it (2) ; inasmuch that *Poſidonius* said of this country, that *Pluto*, the god of riches, had his residence in the bowels of it (3). And *Pliny* mentions several rich mines of silver dug there by the *Carthaginians*, one of which, called *Bebel*, from the finder of it, yielded *Hannibal* three hundred pounds of silver per day (4). In a word, most ancient authors have celebrated this country for its richness to such a degree, that it hath only exposed it the more to the invasion of foreigners far and near.

(1) *Vid. Vaf. chronie. ab an. urb. 549. ad an. 558.* (2) *Lib. xxxiii. c. 6.*

(3) *Lib. iii.*

(4) *Ap. eund. ibid.*

laws, customs, and religion; and, in a word, to be wholly romanized after their own arbitrary will. However, it is plain, that further Spain was not quite subdued till the fourth consulate of *Marius*, A. U. 652. nor the *Celliberians* till five years after, two years after *Dolabella* had triumphed over the *Lusitanians*°. The rest is said to have been conquered by *Augustus*, as we have formerly hinted.

We shall conclude this chapter with a list of the *Spanish* prætors, as far as *Livy* has gone with them, and afterwards of the emperors, under whose government Spain continued from *Augustus* to *Honorius*, in the beginning of whose reign the *Romans* were driven out of it by the northern nations, whose history will follow in due time; by which means the reader will easily come at the remainder of the *Spanish* bondage under both, without our being forced to repeat what has been already said in the *Roman* history, or anticipating upon what more properly belongs to those of the *Goths*, *Vandals*, &c. hereafter; but as we shall but barely mention those *Spanish* prætors and emperors, without entering into any further particulars of their reigns, we shall give the list of them in the following note (B), and so pass over to the *Gauls*. But, before we leave *Spain*, we beg leave to add, that tho' the *Romans* carried off such immense quantities of gold and silver out of it, as was hinted in the last note, they still left enough behind in it to maintain their numerous armies and colonies, to build great cities, castles, forts, and particularly schools, and academies, for all kind of learning and exercises; to which we may add many other stately edifices, which were there reared by their prætors, consuls, and especially by their emperors; all which served either to allure the *Spaniards* to the *Roman* yoke, or to deter them from shaking it off.

° Oros. ubi sup. PLUT. in Mar.

(B) After *Scipio* above-mentioned had expelled the *Carthaginians*, Spain was governed by the following prætors; viz.

Hither Spain by

L. Lentulus
Q. Fabius Butanus
Cato the censor
P. Cor. Scipio
C. Flaminius
M. Babius Pamphilus
L. Emil. Paulus
M. Fulv. Nobilior
L. Manlius
Quint. Crispinus
A. Terent. Varro
Q. Fulv. Flaccus
T. Sempronius
M. Titinius
P. Licin. Crassus
Ap. Claud. Cento
P. Fur. Philo
Cn. Fab. Buteo
M. Jun. Pennus

Further Spain by

L. M. Acidinus
Q. M. Thermus
Ap. Cl. Nero
Sext. Digittus
M. Fulv. Nobilior
A. Attil. Serranus
C. Flaminius
Cn. Man. Vulfo
C. Catinus
C. Calpur. Piso
P. Sempronius
P. Manlius
L. Posthumus
T. Fonteius Capito
M. Cornal. Scipio
Not mentioned by *Livy*
Cn. Servil. Capio
M. Manlius
Sp. Lucretius.

After them the senate reduced the country under one prætor, in the consulships of P. Licin. Crassus, C. Cass. Longinus, an. urb. 583. which continued so only under the two following ones; viz.

C. Marcellus
Publ. Fentius.

After whom it was again divided, and governed by Cn. Fulvius C. Licinius Nerva.

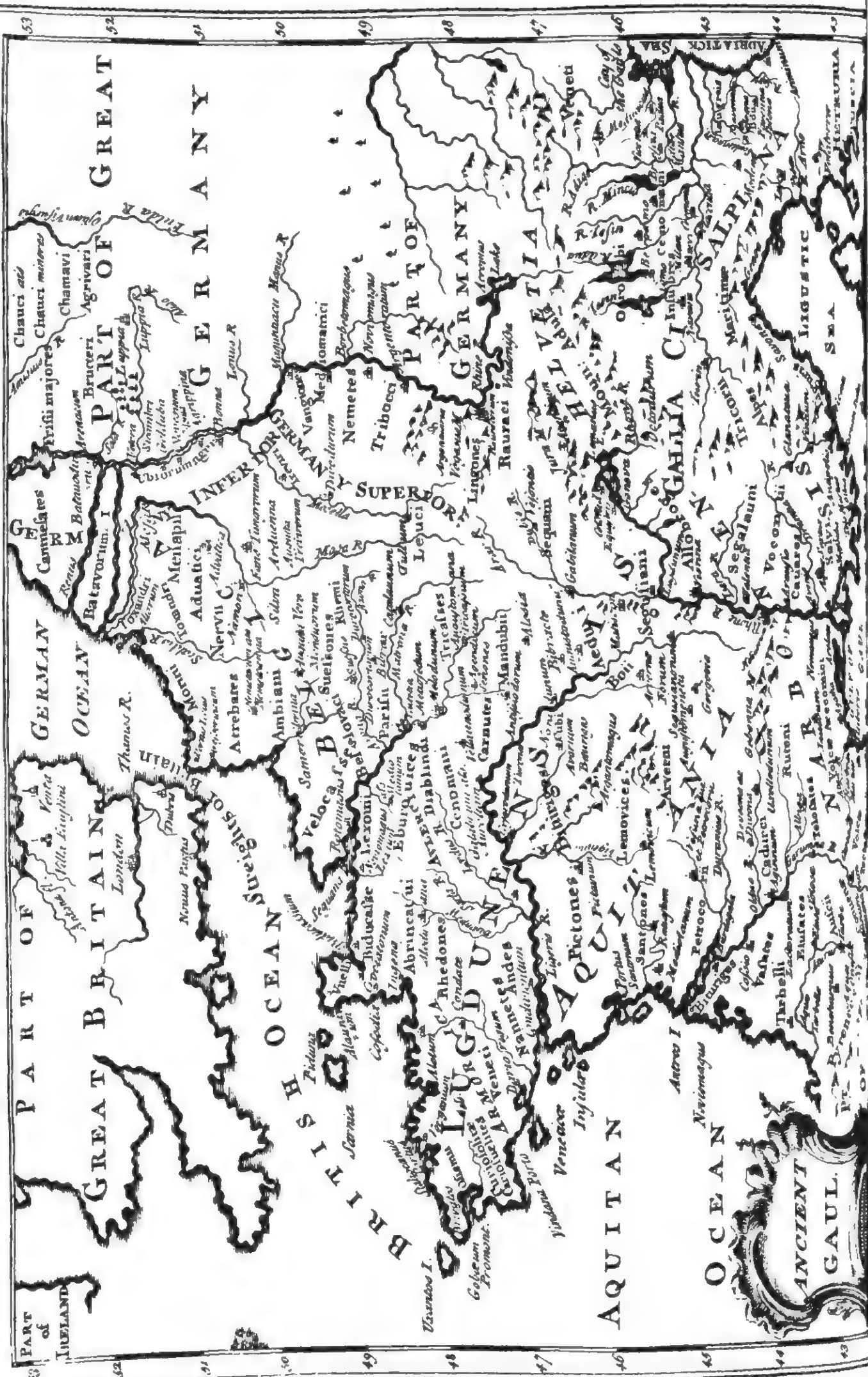
Thus far *Livy*; and from this time, viz. A. U. 701. Spain became a consular province, under the consul-

ship of Q. Fulvius and T. Annius; and was governed by them, and their proconsuls and proprætors, as we learn from *Florus* and *Orosius*.

The emperors are as follow:

1. Julius Cæsar
2. Augustus
3. Tiberius
4. Caligula
5. Claudius
6. Nero
7. Galba
8. Otho
9. Vitellius
10. Vespasian
11. Titus
12. Domitian
13. Nerva
14. Trajan
15. Adrian
16. Antoninus Pius
17. M. Aurelius
18. Commodus
19. Pertinax
20. Julian
21. Severus
22. Caracalla
23. Macrinus
24. Heliogabalus
25. Alexander
26. Maximinus
27. Balbinus
28. Gordianus

29. Philip
30. Decius
31. Gallus
32. Emilianus
33. Valerianus
34. Gallienus
35. Claudius II.
36. Quintillus
37. Aurelianus
38. Tacitus
39. Florianus
40. Probus
41. Carus
42. Numerianus
43. Carinus
44. Diocletian
45. Galerius
46. Constantine
47. His three sons
48. Julian II.
49. Jovian
50. Valentinian
51. Valens
52. Gratian
53. Theodosius
54. Arcadius
55. Honorius.



C H A P. XI.

The antient state of the Gauls, to their conquest by Julius Cæsar, and from thence to the irruption of the Franks.

S E C T. I.

The origin of the Gauls, and extent of their country.

^a **T**HE Gauls were certainly descended from the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*, as has been fully shewn in some former volumes^a, or, to speak more properly, were the same people, under a different and more modern name, given them, in all probability, by some of their neighbours, whilst they still retained their primitive one of *Gomerai*, or descendants of *Gomer*, as those still do, who retain their antient language in its purity, especially the northern *Welsh*. Other names they were known by, such as they either seem to have assumed upon some particular occasions, or such as other nations thought fit to give them; of all which the reader may see a specimen in the following note (A). The name therefore of *Gaul*, *Galli*, and *Gallia*, is not only a foreign one, but of a recenter date, as are likewise those other appellatives, by which ^b *Julius Cæsar*^b, and other antient authors, distinguish one part of their country from another. Such are those, for instance, of *Cisalpine* or *Citerior*, *Transalpine* or *Uterior*, and *Subalpine*, which was situate at the foot of the *Alps*^c. The inhabitants however were formerly better known by the name of *Celtes*^d, and the country, in the whole, by that of *Celto Gallia*^e, of which name we have given, in a former volume^f, the best etymon we could find. *Cæsar* afterwards distinguished the whole country under the three following names, viz. *Belgia*, *Aquitania*, and *Gallia Propria*, or that which, according to him, was chiefly inhabited by the *Celtes* or *Gauls* (B). This last was further

^a See vol. i. p. 166. ii. p. 245, & seq.^b Comment. l. i. c. 1, &c.^c PLUT. in Cæs. & Marcel.

PLIN. hist. l. xvi. c. 11. STRAB. MELA, CLUVER. & al.

^d See PAUSAN. in Attic. c. 3.^e PROL.

l. ii. c. 7. DIOD. SIC. l. xxxix. & alib.

^f Vol. ii. p. 245, & seq. pass. and notes.

(A) Of the first kind we may reasonably reckon all those, which are of *Celtic* extraction; such as those of *Celte* and *Gaul*, which signify *brave* and *warlike*, *Armoric*, *maritim*, and the like. Even that of *Belga*, which signifies *fierce* and *quarrelsome*, might have been given to that canton by their brethren and neighbours, on account of their retaining their original fierceness, from which the rest had polished themselves by their commerce and intercourse with other nations; those of *Cis*, *Trans*, and *Subalpine*, from their situation on either side of the *Alps*; that of *Celto-Scythians* from their being neighbours to, and intermixed with, that nation; that of *Celtiberians* to those that were seated on the other side the *Pyrenees*.

As they spread themselves, by degrees, farther and wider from each other, and their original tongue split itself into a great number of dialects, their appellatives became so numerous, and so vastly different from it, that it is with great difficulty they can be traced to their fountain-head. We shal' therefore venture no farther, than upon such ones as carry a kind of certainty of their extract, and refer such of our readers, who are curious of such etymons, to the authors quoted in the margin (1). He may likewise read that vast variety of names in *Strabo*, *Pro-*

temy, *Mela*, *Cæsar's* commentaries, *Diodorus Siculus*; and other antient authors.

(B) His words are these (1): "The whole country of *Gaul* is divided into three parts, the first of which is inhabited by the *Belge*, the second by the *Aquians*, and the third by those whom we call *Gauls*, but, in their own tongue, are called *Celtes*. All these have their language, manners, and customs different." The meaning of which words is generally taken to be, that he speaks here of those parts, which remained as yet unconquered by the *Romans*, and which retained still their antient language and customs; whereas those which were already subdued, had altered both by that time, to such a degree, as to appear to him different from the rest; such was, for instance, that part, which was called *Togata*, from their having taken up the *Roman* dress, and, in all likelihood, several other of their customs, and, by their intercourse with them, might have very much altered their dialect from the rest.

One thing is very remarkable, that *Cæsar* makes this province, which he likewise calls *Cisalpine*, to begin at the foot of the *Alps*, and to have extended itself along the *Po*, as far as the *Adriatic* sea, and

(1) *Bochart. phaleg. Scalig. thes. temp. Cluver. introd. Pexron. antiq. des Celtes. Rowland, Mona Antiq. Pellouzier hijl. des Celtes. Hottoman. Franco-Gall. & al. mss.*

(2) *Cæs. bell. Gall. l. i. c. 1.*

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the

further distinguished into *Comata*, whose inhabitants wore long hair; *Brachata*, from a their wearing breeches; and *Togata*, from the *Roman toga* being worn there. We shall endeavour to settle the limits of each of these in the following paragraph, and refer our readers, for the other names by which it was occasionally distinguished; such as that of *Armorica*, from its lying along the sea-coasts; of *Aquitania*, from its abundance of water; *Cis* and *Transpadana*, and some others; to the account given of them at the entrance of the *Roman* history above quoted. All that needs be added here is, that the words *Celte* and *Gaul*, signifying, in the antient language, brave and warlike, that of *Belga*, fierce or quarrelsome, that of *Armoric*, maritime; these names were, in all probability, given them by other nations. As for those of *Cimmerians*, *Cimbrians*, *Cumbrians*, and the like, they are plainly a corruption of their original one of *Gomerians* or *Gomerai*, as those of *Galatians* and *Cello-Galatians* were of *Cello-Gaul*. b

As for the *Galatia* or *Cello-Græcia* of *Asia Minor*, in which these *European Gauls* were settled by *Nicomedes*, who had called them thither to his assistance, we shall, as much as we can, refer our readers to what has been said of them in some preceding volumes, to avoid unnecessary repetitions. All that need be added here is, that this province had *Cappadocia* on the east; *Bithynia* on the west; *Pamphylia* on the south; and the *Euxine* on the north. Here *St. Paul* founded a church, to which he directed that epistle, which is still known by the name of the epistle to the *Galatians*, and was written to reduce them from those *Jewish* observances, to which some false teachers of the circumcision had debauched them, and to confirm them in the true gospel liberty, which had been preached to them. We know little else of these *Galatians*, besides what has been said in the two volumes last quoted, except that we read in the second book of the *Maccabees* of a signal overthrow, which the *Jews* gave them in the province of *Babylon*, where these, with a small army of eight thousand men, defeated and killed an hundred and twenty thousand of the former. The text says nothing further concerning this signal victory, nor about the time in which it happened; so that we are left in the dark, whether it speaks there of the *Galatians* settled in the province we are speaking of, or, which is more probable, of the *Gauls* themselves, who had by this time, if not long before, spread themselves all over *Asia*; for it must be observed here, that the name of *Galatai* was indifferently given, especially by *Greek* authors, to the one and to the other. But to return to the antient *Gaul*: c

The extent of Gaul.

We have already shewn in the history of the antient *Celtes*, that they were possessed of the greatest part of *Europe*. There is scarce a province, or even a corner of it, in which they have not left some evident monument of themselves, either in the names of cities and towns, cantons and provinces, or of their rivers, lakes, mountains, promontories, and such-like. In every part of it, where either the *Phœnicians*, *Carthaginians*, or *Romans*, sent their invading bands, there they are affirmed by antient writers to have found the *Celtes* or *Gauls* already settled*: not that they do expressly mention them by those two names, for we have just observed on what account they had several other appellatives given them, but yet such as plainly appear, from the conformity of their language, religion, customs, &c. to have meant one and the same nation. However, we will not venture to say, that they were all of the same *Celtic* extract, that inhabited those parts of *Europe*, either towards the sea-side, such as *Spain*, *Portugal*, and the *French* coasts, along the *Mediterranean*, or towards the north-east, where they seem to have been so blended with the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*, that it is next to impossible to assert their boundaries on that side. All that we pretend to conclude from those antient writers, who have written most clearly and knowingly on this head, is, that the *Celtes* or *Gauls* plainly appear to have been f

* Vol. iv. p. 406, b, c. & seq.

See vol. iii. p. 522, d. & vol. iv. p. 755, e, f.

Vol. ii. p. 245,

Vid. DIOD. SIC. l. v. LUCIAN. l. vi. SIL. ITAL. l. iii. APPIAN. PTOL. & al.

the *Rubicon* (3); whereas *Strabo*, who quotes his commentaries (4), and *Diodorus Siculus* (5), plainly intimate, that the *Gauls* or *Celtes* inhabited all those parts from the *Alps* to the *Pyrenees*; and we shall shew by-and-by, that they extended even beyond the latter, and possessed the greatest part of *Spain* and *Portugal*.

However, the most that can be inferred from the passage quoted out of *Cæsar*, is, that he found *Gaul* so divided at his coming thither; and that, by this time, their language, manners, &c. were grown very different, though originally one and the same, as they were originally one and the same people.

(3) *Bell. Gall.* l. iv. *Mel.* l. iii. c. 2.

(4) *Strab.* l. v.

(5) *Diod. Sic.* l. v.

- a the first, that peopled and possessed themselves of, or claimed a dominion over them. After the general dispersion, that followed the flood, other nations might probably come afterwards, some by sea, others by land, and have been permitted to settle amongst them, there being more want of inhabitants than of room in those early days, and in regions so remote from the place of their first migrations, as we have formerly hinted at the beginning of this *universal history*, and elsewhere ¹.

- THE greatest difficulty, as we hinted in the last chapter, is to prove the *Gauls*, ^{Gauls in Spain and Portugal.} or *Celtes* rather, to have been settled in *Spain* and *Portugal* before any other nation; first, because they were here called by the name of *Iberians*, or, at most, *Celtiberians*, from which some are apt to conclude the former to have been the name of the first inhabitants of that part, and the latter to have been given to the *Celtes*, who came over the *Pyrenees*, and settled amongst them. And, secondly, because *Varro* ^m mentions no less than five different nations, that were found there, when the *Romans* first invaded that country. These were, according to him, the *Iberians*, *Persians* (C), *Phœnicians*, *Celtes*, and *Carthaginians* (D). As to the first, we have formerly shewn, that the word *Iberian* signified, in the antient *Celtic*, any people, country, or place, that was situate over, or on the other side of, a sea, river, ridge of mountains, and the like ⁿ; so that these might be naturally called *Iberians*, on account of their situation over the *Pyrenees*, by those that lived on this side; and *Celtiberians*, to distinguish them from those nations they were blended and intermixed with there. As to what is objected out of *Varro*, we have had occasion to hint, in the history of antient *Spain*, that neither the *Tyrian* or *Phœnician* colonies, nor those of the *Carthaginians*, came thither till a long time after the *Celtes* or *Gauls* had been settled there, and peopled a great part of that country. All this seems self-evident, first, from the consentient testimony of antient authors, the greatest part of whom expressly affirm it ^o, and make these inhabitants to be of the same extract with those, that filled the hither parts of *Europe*, to all whom they give the same common name of *Celtes* and *Gauls*, and sometimes the more antient one of *Cymmerians* and *Cymbrians* ^p. And, secondly, from those traces and monuments they have left in almost every canton and province of that country; such as the names of seas, rivers, mountains, cities, and the like, all ^d which are manifestly of *Celtic* extraction.

Italy cannot be supposed to have been long unpossessed by them, if they were not ^{In Italy,} the first peoplers of it, concerning which we shall refer our readers to what has been said on that head in some former volumes ^q. It was indeed too fair a spot not to invite such a warlike and populous nation thither, had it been ever so well peopled beforehand; but, we think, we have made it at least very probable, that they came thither sooner than any other; for if the *Humbri* or *Umbri* really were, as they are affirmed by many authors to have been ^r, the *aborigines* or antientest people of *Italy*, and they were descended from the *Celtes* (E), as their name, and other concurring cir-

¹ Vol. i. p. 177, & seq. vol. ii. p. 241, & seq.

APPIAN. DIODOR. &c. ubi sup.

& alib. EPHOR. apud Strab. l. iv. Vide & PELLOUTIER. hist. Celt. l. i. c. 4.

SICUL. l. v. & al.

PLIN. DEO HALICAR. & al.

^m PLIN. nat. hist. l. iii. c. 1. Vide & LUCIAN.

ⁿ Vol. ii. p. 241, & seq.

^o HERODOT. l. ii. c. 33. l. iv. c. 49.

^p STRAB. ubi sup.

^q See vol. ii. p. 246, & seq. & vol. iv. p. 407, & seq.

^r FLOR. l. i. c. 17.

(C) As it doth not appear from any antient author, that the *Persians* sent any colonies into this country, it is somewhat difficult to guess, who these were, whom our author mentions with the other four. If we may be permitted to offer our conjecture, the name being of *Celtic* extract, and signifying *severed* or *divided*, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that it was given to some tribe or canton of this nation, on account of their rupture or difference from the rest, either in their customs, laws, and such-like, or for retaining their old ones, whilst these had altered theirs, in complaisance to the other nations they were intermixed with.

(D) We are not without some collateral proofs of this. The *Phœnicians*, as distinct from the *Carthaginians*, were the antient *Tyrians* (6); and these are known to have sent a colony, and to have built a famous temple to *Hercules*, in the isle of *Gades*,

and to have founded several considerable cities in *Spain* (7). And as to the *Carthaginians*, who were nearest neighbours to it, we have seen likewise, in a former volume, how early they invaded and settled in it (8).

(E) *Pliny* derives their name from the Greek *ὄμβρος*, which signifies a *shower*; because they had been dislodged from their country by a flood, occasioned by violent showers (9). But this etymon is far-fetched and forced, unless we will admit, that it carried the memory of their escaping the universal deluge with it; in which case it must be supposed, that they came early into those parts, and set up some monuments of their deliverance there. But as to the name of *Umbrians* or *Humbrians*, it seems rather a softening of the original one of *Gomerians* or *Cymbrians*.

(6) Strab. l. i. sub init. Mel. l. iii. c. 6. See also vol. i. p. 393, pass. & (I), (K).

p. 658, c. d. p. 690, b. p. 730, a, b.

(8) Vol. vi. p. 729, b, c, & alib.

(9) See vol. vi. Nat. hist. l. iii. c. 4.

cumstances,

circumstances, seem plainly to intimate^a, then it will scarcely be doubted, that they must have entered and peopled that country very early, when we recollect what dreadful devastations the *Hetrurians* made among them, and how many hundreds of their towns and cities they destroyed in that invasion, which they made upon them, and for the further particulars of which, we refer our readers to a former volume^c.

WE shall shortly come to speak of the *Germans*, and other northern nations, as well as of the isles of *Great Britain*, *Ireland*, *Ice-land*, and others less considerable, all which do plainly appear to have been first discovered and peopled by the *Gauls* or *Celtes*. As for the *Germans*, they were so like the *Celtes* in their language, religion, and customs, except, as *Strabo* observes^b, their retaining some of their original fierceness, which was doubtless owing to their vicinity and intermixture with the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*, that they seem to have been one and the same nation; and this our author thinks to be the occasion of their being called *Germans* (F). We shall find a much properer etymon for that name in the sequel. What made us mention it here, was as a proof, that *Germany* was part of the *Celtic* or *Gaulish* territories, at least as far as the *Rhine*^w, if not as far as the *Danube*^x, though, as we have already observed, all that inhabited the countries between these two great rivers, were very much intermixed with the *Scythians*, *Sarmatians*, and other northern (G) nations. All that needs be added here is, that the *Helveti*, *Rætii*, *Norici*, and *Pannonians*, of whom we have given an account in a former volume^y, are sometimes called *Celtes*, and sometimes *Gauls*, indifferently; and that their troops were still distinguished by the name of *Celtic* and *Gaulish* legions in *Aurelian's* time^z, as were also those that lived along the foot of, or upon, the *Alps* themselves.

UPON the whole then it appears evidently, that the antient *Gauls* or *Celtes* were possessed of the far greatest part of *Europe*; that the *Mediterranean* on the south, the *Atlantic* ocean on the west, the *British* and northern on the north-west, were the boundaries of their country; and that they extended towards the north as far as *Scandinavia*, *Polonia*, and *Muscovy*; though these three nations, as well as those that lived betwixt the *Rhine* and *Danube*, were intermixed with a multitude of other people, of the greatest part of whom we know but little, except their names. And thus much may suffice for the extent and limits of antient *Gaul*. How they came afterwards to be reduced within that narrow compass, in which we find them when the *Romans* first invaded them, may be easily gathered from what has been already said in the *Roman* history, and will further appear in the sequel of this.

How they came
first into Eu-
rope.

IN the mean time it will not be improper, before we come to fix them according to that epocha, to inquire, how this antient nation came at first to spread itself, as we have shewn they did, all over *Europe*; that is, whether they advanced by gradual steps from the place of their first dispersion, which we formerly fixed in *Phrygia*^a; or whether they came thither by sea, and, landing at first on some of the *Italic* or *Mediterranean* shores, dilated themselves from thence as far and wide as we find they did. Either hypothesis has its difficulties. If that of *Berosus* and his followers could be credited, that *Gomer's* sons settled themselves in several parts of *Spain* and *Italy* so early as an hundred and forty-two years after the flood, the gradual migrations will hardly be thought quick enough to have extended themselves to such vast tracts of ground in so short a time; and it will be more natural to suppose, that they sailed thither from *Lesser Asia*. But then it will be equally difficult to imagine, how they could, in the short space of an hundred and forty-two years, become such expert mariners, as this supposes them to have been; and, if we allow them a longer space for making themselves so far masters of navigation, they may be as reasonably

^a Compare vol. ii. p. 246, d, e. and vol. iv. p. 416, c. ^b Vol. ii. ubi sup. ^c Lib. iv. & vii. w Diodor. l. xxxviii. & seq. Ptol. l. ii. c. 9. ^x Tacit. German. c. 1. Ptol. l. viii. Plin. nat. hist. l. iv. c. 12. ^y See vol. v. p. 5. (D), p. 313, (E), p. 314, not. p. 315, & seq. & (F). ^z Zos. l. ii. c. 2. Liv. l. xxi. c. 30, & seq. Polyb. l. iii. Plin. nat. hist. l. iii. c. 20, & alibi. ^a Vol. i. p. 166, c, f. vol. ii. p. 244, a, b.

(F) The word *Germanus* was that by which the *Romans* distinguished brothers by the same father and mother from those which were only by the one or the other, whom they termed *uterini* or *consanguinei*. And though the etymon itself be certainly false with respect to the *Germans*, yet it shews the great affinity, which that author observed between them and the *Gauls*.

(G) Such were the *Saxons*, *Franks*, *Sicambri*, *Burgundi*, *Quadi*, *Goths*, *Huns*, *Rastarna*, the *Ræti*, *Norici*, *Pannonians*, *Mærians*, *Thracians*, and many more, whose names and situation the reader will find in the several maps at the head of this history; and for the description and particulars of which we refer him to the general index at the end of this volume.

a thought to have expanded themselves thus far by such gradual migrations, as either want of room, curiosity, or desire of change, may be supposed to have led them to. That they began betimes to navigate, or to coast at least, not only the *Mediterranean*, *Atlantic*, and other seas, but even on the main ocean, we shall presently have occasion to shew, when we come to speak of their arts, commerce, &c. But it is scarcely to be believed, all things considered, that their rude skill in this art could bring them thither so soon as the others could get thither by land. However, since some ancient authors have affirmed, that the first inhabitants of *Spain* came thither by sea, some say from *Asia*, and others from *Africa*, the most reasonable opinion seems to be that, which allows these to have indeed come thither from those parts, b and to have settled in those countries, though not till some considerable time after they had been discovered and peopled by those, who came thither by land, and by gradual migrations. And this will further account, both for that great variety of names, dialects and customs, which such an intermixture must, of necessity, be supposed to produce, and for the loss of that whole country in process of time, when the *Gauls* were partly driven out of it, and the rest subdued by their conquerors, as we have seen in the last chapter. The boundaries of Gaul fireightened.

THE same fate having attended them, not only in *Italy*, but likewise on this side of the *Alps*, where the provinces of *Noricum*, *Helvetia*, *Rætia*, and that whole tract, which lies between those mountains and the lake of *Geneva*, were taken from them, c as we have seen in the *Roman* history ^b, the whole *Gaulish* extent came then to reach no farther than from that lake to the *Pyrenees*, having still the *Mediterranean* on the south, the *Rhine* on the north, and the *British* chanel on the west; for, by this time, the *British* and other islands were detached from the inlands, and lived under princes of their own, though, in matters of religion, they still kept a kind of conformity with, if not rather a kind of jurisdiction over them, as we shall see under the next article. This was the state of *Gaul*, and these its limits, when *Julius Caesar* first came into it, as we have seen in a former volume, where we likewise took notice of several other changes, which were made in their boundaries, and new divisions of their provinces and districts by the conquering *Romans*, particularly by *Augustus*, and d to which we beg leave to refer our readers, to avoid repetitions and prolixity ^c.

FOR the same reason we think it superfluous to say any thing here of its natural or artificial rarities, or to spend any longer time in describing a country so near, and so well known to us. We have described its ancient state in a former volume ^d, and there given an account of its most considerable rivers, lakes, mountains, &c. We have there likewise taken notice of the fertility of the country, and how early it had begun to be cultivated and improved, even as far back as the times of *Mercury*, who is affirmed by a learned modern, and not without some substantial proofs, to have reigned in *Gaul*, when it was in its full extent, and, by his wholesome laws, and indefatigable pains to promote its trade and commerce into foreign countries, to e have raised the *Gaulish* nation to a surprising height of power and glory ^e. This reign hath indeed been very much suspected by some other authors, who have written since ^f, as fabulous and imaginary; but we do not think it as yet confuted by any thing that has been offered either against it, or in favour of the *Ctesian* history, which, we hope, we have, notwithstanding all its many and learned advocates, sufficiently confuted in our *Affyrian* history ^g. But, waving that intricate and controverted point, it is generally allowed, that this country was in as flourishing a condition, when the *Romans* first invaded it, as any in *Europe*, and their lands, commerce, arts, &c. cultivated and improved by its industrious inhabitants, in a manner altogether answerable to its excellent situation and climate (H), as we shall have further occasion to shew f in the sequel. Its fertility, &c.

How-

^b Vol. v. p. 314, & seq.

198, & seq. vol. vi. p. 270, 314, & seq.

c. 15. See vol. ii. p. 250, & seq.

Bedford. chronol. & al.

^c Vol. iv. p. 408, & seq. p. 561, & seq. & alib. pass. vol. v. p. 129,

^d Vol. ii. p. 248, & seq.

^e PEZRON. antiquit. des Celtes,

^f FOURMONT. Vide & PELLOUTIER. hist. Celt. sub indic. auctor.

^g Vol. i. p. 867, & seq.

(H) The ancient *Celtes* indeed, and those *Gauls*, who were intermixed with the *Scythians*, did still observe their old custom of living in tents and wag-gons, or at most in huts, built just to last them one year, after which they removed into fresh quarters; and as they lived chiefly on the fruits of the

earth, and the milk of their cattle, they either wholly neglected agriculture, and all property in lands, or, at most, built themselves a little house or cottage big enough for their family, in the midst of as much ground, as they thought fit to cultivate for that year. The *Germani* and *Suevi* are observed

HOWEVER, it must be observed here, that these improvements were of much a later date than their first settlements; and that, if we except *Spain, Italy*, and the southern parts of *France*, the rest of their territories were too cold and discouraging to a nation that chiefly delighted in war, hunting, and such-like exercises, and at a time when agriculture was, as it were, in its infancy; and it is most probable, that the fruitfulness of the warmer climates first put the northern inhabitants upon endeavouring to supply by art the defects of their soil and climate; for even in the times of the *Roman* emperors, we do not find, that they had either vines, olives, or any other fruit or grain, except corn^a; and most authors, who have written on this subject, seem to attribute it wholly to the extreme cold to which they were exposed. It is indeed very likely, that those authors, being used to warmer climates, have somewhat exaggerated the coldness of these, which experience shews are nothing so severe as they have represented themⁱ; but it is, at the same time, far from improbable, that they are become much warmer than they were in those antient times, partly by destroying a vast number of forests, which stagnated the air, and intercepted the warmth of the sun; by the draining many standing waters, and marshy grounds; by cherishing it with warm manure, and other such improvements, which are obvious to every naturalist. The *Romans* themselves seem to have been sensible of this change, though they attributed it to some favourable alteration in the position of the earth, pretended to have been even foretold by that famous *Greek* astronomer *Hipparchus*^k. But however that be, it is plain, that these countries are so far from being so constantly covered with ice and snow, and their great rivers from being always so hard frozen, as to serve them, instead of bridges, for crossing whole armies over them in their winter excursions, that we look upon it now as a kind of wonder, whenever any of them chance to be frozen at any such rate.

Climate grown
warmer.

^a Excerpt. ex APPIAN. de Celt. VAR. de re rustic. l. i. DIOD. SIC. l. v. STRAB. l. iv. CIC. de consuet. prov. PETRON. sat. & al. ⁱ Vide auct. sup. citat. & HEROD. l. v. PLIN. jun. panegy. cxii. AMM. MARCEL. l. xix. c. 2. l. xxxi. c. 9. OVID. de trist. eleg. x. ver. 8, & al. ^k Vide int. al. COLUMELL. de re rustic. l. i. c. i.

by *Julius Caesar* to have followed the same custom in his days; who adds, that it was one of the chief tasks of their yearly magistrates to assign them such lands, according to the exigence of their families; and, as soon as the year was over, they removed into some other country (10).

Hence came the name and use of cantons: every tribe had a canton assigned to it, which was governed by its own magistrates, who were chosen from among them. This custom, being derived from the antient *Celtes*, had, it plainly appears, spread itself all over *Europe*, and beyond (11). The *Romans* called those cantons *pagi*, which took up more or less ground, according to the largeness of the tribe; and, as soon as it was parcelled out among their families, each of them built a cot in the centre of

his own ground; so that there were not any two to be seen contiguous to one another (12).

Even when they came to live in cities, as the *Gauls* did as soon as any others in *Europe*, if we except perhaps *Italy* and *Spain*, they neither walled nor fortified them, alleging, that such strong places served only to abate of the courage and fierceness of its inhabitants, and often proved the occasion of their being brought into slavery (13). Whenever therefore they found themselves invaded, they all marched out under their leaders, and engaged the enemy in open field, or, if they found themselves unequal to the fight, they retired into either woods, marshes, or other places of difficult access, as we shall see in the sequel.

(10) L. i. c. 14. l. iv. c. 1. l. vi. c. 22. (11) Idem, l. i. c. 12, 37. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxxi. c. 3. Strab. l. iv. Polyb. l. ii. (12) Idem ibid. Vide & Dion. Halicarn. l. i. Sil. Ital. l. xv. & seq. Appian. Diodor. & al. (13) Tacit. l. iv. Bell. Gall. l. iii. c. 29. l. iv. c. 19, & seq. & alib.

S E C T. II.

The religion of the Gauls.

Their religion
derived from
the antient
Celtes.

WE have already given an account of the religion of the antient *Celtes* in a former volume^a; and as the *Gauls* were descended from them, as we have shewn under the last article, it is not to be doubted but it was continued and propagated amongst them, in the same manner and form as they received it from them, till their intercourse with other nations, or perhaps rather their subjection to them, gave birth to those changes and intermixtures, which it afterwards underwent. To come therefore at a tolerable notion of true *Gaulish* religion, we should seek it amongst those *Gauls*, who were least conversant with other people, and had least

^a Vol. ii. p. 251, & seq.

a occasion or necessity of receiving or adopting any thing from them ; instead of having recourse to that of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, from whom whatever they might, in process of time, borrow, that might cause a kind of resemblance between them, yet originally they differed as much, not only in this, but in almost all other respects; as black from white. Much worse have they succeeded in this point, who have transformed the *Gaulish* deities into *Greek* and *Roman* ones, and spent a deal of time and pains to no purpose, to prove them to have been such^b ; whereas we hope, in the sequel, to give our readers indubitable arguments of their being of *Celtic* extraction. For the same reason we must be very wary how we depend too much on those few ancient authors, whether *Greeks* or *Romans*, who have occasionally spoken of them (A). These few scraps they have left us of *Gaulish* religion, sufficiently shew; that they knew little of it ; and that, even in those points in which they do not clash against one another (B), they have betrayed such a fondness and partiality for their own, as if they had looked upon it as the mother, and the other as the offspring of it. Upon which account *Josephus* makes no scruple to affirm^c, that all that the best of these had written of the *Gauls*, was without any foundation; and owing to an itch of saying such things of them, as no man had ever said before, or indeed could say. And, in fact, it could hardly be otherwise, considering that the *Gauls* made it a constant rule never to commit any thing to writing, according to a settled maxim amongst them, that it was more glorious to perform noble deeds, than to speak and write well^d. Besides, had they laid more open to their neighbours than they really did (C), yet could these have received no great intelligence concerning their religion; since their druids or bards made it a main part of their policy to conceal it, at least the most considerable points of it, even from their own laity, as we shall shew in the sequel.

It will appear still more unreasonable to suppose, that the *Gauls* received any part of their religion from either the *Greeks* or *Romans*, if we consider, besides what

^b SCHED. bibliot. hist. Franç. p. 29. Vide relig. des Gaul. pref. p. 4. ^c Cont. Apion. l. i. ^d See CÆS. comment. l. vi. SALLUST. bell. Catilin.

(A) The most considerable of these are, *Julius Cæsar*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny*, and they have written of it in such a loose, and yet concise a manner, that all their fragments put together would hardly amount to three or four pages; and, if these pages were to be reduced to their just value, would lose one half of their bulk (1); whether it be, that these authors have but just copied one another, or only designed to say the same things.

(B) According to those quoted in the last note, both the religion and customs of the *Gauls* are drawn in such colours, as would incline one to suspect them of innate partiality, or rather hatred, to that brave nation. *Diodorus*, among the rest, makes no scruple to tell us, that their ferocity was in nothing more remarkable than in their religious rites, in which, says he (2), nothing could be more impious, than the victims, which they offered, nor more inhuman, than the manner in which they offered them. And, if we may believe *Procopius* (3), it seems as if this barbarous custom had been still in vogue some centuries after their embracing christianity.

A modern writer however has been at the pains to quote other authorities, to disculpate them from a great deal of this pretended inhumanity (4), and to prove, that they were famed for their virtue and morality. It is well, if both sides have not exaggerated in their turns. But, at the worst, the *Gauls* do not appear to have much outdone those other nations, who cry out so bitterly against them, in these execrable customs of offering human victims to their gods, of murdering some captives in their auguries, and such-like. On the contrary, we have shewed in some former parts of this work (5), that

not only the ancient *Egyptians*, *Canaanites*, &c. but even the *Romans*, *Carthaginians*, and others, made a common practice of them; and thus far their religions bore a resemblance, whichsoever of them were the inventors of these bloody ceremonies, concerning which we have nothing to add to what we have said in the volumes above-quoted.

(C) *Josephus* (6) tells us accordingly, that their country was, in some measure, inaccessible, because nature had fortified them on all sides with a kind of impenetrable ramparts, such as were the *Alps*, the *Pyrenees*, the ocean, and *Mediterranean*, the *Rhine*, &c. and with strength and courage to defend their frontiers.

It is no less improbable, that their religion was brought in amongst them, either over any of these then inaccessible mountains, seas, or rivers; because, on the one hand, the nations that antiently inhabited over the *Pyrenees*, *Alps*, and on the other side the *Rhine*, *Danube*, &c. were, as we have shewn, of the same *Celtic* extract with the *Gauls*, and had received the same religion, laws, and customs, with them from their ancestors; so that we must, of course, suppose, that it was settled and practised amongst them some ages before they either thought of making excursions out of their own territories, or others, among whom they had, by their conquests, colonies, and warlike exploits, injected an universal dread, took it into their heads to invade them. On the contrary, it appears from some authors, that even the *Romans* did not make any attempt on them till about four hundred years after they were known to be sufficiently fixed in their religion, government, and discipline (7).

(1) Relig. des Gaul. pref. p. 2. (2) Hist. l. v. (3) Goth. l. ii. c. 25. (4) Vide Lewis, Hist. Britan. c. 2. & auctor. ab eo citat. (5) See vol. i. p. 131, (W), p. 211, f. & alib. pass. vol. vi. p. 27. a, b. vol. vii. p. 136, e, f. p. 679, a, b. p. 681. pass. p. 696, a, b, & (A). (6) Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 16. (7) Pausan. in Phocic. Vide relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 3.

has been hinted at the end of the last note, that their gods and goddesses, and their very names, plainly appear to be of *Celtic* extract, and exactly answering some eminent part of their character (D), not as gods and goddesses, but as heroes and heroines, famed for some peculiar excellency, and as such deified, if we may be allowed the expression, by the courtesy of their descendants; whereas the *Greeks* and *Romans* did not adopt, much less challenge them for their own, till many ages after, that is, as a learned author seems rightly to suppose^a, not till the former had been ordered by the oracle of *Dodona* to adopt the deities of the barbarians^f; and the latter made it a standing law not to invade any nations, till they had previously implored the favour of their gods, and promised to build them temples, and establish their worship amongst them.

WHETHER the *Gauls*, or antient *Celtes* rather, were the first introducers of these hypotheses, or whether they adopted them in imitation of other antient nations, is a knot too hard for us to untie. However, it is plain they antiently adored a supreme Being under the name of *Esfus*, which seems only a corruption of the old *Celtic* word *Dheuw*, from which the *Greeks* probably borrowed their *Θεός* and *Ζεύς*, and the *Romans* their *Deus*. This notion was religiously preserved by their druids; and if they, for worldly ends, or perhaps to please the people, whose impetuous desire after this novelty they could not resist, suffered the worship and images of these gods to be introduced amongst them, yet they never looked upon them as any other than inferior deities, whatever the laity might be indulged to do in process of time; but the worship of the true God was still carefully kept up, and the oak esteemed the symbol of the Deity, as fire was among the *Perfes*, of whom we have given an account in a former volume^g. To frame therefore a right notion of the religion of this, or any other nation, we must not judge of it by the corruptions introduced into it by a mad populace, and winked at by the priests and philosophers, but as it was believed and professed by those, who had the care of it. And in this case we shall perhaps find the most material difference between that of the *Gauls* and that of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, even in those points in which they seem most to agree, we mean, the worship of the same gods, with respect to the different characters which they gave, and ideas they entertained of them, the latter seeming calculated to sooth the most inordinate passions, and authorize the worst of crimes, and the former rather quite opposite to it; and this is what the modern author last quoted has taken no small pains to shew in two main instances, viz. from the contrary notions which these entertained of their gods, and from the moral doctrines of their druids. It is indeed no hard matter to imagine how the religion and precepts of *Noah* (and these were free enough from all idolatry, and the superstitious trash, which crept in afterwards among his descendants) should be preserved for a considerable time in the family of *Japheth*, upon which that patriarch had pronounced and intailed a peculiar blessing^h; but we cannot be so sanguine in favour of those druids, as to believe with that author, that they preserved them so pure among themselves during such a series of ages, as he seems to suppose. If they did, they were guilty of a very shameful remissness and condescension to the laity, in suffering them to run themselves into such vile idolatries, horrid superstition, detestable rites, and corruption of principles and morals, as they must be owned to have done, in spite of all false glosses, that have been used to palliate their degeneracy, or the supposition of their having been too much misrepresented by *Greek* and *Latin* authors. We have, on the contrary, shewn in a former volumeⁱ, that the antient *Celtes*, even in the times of their primitive simplicity of life, and when they were as yet freest from luxury and other corruptions, had yet adopted many inhuman ceremonies into their worship, auguries, &c. Even the *Scythians*, a younger branch of *Japheth's* family, who lived still in a much greater simplicity, and were more unmixed, and had less intercourse, with other nations, did yet even exceed the *Celtes* in the barbarity of their religion and customs^k; and it will evidently appear from what follows, that the *Gauls*, *Germans*, and other northern people, did not only copy after, but even outdo them in it; so that tho'

^a Relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 3. ^f PLIN. l. xxviii. c. 3. ^g See vol. ii. p. 71, d. ^h Genes. xix. 27. See Mon. antiqua, p. 43, & seq. p. 98, & seq. p. 105, & seq. ⁱ Vol. ii. p. 251, & seq. ^k Ibid. p. 241, & seq. p. 270, & seq.

(D) This our reader will be best able to judge of, by turning to the fourth section, under the note (L), to which we refer, to avoid needless repetitions.

- a they must be allowed, for reasons hinted more than once, to have been little known to, and, in great measure, designedly misrepresented by, those authors who have written of them, yet they cannot, without manifest partiality, be disculpated from the charge of having had many bloody and inhuman rites, many absurd and unsocial principles, as well as corruption of morals, in common with other nations, tho' not in the same degree with them. Let therefore the private doctrines of their druids have been what they would, and they be supposed ever so averse and opposite to the general practice of the people, nothing can be said for their countenancing, if not encouraging, those abominable ceremonies, such as their offering up of human victims to their gods by way of expiation, their auguries from the reeking blood and entrails of their captives, and others of the same nature, of which we shall speak in due time.

We think ourselves obliged to be the more particular in our inquiry into the religion of the *Gauls*, as it is the source and foundation, not only of that of the antient *Germans*, and other more northern nations, but likewise of that of the antient *Britains*, who, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter, were descended from, and had received their religion, laws, customs, &c. originally from them; so that what is said on that subject in this chapter, will serve as a clue to that of those other nations we shall have occasion to speak of in the following ones; by which means we shall avoid many needless repetitions, and be able to confine our account of them chiefly to those points, in which they either differed from this their common mother, or in such cases, where there appears a necessity to shew the affinity they bear to each other. As for those of the antient inhabitants of *Italy*, *Spain*, &c. who became intermingled with the *Gauls*, the reader will find the former already done in a former volume¹, and the rest will come in their turn in some of the subsequent chapters. And here we shall, for order-sake, begin with an account of the different deities worshipped by the antient *Gauls*, and the particular ceremonies and sacrifices used to each of them, not as they were transmitted to them from their *Celtic* ancestors, concerning which we refer our readers to what has been said in their history, but as they were found in the times of the *Romans* invading of, and becoming first acquainted with them.

- d We have already hinted, that they antiently worshipped the supreme Deity, under the name of *Efus* or *Hefus* (E), and the symbol of the oak; and it will not be thought strange,

The Gaulish religion the mother of all the northern ones.

Efus the supreme Deity.

¹ Vol. iv. p. 414, & seq. p. 436, & seq. & alib. pass.

(E) There have been various conjectures concerning the etymon of this word, besides that which we offered a little higher, and which to us seems the most natural, because the *Celtic* *Dh* being pronounced with a kind of preceding aspiration, and not unlike our softer *th* in such pronouns as *thee*, *thou*, &c: foreigners, who were unused to it, could not well express the sound of the word *Dhew*, but by the letters *Efu*. As for the final *s*, it might be superadded by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, according to their way of terminating the masculine gender in *us* and *as*, as they did likewise in the plural *Efi*, *Aijoi*, as they may be seen in *Hefychius*.

The antient *Etruscans*, according to *Suetonius* (8), called the Deity *Æsar*; for he observes there, that, among the other prodigies which preceded *Augustus's* death, a flash of lightning having erased the *C* from the word *Cæsar*, as it stood engraved on a pedestal that supported his statue, the diviners told him, that the *C* being a numerical letter signifying an hundred, the omen portended, that he had but so many days to live, after which he would be deified, because *Æsar*, or the remainder of the word *Cæsar*, signified God in the *Etruscan* language. If we might therefore be allowed a far-off conjecture concerning these two names, *Efus* among the *Gauls*, and *Æsar* among the *Etruscans*, it would be, that they might be both of *Hebrew* extract; and we have elsewhere shewn, that the old *Celtic*, with which the *Etruscan* has a vast affinity, appears vi-

sibly to have been a dialect of the *Hebrew* (9). The word *הָעֶזֶר* *hezus* signifies *strong* and *mighty*, and is given to God in many places, particularly by the psalmist (10); and *עֲזָרָה* *ezar* signifies *help* or *helper* (11), and is likewise given to Him, as he is emphatically so, when all other helps fail. The patriarch *Abraham*, and his descendants, knew him by the name of *אל-שֹׁדֵד* *el-saddai*, the *mighty* or *self-sufficient* God, till he made his peculiar name *Jehovah* known unto them (12); and it is remarkable, that the *Thracians*, a branch of the *Celts*, did, according to *Macrobius*, call the god, to whom they had erected a temple on mount *Zilmiffus*, *Sabazius*, which is a plain corruption of the *Hebrew* word *Teabaoth*, especially considering, that, in their religious rites to *Bacchus*, they were wont to cry out, *Evøke Sab-bai*, which is the *Elohe*, or, if you please, the *Jehovah Teabaoth* of the *Hebrews*, as God is emphatically called by the psalmist in the psalm above-quoted, and signifies *Lord of hosts*, a title that well suited the martial *Thracians*. As these therefore were rather attributes, than the names of the Godhead, each nation may be supposed to have chosen that which suited their genius best; and the *Gauls* that of *Hefus*, as suiting most with their warlike spirit.

That not only the names of the Deity, but this way of worshipping Him under oaks, and in oak groves, was common to all the descendants of *Noah*, we have undoubted proof out of the old

(8) *In vit. August.* (9) Vol. ii. p. 253, e. (B). 18. (12) *Conf. Gen.* xvii. 1. & *Exod.* vi. 3.

(10) *Vide int. al. Psal.* xxiv. 8.

(11) *Gen.* ii.

strange, that this notion of a supreme Being should have been preserved among the a descendants of *Japheth*, when we find such lively traces of it even among the idolatrous *Syrians*, *Midianites*, and even the *Canaanites*, as in the family of *Laban* m, of *Jethro* n, and of the two *Abimelechs* kings of *Gerar* in the times of *Abraham* and *Isaac* o, and some others we could name, particularly the *Gibeonites* in *Joshua's* time p, *Adonibezek* in the time of the judges q, and *Hiram* king of *Tyre* in the reigns of *David* and *Solomon* r; who all not only retained the notion of the Deity, notwithstanding their idolatry, but had likewise a peculiar name for it, distinct from those of their other gods. To this let us add, with respect to the *Gauls* we are now speaking of, that the natural fondness, which they had for the religion and customs of b their forefathers, the contempt they entertained of other nations, the recluse and solitary life of their druids, who were the keepers and teachers of their theology, and their strict and constant practice, founded upon it, of sacrificing, and performing their other religious rites under the oak only, as consecrated to that supreme Being, were most effectual means to preserve that fundamental notion still uppermost among them, whatever other superstitions might be, in process of time, introduced among them; for we must here observe, that they kept constant to this custom, or rather, as seems, law, of performing their religious worship under that tree, or, more properly, in groves of it, even after they had adopted that long regiment of deities, of which we are about to give an account. To this we must add, that, in the midst of those heathenish superstitions, which crept by degrees into their religion, they never erected c any either temples or idols unto this *Ejus* or supreme Deity; so that he seems to have been acknowledged by them much in the same manner, that the *Athenians* did the unknown God mentioned by *St. Paul* s; which notion was far enough from being peculiar to them: others had their unknown God as well as they, and owned themselves his offspring, though their notion and worship of him were very imperfect, and, in many cases, too unworthy of him, as even the *Gauls* did, when they came to intermingle the *Roman* theology with their own. However, antiently they seem to have entertained some sublime notions of him, to confirm which we need but add what *Tacitus* says of the *Senones*, who were a branch of the *Celtes*, and had the same religion: They, says that author t, have no other temples but a wood or grove, d where they perform all their religious rites. None is admitted to enter it, unless he carries a chain, in token of his dependence on, and owning the supreme dominion, which God has over him; and, if he chance to fall down, none must dare to help him up; but he must either roll himself, or crawl upon his belly, out of the place. He adds, that their whole religion consists in an acknowledgment, that the deity, which makes its abode there, governs all things; that all things depend on him, and ought to obey him. *Strabo* says much the same of the *Celtiberians*, another branch of the *Celtes*; and adds, that they worshipped the God without name, and danced every full moon, before their houses, all the night in honour of him u. And might it not be upon this account, as an ingenious author observes v, that *Lucan* rallies e the *Maffilian* druids, when he tells them x, that they were the only ones of all men, to whom it was given to know, or not to know, the gods they adored? And then, speaking of their groves, says, that their ignorance of the deities they worshipped under them, was the cause of that veneration they paid to those sturdy and shapeless trees. He speaks there indeed of deities in the plural, *Roman* and poet like; but that he did not intend thereby, that any more than one was worshipped in those

m Genes. xxxi. 48, & seq.

n Genes. xxxi. 48, & seq.

o Genes. xxxi. 48, & seq.

p Josh. ix. 9, & seq.

q Josh. ix. 9, & seq.

r Josh. ix. 9, & seq.

s 1 Kings v. 7, & seq.

t Acts xviii. 23.

u De mor. German.

v Geogr. l. iii.

w Relig. des Gaul.

x Luc. Pharsal. l. iii.

y Luc. Pharsal. l. iii.

z Luc. Pharsal. l. iii.

aa Luc. Pharsal. l. iii.

ab Luc. Pharsal. l. iii.

ac Luc. Pharsal. l. iii.

ad Luc. Pharsal. l. iii.

ae Luc. Pharsal. l. iii.

af Luc. Pharsal. l. iii.

ag Luc. Pharsal. l. iii.

ah Luc. Pharsal. l. iii.

ai Luc. Pharsal. l. iii.

aj Luc. Pharsal. l. iii.

ak Luc. Pharsal. l. iii.

al Luc. Pharsal. l. iii.

am Luc. Pharsal. l. iii.

testament, as we shall presently shew; and we only mention it here to confute the notion of those, who suppose the *Ejus* of the *Gauls* to have been the god *Mars*; for neither he, nor any other inferior deities, were worshipped under these oaks, or with the same rites with *Ejus*; and therefore *Pliny*, in his description of the ceremony which they used in gathering the mistletoe of those sacred oaks, has these words, which plainly shew, that these trees were dedicated to the Deity itself: "The druids, says he,

" (13) believe, that the mistletoe is a sign, that God hath chosen that tree to himself;" and a little lower, after having particularly described their manner of gathering it, he adds, "that they offered up victims and prayers to God, that he would bless and prosper his own gift to them that receive it." It is plain from it, that he neither speaks here of *Mars*, *Jupiter*, or any other of their gods, but of the Deity itself.

a groves, is plain from what he says at the end of his description of the *Massilian* grove (F); viz. that the priest or druid, who officiated there, was afraid of meeting *dominum luci*, by which he could mean nothing else but the deity worshipped there, a notion probably common to them and the *Jews*, as we have shewn in the last note.

ANOTHER remarkable thing in their religion was their great veneration for the oak. This seems likewise to have been common to them and the old patriarchs and *Jews*, among whom that tree was in high esteem, though not in the same superstitious degree. *Abraham* is recorded to have pitched his tents under some famed oaks, such as those of *Mamre*, of *More*; which, though our version, and some others, have transformed into plains, yet, in the original, do plainly signify an oak or oak grove, as we have observed in a former volume¹. He is said moreover to have planted groves of them; and where-ever he pitched his tent, he is recorded to have built an altar unto the Lord, and to have given some significant name to the place, such as that of *Beerseba*², *Bethel*, and the like (G). The *Gauls* in particular seem to have improved upon this patriarchal custom, the origin of which seems rather owing to what we hinted in the last note, than to any sanctity, or extraordinary virtue, which either *Abraham*, or any of his ancestors or successors, could imagine to be in those trees; whereas, among both *Celts* and *Gauls*, the oak was looked upon and revered as an emblem, or as the peculiar residence, of the Deity. The fruit of

Their veneration for the oak.

¹ Genes. xii. 6. xiii. ult. & alib. pass.

² Vol. i. p. 424. (G).

³ Vide int. al. Gen. xxi. 33.

(F) This description, though disfigured with satire and ridicule, being curious, and pertinent to our present subject, we shall give the substance of it to our *English* readers. It is as follows: There is without the walls of *Marseilles* a sacred grove or wood, which had never been touched by ax from the creation. The trees of it grew so thick and interwoven, that they suffered not the rays of the sun to come through their branches, but a perfect damp and darkness reigned through the place. Neither nymphs nor sylvan gods could make their abode in it, it being destined for the most inhuman mysteries. There was nothing to be seen there but a multitude of altars, upon which they sacrificed human victims, whose blood turned the very trees of a horrid crimson colour. If ancient tradition may be credited, no bird ever perched upon their branches, no beast ever walked under them, no wind ever blew through them, nor thunder-bolt did ever touch them. These stately oaks, as well as the black water that winds about through the place in different channels, fill one with horror and dread. The figures of the god of the grove are a kind of standing, rude, and shapeless trunks, covered over with a dismal yellow moss. It is the genius of the *Gauls* (continues he) to feel no veneration for the gods, unless they be thus represented, in a manner quite opposite to the taste of other nations; for which reason their fear and regard for them increases, in proportion to their ignorance of those gods which they worship. There is a report, that this grove is often shaken, and strangely moved, and that dreadful sounds are heard from its caverns; that the yews, if thrown or cut down, grow up again of themselves; that the grove is sometimes in a blaze, without being consumed; and that the oaks are twined about with monstrous dragons. The *Gauls* dare not live in it, out of respect to the deity that inhabits it, and to which they intirely abandon it. Only at noon and midnight a priest goes trembling into it, to celebrate its dreadful mysteries; and is in continual fear, lest the deity, to which it is consecrated, should appear unto him. Thus far our poet.

We have already observed, that tho' he expresses himself in the plural in speaking of the *Gaulish* gods, rather as a poet and a *Roman*, yet his last words

plainly shew, that he intended to speak of one deity here. All that we would further observe of the priest's dread of seeing that deity, seems plainly a relic of that notion, which even the patriarchs and ancient *Jews* had, that no man could see God, and live (14). As for the dreadful description of the grove, and its horrid apparatus, if it is not, in a great measure, the fiction of the poet, to ridicule the *Gaulish* worship, might it not be that of the druids themselves, to prevent their laity, as well as strangers, from entering, and prying too curiously into it?

(G) It must be observed, that the original word *alon* signifies both an oak, and a grove or thicket of oaks. These were, at first, chosen in those hot countries for the sake of coolness and shade; and where the plains were well watered, and fit for pasture, but wanted such woods or groves, they planted them, as *Abraham* is recorded to have done at *Beerseba*. These, in time, came to be in great esteem by his descendants, not only on account of their extreme usefulness, and long duration, but out of regard to those patriarchs, who had dwelt and sacrificed under them. *Jacob*, we read, buried his beloved *Rachel's* nurse under an oak, which he called *The oak of mourning*. He buried all the idolatrous trash, which he found in his household, under another (15). This last became famous among the *Shechemites* (16), probably because *Joshua* reared a stone or pillar under it, in memory of the covenant which he renewed just before his death between God and the *Israelites* (17).

This regard, by degrees, dwindled into downright superstition, not only among the *Jews*, but even among christians, *Mohammedans*, and other nations. As to the former, they became infamous for their sacrificing and burning incense in their high places and groves, and at length, as they are justly upbraided by the prophets, under every oak and green tree (18), notwithstanding God's prohibitions, and severe threatenings. As for the latter, we have shewn in a former volume, in speaking of the oaks under which *Abraham* dwelt, that they were still shewn in *Constantine's* time, and resorted to with great devotion by christians, *Turks*, and even heathens (19).

(14) Vide int. al. Genes. xxviii. 16, & seq. Judic. vi. 22. xiii. 22, & seq. (15) Genes. xxxv. 4, 8. (16) Judic. ix. 6. (17) Josh. xxiv. 26. (18) See 2 Kings xvi. 4. Isai. lvi. 5, & seq. Jerem. ii. 20. Hosea iv. 13. Judic. iii. 8. (19) Vol. i. p. 424. (G). & alib.

*And mistleto.**Their groves
for worship.*

it, especially the misfoldine, was thought to have a kind of divine virtue, was used ^a as a kind of panacea for man and beast, and applied to both, as well inwardly as outwardly, in wounds, contusions, and cuticular ailments, as well as for inward diseases, or even barrenness and abortion in men, women, and cattle (H). The leaves, or some small boughs of it, were worn by the druids and laity in all their religious ceremonies, which were constantly performed, as we hinted above, under those trees, or in oaky groves. These, if we may guess from the few fragments we have left of them in history, and from some carneads or heaps of stones still standing in some of our isles, especially that of *Anglesey* ^b, and which may be supposed to have been cinctures or fences round the grove, to prevent their entrance between the trees, except where it was left open to the comers, and, not unlikely, guarded by ^b some inferior druids, to stop all strangers from intruding into their mysteries: we say, if we may guess at them by these few antient helps, these groves were of different forms, some quite circular, some oblong, and more or less capacious, according to the number of votaries, or the largeness of the district or canton, to which they belonged. The area, which was in the centre of the grove, was open at the top, and encompassed with several rows of these oaks, set very thick and close. Within the large circle were several smaller ones, surrounded, as is supposed, with large stones, which served for the sacrifices, and other most solemn part of their worship. In the centre, or near it, of these small circles, were placed solid stones of a large size, and convenient height, on which the victims were killed, dissected, and offered ^c up. Each of these being, as we imagine, a kind of altar, was surrounded with another row of stones, the use of which cannot be easily guessed at, unless it was to keep the people at a due distance from the priests that officiated. Some of these interior circles are likewise thought to have served, one or more for their courts of judicature, another for their grand council or assembly, or for such other purposes as can only be guessed at ^c; though we very much doubt, considering the vast reverence that was paid to those groves, as they were consecrated to religious rites, whether their druids would suffer any secular matters to be transacted in them. We are rather inclined to think, that these cinctures might all serve for the same religious ends, one for human victims, another for those of beasts, a third for auguries, ^d and such-like; not but they may be reasonably enough supposed to have had other groves, designed for such secular purposes as we just now mentioned; and these might probably enough be of oaks, as the others were, that the sacredness of those trees might strike these courts and councils with due awe, and prevent such quarrels and indecencies as might otherwise happen. And this conjecture (and the contrary one is no more than guess-work) seems more agreeable to what we have lately quoted of their worship out of *Tacitus*, *Pliny*, and *Lucan*.

^b See *Mona antiqua*, p. 91, & seq. KEYZLER, *antiq. septentrion.* p. 77. & in addend. ^c Idem *ibid*.

(H) *Pliny*, who has given us this account more accurately than any other author, tells us (20), that they called the mistleto, as well as the particular day or festival on which they gathered it, by a name which signified *cures all*. We shall quote the whole passage, as it is both succinct and curious:

"The druids, says he, who are among the *Gauls* what the magi are elsewhere, hold nothing so sacred as the misfoldine, and the tree that bears it. This is constantly the oak, for which they have such a high esteem, that they do not perform the least religious ceremony without being adorned with garlands of its leaves. It is, in all likelihood, from the *Greek* name of the oak, that the *Gaulish* priests are called druids. These philosophers believe, that every thing that grows upon that tree doth come from heaven; and that it is an evident proof, that God hath chosen it above all others.

"The misfoldine of the oak being scarce, and rarely found, when any of it has been discovered, they go, with great ceremony and respect, to gather it. This is always done on the sixth day of the moon, a day so esteemed among them, that

"they have made their months and years, and even ages, which consist but of thirty years, to take their beginning from it. The reason of their choosing that day is, because the moon is, by that time, grown strong enough, though not come to the half of its fulness; and this day they call by a name, which, in their tongue, signifies *cures of all ills*.

"When the druids have got ready under the oak all the apparatus for the sacrifice, and the banquet which they usually make, they tie, for the first time, two white bulls to it by the horns. Then one of the priests, clothed in white, gets up the tree, and, with a gold scyth, cuts off the misfoldine, which is received in a white *sagum*; which done, they begin to offer their sacrifices, and pray to God to give a blessing to his own gift unto them that are honoured with it. He adds, that the water of the misfoldine gives fertility to man and beast, is a specific against all kind of poison; an eminent instance, says he, that human religion has often no other object than frivolous things."

- a** How the *Ejus*, or supreme deity of the *Gauls*, came afterwards to be transformed into, or give place to, *Jupiter*, which, if we may believe *Lactantius*, did not happen till about the fourth century at soonest, we shall endeavour to account in the sequel. But, by what we have said of him and his worship, and of the oaks and groves consecrated to him, &c. the reader cannot but have observed a great deal of conformity between the *Gaulish* and the patriarchal and *Jewish* religion, though, if this had been all, we should hardly have inserted this remark; neither could *Celsus* have had so much reason to oppose the antiquity and wisdom of the druidish religion, and its conformity to that of the antient *Jews*, against the novelty of the gospel ^d. We shall therefore beg leave, in speaking of the other branches of the *Gaulish* religion and ceremonies,
- b** to observe to him the same conformity running through very many other particulars, as they have been collected in one view by a very diligent author often quoted under this head ^e; and from which we may be able to satisfy ourselves, that they could never be owing to mere chance, but that both plainly appear to have flowed from the same source.
1. THE *Gauls* had a sovereign pontiff or head of the druidish order, to whom both these, and the whole nation, paid the highest regard. The same we find among the *Jews*, to say nothing of *Melchisedech*, to whom *Abraham* paid tythes of the spoil he had lately gained. 2. The druids, under this their head, had such an uncontrollable power and sway, that whoever refused to submit to their decisions, not only in religious, but civil matters, (even to the putting an immediate stop to an engagement, when both armies were ready for the onset, if the druids did not like the prognostics) was interdicted from assisting at their solemnities, which was looked upon by the *Gauls* as the most grievous punishment ^f. The *Jewish* high-priest, at the head of the sanhedrin, was looked upon as the dernier appeal in all causes; and excommunication, the greatest punishment among the *Jews*, was to be the lot of those, who refused to abide by their decision ^g. 3. The druids were obliged to assemble themselves in the territories of *Chartrain* once a year. The *Jews* had their three grand festivals, on which their males were obliged to repair to *Jerusalem*. 4. The druids wore white garments. The same did the *Jewish* priests. 5. The druids lived in woods and groves. The same did generally the patriarchs, the sons of the prophets, and the *Essenians*, a kind of monks among the *Jews*. The *Gauls* had their female druids, prophetesses, and aruspices. The *Jews* had *Miriam* *Aaron's* sister, *Deborah*, *Huldah*, and other prophetesses, to say nothing of other women, who kept familiar spirits. Some of those females were in high repute among the *Gauls*, and bore a great sway in the government. And *Deborah* was a famed judge in *Israel*. 6. The *Gauls* vowed to *Mars* some parts of the spoil they took in war, and it was death for any one to infringe upon it. The same was among the *Israelites* with respect to those cities and kingdoms, which were subject to anathema, as in the case of *Jericho*. The rest they divided among themselves, according to certain laws and customs settled amongst them. *Moses*, *Joshua*, and *David*, made also laws on the same head, what portion should be offered to God, what given to the priests, and how the rest should be divided between the combatants and those who guarded the camp and baggage. 7. The *Gauls* worshipped a brazen bull. And the *Israelites* golden calves. 8. In public calamities they offered a human victim, on whom they threw all the curses that threatened them. The *Jews* did the same by their scape-goat ^h. 9. The *Gauls* had power of life and death over their servants. The same had the patriarchs and *Jews*, and the former even over their families, as one may conclude from the instance of *Judah* and his daughter-in-law *Tamar* ⁱ. They began their days from the evening, as the patriarchs and *Jews*, and, like them, distinguished the year only into three seasons, viz. spring, summer or harvest, and winter. The autumn was so unknown to both, that they had no name for it. The same is affirmed likewise of the *Egyptians* by *Diodorus Siculus*. 10. They gave significant names to their children, to places, &c. as these did. 11. The *Gauls* believed the immortality of the soul; so that no people under heaven could shew a greater contempt of death. The patriarchs and *Jews*, if we except the upstart sect of the *Sadducees*, were famed for looking on this life only as a mere passage into a better. 12. When their life or liberty was in danger, they endeavoured to redeem it by one or more of their own servants ^k. We

Affinity between the Celtic religion and that of the patriarchs and Jews.

^d Vide ORIGEN. CONT. Celsum.

^e Relig. des Gaul. l. i. p. 53, & seq.

^f DIOD. SIC. l. v.

CÆS. COMMENT. l. vi.

^g See vol. i. p. 633, a, b.

^h Ibid. p. 619, (V). & CÆS. COMMENT.

l. vi. ⁱ Genes. xxxviii. 24.

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have an instance of this in *Jephtha*, one of the *Israelitish* judges, and his rash vow ¹, ^a though it was more common among the *Phœnicians*, and other antient nations. 13. The *Jews* had the waters of jealousy to assure them of the fidelity or infidelity of their wives. The *Gauls* had some kinds of ordeals or trials to the same sense; and *Julian* the emperor tells us, that the waters of the *Rhine* had some secret virtue to punish those wives, who had gone astray (1). The druids made it a constant maxim not to commit any thing of their laws, philosophy, or history, to writing, but to couch them in set poems and canticles, to be learned by heart, and sung at proper places and seasons. These songs were, it seems, so multiplied in *Cæsar's* time, that it took up some druids (for they were all obliged to it) near twenty years in learning them ^m. We do not find but that this was the antient custom of the patriarchs and other nations in *Canaan* before *Moses*, who quotes some of those canticles, and composed some of them himself, as did other prophets after him, in memory of some signal victories, deliverances, and the like. Some *Gaulish* nations carried their gods along with them to the war, as did the *Israelites* their ark, and their apostates the tabernacles of *Moloch*, *Cbiun*, and *Rempham*. The *Gauls* did personify and deify their rivers, lakes, woods, &c. and might not this be a corruption of that laudable elegance of the sacred poets, who called upon those, and all other creatures, to praise God? as, in all probability, their offering human victims, common likewise to other nations, and even to the apostate *Israelites*, in imitation of them, seems to have had its rise from the example of *Abraham's* readiness to sacrifice his son *Isaac*, concerning which we shall refer our readers to what we have said in a former volume ⁿ. We shall now give our readers a short account of this inhuman rite, as it was practised among the *Gauls*, and leave our readers the pleasure of discovering, in the sequel of this history, many more instances of that conformity we have been speaking of, which we are forced to omit, to avoid being tedious.

Human victims how offered.

As to this bloody custom of sacrificing human victims, which began so early with the *Gauls*, and which, if we may believe *Procopius* ^o, did not end till some centuries after their embracing christianity, we can only speak of it as it was transacted out of their groves or places of worship; for as to what was done within them, no stranger being made acquainted with, much less admitted to see it, we must be wholly in the dark about it, as their druids committed nothing of it to writing. Concerning those unhappy ones, that were offered abroad, *Cæsar* and *Plutarch* give us the following account: When a man's life is in danger, either through sickness or other accident, they immediately sacrifice, or at least make a vow so to do, some human victims; for, besides that they think them the most perfect and pleasing to the gods, they believe, that one man's life cannot be redeemed but by that of another, without which no satisfaction could be made to them for their goodness to men. And these are the ceremonies established amongst them upon all such occasions ^p: They erect a huge, hollow pile of osier, which they fill with these unhappy wretches, who are quickly suffocated by the smoak, and reduced to ashes soon after. They imagine however, that criminals of any kind are much more acceptable victims; but, where they are not to be had, the innocent must go in their stead. In their funerals, which are very magnificent, they throw into the burning pile every thing that the deceased delighted in, even to living creatures; and it is not long since they threw likewise into it all his favourite servants and slaves. Some of his near relations, continues *Cæsar*, did likewise fling themselves into the flames, in hopes of living happy with him in the next world. This custom was exactly like that of burying the *Jewish* kings, except the

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^q Vol. i. p. 696, a, & not.

^r See the note (Y), in vol. i. p. 619.

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^s Tacit. German.

^t PETRON. satir. ad fin. Vide & SERV. comm. in ÆN. iii. ver. 58.

^u STRAB. l. iv.

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(22) Comment. ubi supra. Vide Keyzler. antiq. septent. p. 305, 459. Pellensier. hist. des Celts. Relig. des Gaul. & al.

(23) Lamprid. in Alex. Sever.

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or on his face, how the blood flowed at the wound, and from thence gave their judgment, which was exactly followed, let the case be what it would, or the appearances be ever so much against it; infomuch that they have come to the head of an army, and stopped the fight, which was just going to begin, their kings and generals not daring to contravene them upon any account ^a.

Their altars.

We have already hinted, that their religious groves had some large stones, which were supposed to be the altars on which they offered up their victims. Some of them are still extant in several parts of *France, Germany, England, Wales, Ireland*, and the isle of *Anglesey*, and are of such a monstrous size, that the bringing and rearing of them was thought, by the superstitious inhabitants, to have been the work of those demons, that were supposed to attend on that kind of worship, especially considering that, as ^b it is pretended, there were no quarries of such stones within any reasonable distance from the place where these altars stood. Of these one, that is to be seen in the confines of *Alsace*, measures about thirty-six foot in circumference, twelve foot and a half in breadth, and four foot and a quarter in thickness. It is reared on a parcel of other stones about three foot and a half from the ground ^c. Some of these altar-stones were round, others oval, some square, others oblong, and some triangular. Some appear to have been adorned with a kind of ornament either of bas-relief or inscriptions, others to have been quite plain; but whether originally so, or by time and weather, is not certain. Others there were, which had a kind of hollow or basin on the surface, supposed to have been designed to receive the blood or entrails of the victims ^d. One of these is recorded to have had a hollow kind of nasty passage under it, through which they made those strangers, whom they designed for sacrifice, to pass, pelting them all the way with filth and dung; from which that passage is, it seems, called to this day *cunus dæmonis*, *duvels-skut*, or *devil's bole* ^e. The antiquaries of each nation have been very curious and diligent in their accounts of those altars, and other piles of huge stones, which are to be met with in almost every kingdom and province of *Europe*, together with such other monuments as describe those sacrifices that were offered upon them, and the apparatus and instruments that were used in them; but they generally deal so much in conjectures, and agree so little with each other, that it is no wonder that kind of learning has been so disrelished by the far greater part of the learned; so that it would be lost time for us to enter further on this subject, and all that we think worth adding to it is, that the *Gauls* are affirmed by the generality of authors to have constantly assisted at these sacrifices armed cap-à-pé, and to have carried some small thing belonging to the victim away with them in their mouths or hands ^f, after it had been offered up, or had been led to the altar.

They had no temples till long after Cæsar.

TEMPLES, we have already hinted, they had not before the coming in of the *Romans*, nor, in all likelihood, for a long time after *Cæsar's* conquest of them. An author, who lived long after him, tells us expressly, that they had not any other statue of *Jupiter* but a tall oak ^g, which could hardly be supposed to be growing in a temple, any more than those colossian piles of hay and other combustibles, in which, ^h we are told by other authors, they used to burn their numerous human victims, can be imagined to have been reared in any such close places, much less still the trees on which they fastened those whom they pierced with arrows. Their groves, such as we have described them, were much fitter for those ceremonies; and this appears to have been one main difference between the *Gauls* and the *Greeks* and *Romans* ⁱ. When *Mars* came to be adopted among their inferior deities, they only worshipped him under the figure of a naked sword, that was reposed upon an altar in one of those groves; but as they had then a custom to vow to him what spoil they took from their enemies, *Cæsar* tells us they generally deposited them in any place where they chanced to be. There they sacrificed all the cattle they found, and laid up the ^j rest of the plunder in vast heaps in the open country, which were nevertheless held so sacred by the people, that none dared to touch any part of it, though there were amongst them great quantities of gold and silver, and other rich stuff; for he tells us, that those consecrated heaps were to be found in most cities in *Gaul* ^k. This seems likewise another material point, in which they differed from other nations, who chose

^a STRAB. l. iv. JUST. l. xxiv. c. 4. DIOD. SIC. l. vi. c. 9. COMMENT. l. vi. ^b KEYZLER. ubi sup. p. 41, & seq. ^c CÆS. COMM. ubi sup. ^d SCHOEN. de sedib. Franc. apud Matth. ANALECT. & KEYZLER. ubi sup. ^e CÆS. ubi sup. DIOD. SIC. MEL. l. iii. & al. ^f MAXIM. TYR. SERM. xxxviii. ^g CÆS. COMM. DIOD. STRAB. ubi sup. ^h See VOSS. in Maimon. Aboda Zarâ, c. 1. n. 2. RUIZ. apud relig. des Gaul. p. 119, & seq. ⁱ CÆS. COMM. ubi sup. DIOD. SIC. l. v. c. 2.

- a to shut up those treasures in their temples, as in places of greatest safety; whereas the *Gauls* left them exposed under the canopy of heaven, and in the open fields, or, at most, in some lakes and groves, which were on that very account esteemed sacred (M). The *Germans* appear to have been still more averse to the introduction of temples amongst them, as we learn from *Tacitus* and other authors, and shall see in the next chapter; and even the *Britons*, who certainly must have had them, if any other *Gauls* had, because they were the standard of the *Gaulish* religion, from whom all the others received it; for we are told ^b, that these used to cross over in great numbers into *Britain*, or, as some think, into the isle of *Anglesey*^c, and to spend there some years in the study of their religion and mysteries, as it was indeed the
- b seat and nursery of it, and the residence of the grand druid, or chief pontif, and consequently of all the learned doctors of the *Gaulish* religion; and yet, when *Tacitus* speaks of the descent of the *Romans* into this island^d, he tells us, that their first care was to destroy those groves and woods which the druids had polluted with the blood of so many human victims; and would they not, upon the same account, have done so by their temples, if any such had been in this country? And since all the other *Gauls* appear to have regulated their whole religion, and its rites, from these, it cannot be supposed, that they could, at least in *Tacitus*'s time, have had any temples any-where else, whatever they did afterwards more by force than out of choice, as we shall see by-and-by. Some statues they might have, and in all probability had,
- c before *Cæsar*'s time; but it would be difficult to prove, that they bore any resemblance with those of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, either as to their figure or design, or that they were set up by the priests, and not rather by the people, who are often hurried away by imitation, though contrary to the consent of their guides, who appear to have been most strict observers of the old patriarchal way of worshipping the Deity; for as, on the one hand, they seem to have kept all along some kind of tradition from their progenitor, who was but a third in descent from *Noah*, not to say any thing of those before the flood, of which they could not so soon lose all memory, and whose custom it was to worship God without temples or images; so, on the other, their great veneration and tenaciousness for their antient rites and customs,
- d joined to the contempt they had for those of other nations, must have proved an effectual and long-winded preservative against their introducing them. At least it is very probable, that these statues or images we are speaking of, if there were really

^b Comment. ubi sup.
lib. xiv. c. 3.

^c See *Mona antiqua*, sect. viii. & seq. p. 53, & seq. 78, & seq.

^d Annal.

(M) It must be owned, however, that some of these authors give to these places the name of temples or oratories, and *Cæsar* is affirmed to have risted them to support his army (25); but then they spoke like *Greeks* and *Romans*, among whom it was customary to recond such sacred treasures in their most famous temples, and even to call such consecrated places by the names of *ισόον* and *templum*. Thus *Tacitus*, though he affirms, that the *Germans* had no temples, tells us, that their goddess *Hertza* used sometimes to come out of her grove or *Castum nemus*, to air herself, and, when she was weary of rambling, was carried back, and placed in her own temple, which, the same author tells us afterwards, was no more than a lake within the wood where that goddess resided (26).

The same may be said of that famed one of *Thoulouze*, upon whose account the *aurum Thoulouzanum* became famous, even to a proverb, on account of the vast quantity that was reposit in it; This place *Sirabo*, speaking of it, calls a temple: There was, says he, a very famous temple at *Thoulouze*, the veneration and credit of which made it grow immensely rich, because none dared to touch any part of what was consecrated in it (27); and yet the same author, when he accounts for the vast quantities of gold that were found there, from some rich mines which he supposes to have been in the

neighbourhood, and which, joined to the plain frugal way in which the inhabitants lived, made it increase upon them to such a stupendous height, he adds, that they had other treasures in many such-like places, which, says he, were deposited and consecrated in whole ingots, in lakes, as in so many sacred *asyla*. So that this *Thoulouzan* temple, and those other lakes he speaks of, were in all probability the same thing, or meant, at most, but some more sacred and private part of the lake, to which he gives the name of temple, only on account of the deity to whom that metal was consecrated.

What confirms it still more is, that *Sirabò*, speaking of the sacrilege committed by *Cepio* (28), mentions only the lake out of which this famous *Thoulouzan* gold was taken; and *Juslin*, speaking of the *Tectosagi*, whom he supposes to have brought it from the temple of *Delphos*, says, that, being returned to *Thoulouze*, and afflicted with a grievous plague, they were ordered by their augurs to fling their ill-gotten pelf into that lake (29). We shall have occasion to speak more particularly of this *Thoulouzan* treasure, and its being exposed to sale, in the sequel; and we only mention it here to shew upon what account *Sirabò* called it a temple, though no more than a sacred lake, with a *source* or niche, with some emblem of a deity in the richest, and, consequently, most sacred part of it.

(25) *Sueton. in Cæsar.*

Relig. des Gaul. lib. i. cap. 13.

(26) *De morib. German.*

(29) *Geogr. l. iv.*

(27) See before vol. v. p. 27. e. f.

(28) *Ibid.*

any such among them, might be no other than monuments of some eminent persons^a and transactions, such as that which *Laban* and *Jacob* reared in memory of their mutual reconciliation, or that which the latter set up in the place where he buried his favourite *Rachel*¹; or perhaps to point out those sacred treasures, which were consecrated in the manner and places already mentioned, and to deter people from profaning or seizing upon them; all which might be easily mistaken for statues and idols by those *Greek* and *Roman* authors who beheld or heard of them.

BEFORE we dismiss this point, it will not be thought unseasonable to make some further inquiry into those vast piles of stones which remain to this day both in *England*, and in other parts of *Europe*; concerning which so many different conjectures have been offered by learned antiquaries, and others, whilst some have maintained them^b to have been erected by the *Romans*, others by the antient *Gauls* and *Britons*; one sort taking them for monuments erected in memory of some famous battle or victory, others for burying-places, and a third sort, though with less reason, as we think, for temples, or places of worship. We shall, however, willingly save ourselves the trouble of entering into a detail of them, considering how difficult it is to describe such kind of antiques, so as to give our readers any tolerable idea of them, without having constant recourse to some iconography of them, which are not in many cases easy to be had, and in most not without greater expence than they would perhaps think they deserve. But since that famous one of *Stonehenge*, which has been seen by all the curious, and of which we have so many descriptions in many of our *English*^c authors, may be justly affirmed to exceed all the rest, as well in the largeness of the stones as the perfection of its figure, we shall, notwithstanding its more properly belonging to a subsequent chapter, venture to speak of it here, and give the best light we can concerning that truly curious piece of antiquity; especially as we proposed, at the beginning of this chapter, to treat of every thing that related to the *Gauls*, and those other nations that are descended from them, in so full a manner, as might save us the trouble of needless repetitions in those that follow. But what more effectually calls upon us to treat of it here, is, that a reverend and learned author lately, in that curious and elaborate account he has given of that stately edifice^d, hath endeavoured to prove it an antient druidish temple, which, if it had been^d such, would overthrow all that we have hitherto said, on the testimony of so many antient authors as we have produced, in favour of the opposite opinion. Had that learned author contented himself with calling it a druidish edifice of any kind but that of a temple, we should have readily agreed to it; because we think he has given us full proofs of its being not only much antienter than the *Romans*, and, consequently, much more so than the *Saxons*, but has further demonstrated, as far as the subject is capable of demonstration, that it never could be a fabric of the former; so that upon the whole it must be owned to have been a *British* or druidish work: and thus far we readily agree with him, tho' we shall take the liberty, as we think we ought, to differ from him in his origin of the druids, as well as in this of their having erected^e temples in imitation of the patriarchs, who are no-where recorded to have reared any thing but bare altars of unhewn stones, or, at most, some groves over them, rather for shade and coolness, than out of any superstitious regard for either the oaks, or any other trees. And as our author offers nothing but far-off conjectures on a subject of such remote and dark antiquity, there seems to be one insuperable obstacle against his hypothesis of their coming from *Phœnice*; namely, that if these druids had^f been of so different a nation from the *Celts* the ancestors of the *Gauls*, let them have come into *Britain* when they would, either before or after the *Celts*, it is not to be supposed, that these, much less all their *Gaulish* descendants, who were so superstitiously tenacious of their antient rites, laws and customs, could have ever paid^f such a blind and universal subjection to them, not only in religious, but in all civil and military concerns, as we have seen from the universal consent of *Greek* and *Roman* authors they actually did: and if those druids had had such sublime notions of the Deity, and been such strict followers of the patriarchal religion and rites, it is scarcely to be imagined they could have fallen into such horrid excesses, superstitions, and cruelties, as we have shewn they did, even from the earliest times.

We come now to speak of this famous fabric of *Stonehenge*, and to give our readers such an account of it as may afford them an idea of the excellent taste of those

An account of
Stonehenge on
Salisbury plain.

Allowed a
druidish fabric.

¹ See Genes. xxi. 45, & seq. xxv. 19, 20.
^a Idem, p. 31, & seq. 50, & seq. 61, & seq.

^b STUKELY'S *Stonehenge*, p. 1, 17, 60, & seq.

- a druids, who were the projectors and conductors of it; and may serve to shew the nature and design of all other works of this kind, that are extant in any parts of *Europe* (N), where they bore any sway; and herein we shall make no difficulty to follow our learned author's description of it in every case but that we have excepted above, it being, in all other respects, the most exact and accurate we have; tho' we shall refer those who desire a fuller account of it, to his late elaborate description here referred to.

- THE name of *Stonehenge*, being of *Saxon* extract, and signifying barely a heap of hanging or gallows stones, is so contemptible a one for so noble a work, that it plainly shews it to have been reared long before their coming into *England*. Had they been the builders of it, or capable of judging of the magnificence of that work, or had there, in their time, remained any traces of its builders, and their design in it, they would doubtless have called it by a much more honourable name. The ancient *Britons*, in the time of the *Romans* invading them, spake of it only by long and immemorial tradition, and as of a work far above human power; and called it, in their language, *Cboir Gbaur*, which some interpret the *choir* or *dance of giants*, on account of a general notion that ran through all those countries, where such heaps of vast stones were set up, that it was done by giants, though others, more absurdly, by the assistance of dæmons, probably from the reputation which the druids were in for their skill in magic, and by the help of which they were supposed to have reared those stupendous piles in the form they stood; though our author very judiciously observes, that *Cboir Gbaur* might be more properly rendered the grand choir, as it exceeded all other works of this kind in bigness, and, not unlikely, in dignity, on account of the arch-druid, or of his holding his grand assembly of all the inferior ones in this place. This etymon is altogether suitable to the grandeur of the fabric, and the design of it, whether we suppose it, with our author, to have been a temple, or, as seems more probable to us, for some other public use, in either of which it appears equally grand and noble. And this will go a great way to convince us, that it never was reared by the *Romans*; for the ancient *Britons* would hardly have given such a grand name, to a fabric of theirs, in their own language: but our author has taken a much more effectual way to convince us, that it could be none of their work, much less such a one as our famed architect *Inigo Jones* (if he really was the author of that plan and performance which Mr. *Webb* published under his name, and has been so amply confuted by Dr. *Charlton* * and *Keyzler*) has endeavoured to prove it, and in which he asserts it to be a round *Roman* temple, like the *Pantheon* (O).

Dr. *Charlton*, though he fully exploded that notion, yet failed in proving his own, which attributed it to the *Danes*; upon which he was soon after confuted by

* *Choræ gigant.*

(N) Though there are many of these to be found in *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, *Brabant*, *Holland*, &c. yet they are no-where so frequent as in these *British* isles, even, as our author observes, from the very *Land's-end* in *Cornwall* to the utmost promontory in *Scotland*, where the *Roman* power never reached. They are to be seen in all the islands between *Scotland* and *Ireland*, in the isle of *Man*, in all the *Orkneys*, and numerous in *Ireland*; and all pretty near after the same design, being generally arches of rude stones, of different diameters, upon elevated ground, open heaths and downs, and chiefly made of stones taken from the surface of the earth, though some of them appear to be of different forms, and so decayed and disfigured by time, that it is hardly possible to guess at their original use or intention, but from some analogy which they seem to bear with those that are more perfect, as this we are upon (30).

Those on the continent have suffered still more, not only from the *Romans*, who took singular pride in destroying them, and introducing some of their own in their stead, and bringing the *Gauls* over to their religion and customs; but likewise from the

blind zeal of weak christians, who looked upon it as a piece of merit to destroy or deface them, as monuments of idolatry, and superstitious cruelties. The reader may consult concerning them the authors quoted in the margin (31).

(O) That great architect, or, as is commonly thought, his publisher, to make the dimensions answer to his scheme, has been forced to alter and misrepresent them, to displace some of those huge stones, and remove them at such a distance as best answered to his imaginary plan. All which was afterwards discovered by a new survey of it before persons of taste and judgment. *Jones* not publishing his account, though he lived thirty years after he had taken a view of it, makes one conclude, that he never designed it; and that, upon a serious examination of it, he found it impracticable. But upon his death, Mr. *Webb* his son-in-law, it is thought, found an expedient of surmounting that difficulty, by the alterations we have mentioned; and by way of salvo tells the world, that if his father-in-law had lived to finish it, it would have appeared in a much better guise.

And was built by either Saxons or Danes.

The notion of its being a Roman temple confuted.

(30) See before vol. v. p. 27. a. f. (31) Vid. relig. des Gaul. lib. i. cap. 13. Keyzler antiq. septentr. &c.

Olaus Vormius †, there being really no such monuments to be found among the *Gothic* a nations. Besides, this of *Stonehenge* is mentioned in some manuscripts of *Ninnius*, who wrote two hundred years before they set foot in *Britain*; all which is a sufficient confutation of its being a *Danish* work. *Keyzler*, for want of being thoroughly acquainted with our *British* antiquities, after having confuted the notion of *Inigo Jones*, of its being a *Roman* temple, or having any relation to public worship, and the vulgar error of its being built by giants, or by magic art, or of its being some old broken remains of the flood (P), endeavours to prove it a sepulchral monument erected by the *Anglo-Saxons* ‡. We hope we have already said enough to prove, that, if it was such a sepulchral fabric, it is of too old a date to have been reared by that nation, or indeed by any but the antient *Britons*; though he is pleased, in order to b prove them every way unqualified for such a work, to represent them as such ignorant savages, and so like the wild *Americans* †, that he thinks it argument sufficient, and indeed it is the only one he gives, against any one believing them to have been the contrivers of it. But how truly soever this character may suit to his antient *Germans*, of whom we shall speak in the next chapter, we hope to shew in the sequel of this, besides what has been occasionally said of the *Britons*, and their druids, that they were the very reverse of what he has painted them: he has succeeded much better in his proofs, that it was a monumental work, from many more of the like nature and form, which are known and allowed to be such. Our very author himself tells us of one in *Ireland*, which, by his description, is *Stonehenge* in miniature, c and which he owns to have been the monument of a famed druideis †; though he insinuates it to be her temple likewise. What he mentions in order to prove the great pile being rather a temple than a sepulchral monument, viz. the horns, bones, charcoal, and other things that were dug up from under it, is quite insufficient, it being common, at the funerals of antient *Britons* and *Gauls*, not only to offer hecatombs of victims, which alone would answer for these horns, bones, &c. but likewise to bury their favourite horses and slaves, as we shall see in its due place: and if the reader will be pleased to look back at what we have said of the funerals of their brethren the *Scythians*, especially of those of the highest rank †, and compare it with the form and disposition of the stones in this place, he will be apt to think it a more decent d refinement upon that antient and inhuman *Scythian* custom; and only rearing a number of huge stones in this form, instead of the skins of men and horses, which they used to stuff, and set up round their monuments; for as it favoured less of barbarity, so it was of a much more lasting nature. But this we offer only as our own conjecture, and conjecture is all that can be offered, in favour of any other hypothesis about it at this vast distance of time, and with those little helps we have left. For this reason we shall omit mentioning some other notions which people have entertained; such as, that it was the place where the grand council of *Britain* met, a *Roman* trophy, the monument of the famous queen *Boadicea*, of king *Vortigern*, and such-like, all which, carrying still less probability than any of the preceding ones, e are not worth dwelling longer upon.

We shall now give a short description of the fabric itself, out of that accurate survey which the reverend author last quoted made of it. It is situate on a pleasant part of *Salisbury* plain, about two miles from *Amberbury*, and six from *Salisbury*, and is situate not upon the summit of a hill, but very near it; and, for more than three quarters of the circuit, you have a gentle ascent to it from the lower ground; at half a mile distance the appearance of it is quite stately, awful, and august, especially on the north-east side, which is the most perfect. According to his plan or iconography of it, the circumference of it exceeds that of the outside of *St. Paul's*

† Fast. & Monument. Danic.

‡ Ibid. cap. 4, 5, 13, & seq.

§ Antiquit. septentr. p. 50, & seq. 97, & seq. 109, & seq. 130, & seq.

• Stonehenge restored, p. 3. & 4.

† See before vol.

ii. p. 271. d, e.

(P) There are two other vulgar errors more worth confuting than any of these, because they have proved exceedingly detrimental to these antient monuments. The one is, the notion of the stones being factitious, or cast by art, which hath and doth still induce stupid pretenders to antiquity to come and disfigure those curious stones with chisels and hammers, to find out whether they are really so or not. The other is, their digging near and round

about them, in hopes of finding out some hidden treasures, or other curious antiquities; by which means many of them are fallen down, and others so very near doing so, that, if this humour continues much longer, those noble fabrics will be reduced, in time, into a heap of ruinous fragments, and no traces be left, either of their structure, design, or magnificence, but what we find in such descriptions as those given by this and other authors.

- a cupola. The height of the outward cornice is eighteen foot complete, and that of the inner twenty-four at a medium; for these, for reasons to be mentioned hereafter, are not all of equal height. Thus the height of the inner circle, or rather ellipsis, as our author has proved it, bears a just proportion to the curve of the circumference, which is above one hundred feet, and was one fourth part of it, though at present some of these stones either stooping, or by long time being sunk lower, come somewhat short of the proportion above-mentioned. The nobleness likewise of their lights and shades, as well as the variety arising from their circular form, adds to the elegance of the prospect; so that it is not without reason that our great *Jones* blamed Mr. *Camden* for calling it so senselessly as he doth in his *Britannia*, *insana substructio, a buge*, or, as he englishes it, *a wild kind of structure*; whereas it plainly appears to have been the very reverse. But it is manifest, that he never saw it, or took but a slight view of it; and his description is so faulty and incorrect, that he seems not to have thought it worth a more exact survey, though he had seen those of Mr. *Aubrey* and *Inigo Jones*; but these likewise he seems to have had but little opinion of, and rather mentions their account of it to confute them, than to rectify his own by them; and we own, that he has very judiciously exploded both their notions, as well as all those other vulgar ones, which ascribe the rearing of this odd edifice, as he thinks it, to any but to the antient *Britons*. But to return to the fabric itself: the whole is inclosed within a circular ditch, which being crossed, one ascends thirty-five yards
- b before he comes to the work; so that the area, as it is inclosed by the ditch, is three times the diameter of the building; and therefore the distance from the ditch within-side, quite round, to the fabric, is equal to the diameter of the fabric. When you enter the building, whether on foot or horseback, you are struck with astonishment at the sight of the vast stones, whether you view those that are still standing in their antient site, or those which lean forward, and are ready to fall, or those which lie down, and, by their immense weight, have crushed a number of others under them, especially that which our author supposes to have been the altar-stone (Q), and is broken into three large pieces by the fall of one of the large architraves. What increases the wonder, especially to a man versed in these antique works, is, that,
- d among those dreadful dilapidations, in which every stone lieth, like the carcase of a giant, with a number of horrid ruins under it, there remains still as much of it undemolished, as enables one to recover an idea of what it was when in its perfect state, and enough of every part to give one a notion of the whole. To all this we may add the beautiful contrast, which the view of the inside gives you, when joined to the vast and beautiful prospect of the country about it. The one, if you look up to those huge stones, and the vast ponderous imposts over them, the chasm of sky between the jambs of the cell or inner circuit, you imagine you see whole quarries mounted in the air; and if upon the rude havock below, it looks like the bowels of a mountain turned inside out. The other gives you a most spacious and variegated prospect of the country round about, bounded only by the horizon. One of them is what they call *Vespasian's camp*; a beautiful prospect it is! another the antient hippodrome, or place for horse and chariot-races; a third the grand avenue to the fabric, which, as our author supposes, begins some miles from it. The plain is here-and-there interspersed with a vast number of mounts, or, as they are called, barrows, some larger than others. The largest of them is inclosed about with a ditch an hundred cubits in diameter. These are set thicker and closer in one place, and thinner at another; and, upon digging some of them up, there have been found human bones, urns, and some kinds of beads, and other pieces of glass, crystal, jet, amber, and such-like female trinkets, of different colours and metals; as also some swords, hatchets, and other weapons; have been dug out of them; which plainly shew them to have been burying-places; but whether of the antient *Britons*, *Romans*, *Saxons*, or *Danes*,

Prospects from
Stonehenge.

The barrows or
burying-places.

* Stonehenge restored, p. 10, 43, & seq.

(Q) And so it may really have been, let the fabric be supposed a temple, a sepulchral monument, a grand court or council, or any thing of the like nature, seeing that, as we have observed before, sacrifices were used in great numbers in all those solemnities, and an altar cannot but be supposed to have been fixed in some convenient part of the building; but why so close to one part of the cell or

nich as Mr. *Jones* has made it, and not in the centre, where *Keyzer* would rather have it, this reason may be well enough assigned, that it is most likely to have stood where we find the huge fragments still lying, and crushed by one of the large imposts falling upon it; for, had it stood in the centre, it would have been out of the reach of it, and have remained whole to this time.

is not easy to determine, though the first seems most probable upon one account, a which the reader will find in the margin (R). These barrows however are so thick about the neighbourhood of *Stonehenge*, that, from some heights, one may tell one hundred and twenty-eight in sight¹. Among them one may observe, in some places, two or more, sometimes to the number of six or seven, inclosed in the same circle or ditch, of which one is larger than the rest, and seems to be the tomb of some head of a family, and the rest that of the family itself. The most remarkable of all the rest are, that which is called the tomb of king *Carvifius*, who was the famed king of the *Iceni*, who fought against *Julius Caesar*. It stands on the other side *Wilton*, antiently *Carvitium*, so named, as is supposed, from, if not built by, him. It is situate on an eminence, and of a handsome height, and has four tall stately trees planted b on the top. From this mount you have the prospect of *Old* and *New Sarum*, of *Wilton* house and park, the *Ikening* road, and some distant hills. The other, called *Bush-barrow*, is beautifully planted by the shepherds, and commands the prospect of *Stonehenge*, of the *curfus* or antient races, and of all the barrows around that plain, besides a most elegant and spacious landscape^m. Thus much may serve to give an idea of the grand prospect, which this noble structure affords you from without.

Stonehenge
probably a sepulchral monument.

BUT, before we come to speak of its symmetry, and the form and bigness of its stones, it may not be amiss to obviate a difficulty, which will, in all probability, occur to our readers from what we have just now said of those barrows; for since they evidently appear to have been burying-places, and to bear a kind of relation to the fabric itself, which is, as it were, the centre and kebla of them, will not this destroy our supposition of the latter being likewise a sepulchral monument? Will it not appear absurd to suppose such a noble fabric to have been subservient to the same ends with those hillocks, which are seen around it? And will it not be more reasonable to suppose it, with our author, to have been a temple, than a monument? To which we beg leave to answer, that we should have made no difficulty of admitting it such a temple, had we not so many convincing arguments, that neither *Celts*, nor *Gauls* and *Britons*, had any such buildings till long after the coming of the *Romans*. We have already given our reasons, and hope they will appear as satisfactory to them, as they do to us, when duly weighed. However, to shew that our conjecture d is not so inconsistent at the bottom, as it may appear at the first sight, we shall observe, first, that there is a manifest difference between a monument and a burying-place; and that the latter is designed only to inclose the remains, and the other to preserve the memory, of the deceased. These might be appropriated for the sepulture of the great ones, and their family; and this to burn their bodies, to be afterwards deposited in urns, and conveyed to their proper burying-place. Again, the stone fabric might be the sepulchre of kings, and consequently deserve greater magnificence; or it might be that of the druids, then in very high esteem; or more particularly of the head of that order, or grand druid, and require not only to make a more stately appearance, but likewise to bear some kind of affinity, as, in fact, it e seems to do, in its structure, to those sacred groves, in which they performed their

¹ Ibid. p. 45. & plate xxxi.

^m See p. 46. & plate xxxiii. & seq.

(R) The author observes, that the *via Icenia*, or *Ikening-street*, a road made by the *Romans*, which reached from *Norfolk* into *Dorsetshire*, infringes upon one of those barrows, and crosses some part of it; from which it is reasonable to conclude, that these barrows were older than that road (19).

In these barrows, besides those human and other bones, and materials, which have been digged out of them, there was a broad sword taken out of one, and sent to *Oxford*; in another was found a weapon of the same metal like a pole-ax, which weighed twenty pounds, and given to colonel *Wyndham*; out of a third was dug a brass instrument, called celt, and is supposed to have belonged to some druid, and to have been used for cutting the mistletoe off the oaks. We have taken notice above, that the *Gaulish* druids used one made of gold for that purpose. In one of the female barrows was found, besides some other ornaments and trinkets, the head

of a javelin of brass, at the socket of which were two holes for the pins, that fastened it to the staff, and a sharp bodkin, round at one end, and square at the other, where it went into a handle. Some of the trinkets seem to have been originally covered with metal; and one of them had still a thin film of gold: all which sufficiently shew this barrow to have been the sepulchre of some heroine.

All that is further worth observing on this head is, that those materials, as well as the bones, appear to have suffered the fire in some, though not in others. In some likewise the ashes were deposited in a small urn of reddish earth unburnt; and, in others, the bodies were buried at full length, generally north and south. From all which it is concluded, that the custom of burning dead bodies was in use among the *Britons*, as well as that of burying without it, before the times of the coming in of the *Romans*.

(19) *Stukeley's Stonehenge*, p. 3, & seq. *Monn antiq scd.* ix. p. 88, & seq. p. 91, & seq.

- a religious ceremonies. But lastly, and to name no more, that which appears to us the most probable conjecture, from the relation which those barrows bear to the building, is, that this last was, as it were, the centre or kebla, that is, in other words, the point of view, or rather of distance, to all the rest, and might be erected at the charge of the whole nation, and be designed, not only as a magnificent monument, or rather an open and majestic edifice for the performance of funeral rites to the whole people, and more especially to those of a superior rank and merit, but likewise to ascertain the property of each barrow to its respective family, by the number of cubits or furlongs they stood east or west, &c. from it; for that they had a clear notion of the points of the compass, and of geometry, is evident from the very planting, structure, situation and symmetry of the fabric, as has been demonstrated by our author himself, as well as by some others, who have written before him of it.

THIS conjecture being allowed, as indeed every thing about this noble pile seems to confirm it, (*viz.* the long and spacious avenue to and from it, its dividing itself as a convenient distance, the one road towards the *curfus*, and the other to *Radfin* and the adjacent plains, the situation and structure of the edifice, its prospect and command over all the country, especially the barrows and *curfus* above-mentioned) we may carry it on a little farther, and suppose the corpse of the deceased, especially if a prince, a grand druid, a celebrated warrior or heroine, to have proceeded with a suitable funeral pomp, such as we have formerly shewn was observed by the *Scythians* to their monarchs^a, from the place of his residence to this sepulchral monument. Here the druids and bards received it, and performed the funeral ceremonies over it, which consisted chiefly, at least as far as related to their office, in offering sacrifices, rehearsing the genealogy and heroic exploits of the dead, singing their encomia on him and his ancestors, and, if the body was to be burnt, in assisting to, if not performing, that ceremony, committing the ashes to the funeral urn, and conveying it, with all its apparatus of ornaments, weapons, &c. to the proper place of its interment. The area on the outside might serve for exhibiting such games, shews, and fights, as were usual on such occasions, to the numerous spectators round about, and of which we shall speak in due place. After which, the company might proceed to the *curfus*, and there close the ceremony with races, and other such-like exercises. Every one of these places seems indeed so excellently situate, as if they had been designed for this grand ceremony. They all stand at a convenient distance from one another, and each commands the prospect of the others, and may be viewed at a great distance by the largest number of spectators which we can suppose to have assisted at it. We shall only add, that this notion, which we have been offering here, doth include all the various conjectures, which our best antiquaries have been able to make of it, either from the various antient traditions of it, or from their own discoveries. It answers to that of a temple, by reason of its sacredness, its resemblance to the antient religious groves, and the sacrifices and other rites performed there. It answers to that of a sepulchral monument, on account of its being appropriated to the grandest funeral ceremonies, and its being the centre or kebla to all the adjacent monuments round about: to that of an amphitheatre, on account of the funeral games and shews exhibited at it; and may also have served for a convening-place of the national council for the election and proclamation of a new king, general, or grand druid, whilst they assisted at the obsequies of a deceased one. Lastly, it appears not to have been reared by either *Romans*, *Saxons*, or *Danes*, because it is evidently prior to them all, for the reasons we have alleged a little higher, to which we shall subjoin one more, as we are come now to speak of the huge stones, that compose this stupendous fabric.

- f We have already hinted, that their monstrous largeness, joined to their apparent great distance from any quarry, and the many ups and downs through which they must have been conveyed hither, led the unthinking vulgar into the notion, that they were brought hither by magic, or the help of demons, according to some, and by giants, according to others, either of which were readily enough supposed able to bring them upon their backs from *Africa* (S); whilst the wiser sort rather imagined

*The stones
whence and how
brought hither.*

^a See vol. ii. p. 271, c, d.

(S) From a notion, which our author has likewise adopted, which supposes *Afer* to have been the same with *Hepher*, one of the sons of *Abraham* by

Keturah, to have come hither from *Africa* with *Hercules*, and to have brought with him the druids, who erected the fabric we are now speaking of.

them to be factitious, and cast from some such composition as sand and mortar, and the like, and hardened by the weather. This notion, as we hinted in a late note, has been sufficiently, and, we may say, experimentally, disproved, though to the great detriment and disfiguring of the stones themselves, and the endangering of the structure. These stones, rough and battered as they have been by these pretended curiosoes, as well as by a long series of ages, appear to have been originally smoothed by the chisel, at least as far as they stand above ground; for, as to that part which lies buried in the earth, it shews itself, upon digging round it, to be in its primitive roughness, and as it was digged up out of the quarry, or, as our author rather supposes, and with greater seeming probability, as they were found lying on the surface of the ground in great numbers, and various dimensions, perhaps ever since the creation of the world (T), and as they are to be seen still in vast quantities upon Marlborough downs near *Abury*, at a place called from thence the *Grey Wetters*, and are of the same kind, viz. a bastard white marble. Hence another argument is drawn of its being of antienter date than the coming of the *Romans*; for, by this time, the *Belgæ*, a colony of the *Gauls*, had seized upon, and seated themselves in, that part of the country; so that the *Britons* must have fetched these stones from, and drawn them some miles through, an enemy's country, unless we could suppose, that those *Belgæ* were the builders of *Stonehenge*; which is less probable than that the *Britons* did, because these have left such kinds of monumental piles where-ever they can be traced, as we hinted a little higher. The difficulty is, to conceive how stones of that immense weight, one of which, though neither the largest nor heaviest, has been computed, by proper judges, to weigh between thirty and forty tons, and consequently would have required about an hundred and fifty oxen to have drawn it, could be conveyed from their original seat to *Stonehenge*, which is sixteen computed miles, and along such uneven ground, and in such quantities as compose the fabric. Sure it is, that no carriage can be conceived, which would not have been sunk into the ground by such a monstrous weight, unless it be that of rollers; but even this must appear a more than *Herculean* labour; the arduousness of which cannot be extenuated, but by the supposition, that the whole, or at least the greatest part, of the nation contributed their help towards it in their turns.

Their bulk and weight.

Disposition and form.

THE rearing of them afterwards in such form and situation, was a work of no less difficulty; for though we may reasonably suppose, that they were all pecked and chizelled, had their mortises and tenons wrought, and every thing done, that could lighten and fit them for the design, at the place where they were brought from, yet every man will easily perceive what an immense labour it must be to rear stones of that vast bulk and weight, to place them in their proper places, and at such due distances, that the architraves or imposts, that locked them to each other at the top, should fall so exactly every mortise upon its own tenon, as we find they actually do to this day; for it is plain to every eye that views them carefully, that each of these tenons are so exactly fitted to its mortise, that if either of the standing stones had been set ever so little out of its place, and perpendicular, they could never have locked one in the other, till they were reduced to their due distance and position; especially considering that there were at least fifteen in number of this large sort, set up two and two, the whole in a beautiful oval, nearest to a circle, and exactly locked each to the other by architraves of proportionable bigness. Each tenon is a druidish

(T) This is at least our author's conjecture (30), which we must be content to submit to our readers, till a more probable one be found out. We never had an opportunity of viewing those *Grey Wetters* but at a distance, whence they appeared as huge stones dug from some neighbouring quarry, which, though not now to be found, might have been exhausted, or covered up; in which case, these might have been designed by our ancient *British* druids for some other edifices of the same nature, which they were obliged to set aside, upon their being forced from this isle into those of *Ireland*, &c. and of which we shall speak in due place; but doubtless our author,

who has been a curious examiner into all these particulars, had his reasons, though he doth not mention them, for not thinking them to have been dug out of any quarry, but to have lain there scattered from the beginning.

One thing is remarkable, that all these *British* structures in *Wiltshire*, and no others, are built of the same kind of stone as that of the *Wetters*; whereas the cathedral of *Salisbury*, all their great churches, and other large edifices, are of quite another kind, and were hewn out of the quarry called *Chilmark*, in the same county and neighbourhood.

(30) B. Montfaucon. *suplem. de l'antiquit. Mahudel. Relig. des Gaul. Koyler. Chorier. Hist. Delphinale. La Fable annal. Tolosan. &c. al.*

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- a cubit, somewhat above twenty inches in diameter (V) on the broadest side; for they are of an oval figure, and the mortises exactly answerable to it. By this contrivance the imposts or architraves lie firm locked upon the uprights, and these are kept firm to each other. Where the imposts are heaviest, the tenons are shortest; and where those are lightest, and consequently more in danger to be shaken, as in those of the outward circle, these are made longest, and the mortises deeper accordingly. If the bottom face of the impost be divided into three squares, the two mortises will be found in the middle of the two outward ones: draw diagonal lines from corner to corner, and where they intersect is the centre of the mortise; which central distance from one to the other is seven druidish cubits, or about eight of ours. We might
- b mention several other curious particulars, which make the whole appear to have been done geometrically, and from such plain and simple principles, as would best answer every purpose of the grand design; but for these we must, in a work of this nature, refer our readers to the author's account*, to avoid prolixity. But from what has been said, the reader may frame an idea of the curiousness, as well as arduousness, of the work, which, considering its regular complexity and symmetry, must be owned to outvie all that we read of single obelisks, pillars, and statues, how gigantic soever, if we except the pyramids of *Egypt*, and the *Rhodian* colossus, of which we have given an account in former volumes†.

- c THE whole fabric consisted of four circles, or rather ovals, of stones, the most considerable of which had ten uprights, and five architraves or imposts, making up five trilithons, each trilithon consisting of two uprights, and one impost, which locked them together at the top by the tenons and mortises above-mentioned. These trilithons were not all of the same height, as our author observed, and is indeed the only one we know, that has taken notice of this elegance; but each of them raised its head or impost somewhat higher, as it drew nearest to that before which the altar is judged to have stood, and which appears to have been not only the highest, but finest, both for the smoothness and beauty of the stones. The height of these trilithons, with their architraves or cornice, is computed, in a medium, to be about twenty-four feet; for there is no coming at an exact dimension in a work so decayed by
- d time and weather; the uprights being between twenty and twenty-one feet high, and lessening a little upwards to the top, and the cornice computed about three feet and a half, making up the complement of twenty-four feet. These imposts, on the outward face, bore the same sweep with the oval which they composed; but, on the inside, went in a strait line. They seem likewise to have been somewhat broader on the top than at the bottom; so that their sides bear a little slant downwards, whether to preserve them the better from the weather, or to make up the shortning, which is caused by their elevation from the sight. The gradual ascent of these three orders, as they may be termed, of trilithons, is, according to our author‡, thirteen, fourteen and fifteen druidish cubits. The breadth of each trilithon is computed, in
- e a medium, about ten cubits of the same measure, and is consequently the length at least of the impost. Each upright is about three feet nine inches thick, and twice that, *i. e.* seven feet and a half in breadth, or four cubits and a half druidish. Each trilithon, which composes this oval cell, stands at such convenient distance from the other, as to yield a beautiful prospect into it, which is not a little heightened by the space which stands between the two uprights, and which widens upwards, as these lessen in their breadth, and form an oval from its two centres, whose longest radius is fifteen, and shortest twelve, druidish cubits; so that the ellipsis is formed by a line of sixty cubits; which, being joined at the two ends, and turned round the two centres, give a diameter of thirty cubits at the longest, and twenty-five at the shortest,
- f five cubits being the supposed distance between the two centres (W).

THIS

* Ubi sup. p. 26, & seq.

† See vol. i. p. 183, & seq. vol. iii. p. 130, & seq.

‡ P. 26.

(V) Dr. *Stukeley* hath clearly demonstrated, that this fabric was never built according to the *Roman* measure, from the great number of fractions and uncouth numbers, that occur in the measuring of each part, but according to the antient cubit, &c. which was common to the *Hebrews*, *Phœnicians*, *Egyptians*, &c. as well as, as it appears here, to the

druids and antient *Celts*. His proofs the reader will see in the work itself (31); for it is not for us to dwell on those.

(W) Hence, among several other arguments, one may infer, that this nich or cell could not be originally such an hexagon, as Mr. *Jones* supposed it; much less could it be formed, as he pretended, at the six

(31) P. 6, & seq. & *plac.* vi.

THIS was the figure and greatness of that which Mr. Jones called the cell, and our a author the adytum or the concha, of, what they supposed the fabric to be, the temple, and which we have taken the more pains in describing, as it is indeed the grandest part of the whole. As for the remainder of the structure, though it bears an exact and beautiful proportion with it, we shall content ourselves with mentioning the most remarkable parts of each, without entering into a detail of all the particulars. Within this grand oval, is another of much lesser, though harder and finer stones. This circle, together with the long stone now broken, which is supposed to have been the altar, and is of a darkish-blue marble, such as is often set upon common altar tombs, and about sixteen feet in length, consists of twenty stones, the greatest b part of which are sadly broken and mangled; but not so much as to hinder a curious observer from recovering the form and order in which they stood, though their use and design is hard to be guessed at. Another circle or oval of forty stones surrounded the cell or adytum at a proper distance. These were likewise of a much lesser size; after which one comes out to the greatest or outer circle, composed of thirty stones, likewise harder, and somewhat of a pyramidal form. It seems as if the founders had wisely provided, that their lesser bulk should be compensated by their solidity. The difference between this outward circle, and that of the cell or adytum, consisted in this, that the architraves of the trilithons of the latter did not touch one another, but preserved the same distance with the two uprights, on which they were locked; c whereas, in the former or outward circle, the standers were joined by a continued cornice. Each stander or upright here had two tenons, at equal distances on the top, by which the two imposts were locked by their mortises, and so continued quite round, in the form of a crown or cornice. The whole was surrounded by a vallum or deep ditch at a proportionate distance, as we have hinted above; and this, with the grand avenue, and the gradual ascent up to the fabric, afforded a noble prospect, both as you advanced towards it, and much more when you viewed from it all the champaign country round about it. And thus much shall suffice for us to say on this stupendous British fabric, which has astonished and puzzled all the architects, anti- quaries, and curiosoes, that have either seen or read of it. We hope we have made d a sufficient apology for our anticipating this short account of it here, which might otherwise have more properly belonged to the British history; and that the accurate author, from whom we have taken the most considerable and curious part of it, will not take it amiss, that we have not followed his hypothesis of its having been a druidish temple, when he considers the reasons we have given for our asserting, that neither Gauls, Germans, nor antient Britons, had ever any such buildings, till long after their being conquered by the Romans, and being forced to introduce a foreign religion amongst them, that is, the worship of Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, and a great number of other inferior deities. How and when this was most probably brought about, we shall endeavour to account for in the next section.

points of three equilateral triangles; for, if this had been the case, there must have been six instead of five trilithons; but here is not the least footstep of a sixth, no stump or fragment of it, nor cavity in the earth, where it may be supposed to have stood; so that three stones of that immense weight and

magnitude, as we have described them, must be imagined to have been spirited away by the same magic art, by which the vulgar supposed the whole to have been reared, before we can think, that it ever had this trigonometrical form.

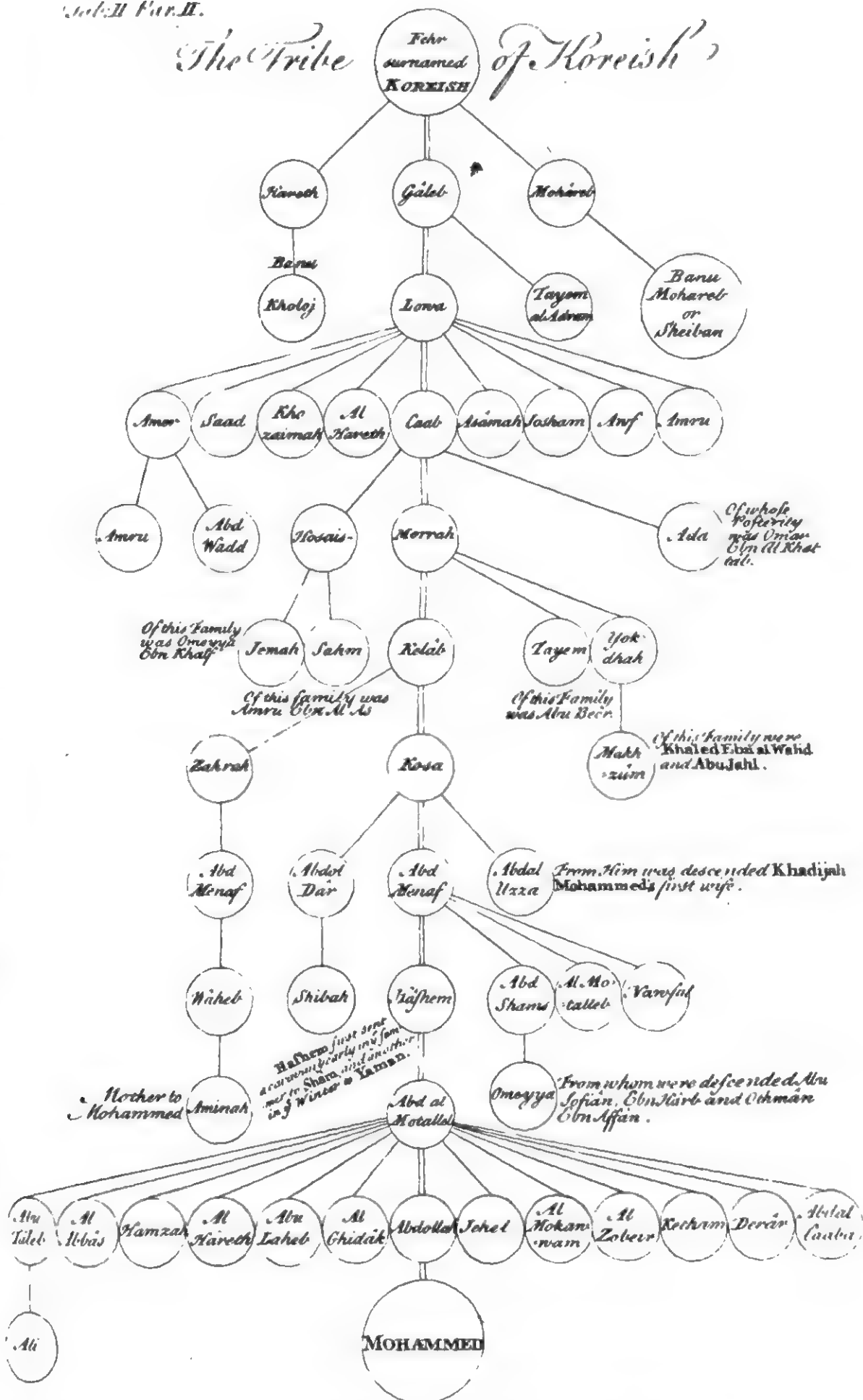
S E C T. III.

How and when the antient Gauls introduced the worship of inferior deities among them.

IT is plain, by what we have quoted out of Caesar, Strabo, Lucan, and others, e that though the Romans had had a considerable footing in Gaul before the coming of that conqueror, yet they had not been able to persuade them to imitate them in their rearing of temples to any deity. If they had, Caesar would not have failed hinting something of it, it being one of the chief maxims of his republic, to spread their religion, laws, and customs where-ever they came; so that, if the Gauls had ever been forced, or prevailed upon, to build any such temples in their country, it can hardly be supposed, that he would have omitted mentioning it; he who took such pleasure

to

The Tribe of Koreish



- a to tell us how many petty kingdoms and commonwealths he had brought over to the *Roman* interest, and to a fondness for some of their customs. Since then there is not the least hint of it either in that or any author, but the contrary plainly appears to have been the practice of this nation, we may safely conclude they had not begun, even in his days, and under his government, to introduce this foreign custom, though it could it be made appear, that any such structures had been reared then, yet would it not from thence follow, that it was done by the *Gauls*, but would appear more probably to have been done by the *Romans*, who, as we observed at the beginning of the last section, made it a part of their religion to adopt the gods, to vow temples and statues, and afterwards to rear them in every country they conquered; whereas
- b the *Gauls* made it a constant maxim of theirs to wage open war against, to plunder and demolish, all such structures, from a principle bred amongst them, in common with the *Perjés*, that it was offering an indignity to the Supreme Being to confine him within any place; which made *Cicero*, who was not deeply versed in the *Gaulish* religion, say, that it chiefly consisted in a hostile contrariety to all others (A).
- c WE cannot affirm with the same certainty, that they did not imitate the *Romans* in another part of their religion, the worship of a plurality of gods and goddesses, before their conquest. We are told, that they worshipped *Mars* under the emblem of a naked sword, and that *Mercury* was in the highest veneration among them all over *Gaul*, doubtless on account of the vast benefits and improvements, which their trade, commerce, arts, and sciences, had received from him, and of which we have spoken in a former volume b. Here is indeed no mention of temples, altars, but only of statues reared to them; and probably that worship might, at first, be no more than a civil one, though it grew up, in time, into downright idolatry and polytheism. These two deities, as well as *Uranus*, *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, *Juno*, *Venus*, *Diana*, &c. being all of *Celtic* extraction, as has been formerly shewn, it was much more natural for the *Gauls* to deify them, as having formerly reigned over their nation, than for the *Romans* and *Greeks* to adopt or challenge them from others as their own, and, in process of time, to strive to outvie them in those divine honours, which the rest of the world paid to them. This will, in some measure,
- d lead us to the motives of that great change, which they suffered to be made in their ancient religion, for those temples which they erected, and for those sacrifices which they offered, to all those deified monarchs, till at length they sunk down into the same absurd notions concerning them with the rest of the idolatrous world; and the notion of *Esus*, or supreme Deity, was swallowed up into that of a *Jupiter*, as it had been every-where else; and this might reach no farther neither than the vulgar, whilst the druids and wise men among the *Gauls*, as well as the philosophers among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, still preserved the notion of one Supreme Being, and either pitied, or perhaps laughed and winked at, the rest of the pretended deities, heathen theology, and foolish superstition.
- e BUT neither is this account altogether satisfactory, considering the aversion and contempt which the *Gauls* had of all other religions; and this extraordinary change will perhaps be better accounted for, if we can shew, with any probability, that they

When temples, altars, and statues, began to be reared in Gaul.

The druids forced to it.

a Comment. ubi sup. l. vi.

b See vol. ii. p. 255, a. (D). p. 257, & seq.

(A) Whether it was his ignorance or contempt of their principles, or done out of a design to make his client's cause appear more justifiable (1), he expresses himself in these virulent terms against the *Gauls*, that they professed no other religion than that of waging war against those or all other nations, and against the very gods themselves. He accuses them of having left their native soil, and crossed immense tracts of land, merely to go and attack the *Delphic Apollo*, and plunder the oracle of the whole world. This, continues he, is that holy nation, which had the boldness to besiege our capitol, and even the great *Jupiter* himself in it.

We shall have occasion, in the sequel of this history, to explode the greatest part of this charge, for which that orator so foully inveighs against them. A.] that we shall observe here is, that they had, at

that time, neither regard for the pretended gods of other nations, nor for the pretended sanctity of their temples, but rather a singular contempt for the one, and abhorrence of the other; and this shews, that they had not as yet adopted any of the *Greek* or *Roman* rites into their religion, whatever they did afterwards.

One thing may be observed, that the general character, which the authors of both these nations give of the *Gauls*, is a continued contradiction, one while representing them as people of no religion or principles, and at other times as the most addicted to all kind of superstition of any nation under heaven: all which can be only reconciled by allowing, that they actually had a religion of their own, of which they were so tenacious, that they despised all others for the sake of it.

(1) *Orat. pro M. Fonteio*.

were rather forced to it by those, under whose tyranny they came afterwards to a groan, than out of any vain imitation of their neighbours, or affectation of respect for their deceased princes and heroes. It is not to be doubted, but to such a brave and warlike nation as the *Gauls*, among whom one constant maxim was universally followed, as we shall see in the sequel, to prefer the worst of deaths to the loss of liberty, the *Roman* yoke must appear intolerable; and that they could not be expected to submit to it longer than they were forced to it by the superior power of their tyrants; and as these made it their constant practice to introduce, either by fair or foul means, their religion, laws, and customs, where-ever they conquered, the druids, tenacious as they were of their own, could not but be extremely averse to all such changes, and use all their power and authority, which was still very great, and almost uncontrollable (B), either to oppose them, or to prevail on the people to shake off the yoke. This their history will shew they did upon all favourable opportunities that offered; so that there was a kind of necessity for the *Romans* to find out some plausible pretence to strip them of their great sway, and force them to a blind and thorough submission. Accordingly we find, that several emperors took an effectual method to suppress the druidish power (C), by issuing out some severe edicts against their bloody custom of offering human sacrifices. *Augustus* was the first who issued out a decree against them, and at the same time introduced a census among the *Gauls*; upon which the whole nation was just ready for a revolt. But by the address and authority of *Drusus*, who was left there by him, they were not only prevented from rising, but prevailed upon to assist at the dedication of *Julius Caesar's* temple, and to build an altar to *Augustus* ^c. However, it is plain, that the edict of the latter was not executed there, and the druids, by this time in less authority with the people, might buy it off, by rearing the above-mentioned altar to him; and this is the reason why *Claudius* renewed it against them. But, whatever the pretence of those edicts might be, it is scarce credible, that religion had any hand in them; and they might as well have fallen foul upon all other nations under their empire, nay, and upon their own, since none was exempt from this barbarous custom, much less the *Romans*, as the reader may infer from what we have said in their history, and elsewhere ^d. However that be, it doth not appear, that even these took any more effect against them

^c See vol. v. p. 319.

^d See vol. vi. p. 27, 47, 111, 136, 681, 695, & seq.

(B) It plainly appears, that this high power of theirs, except what related to religion, was not of very antient date; and that they raised themselves to it in process of time, by the help of the people's superstition. Antiently the women seem to have had a greater sway in all civil matters, and even about making peace and war. This privilege they had even before their first expedition into *Italy*; and it appears that they held it still, when *Hannibal* passed through *Gaul* to cross the *Alps*; for, in the treaty they made with him, it was agreed, that, if a *Gaul* offered any injury to a *Carthaginian*, he should be tried before the court of the *Gaulish* women (1). The reason of this great sway is variously accounted for: some think, that they were looked upon as inspired; others think, it was owing to their having shewn a superior degree of wisdom in quenching a civil war, which the men had kindled among themselves. The *Germans*, according to *Tacitus* (3), allowed them the very same privileges; and we find something like this practised by the *Eliahs*, who, having in vain sued for satisfaction from *Demophon* tyrant of *Pisa*, agreed with the *Pisani*, after his death, to submit their difference to a court of sixteen women, to be chosen out of sixteen cities of the *Eliahs*. Our author adds (4), that their decision so pleased both parties, that they appointed a perpetual college of sixteen matrons to preside over the *Junonian* games, and to assign the prize to whom they thought worthiest of it.

However, with respect to the *Gaulish* women,

though we cannot ascertain the time when they lost this their authority, yet it is plain, by what *Caesar* says of that extensive one (5), which the druids had in his time, that they had found means to strip those female heroines of theirs.

(C) We are told by three *Roman* authors, that *Claudius* did quite abolish this sect, and their inhuman superstition (6). The last quoted calls him indeed *Tiberius*, from which some have ascribed this edict to the emperor of that name, though wrongfully; for he only calls *Claudius* by his prenomens, *Claudius* being called *Tiberius Claudius Nero Drusus*; and it doth not appear, that the other *Tiberius* made any such edict against that custom, but only against astrologers, whom he banished from *Rome* (7). And here we beg leave to rectify a mistake, which inadvertently slid into our *Carthaginian* history (8), where we said, that the emperor *Tiberius* punished the *African* priests for their practice of these human sacrifices; whereas it should have been said, *Tiberius* the proconsul of *Africa* under the emperor *Adrian*; for it appears by *Tertullian's* account of it, that his own father was a centurion under him (9); which can by no means agree with the rank, nor with the times of the emperor of that name. We hope our readers will be candid enough to overlook such oversights in a work of this extensive nature, especially when they find how ready we are to acknowledge and rectify them, as soon as we have discovered them.

(1) *Plut. de mulier. Polyan. strat. l. vii.* (3) *Hist. l. iv. c. 61.* (4) *Pausan. Eliae.* (5) *Comm. l. vi.* (6) *Suet. in vit. Claud. Senec. in lucum de morte Claud. Plin. hist. nat. l. xxx. c. 1.* (7) *Vide Xiphil. ex Dion. lvi.* (8) *Vol. vi. p. 695, c.* (9) *Vide apolog. c. 9.*

a than that of *Augustus*, since we find them still not only in high vogue some centuries after, but even authorized by the emperors *Severus*, *Aurelian*, and *Dioclesian*. They subsisted still, even down to the times of *Solinus Polybistor*, and of *Eusebius of Casarea**, and much longer still in their chief abode in the province of *Chartrain*, where whole towns continued in their ancient paganism, even down to the fifth century†. Neither did those edicts suppress the practice of human victims amongst the *Romans* themselves, among whom they continued to the time of *Constantine the Great*, and even down to that of *Gratian*, who gave the finishing blow to it‡.

How and when introduced.

From all this it appears very probable, that these edicts against the druids, and their bloody rites, were not so much issued out to abolish their sect and religion, as b to intimidate them, and suppress their exorbitant power, which, somewhat before this time, was grown to such a height, that they over-ruled in all courts and councils, raised whom they liked to the highest dignities, and even to the crown, and often aspired at and obtained it for some of their own order. They directed in the making of peace and war, and, even after they were conquered by the *Romans*, could stir up the people to a general revolt; and so jealous were they grown of their usurped authority, that they punished, as we have hinted a little higher, all that disobeyed or disputed their commands with excommunication, and even with death. Nothing could therefore be more suitable to the *Roman* policy, than to use all possible means to suppress and crush so dangerous a set of men; and since religion was the c common pretext to all their exorbitant sway, so that there was no possibility of pulling down the one, without abolishing the other, it was natural for their conquerors to use all their power and address to bring about such a thorough change, and introduce their religion amongst them; and there might not perhaps be a more favourable opportunity than that which this period offered them, when the *Gaulish* nation, groaning under a double, and, we may add, a divided tyranny, that of their conquerors, and that of their druids, would, in all likelihood, think it no small ease to be rid at least of one of their yokes, and that perhaps which, at that time, seemed the most intolerable of the two; for it must be remembered, that the *Romans* seldom made use of force, when they could gain their ends by cajoling and flattery, by fair d promises, or even bribes and rewards; whereas the druids, if we may believe the *Roman* authors, bore all down with an arbitrary and uncontrouled sway, till being overpowered by their enemies, and forsaken by their own people, they were at length forced to submit to, and exchange their religion and rites for, those of their conquerors.

This at least appears, by several concurring circumstances, to have happened about the time of these edicts; for, in *Cæsar's* time, who left the *Gauls* to the free enjoyment of their rites, and even of many of their laws and customs, there was not as yet any temple built, or any place of worship, but their oaks and groves. In the very next reign, we find the *Lugdunenses* building a stately temple to that conqueror, and an altar to *Augustus*, then on the throne, and a professed enemy to the druids and their religion. Under his successor *Tiberius*, their chief deity *Efus* is transformed into *Jupiter* the god of heaven and earth, or rather, as it should seem, divides his worship with him for a while (D). Both are worshipped at first in groves, and under oaks; and at length the former is quite swallowed up in the latter, and temples,

Gaul at length over-run with them.

* POLYHIST. c. 21. PRÆP. EVANG. l. iv. c. 17. vi. p. 48, a.

† Vide relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 31.

‡ See vol.

(D) This is inferred from some ancient bas-reliefs found in the great church of *Paris*, in which both these deities are carved one close to the other, the inscription of which is indeed to *Jupiter*; but the ceremony of the oakly mistletoe, with the words *Senani veilô*, shews, that *Efus* was looked upon still as the chief godhead there represented.

We would not rely too much upon these dark and enigmatic monuments, which every antiquary wrests according to his own favourite hypothesis. Sure it is, that, in the time of *Maximus Tyriensis*, who lived about an hundred years after *Tiberius*, *Efus* was already transformed into *Jupiter*, and worshipped

under the type of a large oak (9). The author of the life of *St. Boniface*, bishop of *Mentz*, tells us, that that prelate found no better expedient to bring his people from their old superstition to christianity, than by cutting down an oak of a very large size, called the oak of *Jove*, and the strength of *Jove* (10). The same is said to have been done, with like success, by still later preachers (11). So long did this veneration for those trees continue, as one may say, in the heart of christianity. We may add, that the name of *Jupiter* doth not appear to have been adopted by the *Gauls*, but only that of *Jove*, which we have already shewn is of Celtic original (12).

(9) Max. Tyr. ferm. xxxviii. sub ann 1233. ap. eand.

(10) Hensch. apud relig. des Gaul. l. ii. c. 5.

(11) Bzovii annal.

(12) See before vol. ii. p. 250. & seq.

Run into all
kinds of super-
stition.

altars, and statues, are erected to him after the *Roman* manner over all the conquered ^a parts of *Gaul*. After a few reigns more, during which they were still greatly oppressed, and made several vain attempts to regain their liberty, especially under *Caligula* and *Claudius* ^b, who succeeded *Tiberius*, the whole country is filled with *Roman* temples, all their deities adopted and worshipped, and scarce any traces left of their antient religion, but their bloody rites of offering human victims to these new deities, and perhaps also in their auguries; which occasioned the above-mentioned decrees against them. To these we may add the great veneration which they still retained for their oaks, notwithstanding their multiplicity of temples, and which continued, according to some authors, till the twelfth and thirteenth century. One of these was dedicated to an hundred deities, as appears by the inscription engraven on a ^b neighbouring column, which the reader will find in the margin (E). However, the sluice thus broken, an inundation of superstition and idolatry ensued, which nothing could resist; and the *Gauls*, having once shaken off the yoke of their druids, became so enamoured with the pageantry of polytheism, that they deified at length lakes, rivers, marshes, and even fountains, to all which they ascribed some peculiar deity, and extraordinary virtues; upon which account it was looked upon as the highest sacrilege to fish in them, to draw or drain them, and especially to lay hands on any treasures that were committed to their care and protection (F). To all these changes the druids found themselves obliged to submit, to avoid the penalties of those edicts; ^c and so compliant did they shew themselves, that, from that time, whether to shew their complaisance to the *Romans*, or to take off the odium which their name laid them under, they exchanged it for that of *Senani*, which, in their language, signified the same as *elder* or *venerable* with us. From hence we may date their downfall, though not their total abolition till some ages after; for, being once reduced to such a low ebb of authority, or rather being once stripped of it, and become such servile creatures to their new and potent masters, it is not to be supposed, that these would ever suffer them to recover it again, but, if they still permitted them to make a gain of religion, it should be only in the worship and rites of those new deities, which they had now adopted. This was an effectual means to induce them to give into all ^d kinds of *Roman* and *Greek* superstitions, or even to outdo them in it, since it would open a new door to their interest, instead of the old one that had been stopped up. We have taken notice, in the last note, of the immense treasures, which were flung into their consecrated lakes, rivers, and afterwards into their temples; and who can imagine those druids and priests to have been as scrupulous as the stupid laity, of converting any part of it to their own uses? But this we must submit to our readers, who will be better able to judge of it, if we subjoin here some few more instances of this kind of superstition; for it were endless to mention them all, they were grown to such number and variety.

^b See vol. v. p. 476, a, & seq.

(E) This oak being afterwards cut down by St. *Severus*, the inscription engraven was to preserve the memory of it; ARBOREM DIVUS SEVERUS EVERTIT CENTUM DEORUM. Our author adds, that, in rooting it up, they found a head full of gold and silver, which was laid out by that saint in the building of a church since dedicated to him, as appears by the epitaph upon his tomb (13).

(F) Of these lakes, fountains, &c. some were dedicated to one deity, some to another. *Tacitus* pretends to give us the reason why the *Gauls* deified them, because, says he, they were nearer heaven, and consequently nearer the ear of those deities, to whom they pray from thence (14). This is a very foolish one; and it is more reasonable to suppose, that they fancied those deities to be more immediately present there. However, such regard they had for them, that the same author tells us, that the *Hermonduri* and *Catti* waged a bloody war against each other for the property of one of these fountains, which was a salt one; and that the former

at length gained their point against the latter, by a vow which they made to sacrifice their enemies, and all their spoil, to *Mars* and *Mercury*; which was accordingly done: the *Catti* were all massacred without mercy, together with their horses, cattle, and all their spoil, and flung into the lake (15).

However, unless it be upon such bloody devotions, we do not find, that they offered any victims to them; but abundance of gold, silver, rich cloths, and other costly things, they flung into them, which it was sacrilege to touch. We have spoken of the famous lake of *Tholouse* dedicated to *Apollo*, whose treasures, especially in gold and silver ingots, and massy utensils, amounted to immense sums, and was continually increased by such offerings (16). In time these places became so liable to be plundered by foreign nations, as well as perhaps by their neighbours, that they began to repolit those sacred treasures in their temples, of which they had looted after a vast number, as we shall see in due time.

(13) *Jo. de Bosc. antiq. Vien. p. 4. Tableau des prov. Franc. tom. ii. p. 107. apud eund.* (14) *Annal. l. xv.* (15) *Ibid. sub fin.* (16) *Orof. l. v. c. 15. Cic. de nat. deor. l. iii. Aul. Gell. l. iii. c. 9.*

a ON a lake they had in some part of Gaul nearest the ocean, which received its name from two white ravens, with whitish wings, which constantly kept about it. Incredible wonders were told of it¹. Amongst others, it was much resorted to in matters of controversy between parties. Each of the contenders brought a kind of cake, and laid it at the end of the same plank, which was set afloat on the lake, to be exposed to these ravens, whose custom, it seems, was to devour one of the cakes, and to crumble and scatter the other; and this last gave the cause to its owner. Another we read of at the foot of a mountain in the neighbourhood of Savoy, dedicated to the moon, under the name of *Helanus*, which signifies *splendor*. It was resorted to by all the neighbouring people once a year, who threw into it some cloaths, linen, b fleeces of wool; others bread, cheese, wax, and the like, according as they could afford it. Here they kept a sumptuous feast, which lasted three whole days, a sufficient quantity of provisions being brought in waggons to the place. On the fourth day, we are told², when they were ready to return home, there constantly arose such storms of wind, thunder, rain, and hail, as made them afraid for their lives. We have taken notice how they used the waters of the *Rhine* to discover the fidelity of their wives, and the legitimacy of their issue. They seem to have had a much greater veneration for this river, than for any other. The offerings and sacrifices offered to it were of a peculiar kind: whole armies called upon it for help and victory, and the sight of it, or of any of its waters, inspired the soldiers with courage and c bravery³. Each river, fountain, lake, or pool, was looked upon as inhabited by some deity, and had some peculiar and extraordinary virtues ascribed to it, for the sake of which the credulous people resorted to them in shoals, and with proper offerings, every one according to their ability. Some others of their superstitions we shall have occasion to hint in the sequel; and these shall suffice to shew into what lengths they ran in their imitation of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and what profit their druids, bards, &c. are like to have made of them (G).

THIS multiplicity of deities, or rather of lakes, marshes, &c. consecrated to them, did not hinder them from building temples, altars and statues to them after the *Roman* manner, and not only in great number, but some of them very stately, and in the d grand taste, as one may infer from some remains of them, and other monuments of that nation; but yet in these they commonly sacrificed to the gods only brute victims, and offered their vows and rich donatives in them; but, as to human sacrifices, they still offered them, it seems⁴, under their oaks, and in their groves; but whether they did it for privacy, or for fear of the *Romans*, and to avoid the penalty of their edicts, or still retained their antient notion of that supreme being, to whom they thought them more peculiarly to belong, is not easy to determine (H). To give our readers a specimen of these new buildings, we are told, that the statues of these gods, such as *Pennin*, *Mercury*, *Diana*, &c. of whom we shall speak in the sequel, were placed sometimes on a pedestal, which served likewise for an altar, sometimes e on a column of a prodigious height⁵. In some they were exposed to the open air, and in others sheltered by an edifice of polished stones in form of a cupola or cone. Their temples were no less rich and magnificent, witness that famed one called *Vasso* at *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, the walls of which are affirmed to have been thirty feet thick, covered, on the outside, with carved stones, and on the inside with small ones nicely wrought and polished, and on the top incrustated with marble, and compart-

Their temples described.

¹ STRAB. l. iv. ad fin.
relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 15.
hist. des savant. ap. relig. des Gaul. ubi sup.

² GREG. TUR. glor. conf. c. 2.

³ TACIT. hist. l. v. c. 18.

⁴ See

⁵ GREG. TUR. l. viii. c. 15. SULP. SEVER. dial. l. iii. c. 9, & seq. GUICH.

(G) It may not be amiss to observe here to our readers, that this deifying of lakes, rivers, and springs, might probably be owing to some extraordinary qualities and virtues they observed in their waters, especially such as were of a hot and medicinal nature. Even lakes and rivers, though less extraordinary on any such account, might yet rise to this height of veneration, on that of their perpetual flowing, and discharging such constant streams of water, without being exhausted; of all which the druids, though well enough acquainted with the natural reason, (for they were great philosophers)

might yet make a mystery with the vulgar, for their own politic ends.

(H) The former seems the most probable, because they did likewise choose to offer these victims in caves, rocks, precipices, and other desert and unrequented places, which they chose sometimes by mere chance, and as they fell in their way; at other times by their auguries and lots: all which seems to intimate, that they avoided being seen at these bloody ceremonies by any other people (17), especially the *Romans*, who had so strictly forbid them.

(17) Vide Burchard. decret. l. x. c. 10. Keyzler. antiq. septentr. apud relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 15. ad fin.

ments of *Mosaic* work. The pavement was likewise of marble, and the top covered with lead. A learned *French* antiquary mentions eight of these stately fabrics of an octagonal form, and whose eight faces were adorned with a number of *Gaulish* deities, generally eight in number in those which he himself observed; which made him suspect, that this combination of numbers contained some druidish mysteries, which are now quite out of our reach (I). We shall refer our readers to the two authors last quoted for a further account of those famous edifices, that we may not draw this section into an excessive length, and content ourselves with giving them a short description of one of the most curious of them in the next note (K), and figure, by which

* *Iidem* *ibid.*

† *Suplement de l'antiq. tom. ii.* See also *relig. des Gaul. ubi sup. c. 16, & seq.*

(I) The author of the religion of the *Gauls* has however disproved the conjecture of that learned antiquary, by shewing (17), that this octagonal form was common among the *Romans*, as well as the *Gauls*; and that the latter had temples of different forms, some round, some oblong, some decagonal, without any apparent mystical design. The thing is not worth disputing at this distance; and it doth not appear, that the *Gauls* had any such regard for the number eight. They had indeed a greater one, if we may believe *Pliny* (18), for the number six, which was held so sacred amongst them, that they overturned the order of months, years, &c. in honour of it; but on what account they did so, doth not appear.

(K) This octagonal structure stands at *Montmorillon*, in the province of *Poitou*, and consists of two temples, one above ground, and the other under it, somewhat like our *St. Faith* and *St. Paul*, the lowest of which is much narrower than the upper, and its wall as thick again. The upper received its light from eight windows, in form of portals, under the arch of each of the eight faces; but now walled up, except that over the gate or entrance into the fabric; and another which leads to a kind of wing or portico, which projects from the fabric on the opposite side. The great overture in the centre of the roof, which resembles that in the *Rotonda* of *Rome*, gives likewise some light to the building, tho' not much, because it descends through a hole in the roof, like a cylinder, of twenty-four feet in length, and about ten in breadth. The rain, that falls thro' it, gathers itself to the centre of the pavement, which is made with a proper declension, and empties itself through another, and much lesser hole, into the lower temple, and is sucked up by the earth, this last having neither sink nor pavement.

The wing, at one of the sides of the octagon, is equal to it, that is, eighteen feet in breadth without and within. That, which leads into the lower, is much narrower than that which leads into the upper building; and at the end of the former is a stair-case, that leads up to the latter. This place appears to be of the same age and structure as the octagon, and has, on the top, a kind of square tower of about the same height with the roof of the inner temple; but whether it had a bell in it, as some think, who imagine it to have been since turned into a church, is not easy to determine. This advanced building seems to have served for a kind of vestry to the priests and druids. Just over-against this, across the temple, is the gate that leads into it; and on the one side of it, in the subterranean temple, begins a covert way above six feet broad, and about six hundred in length, which leads to the neighbouring river, to which, it is supposed, the druids went to wash themselves, and their victims, whenever they performed the priestly function.

Over the gate of the temple were eight human figures, coarsely carved, supposed to have been so

many *Gaulish* deities. Of these six are of the male kind, three in a group or nich, and the two others, one at each end, are females. The former are differently dressed. Those that face you, and stand farthest out, have a kind of antique mantle; the others have on a kind of tunic. One has a long gown quite down to his feet, and open from top to bottom, and all of them are girdled up. In one groupe the figure that faces you is shod, and the other two on each side are barefooted. In the other group, that which faces you is unshod, and the other two shod. In the one they appear old men, with long beards; in the other, all young and beardless, so that in the first there are two old men unshod, and one shod; and in the other two young men shod, and one unshod. This odd contrast was not, doubtless, without some mysterious meaning.

Of the two women, which stand one at each end, the one had a long head of hair plaited hanging on each side before her, and is dressed somewhat in the modern form, that is, in a kind of stiff-bodied gown. She holds her hands on her sides, and hath a kind of mittens which cover about one-half-way her arms. That, which stands on the opposite side, is quite naked, and hath two serpents twisted one round each leg, and both, twining between her thighs, rear their heads up to her breasts, as if they were sucking at them, whilst she holds them by her hands, as it were, close to the sides of her belly. From this combination of eight figures over the gate of an octagonal temple, our learned author infers, that that number was looked upon by the *Gauls* as sacred to the gods, as we hinted a little higher.

The intabature over it was not without its ornaments, which chiefly consisted of a great variety of heads oddly variegated, the meaning of which, if it was done with any, is not easy to guess. As to the figures themselves, this is the conjecture of our author, for the proofs of which we shall refer our readers to the place quoted in the margin (19): The naked woman, with two serpents, he supposes to have represented the moon, to whom therefore he concludes the temple to have been dedicated. The three old men he takes to have been three druids, and the three young men to have been their disciples, and the number six to have been designed to signify the sacredness in which it was held by the *Gauls*, it being on the sixth day of the moon that they performed their grand ceremony of gathering the mistletoe, as we have already hinted. The serpents, sucking at her breasts, may signify properly enough the virtue, which that planet imparted, not only to that plant, but to all other vegetables, as the snakes are said to renew their age with their skins. As for the other woman, he supposes her to have been designed for *Venus*, because such a kind of figure had been dug up at *Chalons*, with her tresses plaited somewhat like this. If so, we would rather suppose the three young men, which stand next to her,

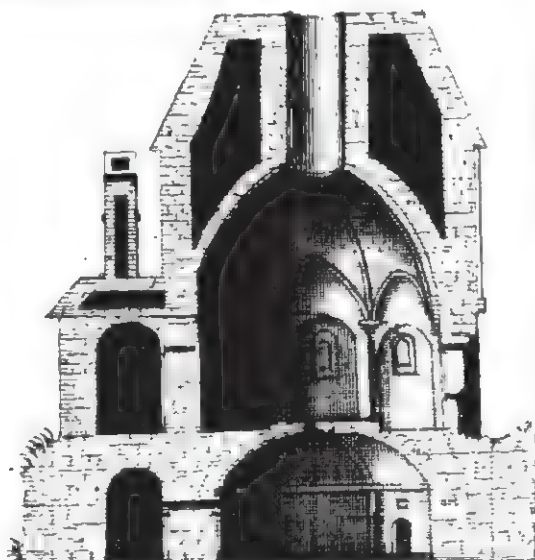
(17) *Ibid.* c. 16.

(18) *Idem*, l. xvi. c. 44.

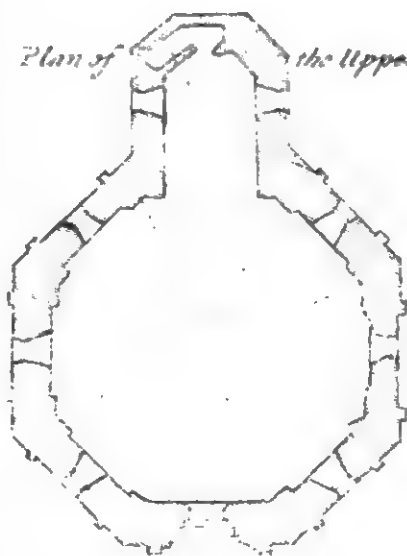
(19) *Idem*, l. i. c. 31.

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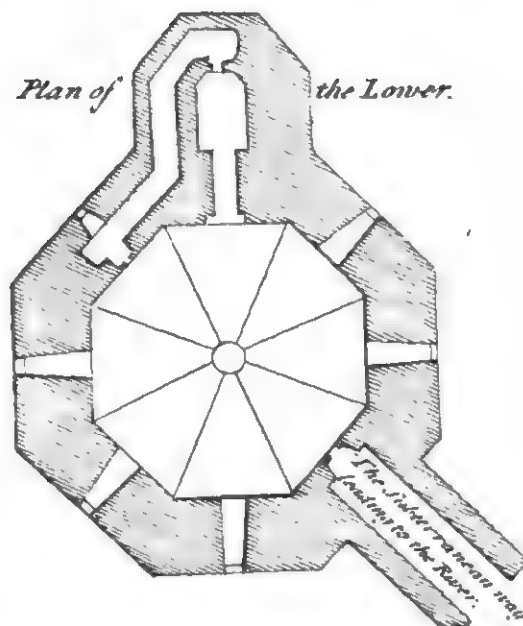
PLAN OF THE FAMED TEMPLE OF MONTMORILLON BOTH ABOVE AND UNDER GROUND.



Plan of the Upper.

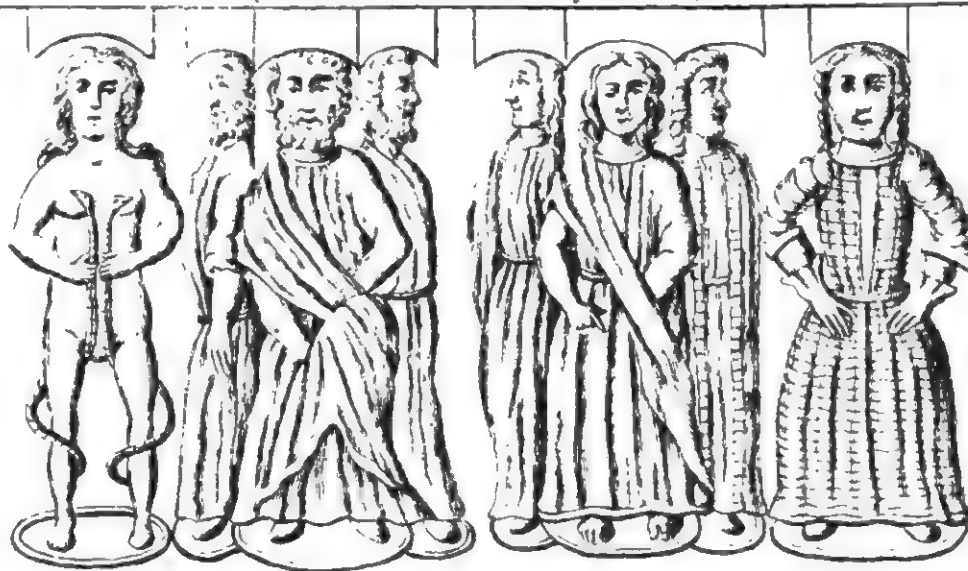


Plan of the Lower.



The saloon in the right figures stand over the Temple gate.

The Eight Figures over the Gate of the Temple.



- a which they may frame an idea of the *Gaulish* taste in architecture. All that we shall add here is, that, by the multitude of niches that appear in some of them, they seem to have had a vast number of statues in them, which are since mostly demolished, upon their conversion to christianity; and some of them, since dug up out of their ruins, are so sadly broken and mangled, that it is hard to guess, whether they were *Gaulish* deities, or statues of any other kind. Our two authors differ in their judgment about them; but, since the *Gauls* were grown so fond of multiplying their deities, as to dedicate one oak to an hundred of them, as we lately hinted, why may we not believe with *Monfaucon*, that they might shew the same fondness for multiplying their idols in those temples, in imitation of the *Romans*? A great many of these edifices have been preserved here, as they were in other countries, upon the planting of christianity, by being converted into churches, though a much greater number were then demolished, of which there are still some fragments remaining, and may be seen more particularly described in the authors above quoted.

- We are now come to speak of the gods that were afterwards adopted and worshipped by the *Gauls*. We have already seen, how their antient *Efus* came to be changed into *Jupiter*, at first indeed under the symbol of an oak, and even of a shapeless stump of a tree. But at length, as they gave wholly into the *Roman* superstition, they came to erect altars and statues to him, and to represent him after the *Roman* manner: thus in some antient statues and bas-reliefs he is carved with a lance in one hand, and a thunderbolt in the other, and with his arms and bosom bare; his head is sometimes surrounded with a radial crown; his name of *Jupiter* is never met in any of his inscriptions, but only that of *Jou*, or *Jovis*, which, being of *Celtic* extract, was designedly retained by them, instead of the *Roman*. He is likewise surnamed *Taran*, which, in the same tongue, signifies *thunderer*: we would not, however, pretend to affirm, that this last name is the *Taramis*, or *Taranis*, of *Lucan*, or that the *Gauls* did not give it to any other god but the great *Jupiter*: but we may be well assured, that that of *Jovis* was peculiar to him, and has been preserved not only by the antient *Gauls* and *Welsh*, but is still retained by the *French* in many of their compound words (L). In that part of *Gaul* nearer the *Alps* he was called *Peninus*, and those high mountains *Penina*, from the old *Celtic* word *Pen*, which signifies a *head*, a *height*, a *summit* (M). He was represented as a young man naked, on a column reared to him on the top of mount *St. Bernard the Less*, by *L. Lucilius*, and is styled *Optimus Maximus*; whence it is concluded, that he was the same with the *Gaulish Jovis*. What seems to confirm this beyond all question, is, that the column on which it stood is indifferently called the column of *Jove* and of *Peninus*; and the carbuncle that was placed on it, the eye of *Jove*, and the eye of *Peninus*; but, since by the eye of *Jupiter* was meant the sun from all antiquity, and the carbuncle was a very proper emblem of this last deity, why may we not as well suppose this statue, naked and youthful as it was, to have been dedicated to it rather than to *Jupiter*? However that be, as this last succeeded their great *Efus*, they paid much the same worship to him, and, in particular, offered human victims to

The gods worshipped by the Gauls.

Jupiter.

¹ GUICHENON. hist. of Savoy, tom. i. l. i. c. 4. Vide relig. des Gaul. l. ii. c. 29. Saturn. l. i. c. 21.

² Vide MACROB.

to have been designed for her priests. But if the naked one, suckling two serpents, signifies the new moon, may not the other, which is dressed in a close-bodied gown reaching up to her neck, have been designed to express the old one, and to signify, that, after she is past the full, she ceases to communicate her influence? for the druids, being well versed, for those times, in astronomy, as we shall see in the sequel, and much addicted to astrology, it was natural for them to think, that as the increase of that planet did daily approximate her virtue to the earth, so her decrease did divert and elongate it from it. But whither are we running with our conjectures?

(L) Particularly in those that follow *Joudy* or *Joudy*, *Thursday*, or day of *Jove*; *Joumont*, *Joubarb*, the mount of *Jove*, a mountain so called by the *Romans*, and the beard of *Jove*, an herb so called, from

its resemblance to it; and many more of the like nature. As for that of *Taran*, which is still kept in many words which express any loud and tearful noise, and from which we take the *Greek* *ταραχή* and *ταράττω* to be derived, it is not unlikely, that it may have been also given to *Mars*, on account of the thundering noise which the *Gauls* made upon their shields, when they invoked him, either before an onset, or after a victory.

(M) This deity is called *Apenina* by *Cato* the elder, who derives it from *Apis*, the first king of *Italy*, with whom, according to him, ended the golden age (20). *Servius* (21) calls her *Penina*. But the figure and inscription which *Guichenon* has given us of it, shew it to have been erected to a male deity. The inscription is, LVCIVS LVCILIVS DEO PENINO OPTIMO MAXIMO DONVM DEDIT. The column was of marble, and about fourteen feet high.

(20) Apud Macrobi. Saturn. l. i. s. 21.

(21) Comment. in Æneid. 2.

him, as the *Romans* did to their *Jupiter Latialis*; some instances of which we have a given in the last section of this chapter, and in a former volume ^m.

Mars.

THEIR next deity was *Mars*, whom they esteemed as the chief protector of the *Gaulish* nation. Their invincible warlike temper inspired them with such a veneration for, and confidence in him (N), that whenever they went to war, they made him heir of all their possessions, and about the time of the onset they vowed to him all the plunder ^a. If they came off with victory, they frequently sacrificed their prisoners, as well as their cattle, to him, and hung the heads of their slain enemies about the necks of their horses, in token of their valour. They even inclosed some of the most considerable ones in frames of cedar, and, upon proper occasions, shewed them to strangers, and at no rate could be prevailed upon to part with them ^b. Another barbarous custom they are justly branded with, of poisoning their arrows with a juice, which they extracted from a tree not unlike our fig-tree, but of a quite deadly quality ^p. In times of sickness, or imminent danger, they immediately sacrificed some human victims to *Mars*, or vowed to do it, as soon as they had it in their power; and performed it accordingly. It was even common with them, in pressing dangers, to vow all their enemies to that deity, and to massacre them, as we have formerly hinted, without mercy or distinction. We have already taken notice, that he was formerly worshipped under the emblem of a naked sword, and under the name of *Mars* or *Mavors*, or *Maur-ruis*, which signifies *warlike* or *powerful*. Since then, we find him represented in the habit of a *Roman* warrior, with a spear in one hand, c and a shield in the other, and with the surname of *Camulus* (O). We are told, that the *Accitani* of *Spain*, or the inhabitants of *Cadiz*, a *Gaulish* colony, represented him surrounded with rays of light, because, says our author ^q, the boiling of the blood, and flow of animal spirits, which are the cause of a martial temper, were produced by the heat of the sun. The variety of inscriptions, that have been dug up by the curious, shews him to have been in the highest esteem. We took notice formerly, that all the treasures and plunder, that were vowed to him, were laid up in heaps in the next convenient place in the open fields, and were looked upon as so sacred, that no *Gaul* dared to meddle with them. Some stones have been found, with eight or nine human heads buried under them, which, by the inscription, appear to have d

Their cruel
vows to him.

^a P. 349. & seq. (D). & vol. vi. p. 27, & alib.

SIC. I. VI. C. 9. ATHEN. I. IV.

^q MACROB. SATURN. I. I. C. 19.

^b STRAB. I. IV.

^m ULP. FRAGM. TIT. 21. COMMENT. I. VI. DION. SIC. UBI SUP.

^p RHODIG. I. XXIII. C. 12.

(N) *Julian* the apostate, among his many other chimerical notions, attributed all the bravery and success of the *Gauls* to the influence which the providence of the Creator of all things had endued that deity with, when he put them under his protection (12). But it is far more reasonable to think, that their natural bravery, joined to their hatred of the all-conquering and enslaving *Romans*, directed them to the choice of that deity for their protector, and which they antiently worshipped, not as a god, but as one of the attributes of the Supreme Deity, which squared most with their warlike temper, as we have had occasion to hint in a former note (23).

(O) This appears from two inscriptions which *Gruter* has given us, the one on a bas-relief, with figures of five gods, viz. *Arduinna*, *Camulus*, *Jove*, *Mercury*, and *Hercules*; all which have their names engraven over their heads. The inscription underneath shews it to have been dedicated to them by one *Quartinius*, who is there styled *Civis Sabinus Remus*; from which that great critic, not observing, that the last word shews him to have been a citizen of *Rheims*, mistook those deities to be of *Sabinian* extract, and *Camulus* to be the same as *Camillus* (24), one of the names which the *Sabines* gave to *Mercury*.

But there is another inscription, of older date by an hundred years, which shews, that the *Rhemenses* in *Gaul* worshipped *Mars* under that title. It runs thus: MARTI CAMULO OB SALUTEM TIBERI CLAUDI

CÆS. CIVIS. REMI TEMPLVM CONSTITVERVNT (25). Hence it is plain, that if *Camulus* was known in that part of *Italy*, it was by means of this *Quartinius*, a *Rhemish* citizen, who dedicated this inscription there to him, under the reign of *Antoninus*; whereas that city appears, by the second inscription, to have dedicated their temple in that of *Claudius*: so that, upon the whole, all these five deities here appear to have been *Gaulish*, not only by their names, which are of *Celtic* extract, but from the resemblance of their dress, attitudes, &c. with those that have been found among the antient monuments of *Gaul*, especially in the great cathedral of *Paris* (26).

As for the etymon of *Camulus*, it is not easily decyphered. It may be derived from the *Celtic* *camp*, a field of battle; from *campa*, to fight, and *ulvu*, a fire, blaze; whence perhaps the *Greek* *cammonia*, by which they called the victory gained in single combat. It may perhaps also come from the *cam* or *chans*, or songs, which the *Gauls* used when they went to fight. But we have had frequent occasion to observe throughout this work, that there is nothing more uncertain, and apt to mislead men, than strained etymologies. Besides, the *Gauls* having received, as we have seen, their polytheism from the *Romans*, it were unreasonable to expect, that names and surnames of those deities should all be of *Gaulish* extract. As for *Arduinna*, her dress, as well as name, shews her to have been *Diana*, who was worshipped in *Gaul*, as well as in *Greece* and *Rome*.

(12) Vide Cyril. Alexand. I. IV. cont. Jul.

(25) Idem, p. 56. n. 11.

(23) Before, p. 329. not. (E).

(26) Vide relig. des Gauls. I. III. c. 36.

(24) P. 40. num. 9.

been

a been dedicated to him, and these heads to have belonged to those human victims, which they were accustomed to vow to him in times of peril and sickness. In some of these inscriptions he is called plainly *Mars*; in others he has the title of *Segemon*; in others *Vincius* or *Britovius*, the meaning of which names is not very clear. The reader may see the most probable conjectures about them in the next note (P).

Apollo was another of their deities, and in as great veneration, on account of his being the god of physic, as *Mars* was for being the god of war. The druids, who were as famed quacks as priests, failed not to celebrate him, as the implanter of all the virtues that they attributed to their *materia medica*, which chiefly consisted in vegetables, accompanied with a great deal of superstitious trash, which they used in the gathering, preparing, and administering (Q). The *Aquileians* and *Telosagi* chose him for their patron and protector. The latter, who occupied a vast territory about *Tbolesia*, had a very rich and magnificent temple dedicated to him in that city, which was their metropolis. This is supposed to be the same that is mentioned by an ancient author^r, on account of *Constantine's* repairing thither, to give thanks for his late success (R), and the extraordinary presents he made to it; upon which occasion that author styles it the finest temple of *Apollo* that was then in the world. The building was a decagon, in which there was a vast number of niches and statues, and, among the rest, that of *Apollo*, represented as a lively youth; upon which account, the panegyrist compliments that monarch with joining to the youthfulness of the god, the grandeur of an emperor. Some words he adds, which seem to imply, as if the oracle of the god had justly promised him the empire of the world; from which one might be induced to believe, that there had been, likewise, an oracle of that god there, in imitation of that of *Delphos*; and that *Constantine* had been consulting it. But we would not lay too great stress on the sworn expressions of a panegyrist. However that be, as *Apollo* was the same deity with the sun, the *Gauls* worshipped him under several names, and different forms. He is sometimes called *Apollo*, *Belenus*, and *Abellion*, which signify *fair*; sometimes by the *Persic* name of *Mithras*; sometimes that of *Peninus*, of which we have spoken under that of *Jupiter*; and at other times *Dolicbenus*. We shall not trouble ourselves with diving for fresh etymons d of all those names, which may, perhaps, have risen from the places where he was

^r EUSEBIUS, panegy. Constant. lib. iii.

(P) That of *Segemon* appears to be *Celtic*, and signifies rich, or making rich. Hence the *Segones*, who inhabited the most fruitful part of *Gaul*, and were reckoned the most opulent, are thought to have had their name. That of *Vincius* seems to have been given him on account of his stately temple at *Vincia*, now *Vence*, in *Provence*; and, in all likelihood, that of *Britovius* from some other city, where he was more particularly worshipped; perhaps that of *Britannium*, in *Galicia*, which was a colony of the *Gauls*, and became afterwards an episcopal see, but is now destroyed (16).

(Q) We have already given some hints of this, in speaking of their misleto, and their time and method of gathering it. It were needless, as well as tedious, to follow them through all their other superstitious quackeries; but one instance we cannot omit, because it shews not only the stupidity of them, but likewise their fondness for them; since this last continued in vogue, it seems, till the eleventh century.

They had an herb dedicated to *Apollo*, or *Belenus*, which they called, from him, *Belinuncia*, and the *Romans* *Apollinari*; and is supposed to have been a kind of henbane. The *Spaniards* and *Hungarians* retain still the former of these names, the one calling it *Yelene*, and the others *Belend*. With the juice of this herb they poisoned their darts, when they went a stag-hunting; and could poison the creature with a slight wound, and esteemed the flesh the more tender and luscious for it. Amongst other ridiculous uses they made of this plant, the following is remarkable, as well for its oddity, as long continuance.

Whenever the country laboured under a great drought, the women assembled themselves, and chose from amongst them a young virgin, to be the leader of the dance. She stripped herself naked, and went at the head of the rest, in search of this herb, which they then called *Balija*: When she had found it, she plucked it up by the roots, with the little finger of her right hand, and tied it to a string, the other end of which was fastened to the little toe of her right foot. Her company did then cut off each some boughs, and carried them in their hands after her, whilst she dragged the plant after her, towards the next river, where she plunged it in the water: the rest dipped, likewise, their boughs, and sprinkled her with it. When this ceremony was over, they all returned to the place whence they set out, but took care to make the young virgin walk backwards all the way (17).

(R) *Constantine* had, it seems, just taken the city of *Marsoilles*, and in it *Hercules* his father-in-law, who had sworn his ruin; so that he was now enabled to resume the purple which he had been forced to quit. And this being before his conversion, he went to pay his acknowledgment to *Apollo*, at this stately temple, which, upon many accounts, is supposed to have been that of *Thouluse*.

The same panegyrist tells us, that there was another temple of that god at *Autun*, where there was likewise a spring of hot waters, which were used for the punishment of perjury, and which, though they sent up a continual smoke, had neither ill taste or smell, but were both pleasant and wholesome.

(16) *Idem* *ibid.* & *ant.* ab eo citat.

(17) *Idem* *ibid.* Burchard. decret. l. xix. c. 5.

more particularly worshipped, or from other circumstances not now to be come at. ^a He was generally represented youthful, naked, with a radiant crown, or golden tresses^c. In some antient bustoes found of him, as well as in some antient coins, he is represented with a pole, or ring (S), and a link of a chain fastened to his scull, by which he was, it is supposed, suspended to the roof, in imitation of the sun, whom they fancied to be suspended by a golden chain^a. But, after all, might not such hanging figures of that deity have been the effects of some vows which the *Gauls*, and others, used to make to the deity in time of sickness; and who, upon their recovery, hung up the promised figure in his temple, without any regard to the ridiculous notion above-mentioned? One head of his was dug up at the castle of *Po-lignac*, which place is supposed to have been so called from *Apollo*, and is still there to be seen against the wall that surrounds it. It is but ill carved, on a bluish stone, between four and five feet in height and breadth, and is surrounded, all over, with rays, which, when the sun shines upon it, cast a kind of golden or fiery lustre, and shew that those rays had been formerly gilt. What is remarkable in this antique, is, that he is carved with his mouth wide open; from which it is concluded, to be here represented as delivering his answer^w. And, truly, the druids were, by this time, become such zealous mimics of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, that we need not doubt but they had some one or more of these oracles among them, though we could not find any other footsteps of it. There is an inscription, in this temple, of *Po-lignac*, out of which the head above-mentioned had been taken, which the antiquary ^c above quoted judges to have been put up by the emperor *Claudius*, who was of *Lions*, and consequently had lived in the neighbourhood of this castle, and had been there, perhaps, either to consult the oracle, or, more probably, to pray to that god for the recovery of his health, as he was a very sickly prince when he caused his name and titles to be set up there. For *Cæsar* tells us, that even in his time the *Gauls* looked upon *Apollo* as the god of phyic^x; and another author adds^y, that the sick persons that addressed themselves to him for health, used to send thither that part of their body where the ailment was, carved out in wood, or cast in brass. At *Marseilles* was found a statue like that of a *Roman* warrior, armed cap-à-pé, about eleven or twelve feet high, and standing on the crupper of a bull, between the belly ^d of which, and the pedestal on which it stands, is carved an eagle, as it were, sitting squat; and on the pedestal an inscription, importing, that *Octavius Paternus* had dedicated it to the god *Dolichenus*. The bull and the eagle has made some antiquaries suppose that deity to have been *Jupiter*; but another author, often quoted in this section, has given some convincing proofs that it was *Apollo*: we shall refer the curious, for those proofs, to the book itself^z, to prevent running into too great a length. All that needs to be added, with respect to this antique, is, that the name, which is a *Greek* one, and signifies, according to some, a hippodrome, according to others, the posts that directed the races, seems to intimate, that *Apollo* was looked upon by the *Gauls* to preside over those exercises. ^e

Mercury. BUT the deity in greatest veneration among the *Gauls*, was *Mercury*. We have already given some reasons for it in the *Celtic* history¹. Other deities had particular cities and provinces where they were more particularly worshipped; but this, after he was adopted as the god not only of trade and commerce, of which he was anciently esteemed the author, and chief promoter, in *Gaul*, but likewise of arts and sciences, of the highways and travellers, of pregnant women, and even of thieves and

¹ Vide EURIPID. *Phœniss.* *ÆLIAN.* varior. l. i. c. 20. LIMAG. d'Auvergne, p. 123, & seq. CORNEIL. diction. histor. relig. des Gaul. l. xi. c. 27. ² GREG. Turon. vit. patr. c. 4. p. 255, (D.) 263, & seq. & (Y)(Z).

^a Ibidem ibid. Vide & ANAXAG. & al. ^w SIMONI ^x Comm. ubi ^y Relig. des Gaulles, ubi supra. ^z Vol. ii.

(S) To understand what the antients meant by these kinds of poles, we must have recourse to *Diodorus Siculus*, who is the only one that has given us any light in it, and who, speaking of *Alexander's* funeral procession from *Babylon* to *Alexandria*, tells us, that in the canopy which was over the cars, or horse, there was a pole so nicely wrought, that neither the roughness of the roads, nor the jolting of the wheels, could move it (18). Hence his interpreters have

concluded this pole to have been a kind of hinge, or ring, to which a certain number of springs were fastened, which kept the whole machine tight, and immovable (19). And hence it is supposed to have been called a pole, from the number of chains and springs which centred in it, to keep the hanging statue steady. But whether they have hit the point, we will not affirm.

(18) *Hist. lib. xviii.*

(19) *Antiquis. expliq. rom. v.*

a robbers, statues, altars, and temples, were erected to him every-where throughout this country. He is called, by several ancient authors, *Tbeutat*, and *Tbeutates*^b, the signification of which name we have given, as well as that of *Mercury*, in the volume above quoted; and we need not doubt but they both meant the same deity, or that he was worshipped under both by the *Gauls*, since both are of *Celtic* extract, and expressive of the excellent notion they had of him, upon both accounts (T). That of *Tbeutat* signifying the father of his people, they acknowledged him under that name, at first, as their founder; and afterwards boasted themselves to be sprung from him (V), in imitation of the *Thracian* kings, who were another branch of the ancient *Celts*. *Mercury* was with them the god of riches^c; no man could attain to them without his help: and hence he came to be confounded with *Pluto*, and to share in his honours and attributes; or, if we may be allowed to guess nearer to the truth, *Mercury*, being dead, became *Pluto*; the god of riches, and of the lower regions; and hence both *Gauls* and *Thracians* claimed their descent from these two deities, after they had, by length of time, split them into two, in imitation of their neighbours. Some inscriptions shew, that not only *Mercury*, but even *Venus* and *Mars*,

^b *LUCAN. Pharsal. l. i. Liv. decad. iii. l. vi. c. 44. LACTANTI. & al.*

^c *CÆSAR, com. l. vi.*

(T) To these two names, and those we mentioned in a former volume, we must add that of *Ognius*, mentioned by *Lucan*, and which, though that author gives to *Hercules*, by mistake; yet, in all appearance, belonged to *Mercury*. The description he gives of him, as he saw it in *Gaul*, being somewhat curious, though the humour of it be somewhat exaggerated, we shall give our *English* readers the substance of it.

"The *Gauls*, says he, call *Hercules* *Ognius*, and represent him as a decrepit old man, bald, wrinkled, and weather-beaten, like some old sailor. One would sooner take him for old *Charon*, or any one else, than for *Hercules*. But if one considers him with his lion's skin, the bow and quiver in his left, and the club in his right hand, he looks quite like a *Hercules*. What is most curious, is, that the good old man binds a multitude of people tied to him by the ears; the chains are of gold and amber, and, though very fine and slight, not one of them seems to strive to break them, or even unwilling to follow him. On the contrary, they seem so pleased, and the chains so loose, that there appears a visible eagerness in them to keep close to him. His hands being both full, the painter has represented those chains as fastened to a hole bored through *Ognius's* tongue, whilst he looks back smiling on his followers."

Lucan, having expressed his surprize at the oddness of the picture, introduces a *Gaul* accounting to him for it, in words to this effect: "You will cease to be surprized at it, when I tell you, that we *Gauls* make *Hercules* the god of eloquence, contrary to the *Greeks*, which give that honour to *Mercury*, who is so far inferior to him in strength. We represent him as an old man, because eloquence never shews itself so lively and strong as in the mouth of old people. The relation which the ear hath to the tongue, justifies the picture of the old man, who holds so many people fast by his tongue; neither do we think it any affront to *Hercules*, to paint him with his tongue bored; since, to tell you all in one word, it was that which made him succeed in every thing; and that it was by his wisdom that he subdued all hearts unto him." Thus far *Lucan*: and it is not easy to guess whether he was imposed upon by his *Gaul*, or whether he himself introduces this story as a burlesque upon

the *Gaulish* nation, who depended so far on their strength and bravery, whilst they as much valued themselves upon their eloquence, as if they had excelled the world in it; and so expose them for their veneration for *Hercules*; rather than *Mercury*. It is plain, however, that these slight and brittle chains, which held so many pleased captives fast by the ear to the tongue of the god, could not belong to *Hercules*, in any case, but to *Mercury*, the god of eloquence; and are, accordingly, attributed to him by the generality of ancient mythologists. On the other hand, the club, the quiver, &c. were indifferently given to *Mercury*, to whom, we are told, *Hercules* consecrated them, after some successful fight against the giants (30). Accordingly, we read, that the emperor *Commodus*, who affected to appear at public shews in the habit of *Mercury*, used to wear the caduceus in his hand, whilst his officers carried the club, lion's skin, &c. before him. And in giving these to that god, the meaning was plainly this, that where-ever wisdom and eloquence were, there could be neither strength nor courage wanting; because the former was ever able either to procure, or, at the worst, to supply the want of the latter.

Many other reasons might be assigned to prove, that this picture of *Ognius* represented a *Mercury*, and not an *Hercules*; however *Lucan* came to give it to the latter (31), wherein he has been followed by the multitude of antiquaries. As for us, we think it unnecessary to dwell longer upon it, in a work of this nature; and those who rather chuse to follow that author, have a *Hercules* here as worshipped by the *Gauls*, under the name of *Ognius*, or, rather, as joined into one with *Mercury* by them, as he was antiently by the *Egyptians*, and other nations. But it is plain *Lucan* had no mind to admit the latter amongst the *Gaulish* gods, when he makes him tell *Jupiter*, that he doth not know which way to summon these to the assembly; because, as he was a stranger to their language, he could neither understand them, nor be understood by them (32).

(V) We are told, that the famed *Pythagoras*, having passed over into *Gaul*, to learn the mysteries of the druids, was so taken with this notion of theirs, that he boasted the same descent, and that god had promised to grant him whatever favour he should ask; except that of being made immortal (33).

(30) Vide *Pausan. Corinthiac. l. i. Gyrard. hist. descr. syntagm. ix. in Commod.*

(32) Vide antiq. expliq. tom. i. relig. des Gaul. l. ii. c. 11, & seq.

Jupit. tragœd.

(31) *Xiphilin. excerpt. ex Dion.*

(33) *Dial.*

were reckoned among the infernal gods (W). As he was worshipped as their progenitor, he is often joined, in those statues and inscriptions erected to him, with the goddess *Proserpina*, to assist women in labour. This goddess has much puzzled all mythologists, and may be only an epithet of *Proserpine*, whom, *Strabo* says, they worshipped as their mother (X); or, perhaps, of *Diana*, who had the same office. According to all these distinctions, one may reckon three *Gaulish Mercuries*, or rather the same god worshipped under three different titles, and represented in three different forms.

Three Mercuries among the Gauls.

As the god of eloquence, he was represented in the manner we have described him from *Lucan*, in a late note, as an old man, with his bow, quiver, club, and lion's skin, holding a willing multitude chained to his tongue by their ears. As the god of b merchants and travellers, he was represented naked, and without sex and beard, and with his winged cap, his caduceus, &c. He is under this head, likewise, represented with a purse in one hand, and sometimes with a cornucopia in the other, and with wings on his heels, as the messenger of the gods. In some statues he has a crescent, over the wings of his cap, and was often joined with the moon in the Gaulish worship; and that, probably, upon these two accounts: First, as the one was the dispenser of wealth, and the other the giver of fertility to the earth; and, secondly, as both presided over the highways, upon which account, the latter was called *Trivia*; and both protected the roads, the travellers, thieves, shepherds, and shepherdesses, as he is affirmed to have followed their life; upon which account, these likewise c offered sacrifices to him. As an infernal deity, we conjecture him to have been represented with a beard; his winged cap rather resembled a disk, and instead of a caduceus, he held in one hand an odd kind of sceptre, and in the other a purse. His body was surrounded with a kind of imperial mantle, or *paludamentum*, tyed, or fastened, by some ornament, on one of his shoulders. This we infer from an ancient monument, an account of which may be seen in the margin (Y), in the inscription of which he is styled *Augustus*. There have been many other conjectures offered, both concerning this ancient monument, and the title there given him, as well as some others, which are met with in those old inscriptions; such as that of *Artaius*, *Cissonius*, *Arvernus*, and some others, which we shall not tire our readers with: we shall d likewise pass by some other dresses and attitudes with which the luxuriant fancies of the Gauls have represented him, and only add, that from what we have observed of those mounds in which the Gauls and Britains buried their dead, such as those we described on *Salisbury plain*, and what *Livy* says of such a kind of *tumulus*, or sepulchral mount, which *Scipio* took notice of in the neighbourhood of *New Carthage* in Spain, and which the natives called *Mercury Teutat*, one may draw a probable conjecture, that he was buried there. We have formerly shewn, that he reigned in Gaul,

His tomb.

^a L. iv.

^b *POET. de ab. l. ii. MACROB. somn. Scip. l. i. Auct. hymn. in Merc. vers. 15, 200.*

^c *EUSYAT. Odyss. l. i. l. i. d. 5.*

^d See relig. des Gaul. l. ii. c. 17, & seq.

^e *Decad. iii. l. vi.*

c. 44.

^f See val. ii. p. 263, & seq. & *chronic. Alex. SUIDA PEZRON. relig. des Gaul. PELLOUTIER, & al.*

(W) *DIE INFERNIS VENER, MARTI, & MERCURIO SACRUM* (34). With relation to his being the god of riches, we find an ancient witty inscription at *Lyon*, in *Latin*, to this effect: "Mercury promises you gain here, *Apollo* health, and *Septimianus* a lodging; but he that brings his dinner with him, will fare the better. After this, stranger, you must look out where to lodge (35)." As this city was one of the most trading ones in Europe, the scarcity of inns in it, at that time, might make the opulent and generous *Septimianus* give strangers this odd invitation.

(X) As he was supposed to assist women in labour, the names of *Proserpina*, and *Proserpina*, might be given her on account of her turning the child to the right position for the birth. Those who make two goddesses of them think, that the one had power to remedy what was past, and the other to prevent what was to come. In one of those inscriptions, under a double bust, one of *Mercury*, and the other of that goddess, she is called *Rosmerta*; in some others it is *Mercury*, and *Fort. Verre*, or *Fortuna Verre*, or happy

returns, as he is often styled in others, *Mercurio Negativari, Nundinari*, &c. (36).

(Y) This appears, from a large bas-relievo, between five and six feet long, and about three in breadth, and near two in thickness, dug up out of a gentleman's vineyard, near one of the gates of the city of *Beauvais*. The inscription is, *Sacrum Mercurio Augusto C. Julius Heulissus V S L M*. It is plain, from some other inscriptions in *Gruter*, that a bearded *Mercury* was common in Gaul, though not among the *Greeks* and *Romans*; and the title *Augustus*, which we find in several ancient medals given to other gods and goddesses, or rather to emperors and empresses deified under their names, inclines us to think, that this monument was dedicated to *Mercury* after he had been deified by the Gauls, and reckoned among the infernal deities. Some distinction, doublets, there must have been of his dress, &c. under this last denomination, and this seems the most likely to have been it; but it is here offered only as a probable conjecture.

(34) *Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. Diog. Laert. l. viii.*

(36) *Menes, prap. à l'histoire de Lion, p. 96.*

(35) *Hist. de l'academ. des inscriptions, tom. iii.*

which

a which comprehended then the greatest part of *Europe*, and particularly *Spain*; and may be reasonably therefore supposed to have been there interred, after the *Celtic* or *Gaulish* manner. Other heaps or mounds, there were, which likewise bore his name; but those were of a different nature, as the reader may see in the next note (Z). How he was worshipped by the *Gauls* under any of these three denominations, is hard to guess; only as he was, in imitation of the *Romans*, deified as the god of traffick and riches, we may suppose they borrowed some of their rites from the worship which the *Roman* merchants paid to him there, and which is beautifully described by the poet ^k, who closes his account of it with this reflection, that *Mercury* could not but be inclined to forgive all the cheats and perjuries of these his votaries, when he remember'd how himself had been guilty of the like ^l. The chief victim with which they concluded his feast, was a sow with pig.

THESE were the chief male deities which we find worshipped by the *Gauls*; some others they had likewise adopted, such as *Mithras*, from the *Persians* (A), *Neptune*, *Erebus*, and *Orcus*, supposed both to be the same with *Pluto*; *Bacchus*, and some others, whom they adopted from the *Greeks* and *Romans*, concerning which we know very little, either of their worship, or of the notion which the *Gauls* had of them. As to their goddesses, the chief of them were, *Diana*, or *Luna*, *Juno*, *Minerva*, *Venus*, *Proserpine*, *Arduina*, whom we take to be the moon, as we hinted a little higher, and *Cybele*, a statue of which was dug up at *Paris* with a head crowned with a kind of hexagonal temple, and was particularly in great veneration in the city of *Autun*, and whose priests were, it seems, all castrated in honour of her (B), and from thence called *Galli* (C). Before we close this section, it will be necessary

^k Fast. l. v. ver. 663, & seq.

^l See hymn. in Merc. LACTANT. l. vi. SUID. in VOC. EUSTAT. l. i. d. 5.

(Z) These last are known to have been heaps of stones, and other obstacles, of which the highways were either cleared by his command; or in honour of him, as he was thought the god that presided over them. Whenever, therefore, any traveller met with any such, he took them up, and carried them till he found one of these heaps, which were in great numbers, and flung it in among the rest; by which means they grew larger, and higher, and were called by his name (37).

The author of the vulgate version has alluded to this custom, where he makes *Solomon* say (38), that "He who doth honour to a foolish man, is like him "that throws a stone in one of *Mercury's* heaps." But the text in the original has no such allusion, but only compares the latter to one that binds a stone in a sling. These heaps were generally gathered up at some cross-ways, and places where roads divided, and where there generally stood a *terminus*, or figure at half body; at the foot of which they threw those stones (39).

These served, likewise, to remind people of the heavy curses which this deity was thought to inflict on those who abused travellers, or refused to put them in the right way (40). Their representing him of no sex, as he was the god of commerce and riches, was, in all likelihood, to intimate, that neither of them were confined to either sex, but that both had an equal title to his protection and blessing; and we may add, that it might be likewise done in a modest opposition to the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who represented him as ambisexual, and with a spear in one hand, and a staff in the other (41).

(A) It appears from several antient monuments and inscriptions, that *Mithras*, the Sun, and *Mercury*, were worshipped, among the *Gauls*, as one and the same deity; at least, *Mithras* being the sun, among the *Persians*, is often represented as conjoined with him, that is, with a sun over his head, and sometimes on

his breast, and with this inscription, *Mercurio soli sacrum*. Hence the author of the *Gaulish* religion has been at the pains to collect a number of other arguments, to prove that those two deities were looked upon here as one and the same, or, at most, as associated both in their virtues, and in their worship. And might not this be on account of the great and constant nearness the two planets, which bear these names, have to each other (42)?

(B) This appears, from what we read in the acts of *Syphrianus*, a zealous christian since sainted, who, being brought before the governor of that city, for refusing to worship her idol, on a day in which her statue was carried about in procession, alledged, among other reasons for his refusal, that he could not acknowledge a deity, whose mysteries and worship consisted in a shameful and unnatural castration. But whether these *Galli*, or priests, were *Gauls*, or sent for from *Phrygia*, or elsewhere; or whether the *Gauls*, who appear to have had an abhorrence for all kinds of mutilations allowed of these *Galli*; or whether they did not rather belong only to the *Romans*, as some authors believe (43), we shall examine in the next note.

(C) That *Cybele*, or the mother of the gods, as she is called, was a deity of *Syrian*, and not of *Gallia* extract, is universally acknowledged. So that if her worship was introduced into *Gaul*, it was either by force, or in imitation of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. If we consider their abhorrence to all mutilations, we shall hardly think that they could willingly give into such a kind of worship as this, which required every priest, and encouraged every votary of the goddess to become an eunuch, as *Heliogabalus* is said to have done, in one of his mad fits (44). We are, moreover, told, that those *Galli* were had in such abhorrence, that no other people would converse with them; and that they were put upon the level with sorcerers, gladiators, and hangmen (45); so that they

(37) Vide Gruet. ubi supra, & relig. des Gaul. l. ii. c. 18.

(38) Proverb. xxvi. 8.

(39) Nö-

cander. Equana. scholiast. odyss. ii. Any. in epigram.

(40) Vide Theocrit. idyl. xxv. v. 5.

(41) Al-

bric. de deor. imag. Huet. demonstr. evang. c. al.

(42) L. ii. c. 36, & seq.

(43) Idem ibid.

l. i. c. 33, ad fin. Pellousier. Koyler. c. al.

(44) Lamprid. in Heliogab. Victor, epizon.

(45) Turad.

de resurrect. c. 16.

necessary to give our readers some account of the *Gaulish* druids, bards, &c. and of such of their doctrines and tenets as have not been yet touched upon, at least as far as we can gather them from ancient authors; for it cannot be expected, that we should know much concerning that set of men, considering that they made a mystery of their religion and philosophy, and a constant rule never to commit any thing relating to either to writing^m.

Their druids.

We have already observed, that the order of the druids had the sole care of all religious matters, which they so artfully and dexterously introduced into every other concern, both public and private, that nothing could be done without their approbationⁿ; and that this absolute sway of theirs lasted till at least some time after their conquest by the *Romans*. They were called by several names (D), besides that of druid, of which we have given the etymon in a former volume^o. Their antiquity is looked upon of the same date with the brachmans of *India*, magi of *Persia*, the *Chaldees* of *Babylon* and *Assyria*, and, in a word, with the oldest sects of philosophers^p. And, indeed, considering their vast distance from each other, and the conformity of their doctrine, we can suppose no other but that they all received it from the same hand, viz. from *Noah* and his immediate descendants, and carried it

^m Vide *Cæs.* com. l. vi. & alib. pass. ⁿ See before, p. 348. b. (B). ^o Vol. ii. p. 250. & seq. sub not.
^p Vide int. al. *LAERT.* in *proem.* *Orig. cont.* *Cels.* l. v. *Cl. ALEX.* *strom.* l. iii. *POLYHIST.* ap. *cuod.* l. i. *Cels.* ap. *Orig.* ubi *supra*.

had no other way of living, but by carrying their goddesses about, and begging charity for her sake; all which was most opposite to the genius of the *Gallie* nation.

Accordingly, *St. Jerom* has a passage which plainly intimates, that the *Romans* forced this emaculated priesthood upon the *Gauls*, and called those eunuchs *Galli*, in order to fix a perpetual ignominy upon that nation, for having taken their metropolis, and besieged their capital (46). And we are told, by *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, that no *Roman* took that office upon him, but that they had a *Phrygian* male and female to perform it. This might be true, in part; and if what is reported of *Heliogabalus*, who became one of them, be to be credited, it will only shew, that he minded the laws and customs of *Rome* no more in this case, than he did in all others (47).

However, *St. Jerom* seems to have been mistaken in his derivation of the word *gallus* and *galli*; which, if we may believe *Pliny*, and other *Roman* authors, were so called from a river of that name in *Phrygia* (48); and, in particular, *Ovid*, who, probably, to expose the unnatural castration of these priests, tells us, that the waters of that river had such a dangerous quality, that whosoever drank of them did run stark mad (49). But be that as it will, the contemptible name of *Gallus* may well enough have been given to the *Gauls* by way of pun upon their national one, let those priests have been called so on any other account. So that, upon the whole, if any *Gauls* were ever seen in that office, they must needs be supposed to have been forced into it by their imperious conquerors: but, after all, this worship of *Cybele*, though established in *Gaul*, as well as in *Rome*, may yet, for aught appears, have been countenanced by the latter, and disapproved by the former.

Before we close this note, it will not be amiss to mention a noble testimony which a *Roman* writer gives of this aversion of the *Gauls* to mutilation (50); where, having amply expatiated on their known valour and bravery, their contempt of difficulties and dangers, and even of death, he adds, "We never find any of them do, as some of us do in *Italy*, cut off their thumbs, for fear of going to the wars,

" and upon which account they call us, in derision, "*Murci*."

To understand the sting of this saying, it must be observed, that *Murcia* was reckoned, amongst the *Romans*, the goddess of cowards and idle fellows; whence her infamous votaries were called *Murci* (51). And from this shameful custom of cutting off their thumbs, to disqualify themselves for service, came the old *Gallie* word *poltron*, from *pollex* and *tronco*, which is still retained to this day, by many other nations besides the *French*.

(D) One of them was that of *Semnothesi* (52), given to them, doubtless, on account of their greater veneration for, and knowledge of, the godhead. *Diodorus Siculus* gives them that of *Saronides*, on account of their great regard to such old oaks as were decayed, and stripped of their bark; for that is the meaning of that word, according to *Hesychius*.

A *Gaulish* antiquary, not content to derive that of druid from the *Celtic* *derw*, an oak, compounds it with that and *hud*, enchantment; whence he inters the *Greek* *dryades* to have come (53): but though they are charged, and that perhaps justly, to have used many such practices, and in a most inhuman manner; yet it is not reasonable to think that they would add so odious a syllable to their name: neither can the *Greeks* or *Romans* be supposed to have done it, because the monosyllable, being *Celtic*, was unknown to them. *Dryades* was, therefore, no more than a *Greek* termination of the word druid.

The last name we shall take notice of was, that of *Senani*, which we hinted above was, probably, taken up by them as more pleasing to the *Romans*, it properly signifying a wife or venerable man; as their druidesses were called *senoe*, and *senes* (54). This was probably done in imitation of the sect of gymosophists, who agreed with them in many things, particularly, in having their societies composed of males and females, like the *Gaulish* druids, in studying philosophy, astrology, prying into futurity, living in celibacy, and the like (55). These were by the *Greeks* called *Semnones*; the *Gauls*, among whom the *ma* was, and is still, in many provinces, pronounced like *nn*, called them *Semnones*, and, in the *Latin* termination, *Sennoni* and *Sennani*.

(46) *Comment.* in *Hes.* c. 4. (47) See his horrid actions, vol. vi. p. 135. & seq. (48) *Plin. nat. hist.* l. v. *Luc. de des Syr.* (49) *Faust.* l. iv. v. 316. & seq. (50) *A. Marcell.* in *fin.* l. xv. (51) *Vide Valer. Max.* l. vi. c. 3. *Sueton.* in *vis. August.* *Arnob.* l. i. c. 4. *Aug. de civit.* l. iv. (52) *Diog. Laert.* in *proem.* *Smid.* in *vec.* (53) *Orig. de la nat. Celt.* (54) *Mela.* l. iii. (55) *Diog. Laert.* ubi *supra.* *Clem. Alexand. Stromas.* l. iii. *Relig. des Gauls.* l. i. c. 21.

each

a each to the different places of their dispersion; for they can never be imagined to have communicated it to each other, as there could be no communication or commerce between them in those early times; at least the druids of *Britain*, of whom we shall speak in the next chapter, and from whom the *Gauls* received all their religion and philosophy, cannot be supposed to have had it from any of these foreign sects, to whom they were utterly unknown. The *Gauls*, tenacious as they were till their conquest, of their religion, laws and customs, never belyed their origin, but owned themselves to have received all from the *British* druids: thither they sent their own to be instructed. Here was the grand seminary where they received their instruction, and here was the seat of the arch-druid, or head, and high-priest of their religion; to whom they appealed, as to their dernier resort, in all doubtful and controverted cases. It were, therefore, absurd to suppose, as some have done, either that these travelled into such vast remote parts to learn their doctrines from the *semnes* of *India*, or any other sects; or much less, as others too eagerly contend, that these travelled into *Gaul* and *Britain* to learn theirs from them. And it is much more reasonable to derive that great resemblance which is observed between them all, from those antient times, when they were, in some measure, but one people, or great family; and that each carried, and carefully preserved them in those parts of the world where they settled themselves (E).

AMONG other instances of the excessive power of the druidish tribe, *Cæsar* mentions one^a, by which we may guess at the rest, viz. that they chose the annual magistrates of every city, who had during that year the supreme authority, and sometimes the title of king. And yet these could do nothing without their approbation and advice, not so much as call a council; so that, notwithstanding their great pomp and state, says another author, they were but the creatures and slaves of the druids^b. They used the same arbitrary power in their courts of judicature, and all other cases; and were every-where esteemed as the chiefs of every *Gaulish* commonwealth, and had the sole management and instruction of youth in every thing but the training up in the art of war. For in this last respect the druids, and their disciples, were not only exempt from going to war unless they pleased, but from all kind of tribute likewise^c; and this did not a little increase their credit with the people, as well as the number of their disciples. For their order was not fixed to any particular families or nation of *Gaul*, but every man had power to stand candidate for it, and, if approved by the society, was admitted into it. As for their grand druid, he was chosen from amongst them by the plurality of votes; and, when any dispute arose, it was often terminated here, as in other cases, by the sword, as we shall have occasion to hint in the sequel. We have already observed, that they made it a part of their religion not to commit any thing to writing, but to couch all their mysteries and learning in verse; and these, it seems, were multiplied in time to such a number, that it took some of them twenty whole years to learn them all by heart. And *Cæsar* assigns these two reasons for this custom, viz. that their doctrines might appear more mysterious, by being unknown to all but themselves; and, secondly, that having no books to recur to, they might be the more careful to preserve them in their memory^d. And what contributed much to this last was, their living in separate societies, chiefly in woods, and observing a constant celibacy.

The three grand fundamentals of their religion consisted, 1. In their worship of the gods; 2. In abstaining from all evil; and, 3. In behaving with intrepidity upon

^a CÆS. comment. l. iv.

A. MARCELL. l. xv. D. SIC. l. vi. c. 9. ^b Ibid. l. vii. DIO. CHRYSOST. orat. xlix.

^c Ibid. l. vii. DIO. CHRYSOST. orat. xlix.

LUCAN. l. i. & al.

^d LUCAN. ubi supra.

^e CÆSAR. l. vi.

^f Comment.

(E) Some antient Roman authors, such as *Cæsar*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Am. Marcellinus*, &c. have indeed affirmed, that the druids learned their doctrines from *Pythagoras*; and the same some have affirmed of *Numa* (56), though he was of so much older date. But we have formerly observed, that *Pythagoras* had made a voyage into *Gaul*, and had learned a great deal of his from them, as he did also from the brachmans (57). The truth is, *Pythagoras* was

in such high esteem, that no man was hardly esteemed wise, or learned, that was not his disciple (58). And the *Gaulish* druids, being found to have many doctrines in common with him, were of course supposed to have received them from him. Though that of the transmigration of souls, which was likewise attributed to them, doth not appear to have been at all held by them, and it is likely that philosopher brought it from those of *India*.

(56) See *Cicer. quæst. Tuscul. l. i. n. 38.*

(58) *Cicero, ibid.*

(57) *Clem. Alex. ubi supra, l. i. Diog. Laert. l. viii.*

Their principles.

Practise physic.

all occasions*. In order to enforce this last, on which they valued themselves most, a they taught the immortality of the soul, and a life after this, of bliss or misery, according as they had lived. And this inspired them with incredible courage, and contempt of death, of which we shall give some pregnant instances in its due place. This notion of a future life was so firmly believed by the people, that we are told they used to bring the account-books of the deceased into his grave, or, if he was burnt, into the fire, that he might make such use of them in the next world, as would make his life more easy and comfortable there†. Several other ridiculous customs are recorded of them, with respect to this notion of a future life, which can hardly be credited, and which, for that reason, we shall just mention in the margin(F). They also pretended to great skill in some branches of geography and astronomy, b such as the knowing the bigness and form of the earth, the motions of the planets, their influence, and that of the stars; from which they assumed a knowledge of the divine will, to pry into futurity‡, and to foretel strange events. And if that passage which *Diodorus Siculus* has preserved to us out of *Hecateus*§, and which the reader may find in the margin(G), be to be depended upon, and that the druids of *Brittain*, for that seems to be the island meant by that author, could, as with telescopes, shew the moon nearer, and discover therein mountains, rocks, &c. it cannot but be supposed that they had made greater progress in these arts and sciences than is generally imagined. The nineteen years converse of *Apollo*, which is the cycle of the sun, and the notion of the moon's opacity, of its mountains, rocks, &c. argue c them to have been no bad astronomers; and if they had really any instruments to draw the moon nearer, and make such discoveries upon its surface, we may conclude them to have been pretty good artists for those early times. *Pliny* adds, that they studied natural philosophy, and practised physic^b. This last consisted chiefly in the knowledge and use of simples, but they soon found out a way to render it more intricate and mysterious, by intermingling astrology, and other superstitious trash, amongst it. The configuration of the planets must be consulted, the herb must be gathered with one hand, and not with the other; the hand must be covered with the opposite lappet of the man's robe; he must be dressed in white, his feet washed and unshod, and a great deal more to the same purpose; but all which rather betrays d that author's fondness of exposing the *Gauls*, than to inform mankind. To give one instance for all, the reader needs but hear what he says of their serpents egg, which, as it is related by him, would scarcely, upon any other account, be worth inserting in this history, but that, whilst we give him the substance of it in the margin(H), we shall endeavour to strike out a more probable and advantageous meaning

* *DIOG. LAERT. l. i.*

† *CÆS. ubi supra.*

• *P. MELA, l. iij. c. vi.*

• *L. iij. c. i. r.*

‡ *Vide nat. hist. l. xxiv. §. seq.*

(F) They are said to have lent and borrowed money, &c. in order to repay it in the next world; to have sent letters to the deceased person, by flinging it into the fire, or into his grave (59). There have been also found in those ancient sepulchres, on *Salisbury* plain, spoken of before, some small plates of silver, and other metals, engraved with a kind of old writing, which are supposed to have been sent from the living to the dead by this conveyance. But these, and such-like ridiculous customs, seem rather invented by those authors in disparagement of the *Gaulish* nation, and are justly laughed at (60).

(G) This passage is to the following purport: That there is, according to that author, a northern island of considerable bigness, little less than *Sicily*, situate over-against the *Celts*, and inhabited by those whom the *Greeks* call *Hyperboreans*. It is fruitful, pleasant, and dedicated to *Apollo*; that god, for the space of nineteen years, used to come and converse with them, and, which is more remarkable, they could (as if they had the use of telescopes) shew the moon very near them, and discover therein mountains, &c. He concludes, that over their sacred

grove and temple there presided a set of men called (by the then *Greeks*, it is supposed) *Boreads*, who were their priests and rulers.

From the author's description and situation of this island, every body will easily perceive that it could be no other but either *Great Britain* or *Ireland*; for the *Mona*, or *Anglesey* of *Rouland* (61), is vastly too small and inconsiderable to have been meant here. It is mentioned as known to the *Greeks*, as well it might, by means of the tin which the *Phœnicians* fetched from it, of which we shall speak in due time. The author adds, that one *Abaris*, who became afterwards a disciple of *Pythagoras* (62), went from hence into *Greece*, and contracted an intimacy with the *Delians*. And might he not be supposed to have followed that philosopher from *Gaul* thither? But we submit that to the reader.

(H) According to his fabulous account, this egg, which was unknown to the rest of the world, was formed by the scum of a vast multitude of serpents twisted and conjured up together. As soon as they began to hiss, it was raised up into the air, and must be caught before it touched the ground; and he that

(59) *Valer. Max. l. ii. c. 4. Diod. Sicul. l. vi. c. 9. Cæs. ubi supra.*

132. & seq. 175. *Pellousier. hist. des Celts. relig. des Gauls. &c. al.*

(62) See bishop of Worcester's letter to Dr. Bentley, ap. eund. ibid.

(60) See Keyzer ant. septentr. p.

(61) *Mona antiq. scil. 8. ad fin.*

a ing of this pretended piece of superstition, than that author could, or was, perhaps, willing to do.

We must first take notice of an antient *Gaulish* monument in the great cathedral of *Paris*, on which this ceremony of catching the egg is represented pretty near in the same manner as *Pliny* has given it. Another has been found in *Italy*, on which are carved two serpents, the one holding the egg in its mouth, and the other shaping and polishing it with its spittle. If the reader remembers what has been said in the cosmogony of the world, at the entrance of this work ^d, of the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians* looking upon the egg to be the principle of all things; that it was represented as coming forth out of the mouth of a serpent, the emblem of the God-head, or perhaps rather of wisdom; and if we add what *Plutarch* observes, that the theology of the antients did ascribe to the egg the priority of time, and the seed of all things; he will easily decypher a much sublimer meaning in the mythology of this egg, than that *Roman* author could, or was perhaps willing to see in it, either from those emblematic monuments, or fabulous reports, from which he took his ridiculous account. For it must be further observed, that the druids were very fond of wrapping up all their learning, and even their moral precepts, in such kinds of mysterious and enigmatic figures. However, we would not deny but after their power came to dwindle, as it began to do from the coming in of the *Romans*, they might slacken apace from their antient purity, and make a trade of such superstitious fooleries as they would have despised whilst in the height of their wealth and sway, when nothing could well tempt them to it. It is, doubtless, to these latter times, that we must suppose the antient comedy, called *Querulus*, or *Aulularia*, which exposes the druidish knavery with so much wit and sharpness, to have referred to; and perhaps, also, that which another author says of them^e, that in their lectures of morality they gave this for a maxim, that the fertility of their fields depended upon their riches, and the largeness of their revenues. One doctrine, he tells us, they taught, that fire and water would at length absorb all things.

BEFORE we leave this subject, we must not omit saying something of their famed druidesses, and the great esteem they were in among the *Gauls*, as well as among the *Germans*^f. We have already shewed, that antiently the *Gaulish* women bore a great sway in this country, of which the druids, in time, stripped them; but it is likely, that the druidesses held still great part of their own credit, especially on account of their being thought endowed with the spirit of prophecy; for we cannot find, that they were famed for any thing else, and some of them, we find, were among the lowest rank of people. Witness *Dioclesian's* hostess, who, when he was but a private man in the *Roman* army, then in *Gaul*, foretold him that he should become emperor after he had killed a boar, or, rather, *Aper*, as the issue shewed it a little time after. We have seen, likewise, in the *Roman* history, that their emperors were not above consulting, and being advised by them; particularly *Severus* and *Aurelian*, the latter of whom asking some of them how long the empire should last in his family, they made no difficulty to tell him boldly, that that of *Claudius* would one day become the most illustrious^g. We shall not take upon us to inquire how they

Their druidesses, or female druids.

^a Antiquité expliq. Relig. des Gauls. l. i. c. 26. iii. c. ult. ^d Vol. i. p. 13, d. 17, a. 18, a. ^e STRABO, l. iv. ^f TACIT. l. iv. c. 54, & seq. de mor. Germ. Dio, in fragm. xlix. PLIN. & al. ^g See vol. vi. p. 206, a—e. ^b Ibid. p. 145, b. ^c VOPISCUS in AUREL. sub fin.

caught it must immediately get on a fleet horse, and ride for his life, from the fury of the serpents, which pursued him till a river stopped them short. The egg was then to be flung into the water, with a golden ring, which they fastened about it, and must swim on the surface with it. Its virtues were then almost as numberless as those of *Fortunatus's* cap, a great many of which our author mentions, as well as its colour and shape; and concludes with telling us, that the emperor *Claudius* caused a *Gaulish* nobleman to be put to death merely for having been found with one of these eggs in his bosom, and which, it seems, he wore there with a view of gaining a law-suit in which he was engaged (63).

What increases our wonder of this ridiculous credulity, is, that a modern author (64) has endeavoured

to confirm, in a great measure, what *Pliny* has related, by assuring us, that in several parts of *Dauphiné*, especially one place he names near the confines of *Savoie*, there is such a prodigious concourse of all kinds of serpents from the 5th of *June* to the 15th of *August*, that there is not one to be seen for the space of ten miles round the place. He adds, that the ground where they assemble is left covered with a kind of scum, which fills one with horror. But he says, that no care had been taken to inquire after the story of the egg, whether it was fact, or only an imposture of the druids. If any thing could persuade us that the antient *Gauls* could give into such ridiculous superstitions, it would be the seeing of them so easily swallowed by the modern ones.

(63) *Plin. l. xxix. c. 3.*

(64) *Chorier. hist. du Dauphiné.*

came

Three orders of
them.

came by this extraordinary gift, or whether it was real, or a mere cheat and pretence; only we would observe, that the latter cannot be supposed, without allowing at the same time, that the druids themselves were likewise imposed upon by them; else it is not likely they would have allowed them to reign so long, and bear such sway in all religious and civil matters, contrary to the practice of the *Indian* brachmans, and other sects of antient philosophers, who never admitted their women into any of their mysteries^k. There were three classes of druidesses in *Gaul*, the chiefest of which was of those who kept a perpetual virginity; for these were thought to have the spirit of prophecy. The next was that of those, who, though married, were yet obliged to abstain from the matrimonial intercourse, except one single time in the whole year, in which they were allowed to go and have children by them; after which, they returned to their office, which was, to assist the druids at their religious functions. The last were a kind of attendants, or servants, on the others; and this we learn rather from some antient monuments and inscriptions^l, than from antient authors, who have said little more of them than that they were prophetesses. Both druids and druidesses pretended to a great knowledge in astrology, calculated peoples nativities, erected figures, and foretold strange things, both by that, and, much more, by their inhuman auguries; of which bloody custom, we shall give a specimen in the margin (I): but those which were styled prophetesses, were thought to have a gift superior to the rest, and which was looked upon as supernatural; these were called by some superior title, such as that of dame was heretofore among us; and were in the highest request, not only among their own people, but likewise among foreign nations. As for the others, they were much less regarded, and their night-assemblies about ponds and marshes, to worship and consult the moons, and some other forceries they pretended to use, made them be looked upon as downright witches, canibals, *lamia*, *pylboniffæ*, *stria*, and every thing that is black and horrid, by christian authors, from the sixth century downwards^m.

The bards,
their office.

The next order amongst them, in great esteem, was that of the bards. Some authors have, indeed, confounded them with the druids, and looked upon the former to be only a more modern name given to them. But there is a passage in *Strabo* which quite explodes that notion, where he saysⁿ, that the druids were in the highest power, and gave laws to the *vates*, *eubages*, and bards, who were every-where to give them place, when they pleased to challenge it, and were not allowed to do any thing without their consent and approbation. Besides, we are told by that, and a number of other authors, that these bards were so called from their office, which was, to sing the praises of their heroes^o, and to accompany their songs with musical instruments. And we are told, that their compositions were held in the highest esteem, as the most effectual means of eternizing the memory of those who had the merit or good fortune to be celebrated in them. One of the authors last quoted adds, that they could at any time put a stop to a whole army's engaging, by their interposition: so great a power had wisdom, and the muses, over those barbarians^p. It was their business to accompany the *Gaulish* armies with their songs, which were generally calculated to inspire them with valour and intrepidity, with the love of liberty, and contempt of death^q. During the onset, they used likewise to give

* Vide PLIN. ubi supr. TACIT. l. iv. STRABO. l. xv.

l Idem ibid. & auct. ab eo citat.

AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xv.

m L. iv.

p DIOD. SICUL. ubi supra.

¹ GRUTER. p. 62. Relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 27.

^o DIOD. SICUL. l. vi. c. 9. LUCAN. l. i. vers. 447.

^q PAUSAN. in Phoc.

(I) It appears, by comparing what antiquaries have been able to collect from some antient *Gaulish* monuments concerning this bloody ceremony, with what *Strabo* says of it (65) as it was practised among the *Cimbri*, who were a branch of the old *Celts*, that there was no material difference between them in this respect. We shall, therefore, give the purport of what that antient author has left us of it, which is as follows:

The druidesses were, on these occasions, like the druids, clothed in white tunics, fastened with hooks, and girt with a brass girdle, and without shoes. As soon as the *Cymbrians* had taken any captives, these women flew upon them with drawn swords in their

hands, and threw them down; thence they dragged them to a large capacious *labrum*, or cistern, by the side of which was a kind of foot-stool, on which the druidess then officiating stood, who plunged a long knife into the breast of each of these unfortunate wretches, one after another, as fast as they were brought; and from the flowing of their blood she formed her predictions. The other druidesses, who assisted, took up the breathless bodies, opened and examined their entrails, and from thence likewise foretold some new things, which were immediately communicated to the whole army or council, and as readily believed.

- a some loud shouts, sometimes as of victory, other times to intimate their danger, in case they did not fight valiantly, or were ready to give way. So that though they did not really fight themselves, they were so intermingled with the army, that they ran, in some measure, the same risque with those that did (K). By this means they were eye-witnesses of the behaviour of the combatants, and either celebrated their praises in their songs, or censured those that had not done their duty. And as these might in time degenerate, and be often bribed to extol those who had been faulty, or in praising either too much or too little, for favour or interest, it is thought they acquired the name of parasites^r. But this seems very inconsistent with what we read of the great esteem they were in, unless we allow that epithet to have antiently carried a more favourable meaning than it doth now (L). To these two orders we may add those of the *vates* and *euvates*, or *eubates*, which seem to have been still inferior to that of the bards; but whether they were so to each other, or the same under two names, is not easy to guess, with that little light we have from antient authors. All that can be conjectured upon the whole, is, that the druids presided over all religious matters, and bore a great sway in those of a civil nature. The bards were the recorders of all transactions, and treasured up in their poetic compositions the knowledge of things and persons, and communicated as much of it to the laity, by their songs, as the druids thought proper. The *vates* and *euvates* might be singers of these bardish compositions, and be further retained in the families of the great, to celebrate their praises and heroic acts; but as the druids were more known to strangers than the rest, their name was given to all indifferently, by antient historians.
- b *Diodorus* and *Cicero* seem to mention a fifth sort, viz. the *saronides*; but we have shewn, a little higher, that it was but another name for that of the druids, as the learned *Bochart* has fully proved^s. As for the *flamens*, or *flamines*, though they have been supposed to have belonged to the druidish order, yet bishop *Stillingfleet* has sufficiently disproved them to have been of *Celtic* or *Gaulish* extract. They were of the *Roman* kind, and of much later date than either druids or bards. We have spoken of them in a former volume, and to that, and the learned prelate above quoted, we shall refer our readers; and close this section of the *Gaulish* religion with observing, that, in spite of all the severe edicts of the *Roman* and *Christian* monarchs, there were still very visible traces of it, and of the very worst part of the druidish rites practised not only long after the settling of christianity in *Gaul*, but even to the middle of the sixth century, as appears by a notable instance of it, which we shall give in the margin (M).
- c *The end of druidish superstition.*
- d

^r Posidon. ap. Athenæ. l. vi.

^s Vide & PELLOUTIER. hist. des Celt. l. ii. c. 9.

(K) This may be inferred from what we read of one of them, named *Pomponius*, a man in great esteem, both as a bard, and a poet; who finding himself in great danger from the enemy, made a vow to *Mars*, their great protector, to sacrifice to him a boar, if he escaped safe (66). It was likewise, as we formerly hinted, customary among their generals, upon all such occasions, to vow to that god all the plunder, and even the prisoners of war, if they came off victorious.

(L) This epithet, though by length of time become a term of reproach, might not carry so harsh a meaning in our author; if it had, it is hardly credible those bards could have kept up their credit so long, and in so brave and warlike a nation. But, in our opinion, that name was given only to an inferior set of bards, who are judged to have been a kind of clients, or *solduri*, who entered themselves into the service of some noblemen or generals, and bound themselves to live and die with him, and whose business it was to sing the praises of their patrons, in

poems composed by the bards, before numerous crouds of people, who never failed to surround and listen to them (67).

(M) This fact is taken from *Procopius*, who was himself an eye-witness of it, and is as follows: *Theoderic* I. having penetrated into *Italy* at the head of a considerable army, and taken possession of the bridge of *Pavia*, his men offered in sacrifice the wives and children of the *Goths*, whom they had surprised, and cast their bodies into the river, as the first-fruits of that war. "For, says he, the *Franks*, though christians, do still observe a great many of their antient superstitions. They offer up human victims, and use many execrable rites in their auguries." And another author, who lived till the latter end of the seventh century, has a long catalogue of such superstitions, against which, as he was a bishop, and since sainted for his piety, he forewarns his christian flock. The reader may see the passage at length in the authors quoted below (68).

(66) *Macrob. Saturnal. l. vi. c. 9. Aul. Gell. noct. Attic. l. xvi. c. 6.*

(67) *Casaubon. in Athen. l. vi.*

(68) *Vide fasher Coins. tom. i. & iii. Fleury's eccl'f. histor. tom. viii. Relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 7.*

S E C T. IV.

Of the antiquity, government, laws, learning, arts, sciences, commerce, and customs, of the antient Gauls.

*Their govern-
ment.*

WE have already spoken at large of the origin and antiquity of the *Gauls*, in the history of the *Celtes*, their ancestors^a; of their migrations and settlement in *Europe*, and of their antient monarchical government there^b. How and when it came afterwards to dwindle, and split itself into that variety of forms in which the *Romans* found them afterwards, were in vain to inquire after, considering their inbred contempt of learning, and that they kept neither history nor records but what was couched in the songs or ballads of their bards and druids, who kept them, as much as possible, from public knowledge, and only sung or repeated them on certain times, or upon particular occasions, rather to stimulate the people to an imitation of their heroes, than to preserve any regular series of their transactions. All that can be offered concerning this great change, would be only such conjectures as are obvious to every reader; which may, therefore, be easily spared here, since all our intelligence, concerning this their new government, must be fetched from hints and scraps of such foreign authors who have written of them, since they became more known to their neighbours, and of which this is the best account that can be given.

*Grand council
of the nation.*

THE *Gauls* were by this time (though still under the same name, using the same language and customs, and governed by the same general laws) under different governments, some of which were monarchical, others aristocratical, others partly so, and partly democratical, and these were, by way of distinction, called *free*^c. *Tacitus* reckons no less than sixty-four of these cities, or, as *Cæsar* better explains it^d, regions, or districts, who were under this kind of government. These little commonwealths were chiefly governed by the advice of the nobles, but antiently every year they chose a magistrate for civil, and a general for military affairs^e; yet these, as well as those that were under a kingly government, observed one constant law, to call every year, at a certain time, a general council of the whole nation; in which, whatever related to the common interest of the whole nation, was debated and settled. And, indeed, these warlike people were in no small need of such a general council, since they made war one of their chief employments, and were no sooner free from a foreign one, but they immediately fell a quarrelling among themselves: so that, to prevent these intestine broils, the chief business of that grand assembly was, to find out some plausible pretence for carrying it against some of their neighbours, either to pull down those that were over-grown, and raised their jealousy, or to protect the oppressed, or furnish some allies with a number of auxiliaries, and such-like^f. The free commonwealths had, moreover, a law common to them all, that whoever heard any report, or common rumour, among their borderers, which concerned the common interest, they were obliged to acquaint their magistrates with it, and to conceal it from the people. The magistrates were to conceal what they thought proper, and acquaint the people with the rest; for it was not lawful for any person to talk of matters that related to the whole community, but in the council^g. All that can be gathered, relating to this grand assembly, out of the same historian, the reader may see in the subsequent note (A). Upon the whole, then, this grand council

^a Vol. ii. p. 241, & seq. 244, 246, & seq.

^b Ibid. p. 250, & seq.

^c CÆSAR. comment.

l. i. c. 1. vi. c. 4. TACIT. ann. l. iii.

^d Ibid. ibid.

^e STRAB. l. iv.

^f Comment. l. vi.

c. 6. STRABO, l. iv. MELA, l. iii. c. 3. CÆSAR, ibid. l. vi. c. 4.

^g Comment. l. vi. c. 4.

(A) The *Gauls*, says that conqueror (1), demanded that a general council of their whole nation should be summoned, and that it might be done by his consent. A council was, accordingly, assembled at *Bibracte*, where was a vast concourse from all parts of the nation (2). And elsewhere he tells us, that he

summoned that *Gaulish* council to meet in the spring; and the *previri*, *senones*, and *carnuti*, not coming with the rest, he adjourned it to meet at *Paris* (3.)

Among them who opposed his measures, were, *Dumnorix*, one of the chiefs of the *Æduan* commonwealth, against whom he had sent an order to

(1) L. i. c. 12.

(2) L. i. c. 12.

(3) L. vi. c. 1.

- a council was the dernier resort of the Gauls, wherein every thing relating not only to peace and war, but to property, boundaries, territories, distribution of plunder, and such-like, between district and district, was finally determined. For if, for instance, after some successful victory, or excursion, any debate happened about the plunder, as it seldom failed to be followed with a great deal of bloodshed, if not timely prevented, and, if *Polybius* may be credited, such bloody frays did often happen for such trifles as the plunder of a good store of victuals, and especially of wine^b; the dispute was deferred to the assembly of the district, or commonwealth. *Commonwealths.* But whenever it happened, as it often did, between district and district, the grand council must either determine between them, or else they were sure to butcher one another, till one side was forced to give over. So that *Tacitus* had great reason to say of them, as he did of their neighbours the *Germani*; "If they will not be in friendship with us, let them at least fall out among themselves: fortune can do no greater service, than to set them at variance among themselves." All that needs be further added, with relation to these small commonwealths, is, that they seem to have had such an aversion to kingly government, that one of them, that of the *Ædui* (B), ordered the great *Certillus*, the father of *Vercingetorix*, mentioned a little higher, a man in great power and credit, and esteemed the first man in Gaul, to be put to death, for having aspired to the kingdom^c. At the same time they were so extremely jealous of each other's power, that they were obliged to enter into combinations against each other, and the little ones to put themselves under the protection of the greater ones; an instance of which we gave in the last note. *Cæsar* doth sometimes call the former tributary and subject to the latter, but most commonly confederate with them. Upon his first entrance into Gaul he found it divided into two factions: the *Ædui* were at the head of one, and the *Arverni* at the head of the other; and both, he tells us, had for many years contended for the superiority^d. What increased the dissension still more, was, that the *Bituriges*, a people in the province of *Berri*, and neighbours of the *Arverni*, were still in subjection to the *Ædui*; and the *Sequani*, who lived in *Upper Burgundy*, now *Franche Comté*, and neighbours to the *Ædui*, were under the protection of the *Arverni*.
- d SUCH were the unhappy divisions between the Gaulish commonwealths (C), which *kings* gave so great an advantage to the *Romans* against them, and which they failed not

^b L. ii.

^c German. c. 33.

^d Vide &c comment. l. vi. c. 11.

^e Idem, l. i. c. 12. vi. c. 4.

have him slain, who, thereupon, applied himself to the council, alleging, that he was a member of a free commonwealth, and begged to be protected by them (4). Another was *Vercingetorix*, who, *Cæsar* says, flattered himself that he should be able to unite such commonwealths to him as dissented from the rest of the Gaulish cities, and to form such a general council of all Gaul, as the whole world should not be able to withstand (5).

This is all that we can meet with concerning those grand councils; but as to other particulars relating either to the extent of their power, the time, manner, and place of their being summoned and held, and the like, history leaves us wholly in the dark.

(B) The *Ædui* were one of the three chief commonwealths in Gaul (6), and situate near *Autun*; the country is now called *Lower Burgundy*.

The other two were the *Arverni* and the *Rhemi*. The former of these were sited on the river *Loire*; their capital was called *Arvernium*, now *Clermont*, the capital of *Guienne*; and they became, in time, so powerful, that, according to *Strabo*, they made war against *Cæsar* with 400000 men (7), and, a little before the arrival of their conqueror, had quite weakened their rivals the *Ædui*, by withdrawing most of their clients and dependents (8): and it was, probably, upon this juncture, that they condemned that great commander of theirs to lose his head, and chose his son in his stead.

The *Rhemi* were the ancient inhabitants of the country of *Rheims*, whose ancient and famous metropolis still bears the same name, and is one of the greatest, and most populous cities of *France*.

(C) Accordingly, we find the *Senones*, or rather *Semnonēs*, who inhabited some part of the *Lionois*, joining in league with that of the *Parisians*, and both soon after putting themselves under the protection of the *Ædui*. The *Bellovaci*, a very populous commonwealth, and in great repute and authority among the *Belgæ* (9), were likewise allied with them. Their capital, then a very considerable city, was called *Bellovacum*, and *Cæsaromagus*; their country still retains the name of *Beauvois*.

Cæsar reckons, moreover, five different people under the dominion of the *Nervi* (10), another ancient, fierce, and warlike people of *Belgia*, supposed to have dwelt in the now diocese of *Cambray*; these were the *Centrones*, or inhabitants of *Courtray*. *Grudii*, supposed to have dwelt about *Bruges*; the *Lavaci*, about *Louvain*; the *Pleumosi*, or *Pleumasi*, whose situation is uncertain; and the *Gorduni*, situate in the neighbourhood of *Ghent*. The *Eburones* and *Condrusi*, who lived in the territories of *Liege* and *Namur*, were clients to the *Treviri*, or inhabitants of the country of *Triers*, the then principal nation in *Belgia prima*. The *Veneti*, or inhabitants of *Gallia Armorica*, or *Britany*, composed so powerful a commonwealth, that our author (11) tells us, their dominion was one of the most extensive.

(4) L. v. c. 3.

(5) L. vii. c. 6.

(6) Tacit. l. iii. *Cæsar. com.* l. v.

(7) Strab. l. iv.

(8) *Comments.* l. vi. c. 4. vii. c. 10.

(9) Idem, l. ii. c. 4. vii. c. 7.

(10) L. v. c. 11.

(11) L. iv. c. 2.

to improve, according to their wonted policy, as we shall see in the sequel. *Cæsar*, a finding the *Arverni* too strong for, and averse to him, entered into an alliance with the *Ædui*, who were by this time become vastly inferior to them, complimenting them with the title of friends and brothers to the *Roman* people. Their example was soon followed by others, so that partly by cajoling some, and sowing jealousies and discords among others, he facilitated the conquest of that noble and warlike nation, which, had it been more united in interest, and form of its government, must, in all appearance, have proved too hard for him.

BUT, notwithstanding this great multitude, and variety of commonwealths, it is plain, that both *Gaul*, *Germany*, and *Spain*, still swarmed with petty kingdoms, that is, with districts, governed by kings, whom the *Romans* styled *reguli*, or petty kings, but the *Gauls* styled kings (D), though their dominions were ever so small. These differed from the magistrates of commonwealths, in that they enjoyed their dignity during life; and from common monarchs, in that it was not hereditary (E), but sometimes conferred by the people upon such as were in the greatest esteem for justice, wisdom, and bravery. Sometimes they were forced by one nation upon another, as the *Bituriges* did one over the *Celtae*, in the reign of *Tarquinius Priscus*^m; sometimes a brave and powerful man forced himself upon the throne: and even those who seem to have come to the crown by succession, were far from being arbitrary, or having an unlimited power, but were as much accountable to the people as those that were chosen by them. This is, at least, what *Ambiorix*, king of the *Eburones*, owns, with relation to himself. "The constitution of our government, says he, is such, that the people have no less power and authority over me, than I have over them." This form has been, indeed, much admired by *Aristotle*, *Polybius*, *Cicero*, and especially by *Plato*, as by far the safest, and most excellent; because, as the last of these rightly observes, should kingly government be left without a bridle, when it hath attained the supreme power, as it stands upon such slippery ground, it easily falls into tyranny. "For this reason, says he, it ought to be restrained, as with a curb, by the authority of the nobles, and of such chosen men as the people have imposed for that end and purpose."

How chosen.

Their power limited.

^m Livy, l. v.

ⁿ Comment. l. v. c. 8.

^o Vide HOTTOMAN. Franco-Gall. in fin. c. 1.

(D) The word *rex* seems plainly enough to be of *Celtic* extract, viz. from *rhoy*, prince, or lord: hence we have shewed in a former volume (12), *Rhen*, *Jove's* mother, to have had that name given her, as implying a lady, or princess, as she really was. The name of *Rhey* might therefore be given to those ancient monarchs, till their vast kingdom came to split itself, as we have seen above, into so many petty principalities and commonwealths; at which time, it is probable, those petty kings came to be called *Tyrannes*, or, according to the old *Celtic*, *Tyr-rhanwir*, from their being the persons who divided the people into such districts, or communities, and settled the boundaries of each, as well as the portions of land which every family under them was to be intitled to. Hence the *tyrannoi* of the *Greeks*, and the word tyrant, might at first carry a much better meaning, till their degeneracy made it to become so odious, that they changed it for those of princes, dukes, earls, &c. (13).

The author of the *Mona antiqua*, above quoted, thinks the name and office of these tyrants to be of much older date; and that, in all probability, some such power or dignity is tacitly implied in one of the statutes of the sons of *Noah*, called *de judiciis* (14). We have formerly given our sentiment concerning that rabbinic book (15) so much discredited by some, and so strongly defended by our learned *Selden*. But, without having recourse to such questioned authorities, reason plainly tells us, that from the first dispersion there must have been some such *tyr-rhanwirs*, or land-assigners, as the word implies, to pre-

vent the continual quarrels that must inevitably happen for want of them. And these were most likely the heads of families, whose paternal authority carried a kind of divine right. For if mankind sprung from one man, then the original of government must be supposed, of course, to have been not only monarchical, but such by divine appointment, and vested in the heads of families.

Moses further observes (16), that the three families of *Noah's* sons were, after the flood, divided after their tongues and families, *begojehem*, in their nations, that is, into separate communities, over whom the chief, or head, presided, and was the *rhoy*, or lord, and *tyr-rhanwir*, or assigner of their proper lands in each settlement. But however that be, in such a change of government as here happened among the *Celts* or *Gauls*, nothing can be more evident, than the necessity of such a kind of despotic distributors and assigners of lands in each new kingdom or commonwealth; and who could be fitter for such an office, than those who bore the greatest authority?

(E) At least *J. Cæsar* mentions several eminent private men, whose ancestors had been formerly invested with the regal dignity, and, among these, *Casticus*, whose father had been many years king of the *Seguni* (17); *Piso*, whose grandfather had reigned in *Aquitania* (18); and *Tasgetius*, whose ancestors had been kings of the *Carnutes* (19), and whose territories retain still the name of *Chartrain*. So that they seem rather to have been magistrates for life, than real kings, especially as their power is affirmed to have been limited by the people.

(12) Vol. ii. p. 260, (R).
Franco-Gal. c. 1.
(18) L. iv. c. 3.

(13) See Rowland's *Mona Antiqua*, p. 41, & seq.
(15) Vol. i. p. 114, & seq.
(16) Genesis x.

(14) Hottoman.
(17) L. i. c. 2.

- It is not easy to guess from *Cæsar's* commentaries, from which we have the greatest part of this intelligence, either how many of these kingdoms there were in *Gaul*, or what nations were governed by them, and which by a commonwealth; but both were equally courted by the *Romans*, and for the same reason; viz. to withdraw from, and weaken the force of those that opposed their conquests. These petty kings, especially, were often corrupted by dint of gifts, promises, or some fine titles, such as that of *friends and confederates of Rome*, to embroil the *Gaulish* affairs, and foment dissensions among their little kingdoms and republics: even the poorest and most inconsiderable amongst them were thought worth their while to bring over to them; and if they found them busy and active in their interest, they failed not to reward them in such a manner as was most likely to draw others into the same treacherous practices. Among those whom *Cæsar* mentions among the friends and allies of *Rome*, was *Catamantales*, king of the *Sequani*, the grandfather of *Piso*, mentioned a little higher, who reigned in *Aquitain*, and whose name the conqueror has not thought fit to record; and *Olevico*, king of the *Nitiobriges*, or people of *Agnois*, who had that title bestowed upon him by the *Roman senate*. Among those who made the noblest resistance against the *Romans*, was *Divitiacus*, king of the *Sueffones*, a brave people of *Gallia Belgica*, who was one of the most potent princes of all *Gallia*. His territories were large and fruitful: he had twelve considerable cities, one of which, *Noviodunum*, now *Noyons*, *Cæsar* afterwards reduced, and with it that whole nation, as we have elsewhere shewn, notwithstanding they had brought 500000 fighting men against him. This prince's dominions is said to have extended even to *Little Britany*. He was succeeded by *Galba*, at the time when *Cæsar* invaded them. Thus much for the *Gaulish* government, which we shall close with a severe reflection which that conqueror makes upon it, and which will shew how much their intestine feuds contributed to his conquest of them. "Among the *Gauls*, says he, not only all their cities, cantons, and districts, but even almost all families, are divided and torn by factions. These are generally caused and fomented by their princes and demagogues, who exercise a kind of arbitrary power and authority over their inferiors and dependents, and manage all public matters with an uncontrollable sway." *Tacitus* observes much the same thing of it; so that, in spite of all their bravery, their ruin seems no less than inevitable, when so torn and dismembered from within, and invaded by such powerful and politic enemies from without.

WHETHER these disasters were occasioned through the want of a good body of laws, or through the neglect and violation of them, is not easy to determine. We have, indeed, observed, in a former volume, that *Mercury* is said to have civilized the *Celtic* nation, in many respects, and, amongst other things, that he gave them a set of laws. Another author gives the credit of this to one *Samothès*, a man of profound learning and wisdom among them, and said to have been the founder of the *Celtic* monarchy. But what those laws were, if any such were, indeed, compiled for them, we are wholly in the dark. The druids and bards, who had the keeping and interpreting of them, were too cautious to divulge them to strangers, or even to any of their own nation, except to those of their own order; since they observed the same shyness with relation to all other branches of learning, which they carefully concealed from the people. But whatever that system of laws may have been, it must have suffered a total change, upon the abolition of the monarchy, and the dismembering of the whole into so many petty kingdoms and commonwealths. And, indeed, by all we can gather from *Cæsar*, or any other antient author, they seem so far from having been tyed by any common body of laws, that, except that of holding a general assembly every year, and another of permitting all private quarrels and contests to be decided by single combat, which every community was obliged to permit, they rather appear to have been wholly governed by the decisions of the council, whether of each district, or of the whole nation, unless where kings did bear an absolute sway, if any such there were; for, as far as we can find, most of this sort were as much subject to the people, as they to them. If we may, however, guess from some instances of their history, they seem to have held one general

^p Comment. l. i. c. 2.

^q L. iv. c. 3.

^r L. vii. c. 6.

^s See before, vol. v. p. 119.

^t L. ii. c. 1, & seq.

^u L. vi. c. 11.

^v Annal. l. i. c. 11.

^w See vol. ii. p. 264, b.

^x See *Lewis hist. Brit.* and the authors quoted by him, book i. ch. 2.

^y Concerning the origin

of this custom, see hereafter, p. 581, t. & seq.

They founded
their right on
their swords.

maxim, viz. that the longest sword had the best title, and that it was the design of the supreme being that the strongest should strip the weakest; and that he who had not power enough to defend his right, ought to yield it to him that was capable of taking it from him. The following instance, out of *Livy*¹, is a pregnant one, that this was an established principle amongst them.

THE *Senones*, of whom we have spoken a little higher, finding themselves too much streightened in their territories, fell foul upon the city of *Clusium*, whose territories happened to lie very convenient for them; upon which, the besieged applied to the *Roman* senate for help, who being, at that juncture, unwilling to enter into a war with the aggressors, contented themselves with sending them three young patricians of the *Fabian* family, in a friendly embassy to them. These opened their commission before the general assembly of the *Gauls*, which was, in substance, to require the *Senones* to cease all further hostilities against the *Clusians*, otherwise the senate would be obliged, against their will, to support the oppressed, against whom they could allege no cause of complaint. To this the *Gauls* answered, with their usual politeness, to the following effect; viz. that though they were not acquainted with the *Romans*, they could not but have a great notion of their bravery, seeing the *Clusians* had implored their assistance under their present unhappy situation. "Y^{or} principals, continued they, having chosen to send an embassy to us, rather than their forces to support their allies, we do not refuse the peace which you offer to us, provided the *Clusians*, who hold more lands than they can cultivate, agree to yield some of them to us, who are in want of them. This is the only condition upon which we can make peace with you, and we desire a positive answer before your departure. If the *Clusians* will not agree to it, we are ready to give them battle, even now, before you, that you may be able to inform your countrymen how much the *Gauls* are superior to other nations, in point of bravery."

Their sharp
answer to the
Roman em-
bassadors.

To this the ambassadors replied, without seeming to understand the force of the last words, that they could not but look upon it as a piece of great injustice, to insist upon a people's yielding the territories they were lawfully possessed of, and to wage war against them because they refused to do so. Whereupon *Brennus*, the *Gaulish* leader, without farther ceremony, answered, that the *Gauls* carried their right at the point of their sword; and that the brave had the best title to all things. "You yourselves, said he, have made no scruple to strip the *Albanians*, *Fidenates*, *Volscii*, &c. of the greatest part of their territories; and yet you did nothing, in all this, that we pretend to censure, as either strange, or unjust: for you did only follow the prime, and most antient of all laws, which obliges the weak to give way to the strong. This law seems to be derived from the deity itself, and extends down to the very brutes, amongst which, the strongest naturally seek to subdue the weakest. Cease, then, to take the part of the besieged *Clusians*, lest the *Gauls* should one day think themselves obliged, in their turn, to shew the same compassion towards those whom you have oppressed." This was, indeed, an argument *ad hominem*, and such as the *Romans* could never answer, but tacitly approved and followed, though they had not the ingenuity to own it, as the *Gauls* did, upon all such occasions (F). What the success of this embassy was, is foreign to our present subject: we have given a full account of it in a former volume², and only repeat it here to shew, by what laws this nation was chiefly governed, viz. that

¹ *LIVY*, l. v. c. 35. & seq. *PLUTARCH*, in *Camil*.

² See before, vol. iv. p. 562, c. d. & seq.

(F) A remarkable instance of this, we have in the same *Gaulish* general, who having promised the *Romans* to raise the siege of the capitol, and to retire from them, upon condition they paid him a thousand pounds weight of gold, when the money was brought to be weighed to him, ordered false weights to be made use of; and being asked by the *Roman* tribune what he meant by them, proudly answered him, "What should it mean, but war to the conquered (19)?"

In like manner, a little before the battle which *Marius* gained over the *Cimbri*, another tribe of the *Gauls*, we find one of these sending a challenge to

fight the stoutest of the *Romans* in single combat, and overcome by the brave *L. Opimius* (20). Soon after this, *Borix*, one of their kings, came in person to *Marius's* camp, and challenged him to appoint a day and place for a battle, there to decide their right to the territories they were then disputing about, pursuant to their general and received maxim, that providence was always on the side of the strongest and bravest (21). The same notion was common among the *German*s, and was alleged by their king *Ariovistus*, who having conquered the *Segunni*, told *Julius Caesar*, that the right of conquest intitled the conqueror to use the conquered as he pleased (22).

(19) *L. v. c. 8.* (20) *Livy*, l. v. c. 48. *Plutarch*, in *Camil*.
(22) *Livy* & *Plutarch*, *ubi supra*.

(21) See before, vol. v. p. 57. b.

a of the strongest arm; and that if ever they had any other laws, they suffered them to be superseded by this, which they falsely called the law of nature.

NEITHER was this maxim of theirs confined to foreign conquests, but extended itself to the decision of private right among themselves; for when any debates arose amongst them, about their possessions, about any injury or affront, given or received, especially among those of the better sort, in case the council or public magistrate did not give sentence to the satisfaction of both parties, they generally decided the point by single combat. Neither could their magistrates deny them that liberty, when once insisted upon by either party; nor could the opposite decline the challenge, without giving up the point, and being branded with ignominy. Antiently, indeed, that is, whilst the whole Gaulish nation were under a monarchical government, the druids and bards, who, as we have formerly hinted, were the keepers and interpreters of their laws, and presided in all their courts and councils with such an uncontrouled sway, that it was the most dangerous thing to contravene their decisions, such disputes may have been, and, it is most likely, were actually decided by these courts and councils; but after they came to be separated into so many different governments, they began to look upon such subjection as a kind of outrage to their freedom and honour, and to substitute this way of single combat to it, not only as the shortest, but as the more honourable, and more agreeable to that received maxim of theirs, that providence was engaged to side with the right party; and that success was a sure token that the conqueror had the best title to the thing in dispute. And as the party who thought himself injured had a right to appeal to this way of duel, to justify his dissatisfaction, even though the king himself had given sentence against him, and his opponent was obliged to submit to it; so if the case of the two contenders was so intricate, that the judges could not readily determine it, they used to adjudge them to this method of ending the contest. Even the very witnesses, if their depositions chanced to contradict each other, were obliged to clear themselves by fighting. In a word, whatever was decided by single combat, was looked upon as of greater weight and authority than any sentence that was passed either by king, or court of judicature. Accordingly, we read of two contending brothers in Spain, between whom *Scipio* would fain have compromised their dispute about the succession; who told him, with one accord, that they would submit to no judgment, either of God or man, but to that of *Mars*^b. *Herodotus*, who often confounds the *Scythians* with the *Celts*, tells us, that they were wont to keep, and shew to the strangers, that travelled through their countries, the heads of those whom they had thus overcome in single combat, in quarrels about property, honour, and such-like^c. The same custom was also practised among the *Germans*, who are reported to have lulled *Varro* asleep, by complimenting him with having found out means to end quarrels and disputes by the way of justice, which they were wont to decide by the sword^d.

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c To such a degree of fondness for these single combats were they grown, that the very candidates for places of honour or trust, when their pretensions or merit were esteemed nearly equal, had recourse to it; and even among the druids themselves, the choice of a chief, when the old one died, was often decided by it, whenever any dispute arose about the number or validity of the votes of those who had the choosing of him^e. And, what was still more prodigious, these challenges were often sent for mere punctilios, and trifling piques, especially at their feasts, and drunken revels, and many times out of mere ostentation, and to make parade of their strength and bravery; of which, the two following are pregnant instances, and plainly shew how tenacious they were of this general law of deciding all controversies by the sword. *Livy*, speaking of the funeral obsequies which *Scipio Africanus* performed to the memory of his father and uncle, who both died in the Spanish wars, tells us, that there came vast crowds of persons of distinction to *Carthagera*, a city in Spain, said to have been built by *Asdrubal*, to honour that ceremony by single combats. "These, says he, did not fight like the common gladiators, either by force, or for money, but of their own accord, and free will." Some were sent thither by their princes, to display their bravery, for the credit of their nation; others declared they came to do honour to their general. Some came to fight there out of ostentation;

^b *Livy*, l. xxvii. c. 21.

^c *Herodotus*, l. vi. c. 65.

^d *Velleii Paterci*, l. i. c. 118.

^e *Comment.* l. vi. c. 13. *Tacit.* ann. l. xiii. c. 57. *N. Damascen.* *Veget.* de re milit. & al.

and

and others because they could not refuse the challenge that was sent to them. ^a Amongst them there were some, who having law-suits, or some controversies with others, agreed among themselves to put off the decision of them to this time and place, and with this condition, that the estate or thing in dispute should fall to the conqueror ^f. The other instance, which we have out of the same authors, is of some *Gaulish* mountaineers, who were generally looked upon as some of the rudest and fiercest of that nation, whom *Hannibal* had taken prisoners; these the *Carthaginian* general ordered to be brought at the head of his army, and, having provided them with a sufficient number of *Gallic* arms, offered them their liberty, upon condition that they should engage in single combat, and vanquish every man his antagonist; promising, moreover, that every victor should be presented with a horse, ^b and a set of warlike accoutrements. This they readily accepted, and, in sight of the whole army, fought with such intrepid bravery, that the spectators knew not which to admire most, the victor, or the vanquished (G).

How long this duelling humour has been preserved among some of our neighbours, and how little to their credit, in spite of their specious pretence of honour, we need not here observe: their ancestors, it is plain from their history, made war their chiefest trade, and highest glory; and if they carried that favourite passion to excess, this may be said, in extenuation of it, not only that the same warlike phrensy reigned all over *Europe*, and far beyond, but, likewise, they were under a kind of necessity of indulging it to the utmost, in order to put a stop to the encroachments of a neighbouring nation, who aimed at no less than the enslaving of all the world (H). No wonder, then, if in such a case they used all possible means to inure themselves to martial deeds, to inspire their youth with a contempt of death, and thirst after glory and liberty, and to prefer an honourable death to an ignominious slavery. This became, accordingly, such a settled maxim among them, that they seemed to have no other concern in this world, than either to preserve their liberty, or to avoid slavery by a noble death ^h. Whenever, therefore, we shall see their descendants encourage these kinds of single combats from the same laudable motives, we shall readily own them to follow in the steps of their warlike ancestors. But if their views rather tend to rob other nations of their liberty, than to preserve their own, ^d they will be justly chargeable with having improved the *Gallic* ferocity, by the superaddition of the *Roman* ambition and tyranny. But to return to the ancient *Gauls*: They had such a singular contempt of life when not accompanied with liberty and martial deeds, that either upon the appearance of servitude, or incapacity of action through old age, wounds, or any chronic diseases, they either put an end to their days, or else prevailed upon their friends to do it, esteeming this last state

Excessive love
of liberty.

^f LIVY, l. xxviii. c. 21.

^h L. xxi. c. 42.

^d TACIT. ANN. l. ii. c. 15.

(G) The *Romans* seem to have preserved some such barbarous custom, at an ancient temple of *Diana*, in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, where the high priest was to be a fugitive slave, and could keep his dignity no longer than he had the good luck to kill such other fugitive slaves as came to dispute it with him. Whoever killed him, was immediately declared his successor, and continued in that office till another took it from him in the same way (23). But whether this custom was introduced in imitation, or, rather, as seems most likely, in contempt of the *Gaulish* and *Celtic* duelling, we leave to our readers.

Some think, however, that when the *Romans* exchanged the old *Italic* religion for that of the *Greeks*, they thought fit to turn over that pontifical dignity to their slaves, which exposed the owner of it to such continual and dangerous inconveniencies (24). *Caligula* is reported to have put an end to it, by sending an expert gladiator, who deprived him at once of his dignity and life (25).

(H) The *Gauls*, as well as *Germans*, *Spaniards*, &c. had the more reason to oppose the *Romans*, with all their might, because they knew, by the experience of other nations, that where-ever these new

conquerors got the better, they overturned their fundamental laws, put an end to all their public councils, gave them new governors and magistrates, disarmed the people, loaded them with such heavy taxes, and subjected them to such a new form of government, as appeared to them intolerable.

To all these we may add a much greater instance of the *Roman* tyranny, which was, that when any of these brave nations, that had been unfortunately brought under their heavy yoke, did make any attempt, as it was natural and laudable in them to do, or were even but suspected by their despotic masters to have a design, to regain their liberty, they were sure to be made such dreadful examples to the rest, as can hardly be mentioned without horror: we shall refer our readers to the *Roman* history, for numberless instances of their cruelty to those brave nations, and only observe here, that nothing could more effectually inspire such a brave warlike one as this of the *Gauls*, with a spirit of liberty, and detestation of the *Roman* tyranny, than those dismal catastrophes of their unfortunate neighbours, which they had before their eyes.

(23) Vide comment. l. i. c. 36.
vers. 136. Vide Pelloutier. hist. Celt. l. ii. c. 11.

(24) Strabo, l. v. Ovid, art. amand.

(25) Serv. in Æneid. vi.

a as much a kind of slavery, as falling into the hands of their enemies. In cities, when once they found themselves so streightly besieged by their enemies, that they could hold out no longer, instead of thinking how to make the most honourable terms of capitulation, their chief care, many times, was, to put their wives and children to death, and then to kill one another, to avoid being led into slavery. In the field, when they were forced to make such a hasty retreat, that they could not readily procure carriages for those who were not able to follow them on foot, as the sick, wounded, and the like; they made no scruple to dispatch them out of hand. And this was so far from being reckoned a hardship on them, that it was what they begged, with the greatest vehemence and earnestness, of all which we have seen
b very many instances through the course of this work, and shall beg leave to add two more, very remarkable in their kind.

THE first is of their famous, and, till then, successful general, *Brennus*, who being dangerously wounded, in that unfortunate expedition which he undertook against *Greece*, and seeing his army destroyed, partly by the enemy, and partly by hunger, cold, and other accidents, called together the broken remnant of his troops, and advised them to chuse *Cicchorius* for their leader, who should first dispatch him, and all the sick and wounded, and afterwards head them back into their own country. The thing was accordingly executed by him, and 20000 of those unhappy wretches were put to death. *Brennus*, only, chose to die by his own hands, as the most
c glorious death of the two, in his opinion¹. The other is of those *Gauls* who being on the eve of giving battle to *Antigonus*, and being threatened by their aruspices with a total overthrow, went first, and killed their wives and children, and then resolutely marched to meet that glorious death, which their soothsayers had foretold to them². With the same spirit of liberty did those act, who were unfortunately taken prisoners by their enemies, before they had time to dispatch themselves: for if once the conqueror began to treat them as slaves, to load them with chains, or condemn them to hard labour, they seldom failed taking the first opportunity of putting an end to their slavery by a voluntary death; even the very loading them with chains, as was commonly used by all nations, has raised this spirit in them to
d such a height, that they have rushed upon, and butchered one another, by mutual consent³. Neither was this love of liberty confined to the men, their women are no less famous for it, in history; nor did they come short of the *Spartan*, and other female heroines, but rather excelled them, in this desperate kind of fury; inasmuch that, when they have perceived their men to give ground, they have sallied out, armed with axes, and such other weapons as came first to hand, and, with most hideous outcries, fallen foul both on the fugitives, and on their enemies; on the first, as betrayers of their country; and on the others, as invaders of their liberties. We shall give some remarkable instances of this female valour under the next head.

IN the mean time, it will not be improper to take notice of a judicious reflection
e which *Strabo* makes upon this excessive love of liberty, and contempt of death, which reigned among the *Gauls*, viz. that it did very much facilitate the conquest of that nation; because their pouring thus furiously their numerous troops upon such an experienced enemy as the *Romans* were, under *Cæsar*, their want of conduct and circumspection, made them rather increase the number of the vanquished, than stop the progress of the conqueror; whereas those in *Spain*, by dividing their forces, and a prudent choice of the most advantageous grounds, and strongest passes, and disputing with them every such place, inch by inch, made their conquest more difficult, and longer in completing^m. This remark is certainly very just, and the *Spaniards*, by joining policy to their valour, did put off their slavery some few
f years longer; whereas the *Gauls*, trusting too much to their number and bravery, were more speedily reduced: yet were the former wanting in a main point of politics, and as they were, like the *Gauls*, divided into so many petty states, had they, like them, joined their forces against the common enemy, they might, in all likelihood, have baffled all the *Roman* valour and policy. For, as the same historian observes, in another placeⁿ, it was by this way of conquering one little state after another,

¹ Excerpt. ex DIODOR. SICUL. l. xxii. ap. legal. HOESCHEL. p. 158. Vide PELLOUTIER hist. Celt. l. ii. c. 14. JUSTIN. ex Trog. l. xxiv. c. 8. PAUSAN. in Phoc. c. 23. ² JUSTIN. l. xxvi. c. 2. ³ Idem ibid. Vide & FLORUM, l. ii. c. 11. iv. 12. ^m STRAB. l. iv. ⁿ L. iii.

that both *Carthaginians*, and, after them, the *Romans*, made themselves masters of that country.

THIS is not a proper place to inquire into the causes that occasioned the loss of liberty to the *Gaulish* nation: it will more properly be done, when we have brought their history down to that sad catastrophe. The point we are upon is, their valour, and love of their country, laws, and liberty, in which noble virtues no nation ever distinguished themselves more than this, or was more dreaded by the *Romans* for them. Witness that law which the latter made, and is recorded by several of their own writers^o, whereby all dispensations formerly granted to priests, old men, and invalids, were to be made void, in case they were threatened with any tumult or danger from the *Gauls*; which law is, moreover, taken notice of by *Cicero* ^p, and by *Cæsar* himself¹; so that there was a time when they were more afraid of the *Gaulish* valour, than of any other nation, or even their neighbours the *German*s, whose superiors they proved themselves so far in this point, that they forced their own colonies upon them beyond the *Rhine*, whenever their vast increase made their own territories too strait for them. *Tacitus* doth, indeed, tell us, in his life of *Agricola*, that they were by that time very much degenerated from their ancient valour; which is neither improbable, nor a great wonder, considering how many of their petty kings, and little states, had been corrupted, partly by *Roman* gold, partly by pompous titles, and high promises, which introduced amongst them luxury and indolence, hastened on the loss of their virtue and liberty, and turned them into traitors against the rest of their countrymen. We shall beg leave, in justice to them, to conclude this article with a remarkable passage or two out of *Justin*, which are as follow^r:

“THE *Gauls*, finding their multitudes to increase so fast, that their lands could not afford them sufficient sustenance, sent out three hundred thousand souls to seek for new habitations: part of these settled in *Italy*, and these both took and burnt the city of *Rome*; another part penetrated as far as the shores of *Dalmatia*, and, having destroyed there an infinite number of barbarians, settled themselves at last in *Pannonia*. A bold, hardy, and martial nation this, who ventured (next after *Hercules*, who, by the like attempt, raised himself to the highest pitch of reputation, and title to immortality) to cross the almost inaccessible rocks of the *Alps*, and places scarcely passable through their excessive coldness; where, having totally subdued the *Pannonians*, they waged war with the neighbouring provinces for many years.”—And a little after, —“Being encouraged by their success, others subdivided their parties; some took their way to *Græcia*, some to *Macedonia*, destroying all before them with fire and sword. And so great a terror did the name of *Gauls* spread round about them, that several kings, not in the least threatened by them, came, of their own accord, and purchased their peace with large sums of money.”—And in the very next book he adds, that “So great was the fruitfulness of the *Gauls* at that time, that they filled all *Asia* with their swarms; insomuch, that none of the eastern monarchs either ventured to make war without a mercenary army of them, or, if driven out of their kingdom, fled to any other but to them, for refuge.”

WE shall have the less room either to doubt of, or to wonder at, what we read in ancient authors concerning the singular valour, and love of liberty, of the *Gaulish* nation, if we consider, that it was as remarkable in their women as in their men; so that both sexes had it, in some measure, transfused in their blood; they sucked it at the breast, and learned the first rudiments of it in the very nursery. We have hinted a little higher, what pains these viragoes took to keep up their men from giving ground to the enemy, and with what intrepid fury they fell, indifferently, upon those who turned their backs upon them, and upon those who pursued them: we shall now, according to our promise, add some few instances more of this female bravery, from undoubted authority.

In their women. THE *Ambrones*, says *Plutarch*^s, (a *Gaulish* people, who lived near the foot of the *Alps*, between *Switzerland* and *Provence*) having been defeated by *Marius* near *Aix* in *Provence*, were pursued by the *Romans* quite to their carriages: there they

^o *Livy*, l. viii. *Appian*, l. ii. Vide & *Plutarch*, in vit. *Marcel.* & *Camil.* & *Tacit.* de morib. *German.* *Philippic.* ii.

¹ *Comment.* l. vi.

^p *Hist.* l. xxiv.

^s In vita *Marii*. Vide & *Oros.*

l. vi. c. 16. *Flor.* l. iii. c. 3. *Valer. Max.* l. vi. c. 1. ad fin. *Hieron.* epist. ad *Geront.*

a found the women armed with swords and hatchets, who, mingling themselves with victors and vanquished, did, with one hand, strive to wrench their bucklers from them, and, with the other, to dispatch them, and never let go their hold but with their lives. This might be imputed to their fury and despair; but when they found themselves lost beyond recovery, they sent to demand of the conqueror three things(1); viz. first, Their liberty, that is, that they might not be condemned to slavery: secondly, That their chastity might be preserved inviolate: and, thirdly, That they might be employed in the service of the vestals. These conditions having been rejected by *Marius*, they were all found, on the next day, either hanging on trees, or wallowing in their own blood, with their children butchered by them, b and by their own hands. We have given, in a former volume¹, another, and even more dreadful instance of this female love of liberty, in the *Cimbrian* women; the circumstances of which are so shocking, that we hope we may save ourselves the trouble of repeating them here. The same desperate resistance *Julius Cæsar* is reported to have met with from the *Helvetian* women, when, having defeated their husbands, he came to take possession of their camp, and their baggage: for both the women, and their young sons, defended themselves to the last, chusing rather to be cut in pieces, than to be carried into slavery². The *Dalmatian* women are likewise reported to have set fire to their baggage, and to have thrown themselves, and their children, into it; whilst others hurried themselves, and them, into the next c river³. The same we read of those of *Istria*, *Illyrium*, *Spain*, and other *Gaulish* nations⁴, as well as of those of *Germany*, who retained more of the old *Celtic* ferocity than any of the rest: of these last we shall give a remarkable instance, as they shewed this love of liberty, not in the heat of despair, but in cool blood; for a number of these being taken prisoners by the *Romans*, and scorning to be reduced to a state of slavery, had it offered to their choice, whether they would be publicly sold, or be massacred; did, unanimously, prefer the latter. The emperor, however, not taking them at their word, caused them to be exposed to sale; upon which, they all rushed into a voluntary death, many of them having first sent their children before, in the same way⁵. The same spirit may be said to have run through d all the descendents of the antient *Celts*⁶, and extended even to their children. The author last quoted mentions a stripling, in *Spain*, who, seeing his whole family taken prisoners, and having, by chance, stumbled upon a sword, fulfilled the orders which his father had given him, to free them from their misery, and put them all to death with it. He mentions, likewise, a woman, who ventured to free a number of other prisoners in the same way: so that we may conclude this article with what *Orosius* says of the *Gaulish* nation, when, speaking of those *Istrian Gauls* who chose to burn themselves, rather than capitulate with the besiegers, he adds, that there was neither man, woman, nor child, that did not prefer death to slavery⁷. And children.

WHAT their military discipline was, is hard to guess: by what we have hitherto e seen, it seems to have been very imperfect; and their falling, in such vast multitudes, upon the enemy, with more fury than discretion, without either taking the advantage of the ground, or dividing their numerous hosts as occasion required, but trusting altogether on their numbers, and reingle bravery, sufficiently shews them to have been greatly wanting in this respect: and this seems the true reason why they had such ill success, whenever they engaged with other nations, especially the *Romans*. One might, at least, have expected that those continual wars which they waged with these last, and their being so constantly hired as auxiliaries, sometimes by them, and oftener by other warlike people, would have, in time, rendered them the most expert nation in the art of war, considering their hereditary fierceness, intrepid f valour, contempt of death, thirst for glory and conquest, and their invincible dread

¹ Vol. v. p. 38, c, d. Vide & auct. sup. citat.
excerpt. Valef. l. vi. & lxxvii.
l. iii.

² PLUTARCH. in vit. Cæsar.
³ APPIAN. Illyr. Oros. &c.

⁴ DIO ubi supra.

⁵ DIO CASS. in
⁶ STRABO,

(1) *Florus*, in the place above quoted, attributes this embassy to the *Cimbrian* women: these were another branch of the *Gaulish* nation, of whom we have spoken in a former volume (16), and whose women were no less brave and warlike, as will ap-

pear, by their desperate defence, and catastrophe, of which we are going to speak. But he is, most likely, mistaken here, as he is in many other instances: the other authors give the glory of it to the *Ambronian* females.

(16) Vol. v. p. 4, 6.

of slavery; all which were so strongly rooted in them by education (K), and continual exercise in martial deeds, as we have seen under the last article. But whether it were owing to their too tenacious fondness for their antient customs, or to a contempt of those of other nations, their history plainly shews, that they never strove to excel in foreign martial discipline. Their chief talent seems to have consisted, principally, in invading, rather than defending, in pouring in their numberless troops with incredible fury and speed, and spreading terror where-ever they came; in surmounting all the difficulties, and enduring all the hardships, that fell in their way, and falling upon their enemies with dreadful shouts, and desperate eagerness, maintaining the combat with an intrepidity almost peculiar to them; and, when all these failed, as it often did whenever they were engaged with troops that were better disciplined, and trained up in all the politic arts, and stratagems of war; their last resource was, to signalize their valour, and love of liberty, by such desperate exits as those we have lately hinted. Much of their success was owing to their horse, and armed chariots, in both which respects they displayed such a wonderful dexterity, as, joined to their bravery, seldom failed of doing considerable execution. When they came to be divided into small kingdoms, and commonwealths, their method was, to divide their armies, in time of action, in the same manner, that the merit and prowess, as well as the faults and misbehaviour, of every nation and tribe, might be better known, and that every man might be thereby spurred to advance the honour of that to which he belonged. But this, though excellently well designed at first, was attended with great inconveniencies, and often threw things into confusion, either for want of a general discipline, or through the jealousy and misunderstanding between their commanders, and especially from the time the Romans undertook the conquest of Gaul, through the treachery of those who had been corrupted by them.

ONE thing more we must not omit, concerning their military discipline, which is, their extreme superstition, in which they seemed to outdo all other nations: they were very careful in observing the moon, in particular; and avoided, as much as possible, engaging the enemy before it was past the full. An eclipse of it was looked upon as such a bad omen, that no appearing advantage, how great soever, or, indeed, any thing but absolute necessity, that is, nothing but their being attacked, and forced either to defend themselves, or die, could induce them to fight; and then they did engage more like desperadoes, than regular troops. They gave, moreover, particular heed to their druids and aruspices, who, in their auguries, are branded with using some very inhuman ceremonies, of which we have given some hints in speaking of their religion. If the augury promised them success, those diviners used to march before them with songs, and dances, and musical instruments, until the onset began; but if it proved otherwise, they forbore fighting, if possible, till they met with a more favourable one: and such a sway had this order of men amongst them, that they have protracted, or even hindered the fight, even at the very instant they were going to engage. But dreadful was their case, whenever they were forced to engage after a sinister omen, or threatening augury; for then such panic horror and despair reigned through their hosts, that they rather

(K) Besides what we have lately said of their excellent way of training up, and inuring their youth to the military trade, we must remind our readers of an excellent method they learned of their ancestors, the *Celts*, which was, to have their martial laws couched in some kind of verses, or songs, set to proper tunes, and adorned with all the embellishments of rhetoric and poetry. These the youth were obliged to learn by heart, and to sing upon proper occasions; so that they had learned all the rudiments of military discipline long before they were able to bear arms (27); and it is not unlikely that they likewise initiated them in the practice before that time.

In these songs, or poems, were, moreover, recorded, the actions of the great and brave, the victories which they gained over their enemies, the

names of those who signalized themselves in them, and the monuments which were erected in memory of them. For as these bards and songsters never committed any thing to writing, or (if they did, for their own sakes, and the better remembering the vast number of such pieces, which time, and their continual wars, must of course occasion, yet) they never let them go out of their keeping, they were wont to rear up monuments, which were nothing but rude heaps of huge stones, artfully, and by main strength, laid one over another, without any inscription: so that the people were obliged to have recourse to those poems for the meaning of these monumental heaps, of which the reader will find many instances in the authors quoted in the margin (28).

(27) See before, vol. ii. p. 253, c.

(28) Rowland *Mona antiqua*. Stukeley's *Stonehenge*. Krüger. *antiq. septentr. Borel. antiq. Gaulois*. Cluver. *Ital. & German. antiq. pass.*

a strove to avoid slavery by a speedy death, than by a brave defence to annoy the enemy, and give the lye to their knavish aruspices, and their conjuring tricks.

THEIR weapons and armour, as they were antiently in use among the *Celtes*, we have elsewhere given an account of them ^b; but whether through a shew of bravery, or a contempt of those which were more peculiar to other nations, we do not find they had any others in their wars with the *Romans*, but their bows and arrows, the sword and lance, which last was either longer or shorter, according to their fancy, and the shield; and yet it was with these weapons that they performed such astonishing feats, as made them, a long time, a terror to their enemies. They despised the helmet, cuirass, and other such defensive armour, and rather chose to fight half, and some quite naked. They were utter strangers to those machines which other nations used in sieges; they had, indeed, learned the method of undermining, but they rather laid their chief stress on a brisk and fierce attack, which they began with throwing clouds of stones into the place, to clear the walls of their defendants; after which, they scaled them, with the utmost fierceness and rapidity. This fierceness did often prove fatal to them, especially when they have chanced to meet with a stout repulse, as they frequently did, from the *Romans*; for, in all such cases, they lost all their courage, and presence of mind, and suffered themselves to be butchered, without offering to make any defence. Those who chose rather to surrender, did lay down their arms, and presented their left shoulder bare to the enemy, and the women their naked bosoms, in token of submission; after which, they scattered some of their money, plate, and fine cloaths, amongst them, to bribe their conquerors. These instances, however, of submission, were but scarce and rare amongst them, in comparison of those in which they preferred death to slavery. But we have, by this time, followed them long enough in that bloody tract; let us now take a view of them in their pacific excellencies, in their arts and sciences, trade and navigation, &c.

WE begin with their language, which being universally allowed to have been the *Their lan- old Celtic, or Gomerian*, of which we have given a full account in a former volume ^c, *guage* we shall have the less to say of it here, except it be as far as relates to the changes it underwent after it divided itself into as many dialects as the whole nation was into little estates. There is scarcely any doubt but this old Celtic was the common language spoken all over *Europe*. A modern author has not only given undeniable proofs of it, which, barely to abstract, would carry us too far, and be thought, perhaps, too dry a subject for the greatest part of our readers; but he has further confirmed what we had formerly advanced as a probable conjecture, that the *German* language was originally a dialect of the old Celtic ^d. We shall have occasion to mention some of his proofs, in the history of the antient *Germans* immediately following: in the mean time, so far as relates to the *Gauls* we are now treating of, it is manifest, that they all used this language, and that it was that same which is still preserved in several parts of *Europe*, particularly in *Biscay, Britany, Cornwall, and Wales*, but no-where more purely than in *North Wales*.

WHAT occasioned this to be called in question, by several learned men, was, that *Julius Caesar* ^e, in his division of the *Gauls* into the *Belgæ, Aquitani, and Celtae*, affirms, that they differed not only in their customs, but language. To which we may add what *Strabo* ^f and *Ammianus Marcellinus* ^g say of them, that they were not of one language, but differed a little from one another; or, as we take their meaning to be, used different dialects of the same language: for so it will appear plainly, to those who shall take the pains to trace those antient dialects to their true origin, as it was brought from the *Gauls* into our isle, and is still retained in its pristine purity, in that part of it called *North Wales*, and compare it with those alterations which it did, in time, undergo, in those other parts of *Europe* where it is still preserved, though nothing so pure and unmixed, such as are *South Wales, Cornwall, Ireland*, the isles of *Man* and *Anglesey*, and some parts of the highlands of *Scotland* amongst us, and in *Britany, Biscay*, and some other parts of the continent: such a scrutiny will easily discover, not only the true original mother from her spurious offspring, but the different channels by which this odd and corrupt mixture conveyed itself into the latter. We formerly observed, that not only most of the

^b Vol. ii. p. 253, a, b. iv. 561, & seq.
l. i. c. 15. See also before, vol. ii. p. 254, a, (C).

^c Vol. ii. p. 253, & seq.
^e Comment. l. i. c. 1.

^d PELLOUTIER. hist. Celt.
^f L. iv. ^g L. xv.

modern European languages were manifestly dialects, more or less distant, of this old *a* Celtic or Gomerian, but that even the Greek and Latin, and other ancient ones, had such a surprising affinity with it, as if they had split themselves from the same block, and that very many of them plainly appeared to be of Celtic extract (L). We may add what Quintilian observes of the ancient Latin, that till about the middle of the consular government it was very barbarous and rude in its expressions, having in it a multitude of words and idioms of other languages, most of them Gaulish^b; so that if those which have been since lost, or changed, were to be added to those which still remain, the conformity would appear still greater. And if those Gauls which were afterwards conquered by the Romans, had not, partly out of necessity (M), partly out of mere complaisance, adopted a great number of words and idioms^b from their conquerors, we might still behold a much greater nearness between the Low Briton, Biscayaner, Irish, &c. and the pure North Welsh. So that the only reason why these last have retained it in such purity, must be attributed to their never having been conquered, and thereby keeping themselves from intermixture with other nations. Thus we find the Israelites, during their long abode in Egypt, preserving their original Hebrew, which they suffered to be greatly corrupted, and, amongst a great part of them, almost lost in a seventy years captivity. Now as it

^b L. i. c. 5.

(L) Of this we have interspersed some instances, in a former volume (29); but shall, for the satisfaction of our English readers, add a few more, and place them so, that they may have so much of them at one view, as will clearly make out what we have said; and refer them, for a more copious number, to the authors quoted in the margin (30).

<i>Tir terra</i>	<i>Mur murus</i>	<i>Calau calamus</i>
<i>Mor mare</i>	<i>Marw mori</i>	<i>Arwa arma</i>
<i>Engil ignis</i>	<i>Treu tribus</i>	<i>Gayan hyems</i>
<i>Awyr aer</i>	<i>Offrail offertorium</i>	<i>Llyur liber</i>
<i>Aur aurum</i>	<i>Anival animal</i>	<i>Nyver numerus</i>
<i>Avon amnis</i>	<i>Tirva turba</i>	<i>Grueil gemelli</i>
<i>Ghwydr vitrum</i>	<i>Terwin terminus</i>	<i>Priv primus</i>
<i>Efynnon fons</i>		

<i>Vulcan,</i>	{ <i>Wael gim, or ginta, the inventor of steel, or steel armour</i>
<i>Apollo,</i>	{ <i>Ap haul, ap heulin, the son of the sun</i>
<i>Titan,</i>	<i>Ti taan, the house of fire</i>
<i>Triton,</i>	{ <i>Trwydon, a wanderer on the waters</i>
<i>Rhea, Jove's mother,</i>	<i>Rheys, a princess, or lady</i>
<i>Juno,</i>	{ <i>Jevane, a young princess; or from Ghuin, fair</i>
<i>Venus,</i>	<i>Ghuin, white, fair</i>
<i>Diana,</i>	{ <i>Di anaf, spotless, chaste, untouched</i>
<i>Minerva,</i>	{ <i>Min arfan, the temperer of sharp tools and weapons</i>

The same may be said, also, of the heathen gods, whom we have shewed, under a former article, to have been of Celtic extract, as well as their names, which are thus etymologized:

<i>Jupiter, Jovis,</i>	{ <i>Jevane, Juvonis princeps, the youngest of Saturn's sons</i> (31)
<i>Tonans,</i>	<i>Taran, thunderer</i>
<i>Mars, Marvovs,</i>	{ <i>Manw rhyek, warlike, powerful; whence, probably, Manrice</i>
<i>Neptune,</i>	{ <i>Nofddysn, swimming on the waves</i>
<i>Mercury,</i>	{ <i>Merk wr, a merchant; or March wr, a swift runner, or messenger</i>
<i>Talamen, al. Atlas,</i>	{ <i>Telmon, a tall man, such as he is feigned to have been</i>
<i>Hermes,</i>	{ <i>Armes, diviners; in which art he is said to have excelled all the rest</i>
<i>Telus,</i>	{ <i>Duw taish, the traveller's god; or from teu tat, the father of the people</i>
<i>Hercules,</i>	{ <i>Erchyl, horrid, dreadful, whether on account of his deeds, or that attitude in which he was represented</i>

(M) There is another proof of the antientness of this old Gomerian, or Celtic, viz. its simplicity, and near resemblance to the Hebrew, and other primitive tongues, of which we have formerly spoken (32), and to which we shall only add an instance, to shew by what steps they came to adopt words of other languages to supply the poverty of theirs.

The antient Celts, as well as their descendants the Gauls, were, as we have had frequent occasion to shew (33), excellent horsemen and chrioteers; and yet the North Welsh, among whom the language is preserved in its antient purity, had not, neither have they to this day, proper names for a bridle, saddle, stirrup, or spur, because they antiently despised the use of them; but are forced to express them by circumlocution: as a leading and a covering leather, for a bridle and saddle; a mounting and pricking iron, for a stirrup and spur. These, and many more such deficiencies there are in that language, which their neighbours the South Welsh, as well as the Britons, &c. have supplied by Greek or Latin words: such as that of *ffruyn, frannum*, for a bridle, &c. which the others would never adopt; though, in other points, they are now grown very remiss in preserving that antient tongue; and, if they go on in the same neglect much longer, it is much to be feared, will suffer it to be intirely lost.

(29) Vol. ii. p. 261.

(30) Pexron. antiq. nat. Celt. ad fin. Monn antiq. pass. praefat. p. 42. & seq. 252, 308, 315, & seq. Hickey's thes. ling. septentr. Lloyd's lexicon. Keysser. antiq. septentr. in addend. Edwards's specim. ling. Celtic. & Hebr.

(31) Vol. ii. p. 255, (D). 263, & seq.

(32) See before, vol. ii.

p. 253, (B).

(33) Ibid.

- a is universally allowed, that most of the *Asiatic* tongues, such as the *Chaldee*, *Syriac*, *Arabic*, *Armenian*, &c. borrowed most of their radical or primitive words from the *Hebrew*, so this old *Celtic*, or *Gomerian*, which was the language of *Gomer* and his descendants, who first inhabited *Europe*, was the mother of most of the *European* languages, at least as far as *Scythia* and *Sarmatia*, which were peopled by *Gog* and *Magog*, two other branches of *Japhet's* offspring: and as there is such a vast affinity between those two mother-tongues, we mean the *Hebrew* and *Gomerian*¹, or antient *Celtic*, it is not to be wondered, if we find the same resemblance diffusing itself through all their derivatives; such as the *Highb* and *Low Dutch*, the *Latin* and *Greek*, the *Arabic*, *Persian*, &c. and, particularly, between the *Greek*, *Roman*, and old *Celtic*,
 b as the authors last quoted have sufficiently shewed, as well as accounted for.

- We have been the more particular on this subject, because several learned men have maintained, that the *Gauls* commonly used the *Greek* tongue^k. Nothing can be more wild, or more contrary to all that we meet with in antient authors concerning the *Gaulish* language, than such an assumption, which may be easily overthrown, by one or two express passages we meet with in *Julius Cæsar*. The one is, that in a conference which he had with *Divitiacus*, an *Æduan* or *Gaulish* lord, he was obliged to make use of an interpreter; and yet *Cæsar* was a perfect master of the *Greek*^l. The other, which is still more express, is, that when that conqueror found himself under a necessity to write to *Quintus Cicero*, who was then besieged in his camp, he made use of the *Greek* tongue, lest his letter should fall into the hands of some of the *Gauls*, and discover his designs to them^m; a precaution which would have been quite ridiculous, if that had been the common language of that nation. *Strabo* doth indeed tell us, that the *Maffilians* cultivated all sorts of polite literature, and, particularly, that of the *Greek*, to such a degree, that the rest of the *Gauls* were, by their example, become great admirers of that tongue, insomuch that they began to write their contracts and bargains in itⁿ. But then it is plain, first, that he only speaks of those *Gauls* who were neighbours to *Marseilles*, many of whom, not only private men, but whole cities, invited several learned men out of that famed city to instruct their youth, or sent their children to be educated there: secondly, If the
 d rest of the *Gauls* did afterwards follow their example, it is plain they had originally another language of their own: and, thirdly, That this fashion of learning and using the *Greek* tongue did not begin till *Strabo's* time. Accordingly, *St. Jerom* tells us, upon the authority of a passage which he has preserved out of *Varro*, that the *Maffilians* spoke three sorts of languages, the *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Gaulish*^o. Hence we may conclude, that the *Greek* tongue was only introduced among the learned, but was not the original language of the *Gauls*. We might further confirm this from a number of antient monuments, and especially from the antient names of provinces, cantons, rivers, cities, mountains, &c. but we think the case sufficiently plain, without any such further proofs. The *Greek* characters, indeed,
 e were in use among them in *Cæsar's* time, as we shall hint under the next head; but as for their tongue, it plainly appears to have been brought into use much later still, and that only among the learned and polite(N). As to the present language of

The notion of their speaking Greek, exploded.

¹ Vide EDWARDS's specimen. LLOYD's grammar. PEZRON. antiq. nat. Celt. HICKES's thesaur. Mona antiqua, p. 278, & seq. ^k Vide HOTTOMAN. Franco-gallia, cap. ii. ^l Comment. l. i. c. 19.

^m L. v. c. 12. ⁿ L. iv. ^o Hieron. opera, tom. ix. p. 135. Vide HOTTOMAN. ubi supra, & PELLOUTIER. ii. c. 10.

(N) There is, indeed, one passage in *Cæsar's* commentaries, from which some authors pretend to prove the contrary. It is that where he affirms, that in all other public and private concerns, *Græcis utuntur literis* (34); which, compared with the explication which *Strabo*, who wrote after him, gives of it (35), seems to imply, that they made use not of their characters, but of their language. But to this it is answered, by two learned critics (36), that the word *Græcis* has been foisted into *Cæsar's* text. And, indeed, it plainly appears, that *Cæsar* meant no more in this place, than that the druids did not suffer any of their doctrines or principles to be committed to writing, though, in other matters, they allowed them to write

letters, accounts, and the like; which they did, accordingly, in the *Greek* character, as we shall prove by-and-by.

But whether the phrase, *utuntur literis*, properly signifies to use the letters, or character, as it oftendoth among *Latin* authors; or, as others would have it, to use the language, as it may sometimes do, though in a kind of figurative sense; yet, in this place, if the word *Græcis* be really part of the text, it can only be meant of the character; else it would be absurd in our historian, after he had said, a little higher, that the *Gauls* were unskilled in the *Greek*, to say, that all their public and private accounts, transactions, &c. were written in that tongue.

(34) L. vi. c. 14.

(35) L. iv.

(36) *Jos. Scalig. epist. l. i. epist. 16. Hottoman. Franco-gall. c. 2.*

that

that country, those who are ever so little skilled in ancient ones, may easily perceive a it to be a medley of other tongues, the greater half of which is taken from the *Latin*, as the *Romans* were very industrious to propagate it, and cultivate it, in all their conquered dominions (O). The rest is plainly a mixture of the old *Celtic*, of the *Frank* or *German*, as this did afterwards greatly deviate from its original; and the rest seems to be of *Greek* extraction. For it has been observed, by judicious men of that nation, that many *Greek* words have been adopted by them into common use, which were not borrowed from the academies of the druids, who, for aught that appears, knew little of it, but from the schools of the *Maffilians* we have lately spoken of.

The genius of
their style, and
language.

BEFORE we dismiss this article of the *Gaulish* language, it will not be amiss to b make a short remark on its pretended rudeness and harshness, against which both *Greek* and *Roman* authors have raised such an unanimous outcry. According to them, it was enough to hear a *Celte* or *Gaul* speak, to make one judge of their natural ferocity; and the greatest part of their words, especially of their proper names of men, women, towns, rivers, &c. were so very harsh, that they could not be pronounced by strangers, or written in other languages, without great difficulty; neither could they be inserted in a poem, without murdering the verse P. A foreigner could hardly hear them spoke without having his ears grated, or almost stayed with it Q. The emperor *Julian* says, that it resembled the croaking of a raven, or the growling of some wild beast R. There must needs be allowed to be some exag- c geration in these expressions, considering how uncouth and barbarous any language appears, to those who are unaccustomed to, or ignorant of it. It is not to be questioned, but even the *French* and *Italian*, emasculated as they have been of late, do appear so at first hearing: it must, however, be confessed, that, with respect to the *German*, there is less of the hyperbole; and perhaps the ancient *Gaulish* might originally have a great deal of that kind of harshness, which guttural and some other hard consonants, as well as too great a colluvies of them, will naturally cause, unless softened by the interposition of vowels. We do not, therefore, pretend wholly to disculpate the latter, but would only observe, that there is a vast difference between those two languages in this respect; and that the true *Celtic*, or d *North Welsh*, though seemingly crowded with a number of consonants, has yet a peculiar sweetness, and is much more adapted for music and poetry, than we are apt generally to imagine: and, for proof of this, we shall refer our readers to what has been said in a former volume S. And here it will not be amiss to remind them, that their custom of couching and preserving all their laws, records, history, &c. in verse, inured them to a style more swoln, figurative, and emphatic, than that of other nations (P); on the other hand, their fierce and warlike disposition might, in all probability, make them sinder both of that, and of their sonorous and masculine language, than of the smoother *Greek* and *Roman* prose. To which we may add, that their natural aversion for the *Roman* nation might not contribute a little to this e opposition, especially as they had reason to consider all their sweetness of language, style, and behaviour, as so many snares to entrap people out of their liberty. If we may believe *Diodorus Siculus* T, their style was not only swollen, concise, and *Laconic*, but intricate and obscure, full of synecdoches and hyperboles; which the reader will find, perhaps, better accounted for by what we shall say, in the sequel, concerning their manners and customs; in which, as well as their loftiness and pompousness of style and language, they seem to have been more closely imitated by the *Spaniards*, than by any other *European* nation.

Their writing
and characters.

THE *Gauls* had originally no characters of their own, but adopted, in process of f time, the *Greek* ones; yet, as we have already hinted, they did not do it till very

P *PLIN.* jun. l. viii. epist. 4.
sopog.

Q *Vol. ii. p. 253, & seq. (B).*

R *Dion. Sicul. l. v. Ovid. de tristib. eleg. xii. ver. 55.*

S *L. v.*

T *Mi-*

(O) This plainly appears, from what *Valerius Maximus*, *Tacitus*, and *Ausonius*, tell us, of their setting up schools at *Autun*, *Lyons*, *Bezangon*, and other places of that kingdom, as fast as they conquered them. And we need not doubt, but, according to their wonted lordliness over all their vassals, they used all proper means to encourage and oblige them to learn it.

(P) Hence the *German* poetry, which preserves still its ancient roughness, is judiciously enough compared to those cataracts of the *Nile*, whose sounding falls are rather apt to inspire one with dread, than to afford pleasure to the hearers; and their swoln style to that of men that are ever mounted upon stilts.

- a late, and till their commerce with other nations obliged them to it; their contempt of foreign learning was a great obstacle to it, and their druids or bards, whose interest it was to keep their own from the people, did all they could to improve this their prejudice against committing any thing of moment to writing, under pretence that it rather tended to destroy, than preserve the memory of them, as it was likely to be a kind of discouragement to them to learn them by heart out of their poetical compositions; whereas this last, they pretended, was the most effectual means of preserving them, both from oblivion, and from falling into the hands of strangers^a: so that it was looked upon as a dishonour for any of them to learn to read or write (Q). And even after they began to introduce the use of letters, in their contracts, b bargains, and the like civil concerns, the druids never suffered them to commit any thing relating to their history, laws, and much less of their religion, to writing^w. Hence *Origen* might well tell his antagonist^t, that he never heard of any of their writings; and hence that scarcity of materials we meet with, with relation to their history, since they committed all their learning, laws, religion, and transactions, to those songs and verses which they carefully kept from strangers; and perished, in all likelihood, with their liberty, or, at least, with their old heathenish religion, upon their embracing christianity (R). It were to be wished, that the christian priests and monks had not imitated, so closely, this druidish policy, of confining all learning to their own order and monasteries; especially in *Gaul* and *Germany*: for they seem c to have so well cultivated this prejudice against it, among the laity, that they were forced to have recourse to them whenever any will, grant, or public act, was to be made; and then both the persons concerned in it, and the witnesses, set their own marks, and the scrivener their names to it. But, with respect to the mercantile part, among whom there was a kind of absolute necessity to make use of writing, the Greek character seems to have been that which was in use amongst them, according to *Cæsar*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and others, above quoted (S); and was brought amongst them from *Marseilles*, which was a colony of the *Greeks*, or *Gallo-greeks*. How their conquest, and intercourse among the *Romans*, did afterwards introduce their character amongst them, is obvious to every one, and we need not dwell any longer d upon it.

^a Comment. l. vi. c. 14.

^w Idem ibid. STRAB. l. iv.

^t Con. Cels. l. i.

(Q) *Eliau* has preserved us a passage out of *Andron*, to this purpose (37), that the ancient *Thracians*, and, in general, all the barbarian nations, settled in *Europe*, were not only quite ignorant of letters, but had a singular contempt for them, though they were commonly used by those that settled themselves in *Asia*. The same is affirmed of the *Hians*, by *Procopius* (38); and this humour seems to have been so deeply rooted among them, that even *Theodoric*, king of *Italy*, could never be prevailed on to learn to write his own name, though he had spent a considerable part of his younger days among the *Romans*; but is reported, whenever he was obliged to sign an edict, to have only made use of a golden plate, that had the four initial letters of it, *TROD*, engraven upon it, and which he traced with his pen (39).

(R) It is probable, indeed, that upon their conversion to the gospel they might, by degrees, be so far shamed out of this superstitious fondness for concealing their laws, history, &c. that they might suffer them to be committed to writing from thenceforward: but as for those hymns, and poetic compositions, which we are speaking of, it is not to be supposed, that they were ever preserved, seeing both parties, that is, both the new converts, and those who remained in their ancient idolatry, were equally concerned to suppress them; the latter out of their natural zeal to conceal them, and the former on account of those praises that were sung in them, to their false deities, heroes, &c. and of those ab-

ominable and inhuman rites that were performed in the worship of them. *Jornandes* tells us, indeed, that those which were in use among the *Goths*, were still extant in his time. If they were, it is plain they have since perished, and, most probably, for the very reason just now assigned.

(S) We have observed, a little higher, that this passage is controverted by some learned men (40), who think that the word *Græcis* is interpolated in the place there quoted: however, as they do not substitute any other character to it, and some other passages seem express, such as the muster-rolls, and some other public writings which were found amongst them; we make no doubt but the *Greek* were the first and chief letters in use amongst them.

This carries such an evidence with it, that the author of the religion of the *Gauls*, who makes these to have come originally out of *Phœnice*, and to have brought their own character from *Asia* into *Europe*; doth yet allow it undeniable, that they likewise used the *Greek* amongst them: and to the authorities above quoted adds some others, taken from ancient medals, and, particularly, an antique inscription, whose legends are in the *Gaulish* tongue, and *Greek* characters (41). So that if these be really as old, and as authentic, as he, and the authors from whom he has taken them, do suppose (42), there is not the least room to doubt of those letters having been in common use among the *Gauls*.

(37) Var. hist. l. viii. c. 6.
ad calc. Ammian. Marcel.

(38) Goth. l. iv. c. 18.

(39) Excerpt. auct. incog. ap. Valesium,

(40) Sup. not. (N).

(41) Relig. des Gauls, l. i. c. 4. p. 39. & seq.

(42) Bousteroue, p. 43, 62, & seq. 191. Roma subterr. Mabillon, ap. eund. ibid.

The probable
origin of their
poetry.

As to their poetry, as it is altogether lost, we can say little of it; yet it will not be amiss to mention an ingenious conjecture of a modern historian⁷, who thinks that the want of learning and characters, or, as he expresses it, the reigning ignorance, and contempt of letters, gave birth to those poetical compositions, at least in Europe. This was, indeed, the most effectual method to preserve the memory of such momentous truths and facts as they either could not, or cared not to commit to writing, and which, by this means, were not only easily learned, and remembered, but, likewise, concealed from other nations (T). And such fondness did both Gauls and Germans conceive for these kind of performances, especially as they were set to proper tunes, that they seemed to relish nothing else, and shewed a natural contempt for those of the prosaic sort. And this humour did still prevail so strongly, even so low as the ninth century, that when Lewis the Debonnaire undertook to have the *Samas* instructed in the holy scriptures, he was obliged to employ one of their poets to put them into Saxon verse⁸. The same was done by *Ottobradus*, with respect to the four gospels, which he caused to be translated into German, and put into verse: for as they could neither read, nor eased to learn, they consented to learn them by heart, provided they were put into verse, and set to music for them, and they permitted to sing them on proper occasions. Some such compositions *Charles the Great* is said to have found amongst them, which were very antient and rude, and contained the wars and exploits of their antient kings, and which he caused, likewise, to be transcribed, for the same end⁹. We have already hinted, more than once, what were the chief subjects of those antient poetic compositions: as to their metre, and other particulars relating to them, we are wholly in the dark, unless we guess at them by some of a more modern date; such as those which the author of *Anna Antiqua* has given us¹⁰ out of *Taliesin*, who was poet laureat to *Martynus*, about the time of *Austin* the monk's coming into England. But neither from these, nor from the character which antient authors have given us of the old Gaulish language, can we conclude them to have been either smooth or elegant, except with respect to the loftiness of their expressions and figures: yet would it not be fair to conclude, that they were all of the same kind; and we should have framed but a very wrong idea of the Greek poetry, if we had had no other poems to judge by than those of a *Pindar*, *Lycophron*, and some others of their bards.

Arts and sciences.

We need not here repeat what we observed, in the last section, concerning their skill in astronomy and geometry, from which we may justly infer, that if they were masters of those two sciences, they must, of course, have cultivated many others, especially such as are depending on, or leading to them; but to what a number, or degree, cannot be easily determined, any more than what new ones those were which they afterwards learned from the *Masilian* sages. As for arts, next to the military, which, though their great favourite, was but indifferently cultivated among them, as we have shewed above, eloquence was that wherein they prided themselves most, and which, indeed, was most natural to them. They received, from their infancy, most of their instructions from those poems which were composed by the bards and druids; they heard them, upon all public occasions, either read, or sung; and as the greatest part of them were of the heroic kind, so it inured them to a pompous and high-flown style. We have seen, that they represented *Mercury*, the god of eloquence, with the symbols of *Hercules*, to shew what vast power that art had over them, above all

⁷ PELLOUTIER. hist. Celt. l. ii. c. 10.
supra.

⁸ EGINHARD in vit. Carol. magn. c. 29.

⁹ Vide DU CHERN. rer. Francar. tom. ii. ap. Pelloutier. ubi
P. 150.

(T) This remark, however, is far from being designed to derogate from that purer and nobler origin, which pious christians have given to this excellent art, viz. the love of the Supreme Being, and the contemplation of his attributes and works. But, however true this last may be, with relation to the people of God, who so early, and so much, excelled all other nations in it, as we have fully shewn, in a former volume (43), it can never be imagined to have been the case of the fierce Gauls and Germans, whose religion and genius was quite opposite to such

a supposition. As for those who make *Bacchus* and *Venus* the parents of poetry, if they will but add *Mars* to it, they may be well enough allowed to have guessed righter, with respect to the nations we are here speaking of; and though their compositions have not reached our times, we find reason enough to guess, from their temper and dispositions, their banquets and drunken revels, of which we shall speak in its proper place, that great part of those songs and poetic compositions owed their rise to them.

(43) Vide sup. vol. i. p. 709, & seq.

- a others. These emblems they seem to have taken from the *Romans* (V); and though they were so far from imitating them in their long-winded periods, flow and pomposity of words and figures, but affected, in the main, a concise and nervous style, yet they could not forbear being taken with such artful declamations and pieces of oratory. This is, at least, what *Cerealis*, a *Roman* general, upbraided them with in *Vespasian's* time^c; and *Cato* the censor tells us, that the *Gauls* made this eloquence, and exercise of arms, their chief study. And, indeed, nothing could be more natural, or necessary, in such a country as this, where every little kingdom and commonwealth had its particular council, before which all matters relating to peace and war, and every matter, both public and private, was debated by the parties concerned, besides the grand council of the whole nation, where the rights, privileges, pretensions, and other concerns of every private state, were to be debated, and finally determined, as we have seen above. But, after all, we would not venture to affirm, that this art was equally cultivated all over *Gaul*; it is more likely, that these countries, which remained still unconquered by the *Romans*, retained still something of their natural ferocity, and contempt for such arts and sciences as were most admired among foreign nations: and we may very well suppose, that the druids, wherever they still bore any sway, did all they could to cherish this antipathy. And it is, perhaps, in order to lessen this aversion, as well as to inspire those that were subdued, with a greater love of this art, that several emperors thought fit to found
- b academies in several parts of *Gaul*, with considerable rewards and honours to those who gained the prize of it. We are told, that that of *Autun* had, in *Tiberius's* time, 40000 students^d: we read, besides, that other public schools were erected at *Lyons*, *Bordeaux*, *Toulouse*, *Narbonne*, and other places, besides that so famed one of *Marseilles*, of which we have already spoken^e. Hence we need not wonder, that this country has been since so celebrated for the great number of its rhetoricians and orators^f; and if it has not been equally famous for their excellency in this kind, as for the number of them, it is because it has happened here, as it doth every-where, and in most other studies, many labour hard at them, but few are qualified for them^g.
- c We have already taken notice, from the great regard they paid to the god *Mercury*, as he was the god of traffick, that they drove as great a commerce as any other nation. This is, moreover, proved, from a great number of ancient inscriptions, and, particularly, a famous one set up by the *Paris* merchants, and dedicated to *Jupiter the good*. The reader will see it in the margin (W), together with a hint or two of some curious conjectures, which a modern author has drawn from it, which would be too long for us to dwell upon. The whole country seems to have been divided into three estates, viz. the druids, with their underlings, the bards, &c.

^c TACIT. hist. l. iv. c. 73.^d Idem, ann. l. iii. c. 43.^e SUTTON. in Calig. c. 20. JUVEN.

satir. l. i. c. 6. & AUSON. professor. ver. 3.

^f Hieron. adv. Vigilant. & opist. ad Rustic. JUVENAL. sat. xv.^g PELLOUTIER. hist. des Celt. l. ii. c. 10, ad fin.

(V) It is known, that the *Romans*, in all places of their public exercises, placed *Mercury* and *Hercules* in full view. The *Greeks* usually set a *Cupid* between them, to shew, that love hath its origin from the other two, i. e. from strength and eloquence (44); and we read, that the *Megapolitans* had but one temple for those two deities (45), or even represented them under one and the same emblem (46).

(W) The inscription runs thus: TIS. CAESARE AVG. JOVI OPTIMO. MAXIMO. M. NAVTAE PARISIACI POSVERUNT. From the disposition of some of the letters, which, for want of room at the end of the line, are put just under it, instead of beginning the next, our author supposes the *Gauls* to have had the ancient way, which is ascribed also to the *Greeks*, of writing βεσπομδδν, that is, as the oxen ploughed, backwards and forwards (47). He endeavours to confirm his notion by some ancient coins, whose legend runs, in some, from the right to the left; and, in others, from the left to the right: we do not, however, mention it here, as if we were satisfied, that

he has fully proved it from either, but only to excite our curious antiquaries to a fuller inquiry into it from such old coins and monuments as may fall into their way.

Our author further pretends, that the *Celts*, or ancient *Gauls*, brought the *Greek* letters with them from *Phenice* (48), contrary to the general consent of ancient authors, who affirm, that they borrowed them from the *Greeks*. As his arguments for it seem very far from conclusive to us, we have followed the current opinion, until something more evident strikes out from those hints he has given us; which is far from being impossible, considering the difficulty there is to imagine how it was possible for the druids to retain in their heads such a vast variety of the most copious and important subjects, by dint of memory, and without having some kind of books, or writings, to refresh it, or to have recourse to, when that failed; and how easily might they conceal such a help, if any such they had, as they did so many other things, from the rest of the world?

(44) Eustat. in Odyss. θ.

(45) Pausan. in Arcad.

(46) Aristid. orat. in Hercule.

(47) Boissac.

l. v. Vide Reliq. des Gaul. l. iii. c. 14.

(48) Ibid. l. i. c. 4.

the nobles, and the mercantile part, which was, by far, the greatest. The two former had their revenue partly from the latter, and partly from their own lands, and the spoils of war; and were so opulent, that riches seemed to flow upon them on all sides, so that their chief business, especially in time of peace, was to encourage arts and sciences, as the best means to preserve, if not to increase, their opulence. What seems most surprising, if what an antient author tells us may be depended upon, is, that some of the *Gaulish* nations interdicted the use of gold and silver, which was to be all dedicated to *Mars*, and so become sacred and inviolable; and allowed of no coin, but that which was made of copper and brass^a. The passage is too curious to be wholly omitted, especially as it will convince the reader, that the war which the *Gauls* waged against the temples of other nations, was not owing to their greediness after those treasures that were stored up in them, but from the aversion they had, in common with the *Persees*, spoken of in a former volume, against all such buildings, they being looked upon by both as derogatory to the Supreme Being, which cannot be confined within walls, but fills, with his presence, both heaven and earth. We shall give the substance of this passage in the next note (X). But it is too likely, that this contempt of these two superior metals did vanish away, upon their becoming more acquainted with other nations, especially upon their becoming subject to that of the *Romans*; who, as we observed before, made no scruple to rifle those treasures¹, which, before that time, lay exposed to the wide world untouched, and, perhaps, to corrupt them into slavery with it, as *Herodian* reports them, and especially *Severus*, to have done by the *German* nation.

Hunting, and
other exercises.

THE *Gauls*, as well as all the other northern people, made hunting a considerable diversion; and, indeed, considering the vast forests which the country abounded with, and which bred vast multitudes of wild beasts, such as bears, wolves, wild boars, foxes, &c. (Y), if they had not made it their business to hunt and destroy them, they

^a ATHENÆUS, l. vi. c. 5.

¹ SÆTON. in CÆsar.

(X) "Among the *Gauls*," says that author (49). "the *Cordisci*" (he means the *Scordisci*, of whom we have spoken in a former volume (50), as is plain, by the sequel) "do not suffer, to this day, any gold to be brought into their country, though they make no scruple to ravage other nations. They are a remnant of those who went to besiege the temple of *Delfos*, under the conduct of *Brennus*. *Bathanatus* caused them to be stopped on the banks of the *Danube*, and forced them to settle in that neighbourhood; and, from his name, they have called that voyage *Bathanatia*, and his descendents *Bathanates*. The *Scordisci* consecrate all their gold, and suffer none to use it in their country: but they would do much better to proscribe their sacrileges, instead of that metal; for it can be no credit to forbid the use of it, whilst they commit so many unjust robberies to procure iron and copper; for if they chance to be in want of these, they take up arms, and lay them not down till they have got a sufficient supply."

Thus far *Athenæus*. And though he only mentions one nation of the *Gauls*, yet, if we remember what hath been said of their leaving their treasures of gold and silver, and consecrated to *Mars*, exposed in the open fields, especially those vast ones which were thrown into the lake of *Tholouse*, and which consisted in ingots, and rich utensils of those metals; and that, according to *Posidonius* and *Strabo*, those treasures remained sacred and untouched; and if we add, to all this, what another author says, that the *Gauls* never shut to their doors (51); we may safely conclude, that all the rest of the *Gauls* suffered no other use to be made of those metals, but to dedicate them to their deities, at least till such a time

as the *Romans*, coming to plunder these *Asia*, as *Cepio* did that of *Thionse* (52), used those metals against them, lessened their veneration for the one, and made them set a greater value upon the other.

(Y) *Cæsar* (53), *Pliny*, and other authors (54), mention several other wild beasts which used to be hunted by the *Gauls*, of which we know nothing now but the names; and some of them, by the description there given us, seem to have been of a very strange kind, if there ever were any such in being: such are the *alces*, the *bonassus*, the wild ass, &c. The *alces*, according to *Cæsar*, had no joints in his legs, and was forced to sleep leaning against a tree. The same animal is mentioned by *Pliny* and *Salinus*, without that particularity. The *bonassus*, according to some authors (55), had a horse's face, and the rest resembled a bull, its horns bending so far back, that there was no riding upon it.

Much the same wonders they relate of some of their birds, one sort of which cast such a bright light from their feathers (56), that travellers made use of them to see their way in the darkest nights: but enough of these fictitious animals.

The real ones, not mentioned above, were, the wild bull, called *urus*, and which, *Cæsar* says (57), was a little less than the elephant, though it was not much bigger than a common bull; the elk, which was generally caught in traps, and, being tamed, could be taught to draw a chariot, or sledge (58); the wild goat, of which there were then great quantities, and divers kinds; besides badgers, otters, and other such, not worth mentioning.

For all these kind of creatures they had a breed of proper hounds, which they trained up to the sport, and generally hunted on horseback, unless it be some

(49) *Athen.* l. vi. c. 5.

excerpt. ex *Valer.*
in *Bæst.*

Vide & *Strab.* l. iv.

(50) See vol. v. p. 3. f. & seq.

(52) See before, vol. v. p. 27. d—f.

(55) *Aristot.* hist. animal. l. ix. c. 45.

(57) *L.* vi. c. 28.

(53) *Comm.* l. vi.

Plin. ubi supra.

(58) *Martial.* epigr. l. i. *Paul.* *Diacon.* hist. *Lombard.*

(51) *Strab.* l. iv. N. *Damasc.* in

(54) *N. H.* l. viii. *Pausan.*

(56) *Solin.* polyhist. c. 32.

(57) *Paul.* *Diacon.* hist. *Lombard.*

a they must, in time, have been over-run with them. But, besides these, they hunted the elk, the deer, hare, and other harmless animals: they made, likewise, fowling a diversion, and were, it seems, so dextrous at it, that they killed them flying, with a dart^b thrown by hand; though they are likewise said to have used the sling, and the bow and arrow. We have, in a former section, taken notice of a way they had of poisoning those darts and arrows which they used in hunting, with the juice of a plant which they called, in their language, *lineum*, or *limeum*^c, which some have taken for ellebore^m, some the nightshade. *Strabo* says, it was a kind of wild fig-tree, whose fruit, he had somewhere read, resembled the *Corintbian* chapter. The wound failed not, it seems, to kill the creature, and make its flesh more sweet and
b tender; but they took care to cut off that piece, and throw it away. The professed huntsmen held a feast every year to *Diana*, and, among other offerings, each of them presented her with a purse, in which was a certain sum for every beast they had taken during that year; such as a farthing for every hare, a drachm for every fox, and so proportionally for the rest. Their devotions being ended, they adjourned to a sumptuous entertainment, and concluded the day with itⁿ. Other exercises, of the manly kind, they were, likewise, very fond of. We have often observed, what excellent horsemen and charioteers they are said to have been, above all other nations in *Europe*, which skill could not be attained but by dint of practice. Accordingly, we find, they had their hippodromes, horse and chariot races, tilts and tournaments;
c at all which the bards assisted, and, with their poems, songs, and musical instruments, in which they celebrated the praises of those who had formerly won the prize, inspired the new candidates with a noble ardor to signalize themselves upon all such occasions. And happy were they looked upon, who could obtain a place in those records of fame. All their exercises in general tended to render them lighter, stronger, hardier, and long-winded; and we are told, that the youth were obliged to keep their belly within the compass of a girdle of a certain size, either by fasting, running, riding, swimming, or any other laborious diversion: for if they grew fat enough to exceed the bounds of it, it was not only a disgrace to them, but they were, likewise, fined for it^o. Swimming was also an excellent expedient, not only
d to harden their bodies, but to fit them for passing the widest and rapidest rivers; in which they were so very expert, and famed, that they could cross the *Rhine*, *Danube*, and *Rbosne*, without breaking their ranks^p.

THESE may be looked upon as some of their laudable and beneficial diversions; *Feastings*. but they had a most predominant one, which can scarcely be ranked in that class, and yet seemed generally to accompany all the other public ones, or, rather, the others served only to introduce this; we mean their feastings, in which they were generally very profuse, though very negligent in the order and decorum of them^q. All their public assemblies and exercises, all their feasts, birthdays, weddings, burials, and anniversaries of them, were always accompanied with such sumptuous
e banquets, in which they intermixed with their good cheer both vocal and instrumental music. The nobles, especially, were most fond of them, because their greatness and interest consisting chiefly in the number of their clients, vassals, and *solduri*, there was not a more effectual way, either to secure the old, or procure new ones, but such kind of entertainments: for the *Gauls*, as well as the *Germans*, and other northern nations, were such excessive lovers of good eating and drinking, that nothing won their hearts more than these kind of feasts: and to what height these were carried, may be seen by some few instances we shall give in the margin (Z).

To

^a STRABO, l. iv. ^b AUL. GEL. noct. Att. l. xvii. c. 15. PLIN. ubi supra, l. xxv. c. 5. Geogr. l. iv. ^c ARRIAN. de venat. ^d EPHOR. ap. Strab. l. iv. DAMASCEN. ap. Stob. term. xxxvii. ^e CÆSAR ubi supra. MELA de sit. orb. l. iii. AMM. MARCEL. l. xxv. & al. ^f TACIT. Germ. c. 14, & seq. ^g Vide XENOPH. exped. Cyr. l. vii. ATHEN. ubi supra. PLUTARCH. sympos. vii. c. 9. VARRO, & al.

of those creatures which chiefly lived among the rocks, and which they were forced to hunt on foot (59). So fond were they of their hounds, that the ancient *Burgundian* laws obliged a man, publicly convicted of stealing one of them, to pay five shillings, one half to the owner, and the other to

the public treasury; and, if insolvent, he was obliged to kiss the dog's posteriors (60).

(Z) We read of the famed *Luernius*, king of the *Anvernians*, and father of *Birnus*, who was afterwards defeated by *Fabius Maximus*, that he made an inclosure of twelve furlongs square, in which he

(59) *Arrian. de venat. & al.*

(60) *Vide Pelloutier. ubi supra, l. ii. c. 12.*

To these feasts, those who were most famed for valour and wisdom were always reckoned the chiefest guests, because their example did bear the greatest sway in all such elections. The reader may not be displeased, perhaps, to see a short description of these feasts of the ancient *Gauls*, out of *Posidonius*, who had himself been in that country: we shall give it in the margin (A). It was likewise customary, to drink hard at these kinds of feasts; yet it seems, according to the same author, that the coryphee, or head-guest, always began first, and put the cup, or rather pitcher, about to his next neighbour, till it had gone round: for, it seems, they all drank out of the same vessel, and no man could drink till it came to his turn, nor refuse when it did. And hence, in all probability, the custom of drinking to one another, which was, it seems, common to the *Persians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*^r, as b well as to the *Scythians*, *Gauls*, and northern people. The misfortune was, that at these feasts they used to begin to talk of affairs as soon as the cups went round; and as they generally sat at them till the next morning, they so heated themselves with liquor, and wrangling, that they seldom ended without duels, the *Gauls*, says our author, setting so little value upon their lives. If the feast proved a peaceable one, it was generally accompanied not only with music and songs, as we observed above, but with dances, likewise, in which the dancers were armed cap-à-pé, and beat the measure with their swords, upon their shields. On certain festivals, likewise, such as that of *Mithras*, they used to dress themselves in the skins of such beasts as were dedicated to him, and accompany the processions that were made on that day: c others dressed themselves in masquerade habits, some of them very indecent, and played several antic and immodest tricks; and this custom was retained so long among them, even since their conversion to christianity, that some of their councils and bishops not only censured and condemned them, but appointed fasts, and proper prayers, to be used on those days^d, to divert them from that heathenish custom.

THEIR chief liquors were, beer and wine, the former the most common of the two; for they did not begin to cultivate the latter till very late. *Strabo* observes, of the *Lusitanians*, that one such feast as those we have spoken of, used to exhaust all the vintage of that year^e; but, by degrees, they came to like it better, and left the beer to the *Germans*, and northern nations, and made wine their chief liquor. d Their martial temper inspired them originally with such contempt for agriculture, that they committed the care of it, at first, to their wives, old men, and slaves. The *Germans* and they are justly blamed for it by the *Romans*, and a great piece of pride and folly it was in them, to chuse to purchase the conveniencies of life at the expence of blood and wounds, rather than by the sweat of their brow^a. But the

Contempt of
agriculture,
&c.

^r DIOD. SICUL. l. v. Vide & POLYB. l. li.

^a Relig. des Gaul. l. ii. c. 34. & seq.

^c L. iii.

^d German. c. 14. & 23.

entertained all comers, during several days, with all manner of exquisite meats and liquors (61); and of one *Atriamnes*, who caused lodges to be erected upon the high roads, each of which could entertain four hundred persons, and treated them in the same sumptuous manner a whole year (62). Neither suffered they any strangers, who happened to be at the place at the times of these feasts, or were travelling that way, to pass by without being invited, or even compelled to come, and take share of them; and, if their time could not permit them to stay, they obliged them to drink a glass or two (63).

The following is a remarkable instance of their fondness for these entertainments: The same *Luternius* having given another such feast, and invited a famed bard to come and sing his praises, as it was usual for them to do; the bard coming just at the latter end of it, was so deeply affected at the disappointment, that he tried, in vain, to sing out his designed panegyric: he was, at length, constrained to change it into deep lamentations, for being forced to take up with the reliques of so sumptuous a banquet (64).

(A) According to him, their tables were very low; they eat but little bread, which was baked flat

and hard, and easy to break into pieces; but devoured a great deal of flesh, boiled, roasted, and broiled, which they did in a very slovenly manner, holding the piece in their hands, and tearing it with their teeth. What they could not part by this way, they cut off with a little knife, which they carried in their girdle. When the company was numerous, the coryphee, or chief of the feast, who was either one of the richest, or noblest, or bravest, sat in the middle, with the master of the house on his side: the rest took their places next, each according to their rank, having their servants behind them, holding their shields. The guards had their table overagainst them, and after their masters had done, the servants were, likewise, regaled. He adds, that no one was allowed to eat of a dish, till the coryphee had tasted of it (65).

Diodorus Siculus says, that the *Gauls* used to eat sitting upon the ground, which was covered with skins of wolves and dogs; and the dishes were brought by the children of the family, or by other boys and girls. He adds, that near every table there was a stove, or fire-place, which abounded with spits, pots, pans, and other such kitchen-furniture (66).

(61) Tacit. ubi supra, c. 21.
ibid. Appian. in Cels.

(62) Posidon. ap. Athen. l. iv. c. 12.
(65) Athen. l. iv. c. 13.

(63) Idem ibid.

(66) L. v.

(64) Idem

—same

a same may be said of all handicraft trades, which they looked upon as vastly below the care of a warlike nation; but one may say, in general, that when the *Romans* came to pour their conquering armies upon them, they forced them, by degrees, to procure those things by their labour, which they were formerly wont to get, either by the sword, or by commerce: necessity soon made them feel the sweet of encouraging agriculture, and all other kinds of trades; and by degrees, likewise, of the liberal arts and sciences; in both which branches they became, in time, as expert and famed as any other nation. So that one may safely look upon their conquest by the *Romans* to have been the mother of all these.

We shall conclude this section with a short review of the other vices and virtues *Their vices.*

b which are recorded as being peculiar to the ancient *Gauls*. As for their vices, they are reducible to these three, which are attributed to them by the generality of ancient writers, viz. drunkenness, laziness, and fierceness; all which we shall have the less occasion to dwell upon, because we have occasionally given so many pregnant instances, in the course of their history. As for their drunkenness, we have given *Drunkenness.* some instances of it in speaking of their feasting; but we cannot see why that vice should be reckoned more peculiar to them, than to their neighbours the *Germans*, who vastly exceeded them in it. Besides these, *Plato* has given us a list of other people who were equally guilty of it, viz. the *Lydians*, *Persians*, *Carthaginians*, *Thracians*, *Scythians*, and *Spaniards*; and we need not direct our readers where to c look for some others, who may justly come under the same censure. But the *Gauls* were more envied for their bravery, both by *Greeks* and *Romans*, and were, therefore, made oftener the subject of their reflections. Accordingly *Livy* and *Plutarch* pretend to have it from ancient authors, that those *Gauls* who lived near the *Alps*, having once tasted the *Italian* wine, became so enamoured with it, that they immediately resolved to go and conquer that country. And *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that they were so fond of that liquor, that they would give a man, that is, one of their slaves, for a gallon of wine; which made the merchants very ready to furnish such customers with that beloved commodity, both from *Greece* and *Italy*. It is likewise pretended, that they were more than ordinary greedy of it, on account that d it made them fight more courageously, or rather furiously, and more apt to despise all manner of dangers and fatigues; and yet, in fact, nothing is plainer, than that, if those authors have not exaggerated their accounts, the *Gauls* could not encounter a worse enemy than wine proved to them, upon all occasions, since, according to them, it seldom failed throwing whole armies of them into disorder and confusion; and, which was still worse, by baiting them with some large quantities of that liquor, it either so overcame them, that they fell down dead-drunk, and exposed, as it were, naked and defenceless, to their enemies, by which means they have been all cut in pieces; or, as it often happened, it set them a fighting one against another, so that they became an easier prey to them. One would, therefore, be apt to think, e that, after they had so oft and severely smarted for their greediness, after that destructive liquor, their kings and generals would have made some wholesome prohibitions against so dangerous a custom: and what may incline us to believe they did so, is, that though the *Greek* and *Roman* authors charge the whole *Gaulish* people, in the lump, with this vice, yet the instances they give are but few, and happened sometimes to one nation, sometimes to another of them (B). However, though this abuse has been somewhat exaggerated, yet we own, that there must have been some foundation for it, since *Charles the great* was forced to make some severe laws against it; one of which obliged the judges on the bench, and the pleaders, to continue fasting; others, which forbade the forcing of any one to drink more than f he cared for; others, which forbade the soldiers, whilst in the field, to invite any man

* De leg. l. i. Vide & ATHEN. l. x. CLEM. ALEX. pæd. l. ii. * Hist. l. v. PLUT. in Camil. * L. v.

* Vide JUSTIN. ex Trog. l. xxiv. c. 7, & seq. APPIAN. Celtic. PLUTARCH. LIVY ubi supra, &c.

(B) Thus, for instance, we are told, that those *Gauls* who took the city of *Rome*, and those who ravaged *Greece*, were mostly cut off in their drunken revels (67). The same fate, we are told, overtook the *Goths* in *Thrace* (68); one sort were defeated by

Cyrus, in the same manner; and another by the *Romans* (69). But these are hardly more than single instances, that happened to one tribe or other of them.

(67) APPIAN. Celtic. PLUTARCH. in Camil. JUSTIN. l. xxiv. h. i. c. 8. LIVY, l. xli. c. 4.

(68) ZOSIM. l. iv. c. 13, & seq.

(69) JUSTIN.

whatever to drink, under pain of excommunication, and being condemned to drink a water till they had been sufficiently punished for their fault^b. This vice, it seems, was so universal, that even the *Myssians*, a kind of monkish tribe among the *Scythians*, who were obliged to abstain from all flesh, wine, and strong liquors, had yet a way amongst them of intoxicating themselves by the smoak of some odoriferous weeds, something, perhaps, of the nature of our tobacco, which made them exceeding chearful and merry, though without being attended with the ill effects which are commonly caused by excess of wine, &c.^c (C).

Idleness.

THE laziness, imputed likewise to them, appears, by what we have said a little higher, to have been rather owing to their pride, than to any dislike they had to labour, under an honourable title: for it is plain, that in their exercises, as well as b their wars, they accustomed themselves to hardships and fatigues of any kind; so that if they neglected agriculture, and handicraft trades, it was rather because they looked upon them as a kind of slavery unbecoming their martial genius. And it was upon this account that they so readily rushed upon any desperate death, to avoid being taken prisoners, especially by the *Romans*, who, they knew, were wont to make slaves of them, and condemn them to the hardest and meanest employments. And though, after their conquest, we have seen them take up with a laborious life, cultivate their lands, vineyards, and useful trades; yet the same spirit reigns still among their gentry and nobility, both in *Gaul* and *Germany*, where they retain still a contempt for all the laborious and mercantile part, and chuse rather to live in a c shameful sloth, and even poverty, than support themselves, and families, by any other way than that of arms. They even carry this punctilio of honour so far, as to look upon it as dishonourable, to the last degree, for a nobleman, in how low circumstances soever, to marry the daughter of a mechanic, or even merchant, though her fortune was ever so large, and capable of enriching him, and his family.

Ferocity.

As to their last vice, viz. their ferocity and cruelty, there will be the less occasion to wonder at it, if we consider, that they were brought up with a peculiar contempt of death: for how can it be expected they should be tender of other peoples lives, that were so careless, and even lavish of their own? And if slavery appeared d so terrible to them, that they preferred any death to it, might they not deem it a mercy in them, to massacre their prisoners of war, or sacrifice them to their gods, rather than to make slaves of them? But we observed before, that this excessive love of liberty had made them look long ago upon other people, especially upon the *Romans*, not only with a jealous eye, but inspired them with an invincible hatred against them, and all whom they observed, like them, diligent and successful in enslaving other nations. And this might not add a little to their native fierceness, and to that cruelty with which they thought they ought to treat such open invaders of public liberty, as well as those who basely assisted them in it. This will appear less improbable, if we come now to examine some of those social virtues for which they e were famed, even by the confession of their enemies, such as their hospitality, frugality, justice, and fidelity.

Their virtues, and hospitality.

It will, doubtless, be thought strange that a nation, so cruel to their enemies, and so touchy and fierce among themselves as to have recourse to single combat upon every trifling affront, should yet be so famed for their hospitality and humanity, not only to strangers, but to such as refuged themselves among them; and yet they are highly cried up for this admirable virtue, both by *Greek* and *Roman* authors. It was, it seems, a constant custom among them, to invite their strangers to all their feasts, and, after it was over, to inquire who they were, and wherein they might be served^d. This was practised, according to the same author, by the very f *Celtiberians*, who were looked upon as some of the cruellest among the *Gauls*, in-

^b Vide addition Carol. Mag. ad leg. Salic. an. 803. & PELLOUTIER. ubi supra. l. ii. c. ult. ^c POSIDON. ap. Strab. l. vii. Vide & CASAUON. in loc. & PELLOUTIER. ubi supra. ^d DIOD. SICUL. l. v.

(C) The same, we are told, was practised by the *Scythians* and *Thracians*, who had no wine (70). The men and women, it seems, sat round a good fire, into which they threw these weeds: some call it a grain, or seed (71), the smoak of which they sucked up in such large draughts, that, in a little time, it set them all a laughing, dancing, and singing.

(70) Herodot. l. i. Meli, l. ii. Max. Tyr. l. xi. Plutarch. de fluw.

(71) Solin. c. 15. Meli, ubi supra.

a somuch that they came in crouds to invite a traveller to their houses; and happy was he thought whom he chose for his host: if he pitched upon one whose circumstances would not permit him to afford him a very long entertainment, (for they generally treated them very sumptuously) he always took care to turn him over to another that could do it. If any *Gaul* was convicted of having refused this courtesy to a stranger, he was not only looked upon with abhorrence by all his acquaintance, but fined by the magistrate: witness that law which was enacted among the *Burgundians*, which laid a fine of three crowns on all such inhospitable delinquents; and one of double that sum to any *Burgundian* that should direct a stranger to the house of a *Roman*. In some other places they added a corporal punishment to the fine; b and *Tacitus* doth that justice even to the *German* nation, as to give several instances of their tender regard to strangers: and *Cæsar* adds, that they esteemed all such persons as sacred and inviolable, and to whom every house was to be opened, and every table free^b. They even conducted them from one territory to another, and punished those upon the spot, from whom they had received any damage, or ill treatmentⁱ. They even punished the murder of a stranger more severely than that of one of their own nation, viz. the former by death, and the latter by banishment. As for those who took refuge amongst the *Gauls*, and a more safe and stedfast sanctuary they could not meet with in any other nation, they were sure to be protected and maintained, according to their rank. Hence that great number of distressed kings, princes, and others, who fled thither preferably to any other country, for refuge and defence, of which we have already had occasion to speak in some former sections of this history; and with what faithfulness they were protected by them; may, out of many more instances, be inferred, from that which we shall give our readers in the margin (D), to avoid dwelling too long upon so known a subject.

THESE instances are no less an argument of their justice and fidelity: the confidence which the emperors, princes, and commonwealths, placed in them, not only in courting their alliance and friendship, and in hiring great numbers of them as auxiliaries, but likewise in the former chusing them for their life-guards, is another proof of it. And if they could be thus faithful to even *Roman* emperors, such as c *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Nero*, *Claudius*, and others; we need not doubt of their being so to other nations, to whose service they had not such a natural reluctance: though it must be owned, that the *Germans* gained, in time, a greater degree of confidence in those monarchs than the *Gauls* had done; and, perhaps, on this very account, that they did not shew such natural aversion to the *Roman* yoke as the *Gauls* did, who took all opportunities that offered to shake it off. But before even the time of *Augustus*, we find the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* in great credit and trust with *Juba*, king of *Mauritania*¹, with *Herod*, king of *Judea*^m, with *Cleopatra*ⁿ, and with most princes far and near; an account of which hath been given in every proper place of this work. They have, indeed, been branded with the reverse vice, e by several *Greek* and *Roman* historians^o; and it must be owned, that they have sometimes receded from their fidelity, notwithstanding their valuing themselves so much upon it, above all other nations; and we have formerly given several instances of it, though, for want of knowing what motives induced them to it, we have been obliged to condemn them for actions, which, if those authors had rightly informed us of the true springs of, might have passed uncensured. Neither *Greeks*, *Cartha-*

¹ German. c. 22.
ferm. 165.
ibidi. c. 5.

^b Comment. l. vi.
³ CÆSAR. COM. l. ii. c. 40.
^o CÆSAR ubi supra, l. iv. c. 11.

ⁱ ARISTOT. de mir. Aud. N. DAMASC. ap. Stob.
^m JOSEPH. bell. Jud. l. i. c. 21.
ⁿ Idem

^o POLYB. l. ii. LIVY, l. xxv. c. 33. Vide PATERC. & al.

(D) *Torism*, king of the *Gepida*, had a noble refuge at his court, named *Ildigus*, who had a lawful right to the crown of *Lombardy*, but had been excluded from it, after the death of king *Paces*, by *Aduin*, who seized upon it. This last caused *Ildigus* to be demanded of the *Gepida*, and procured his demand to be backed by the emperor *Justinian's* ambassadors. *Torism*, who had just concluded a peace with the *Romans* and *Lombards*, called a council of all his nobles, and acquainted them with

Aduin's request, and the danger he was in if he refused. Upon this, that truly august assembly unanimously agreed, that it were better that their whole nation, men, women, and children, should perish, than to give way to such a sacrilegious demand (72).

Even among the ruder *Slavonians*, who lived on the other side the *Elbe*, it was permitted to set any man's house on fire, who refused sanctuary to a stranger; and, in such cases, every one strove to punish the violation of hospitality (73).

(72) *Procop. hist. Gothor. l. iii. c. 35. l. iv. c. 27.*

(73) *Helmold. chron. Slavon. c. 82. Pelloutier. l. ii. c. 16.*

ginians, nor *Romans*, were famed for their strict adherence to their treaties, any more than scrupulous about the means of obtaining them: and *Cæsar*, for instance, has laid the blame on the *Gaulish* perfidy, which *Cato* has bravely retorted upon him. And who knows what provocations they may have had, whenever they have departed from their usual fidelity and justice? But not to dwell too long upon uncertainties, we may affirm, that, in the main, they long enjoyed that noble character, however their conquests afterwards, and since them their unmeasurable ambition, have hurried them into the quite opposite extreme.

Frugality.

Of their frugality we have likewise given several instances, such as their contempt of gold and silver, of trades and manufactures, and the like; the antient plainness of their diet, dress, houses, &c. Their cloathing was a kind of vest and breeches, light and neat; they wore their hair long, had a collar about their neck, and bracelets about their wrists, and above the elbow. Those who were raised to dignities, wore them of gold, the rest of brass. The druids were always cloathed in white when they officiated, and the freemen, on all public occasions, appeared with their arms. We know little of their marriages, except that they do not seem to have allowed polygamy, and that they had power of life and death over their wives: at least this last plainly appears, from a passage of *Pomponius Mela*, who, being a *Spaniard*, must understand the *Gaulish* laws and customs better than any *Greek* or *Roman* author that has written of them. We shall give the substance of it in the margin; first, because it contains some curious particulars about the *Gaulish* funerals, with which we shall close this section: and, secondly, because the author doth therein clear that nation from having entertained the *Pythagorean* doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which other writers have absurdly charged them with, and which we promised, in a former section, to disprove (E). Their burning of the dead bodies, we have seen, in a former section, by those urns which contained their bones and ashes, with some other trinkets which they mingled with them, of more or less value, according, as may be supposed, to the condition of the deceased; but that they likewise buried without burning, may be also gathered from those intire bodies which have been found, especially in the mounds of *Salisbury* plain, of which we have given an account: for as the *Gauls* received their religious laws and customs from the *British* druids, we make no doubt they exactly agreed in them, in both countries.

S E C T. V.

The history of the antient Gauls, from the Roman invasion, and their conquest by Julius Cæsar, to the irruption of the Franks.

WE shall have the less room to enlarge upon this subject, first, because we have little or no account of this nation before they were visited by the *Romans*, but what we have given an account of in some part or other of this chapter: and,

^p Vide SUTTON. in Jul. Cæs. c. 24. PLUTARCH. in CUND. CATO MIN. DIO CASS. & al. ^q STRABO, l. iv. PLINY, l. xvi. c. 24. De diis Germ. & al.

(E) Among other tenets which the druids hold, says that author (74), there is one, which they endeavour to inculcate into every *Gaul*, in order to inspire them with greater bravery; namely, that of the immortality of the soul, and a future life. Accordingly, says he, when they burn the bodies of their dead, and bury their ashes, they bury, likewise, with them, their books of accounts, and the notes of hand of the moneys they had lent whilst alive, that they may be of service to them in the other world. Sometimes, likewise, their near relations and friends have flung themselves into the funeral pile, to go and live with them there. Hath this doctrine of a future life any thing in common with

the *Pythagorean* transmigration? Could these account-books, receipts, and notes, be of any service to souls which pass into other bodies, either of men, or brutes? Can those, who affirm it, imagine that souls, thus transmigrated, into whatever body it be, could be still the same persons whom those accounts concerned? And would those friends have been such fools, as to chuse to die with them, for the sake of living with them hereafter, had they had the least notion of such a transmigration? How could they ever expect that happiness, if they really believed that, upon their going out of this world, their souls were to enter into fresh bodies, of either men, women, brutes, or vegetables, the one, perhaps, in

(74) *De sù. orb.* l. iii.

- a and, secondly, because what happened to them from that time to the irruption of the *Franks*, has been fully spoken of in the *Roman* history. However, that we may not leave this part too imperfect and short, for the sake of avoiding repetitions, and that we may save our readers the trouble of collecting the particulars of it out of our former volumes, by having recourse to every index, we shall give them here a summary of them in one view, and in as succinct a method as we can, with proper references in the margin, of the places where those facts have been more fully discussed, and add to it an account of such other transactions as have not yet, or have been but slightly touched upon. All which we shall endeavour to couch, as well as it can be done, in a chronological order, and near as we can to its epocha, according to such of our chronologers as may be best depended upon: we shall only add here, that the *Gauls*, being a strong and hardy people, and multiplying so fast, that their country could not contain them, was one constant cause of their excursions into other countries far and near, and in such vast multitudes, that they spread terror where-ever they came. It often happened, likewise, that these colonies, thus settled in a foreign country, were so molested by their neighbours, that, to prevent their being dispossessed, they sent into their native country for fresh assistance, and easily obtained it, the *Gauls* being always ready to pour out their numerous swarms, upon all such occasions, to prevent any of their old colonies being driven back unto them. Hence their vast multitudes, their known valour, natural fierceness, and cruelty to those who fell into their hands, joined to an unavoidable necessity, upon all such expeditions, either to conquer or starve, added not a little to the dread of their name. We shall pass by those which they antiently made out of *Europe* into several parts of *Asia*, where they settled themselves in several fine countries, and under different names, and for which we shall refer our readers to the *Celtic* history in a former volume^a.
- b
- c

THEIR earliest, and most considerable sally we have recorded, is that which they made into *Italy*, under their famous leader *Bellovesus* (A), who, crossing the *Rhose*, and the *Alps*, settled himself in that part of *Italy* called *Piedmont* and *Lombardy*, then inhabited by the *Hetrurians*, about the year of *Rome* 160^b.

Year of the
flood 2377,
before Christ
622.

- d THE *Canomani*, who dwelt between the rivers *Seine* and *Loire*, made the second grand expedition under their general *Elitonis*, and settled in the *Bresciano*, *Cremonese*, *Mantuan*, *Carniola*, and *Venetian*^c; the time of this and the next is uncertain.

THE third was made by the *Læves* and *Ananes*, the former of whom settled in *Novara*, on one side of the *Po*; and the latter in *Piacentia*, on the opposite side.

In a fourth, the *Boii* and *Lingones*, having passed the *Pennine Alps*, settled on the south side of the *Po*, between *Ravenna* and *Bologna*.

- e IN the fifth, which happened about two hundred years after that of *Bellovesus*, the *Senones*, seated between *Paris* and *Meaux*, were invited into *Italy* by an *Hetrurian* lord, and settled themselves in *Umbria*. *Brennus*, who was their king, had laid siege to *Clusium*, and here it was that he gave that noble answer to the three *Fabii*, who were sent from *Rome* to expostulate with him, of which we have had occasion to take notice in a former section. We have seen, in the volume last quoted^d, that the treachery of the *Fabii*, in entering and defending that city, and of the *Romans* in countenancing, instead of punishing it, did so exasperate the *Gaulish* general, that, raising the siege of the place, he immediately turned all his force against the latter, and, having defeated them, marched directly to *Rome*, whose inhabitants were struck with such terror at his approach, that they abandoned it to his mercy. When *Brennus* entered the place, which appeared to him like a very desert, he secured all the avenues round the capitol, and then gave up that metropolis to be plundered

Brennus enters
and plunders
Rome.

^a See vol. ii. p. 145, & seq. p. 561.

^b See vol. iv. p. 561, d, e.

^c Ibid. f.

^d See vol. iv.

one corner of the world, and the other in another? What likelihood is there, that the *Gauls*, so jealous of their liberty as they were, would, by thus rushing into immediate death, run the risque of passing into the bodies, I won't say of either plants or beasts, but even into those of slaves, or even of women, over whom they had the power of life and death?

(A) *Ambigatus*, then king of *Celtogallia*, finding

his kingdom overstocked, sent his two nephews, *Bellovesus* and *Segovesus*, each at the head of a numerous army, to go and seek some new settlements. The first crossed the *Alps*, and the latter the *Rhine* and *Hercynian* forest, and settled in that part of *Germany* since then called *Boemia*, and *Bohemia*, from the *Boii*, who accompanied him in that expedition (1), as shall be further shewn in the next chapter.

(1) See before, vol. iv. p. 561, e.

Burns and de-
stroys it.
Year of the
flood 2614,
before Christ
385.

The Gauls all
cut off.

The Gafatz
defeated.

by his men, who presently after reduced it to ashes, and all its stately temples and palaces into an heap of rubbish. Finding the capitol too strong for him, he turned the siege of it into a blockade, and marched against *Ardea*, where he was easily defeated by *Camillus*, who had been a refugee there about two years: for the *Gauls* were, by this time, so intoxicated with their success at *Rome*, and with the wine of that country, that they kept neither order nor discipline; so that *Camillus*, at the head of the *Ardeates*, made a terrible slaughter of them. His next attempt was, to surprise the capitol, and would, in all likelihood, have succeeded in it, had not the noise of some geese awaked the brave *Manlius*, who sounded the alarm, and gave them such a fierce repulse, that most of the *Gauls* flung themselves headlong down the steep rock, and lost their lives. However, the besieged in the capitol were reduced to such straits on the one hand, and the *Gauls* on the other, who were themselves besieged in the city by *Camillus*, now chosen dictator, that the senate thought fit to send *Sulpitius*, a tribune, to treat with *Brennus*; and between these it was agreed, that the *Romans* should pay him a thousand pounds weight of gold, and he depart out of the *Roman* territories. But when the money came to be paid, and *Brennus* had brought false weights with him, *Camillus* ordered the gold to be carried back, and told the *Gaul*, that *Rome* should be ransomed by the sword, and not with money. He proved as good as his word; for a dreadful contest ensuing upon it, between the two armies, the *Gauls* were so disheartened on the sudden, that they made a running fight of it; but being pursued by the dictator, were all cut off, it seems, to one man, not one of them being left to carry the news into their own country^c.

THE next expedition was still more unfortunate; for those *Gauls* who had settled themselves in those parts of *Italy* we have lately spoken of, led but an uneasy life there, being continually harrassed by the *Romans*; upon which, they sent into *Gaul* for fresh reinforcements; but these came in such vast numbers to their assistance, that they became more dreadful to them than the *Romans*: so that they made no scruple to turn their arms against them, and, having killed their two leaders, easily put the whole army to flight. The *Romans*, however, were in no small dread of them, when they found how active they were in *Italy*, and what vast armies they could draw out of *Gaul*; and it was to dissipate that fear, that they perpetrated that horrid piece of superstition at *Rome* which we formerly mentioned, of burying a *Greek* and a *Gaulish* man and woman alive in the ox-market. But they did not trust to this so far as not to make vast preparations, when they heard that the *Gafatz*, another brave *Gaulish* nation, were invited, by their *Italian* countrymen, to their assistance. These were of a fiercer nature than any of the rest; they scorned all kind of defensive armour as mean and cowardly, and generally chose to fight naked. Had but their martial skill been as great as their courage^(B), it is likely they might, at that juncture, have disabled the *Romans* from ever conquering any more nations: for their approach had spread such a terror all over the *Roman* territories, that they raised one of the vastest armies that ever had been known amongst them. If we may believe *Polybius*^f, it consisted of no less than 800000 men, horse and foot. The *Gauls*, however, nothing terrified at it, though they had but 50000 foot, and 2000 horse, forced their way through them, and entered their territories; but being as inferior to them in military discipline, as they were in number, they met with a total defeat: 40000 of them were killed on the spot, and 10000 taken prisoners, and amongst them *Concolitanus*, one of their kings; whilst the other, named *Aneroestus*, and by far the most experienced warrior, only escaped to a neigh-

^c Ibid. p. 566, & seq.

^f L. ii. c. 22.

(B) We have purposely omitted several other defeats which they met with in some other expeditions, and which the reader will find in the places of the *Roman* history quoted in the margin (2); where he will find, that the *Romans* were by that time so well apprised of their superiority to them in this point, that they generally trusted to it, and with good success, since it appears, by all these instances, that it was by that that they gave them such frequent and surprising defeats.

They fought much after the same undisciplined manner, in single combat; witness that gigantic *Gaul*, who, by his golden collar, seems to have been one of their generals, and, *Goliath* like, challenged any of the *Romans* to fight with him, and was, like him, overcome by a brave stripling (3). For the *Gaul*, trusting to his superior strength, began the fight by discharging a great blow on his antagonist, whilst the dexterous youth, rushing under his shield, stabbed him to death with his sword (4).

(2) See before, vol. iv. p. 581, & seq. p. 588, & seq. p. 593, pass. 633.
(4) Livy, l. viii. c. 9.

(3) Ibid. p. 588, a. b.

a bouring village, and there killed himself, as did most of the officers who followed him, according to the *Gaulish* maxim, of preferring death to slavery.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these successes, the *Romans* had no small reason to fear, that the *Gauls* would, at length, be made sensible, by their frequent defeats, of their own want of martial discipline and policy, and by their example, and that of other nations, become, in time, as expert soldiers as they (C); in which case, they could not but become a very formidable enemy to their nation, considering their hatred to it, their hardiness, intrepidity, and readiness to join every foe against them. The assistance they gave *Hannibal*, as he was crossing their country, and over the *Alps*, of which we have given an account elsewhere^b; and, after him, to *Mago*, and the *Carthaginians*, during their war^c; their being so frequently hired as auxiliaries, by other states and kingdoms, most of them at war with *Rome*, and among which they were sure to perfect themselves more and more in the martial trade, whilst they themselves could not venture to take them into their pay without manifest danger (D); these considerations obliged them, at last, to retaliate upon them, and invade their country, upon the first favourable opportunity, and before they were become too expert in the art of war for them: but before we come to speak of this, it will be necessary to say something of their other expeditions and exploits, in *Asia*, *Macedonia*, and other countries.

THE first of this kind was in the year after *Pyrrhus* passed into *Italy*^k, when the *Gauls*, finding themselves again overstocked at home, sent out three vast colonies to seek new habitations: *Brennus* (perhaps a descendent of him who had some two centuries before made that dreadful irruption into *Italy* we have lately mentioned) was the chief adviser of this expedition, and head of one of the *Gaulish* armies; *Cerethrius* commanded the second, and marched into *Thrace*; and the third, under the command of *Belgius*, marched into *Illyricum* and *Macedonia*: as for *Brennus*, he was entered into *Pannonia*, or *Hungary*, a poor country in comparison to those which *Belgius* had invaded, and wherein he had enriched himself with immense plunder; so that envying his success, he resolved to join him, and share it with him. *Belgius* being soon after defeated to such a degree that we hear no more of him, or his men, he hastened thither, under pretence of revenging and assisting him; and it is not improbable, that the remainder of *Belgius's* army lifted themselves under him: The army with which he entered into those two provinces, consisted of 150000 foot, and 15000 horse; but a revolt happened in it, in which *Leonorius* and *Lutarius*, the two chief leaders of it, carried off 20000 men, and marched into *Thrace*, and, joining themselves to *Cerethrius*, seized on *Byzantium*, and the western coasts of *Propontis*, and there settled, and made the adjacent parts tributary to them.

To retrieve this loss, *Brennus* sent for fresh supplies from *Gallia*, enlisted some *Illyrians*, and, with a new army of 150000 foot, and above 60000 horse, entered *Macedonia*, defeated *Sosthenes*, and ravaged the whole country. He next marched towards the streights of *Thermopylae*, with an intent to invade *Greece*, but was stopped by the forces which were sent to defend that pass against him. This obliged

^b Ibid. p. 695, d, e. p. 699, f, & seq. vol. vii. p. 15, & seq. c. 6. Vide PAUSAN. PHOC. JUSTIN. l. xxiv. & seq.

^k Ibid. p. 73, & seq.

^l POLYB. l. i.

(C) We are told (5), that their very weapons, especially their swords, were so wretchedly tempered, that, upon the very first onset, in which they constantly charged with incredible fury, they used either to break, bend, or be so blunted, against the *Roman* javelins, as to become useless; so that before they could have time to sharpen or straiten them, the enemy presently closed in upon them, and, throwing by the javelin, and shortening their swords upon them, stabbed them, like so many sheep.

(D) They gave a dreadful instance of it from the beginning, when *Scipio*, after the defeat which the *Carthaginians* had given him, on the banks of the *Ticinus*, retired to *Placentia*, to cure his own, and his soldiers wounds: for here about 2000 foot, and 200 horse, of those *Gauls* which the consul had in his pay, upon some discontent, rose up in the dead

of the night, and, whilst the *Romans* were asleep, entered their camp, slew a great number of them, cut off their heads, and carried them to *Hannibal*, who gave them a kind reception, and invited them, with vast promises, into his service.

This treachery so disheartened the consul, that, fearing lest the rest of their countrymen, that were left in his army, should follow their example, and make the mischief still greater, he wisely chose to give them the slip, and lead his own troops to a place of more safety. The *Carthaginians*, finding the *Roman* camp cleared, plundered and set it on fire, whilst the *Gauls* flocked, in great numbers, to their general, and lifted in his service (6); an action, one would think, sufficient to deter the *Romans* from ever trusting a *Gaul* again.

(5) Polyb. ubi supra. Plutarch. in Marcel. Oros. & al.

(6) Polyb. l. iii. c. 66, & seq.

him to get him some guides over those mountains, over which *Xerxes* had passed his forces a before; upon which, the guards retired, to avoid being surrounded by him. He then ordered *Acichorius*, the next to him in this expedition, to follow him at a distance with part of the army, and with the bulk of it marched strait towards *Delphos*, with a design, as is supposed, to plunder that rich city and temple; but met, it seems, with a terrible repulse, from a violent storm of thunder, lightning, and hail, which destroyed a great number of his men; and from a dreadful earthquake, which overwhelmed another part of his army: so that the remainder, being seized with a panic fury, fell upon, and murdered each other, all that night. The next morning they found their mistake, and near one half of their army destroyed, and the Greek forces pouring in upon them from all parts, and in such numbers, b that though *Acichorius* joined him in the nick of time, yet were they not able to make head against the Greeks, but were defeated, with a terrible slaughter. *Brennus* himself was desperately wounded, and so disheartened at his miscarriage, that he assembled all his chiefs, and having advised them to slay all that were wounded and disabled, and to make as good a retreat as they could, he put an end to his life. *Acichorius*, immediately after, led the remainder of this shattered army back, as well as he could; but their long marches through enemies countries, the oppositions and hardships they met with from them, and the grievous calamities which accompanied them, did, it seems, so thoroughly exhaust them, that not one of them returned from that expedition m: a just judgment, indeed, upon them, if they really went c with that sacrilegious design which is charged upon them by the Greek and Roman authors, and in which we make no doubt but they have as much exaggerated their punishment in their above-mentioned defeat, as they have their guilt, as the reader may see, by what is added in the margin (E).

Their dreadful
defeat, and end.

WHILST this expedition was carrying on in Greece, the other colonies under *Leonorius*, parting from the others who were settled in the *Propontis*, marched into the *Hellepont*, and made themselves masters of *Lyfimachia*, and the *Thracian Chersonesus*. Here some great misunderstanding happening between those two chiefs, they parted their forces; the former returned to *Byzantium*, and the latter stayed where he was. They did, however, rejoin their forces some time after, and passed into Asia, being d invited thither by *Nicomedes*, whom they assisted against his brother, and fixed him in all his father's dominions; in acknowledgment of which, he assigned them that

m Item ibid. Vide & MEMNON. excerpt. ap. Phoc. c. 19, & seq. Eclog. DIOD. SICUL. l. xxii. LIVY, l. xxxviii. CALLINACH. hymn. in Delum. SUID. in voc. Galatai.

(E) We promised, in a former section, to explode the virulent charge which *Cicero* lays against the Gauls, and their religion, founded chiefly on this action of their plundering the *Delphic* temple, and that of their believing the capitol, and, as he adds, (to aggravate it the more) the great *Jupiter* in it; from which he infers, that their religion consisted only in a diametrical opposition to all others, and in waging war against the gods of other nations, &c. and that the Gauls were a most irreligious, wicked, and dangerous people, not fit to live; and much more to that purpose.

Now if it be true, that the Gauls, before their conquest, did worship the one Supreme Being, and, like the *Perfes*, *Brachmans*, and other ancient nations and philosophers, thought it an indignity to confine him in temples, or represent him by idols of any kind, as we have formerly shewed they did, then will their destroying those temples and idols, or even plundering them of their treasures, if they had really done so by this of *Delphos*, stand justified, and rather deserve commendation, than such a black reproof. The plunder of such superstitious treasures, to men of these principles, and for the support of a numerous army that stands in need of it, will be justly deemed applying them to a better use.

But it plainly appears, from the majority of those authors quoted above, that they did not plunder the *Delphic* oracle, but that they were scared from it by a storm and earthquake, which threw them into such a panic, as made them be easily overcome by those Greek forces, which came, with great fury, to

defend their country and oracle against them; upon which it is supposed, that all these disasters befel them as a just judgment for their sacrilegious design against that temple and treasure: but this last is at best but a surmise, founded on a wrong, though common notion, that such disasters always argued some atrocious crimes in the sufferers: all which is here dressed up, by authors who were professed enemies to the Gaulish nation, and have, doubtless, exaggerated both at their pleasure, though without any real foundation.

Justin, and after him *Cicero*, indeed, accuse them of having plundered the *Delphic* treasure; and the last adds, that they carried it home too; but being grievously plagued for their sacrilege, they were advised to throw their ill-got pelt into the lake of *Tholouse*. This, though plainly opposite to all those authors who have written of that expedition, seems to us only an invidious improvement on the account they have given of it, in order to bring a scandal on that vast treasure which was consecrated and reposit in that lake, and which *Strabo* and *Athenæus*, on the authority of *Posidonius*, tell us was (so far from being fetched from *Delphos*) dug up out of some rich mines in that neighbourhood, as we have already had occasion to observe in the last section. If any thing, therefore, could be objected, with any seeming justice, against the Gauls, it was their sending such powerful colonies to invade other nations; but neither Greeks nor Romans could have any pretence to find fault with that which was their own practice, as well as that of all other nations.

part

a part of *Lesser Asia* which we described at the beginning of this chapter, and which was, from them, called *Galiogracia*, and *Galatia*. Thither came, also, a great number of those other *Gauls* who had settled in *Thrace*, and who were driven from thence by *Antigonus Gonatus*, who had seized the kingdom of *Macedon* upon the death of *Sophanes*. A greater number of them dispersed themselves about in other countries, and either perished, or so intermingled themselves, as not to be heard of any more; so that of this great and threatening *Gaulish* army, none remained but those who settled in *Galatia*^a. These, likewise, in time, increasing in number, and being streightened in their territories, endeavoured, according to custom, to enlarge them where they could, and to send their colonies and auxiliary armies abroad (F), which b did not a little annoy and alarm all their neighbours; but they were at length suppressed by the proconsul of *Asia*, *Corn. Manlius Vulso*, who gave them several defeats, and obliged them to live quietly, and keep within their old limits^c. They are, however, affirmed by some authors to have been subdued about fifty-three years before, by *Attalus*, king of *Pergamos*^d; and if so, they must have found out some means of recovering their liberty, to have been so powerful in *Manlius's* time; unless we suppose these authors to have confounded the *Gauls* with the *Galatians*. However that be, these last were still, above 130 years after, governed by their own tetrarchs, one of whom, named *Deiotarus*, was, for his services done to *Pompey the great*, created king by him (G), and had the *Lesser Armenia*, and some other territories, added to his own^e. Thus much may suffice for the *Gaulish* expeditions abroad. It is time now to return to those at home, and to give an account of their conquest by the *Romans*.

We hinted a little higher, that the *Romans* were grown so fearful of the *Gauls*, that they thought it proper, in order to humble them, to lead their armies into their country. After many attempts, not worth mentioning, the person that opened the most effectual way into *Gaul* was the great consul *Q. Marcius*, surnamed *Rex*, to whose lot this province was fallen, as well as the supreme power, by the death of his colleague in *Numidia*. *Marcius*, the better to carry on his design, opened a way between the *Alps* and the *Pyrenees*, a work of immense labour, in which he was d stoutly opposed by the *Gauls*, especially the *Stanni*, who lived at the foot of the *Alps*^f, and who, finding themselves overpowered by him, set fire to their houses, killed their wives and children, and threw them and themselves into the flames. *Marcius*, having accomplished his work, planted a colony, for the security of it, in the country of the *Volsce Tectosagi*, between the *Pyrenees* and the city of *Tbolouse*; and built a city in it, and called it *Narbo Marcius*, since *Narbonne*, which became the capital of that province. The reduction of such a considerable part of *Gaul*, and the opening and securing such a way between the *Alps* and *Pyrenees*, as it laid the foundation for the conquest of the whole country, was thought so considerable a service to *Rome*, that the senate ordered him a triumph for it^g. His successor, e *Scaurus*, not only conquered some other nations of the *Gauls*, as the *Gentisci* and

Some settled in Galatia.

Year of the flood 2811, before Christ 188.

Marcius subdued part of Gaul.

^a Idem ibid. ^b Livy, l. xxxviii. ^c Ibid. l. xxxiii. STRABO, l. xiii. SUID. POLYÆN. &c.
^d STRABO, l. xii. EUTROP. l. vi. ^e STEPH. de urb. ^f Fast. capit. CICERO, pro Fronteio. See before, vol. v. p. 3, a, b.

(F) *Justin* tells us, that all *Asia* swarmed with them, and that there was hardly an eastern prince at war that did not hire them as mercenaries (7). This was, in particular, the case of *Antiochus Hierax*, in his war against *Seleucus*, whom he defeated at *Ancyra* (8), by the help of the *Gaulish* auxiliaries. But his victory had like to have cost him dear: for these, having heard a rumour, that *Seleucus* had been slain, formed, it seems, a project to murder him, and seize upon his kingdom; so that he found no better way of saving himself, than by giving them all the treasure he had (9).

The scene of war between the two contending brothers being at length removed to *Mesopotamia*, it is not improbable, that the battle of *Babylonia* happened between the *Babylonish Jews* and the *Gauls*,

in which 8000 of the former defeated and killed 120000 of the latter (10): for *Babylon* was then a province of *Mesopotamia*, and *Antiochus*, then in confederacy with the *Gauls*, who were then very numerous there, and all over *Asia*, as we mentioned out of *Justin*, was totally defeated by *Seleucus* (11). But whether these were the *Galatians* of *Asia minor*, or troops sent out of *Gaul*, is not easy to guess, from either *Justin*, or the book of *Maccabees*, as we hinted at the beginning of this chapter.

(G) This is the same *Deiotarus* that soon after dispossessed the other three tetrarchs, and seized upon all *Galatia*. For this he was summoned before *Julius Caesar*, upon which occasion *Cicero* made a speech in his behalf, which is still extant, under the name of *Oratio pro rege Deiotaro*.

(7) L. xxv. c. 2. (8) Idem ibid.
 (11) *Justin*, ubi supra. *Polyan.* l. iv. c. 19.

(9) Idem, l. xxvii. c. 2.

(10) 2 *Maccab.* viii. 20.

The sacred
treasure of
Tholouse
plundered.
Year of the
flood 2893,
before Christ
101.

Carni (H), but, to facilitate the sending of troops from *Italy* thither, he made a some excellent roads between them, which before were almost impassable[†], and was likewise honoured with a triumph.

IN the mean time, the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, taking the alarm at these successes, took up arms against them, and gave them several considerable overthrows; in one of which the *Tigurini* (I), having surprised them, made them, and their general *Popilius*, pass under the yoke[‡]. The *Cimbri*, in particular, had retaken some parts of *Gaul* from the *Romans*, and, in particular, the famed city of *Tholouse*; upon which, *Cepio* marching his army to retake it, it opened its gates to him; notwithstanding which, he not only gave it up to be plundered by them, but carried off all that vast treasure that had been consecrated there by the *Gauls*, and of which we have b lately given an account, to the amount of 100000 pounds weight of gold, and the same of silver, even according to the most moderate accounts of it; and, in spite of his treachery, avarice, and sacrilege, was continued proconsul of the *Narbonnese Gaul*. This vile action so exasperated the *Gauls*, that they joined with the *Cimbri*, and, taking the advantage of the squabble that was between the general and his colleague *Manlius*, they fell upon them so furiously, that they gave them such an overthrow as they had scarcely ever met with, killed 80000 men, besides 40000 servants and sutlers, in one day; only ten men, of their whole army, escaped with the two generals, and among the former the brave *Sestorius*, who saved himself by swimming over the *Rhine*. The *Gauls*, who, according to custom on such occasions, c had devoted all the spoil, threw all the silver and gold into the *Rhofne*, drowned all the horses, and murdered all the prisoners they had taken. What consternation this loss threw the city of *Rome* into, and what punishment was inflicted on the sacrilegious *Cepio*, we have elsewhere shewn[¶]. As to the victorious allies, they held a general council, whether to march immediately into *Italy*, or reduce those provinces which the *Romans* held in *Gaul*: they agreed, however, to consult the brave *Æmilius Scaurus*, whom they had taken prisoner in a preceding action, and who, *Roman* like, strove to deter them from invading the territories of that republic, but was, for his bold speech, stabbed to death by *Boiorix*, king of the *Cimbri*.

THE *Roman* senate, expecting nothing less than a fresh irruption of the *Gauls* and d *Cimbri*, thought fit to recal *Marius* from his successful expedition against *Jugurtha*; and, having honoured him with a triumph for it, appointed him general against the enemy, and *Sylla* to serve under him. They both set out accordingly, and *Sylla* gained several advantages against the *Tedofagi*, and took *Copillus*, one of their kings, prisoner, whilst *Marius* resolved not to engage such a numerous army as appeared against him, till he had received sufficient reinforcements to his own. In the mean time, the *Marfi*, another people of *Germany*, had joined the *Cimbri*, with a design to enter *Italy* with them, and *Sylla* was sent to oppose them; but he, instead of engaging them, found means to gain the former over to the *Roman* interest. The *Cimbri*, enraged at this, ceased not to infect the *Roman* general till they forced him to e remove to *Aquæ Sextiæ*, now *Aix* in *Provence*, and in his way was briskly attacked by the brave *Ambrons*, now the canton of *Bern*, to whose valour had been chiefly owing the dreadful blow they gave *Cepio* and his colleague. They fought with the utmost fury and intrepidity, indeed, but wanted discipline; so that, not being able to stand the shock of such regular troops as they engaged, so dreadful a slaughter was made of them, that the next river ran stained with their blood. Here the *Ambronian* women did likewise signalize themselves, ran with their axes against the pursuing *Romans*, and made a stout opposition. But being at length overpowered, and offering to surrender upon honourable conditions, which were denied them by the enemy (K), they murdered all their children, and themselves; so that not one of f them was found alive[‡].

AFTER

[†] See before, vol. v. f.

[‡] Ibid. p. 12, & seq. p. 19, d, e.

[¶] Ibid. p. 27—29, & (I).

[‡] Ibid. p. 35, c, d, e.

(H) These inhabited part of *Noricum*, and the name of the latter is still retained in the province of *Carniola*.

(I) The two former are only different names for the *Germans*, as we shall see in the next chapter; as to the *Tigurini*, they inhabited that part of *Switzerland* called *Zurich*.

(K) These conditions were, as we hinted in a former section, that their honour should be preserved; that they should not be sold into slavery; and that they should be employed in the service of the vestals. These conditions being denied, they would have contented themselves with the first; but that being inhumanly refused, their love of chastity made them prefer

a AFTER this defeat, the Gauls seem to have been quiet for some time, whether too much suppressed by the Romans, or that they left it to the Germans to harass them, as they in fact did, and gave the consul much trouble, though to very little effect, they being constantly overcome, as often as they engaged him; but he met, soon after, with a more dreadful enemy in *Sylla*, and *Rome* was so rent, and in such consternation, on account of those two factions, as we have seen in the *Roman* history, that they rather sought the friendship of the Gauls, than their reduction. But *Sylla* found means, by his address, to draw them to his side. Hence it is likely, that he suffered them to live in peace during the whole time of his dictatorship; for we hear nothing relating to them during that time, nor for some space after his death, though the scene of war was by this time removed into *Spain* and *Portugal* by *Sertorius*, and where he had very great success against *Pompey*, who was sent against him. This war was no sooner ended there, than a new one began in the heart of *Italy* under *Spartacus*, who was at the head of an army consisting chiefly of Gaulish slaves, and whom he designed, after some notable successes against the two consuls, to have led back over the Alps into their own country. But this they stily refused, and were soon after totally defeated by *Crassus*, who was sent against them, and *Spartacus* himself slain, after having fought with incredible bravery, and sacrificed heaps of Romans round about him: 40000 of the Gauls were killed on the spot, the rest fled into *Lusitania*, where they were soon after cut off by *Pompey*. Whether the *Transalpine* Gauls had any hand in this rebellion, doth not appear. In that famed conspiracy of *Catiline* they were indeed invited into it by some of his partisans, in hopes of drawing some considerable helps from thence; but the embassadors of the *Allobroges* (L), then at *Rome*, who had been also tampered with, made such a full discovery of the whole design to their protector *Q. Fab. Sanga*, and he to the consuls, that it was happily prevented and disconcerted.

FROM all this it seems as if the Gauls had lived all this long while in quiet and good friendship with *Rome*, whatever feuds there might be among them in the heart of their country: the *Helvetii* were they which kindled that fresh war which brought *Cæsar* over the Alps, and ended in the conquest of that brave and warlike nation. *Orgetorix* was the first cause of it, who, whether through want of room, or a desire to exchange his inclement country for a better, or for some other cause not mentioned by any writer, had engaged a vast number of his countrymen to burn their towns and villages, and to go in search of new conquests. *Julius Cæsar*, to whose lot the whole country of *Gaul* was fallen, made such haste to come and suppress them, that he was got to the *Rhofne* in eight days, broke down the bridge of *Geneva*, and, in a few days more, finished the famed wall between that city and mount *Jura*, now *St. Claude*, which extended seventeen miles in length, was sixteen feet high, fortified with towers and castles at proper distances, and a ditch that ran the whole length of it (M). Whilst this was doing, and the reinforcements he wanted were coming, he amused the *Helvetii*, who had sent to demand a passage through the country of the *Allobroges*, till he had got his reinforcements, and then flatly refused it to them; whereupon a dreadful battle ensued, in which they lost 130000 men, in spite of all their valour, besides a number of prisoners, among whom was the wife and daughter of *Orgetorix*, the leader of this unfortunate expedition; the rest submitted, and begged they might be permitted to go and settle among the *Edui*, from whom they originally sprung; and, at the request of these last, were permitted to go (N). This action and victory, joined to the policy and

^a Ibid. p. 46—71.

^b Ibid. p. 85—96.

^c Ibid. p. 97, & seq.

^d Ibid. p. 106, b—d.

prefer such an honourable death, as could not but cast a more shameful brand on those who styled them barbarians, and yet used such brave matrons in so inhuman a manner (12).

(L) These inhabited the regions at the foot of the Alps, known now by the names of *Savoy*, *Dauphiné*, and *Piedmont*.

(M) If his own account of it may be relied upon (13), he did not set out till the beginning of *April*,

and yet this huge work was finished by the ides or 13th of the month: so that subtracting the eight days he was a coming, it must have been all done in about five days: a prodigious work! considering he had but one legion there, or even though the whole country had given him a helping hand.

(N) The *Edui* were situate between the rivers *Seine*, *Loire*, and *Saone*, and were the only allies *Cæsar* then had. Theirs being a fruitful country, they had

(12) Vide *Plutarch*, in *Mario*, *Valer. Max.* l. vi. c. 1. *Frontin. stratag.* l. iv. c. v. l. i. c. 1, & seq.

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§ I

(13) *Comment.*

promised

and incredible dispatch with which *Cæsar* had carried it against them, gained him a such reputation, and, at the same time, struck the *Gauls* with such a dread, that they strove who should pay him the first homage and congratulations, and procure his friendship. So that we may look upon it as the basis of all his glory and conquests in this country.

*Ariovistus de-
feated.*

We formerly took notice of the sad divided state he found them in at his first coming amongst them, their vast variety of governments, their jealousy over each other, the overgrown power of some, and the reduction of others into a state of dependence next to slavery: *Cæsar*, who knew best how to make the most of these intestine broils, soon became the protector of the oppressed, a terror to the oppressor, and the umpire of all their contentions. Among those who applied to him for help, were his allies the *Ædui*, against whom *Ariovistus*, king of the *Germans*, joined with the *Arverni* (O), in their late wars, had taken the country of the *Sequani* from them, and obliged them to send hostages to him. *Cæsar* forthwith sent to demand the restitution of both, and, in an interview which he soon after obtained of that haughty and treacherous prince, was like to have fallen a sacrifice to his perfidy; upon which, he bent his whole power against him, forced him, against his will (P), out of his strong intrenchments, and gave him a total overthrow. *Ariovistus* escaped, with difficulty, over the *Rhine*; but his two wives, and a daughter, with a great number of *Germans* of distinction, fell into the conqueror's hand. *Cæsar*, after this signal victory, put his army into winter-quarters, whilst he went over the *Alps* to make the necessary preparations for the next campaign. By this time all the *Belgæ* in general were so terrified at his success, that they entered into a confederacy against the *Romans*, as their common enemy, of which *Labienus*, who had been left in *Gaul*, sent him word; upon which, he immediately left *Rome*, and made such dispatch, that he arrived upon their confines in about fifteen days. Upon his arrival, the *Rhemi* submitted to him, but the rest appointing *Galba*, king of the *Suessones*, general of all their forces, which amounted to 150000 men, marched directly against him. *Cæsar*, who had seized on the bridge of the *Axona*, now *Aisne*, led his light horse and infantry over it, and, whilst the others were incumbered in crossing that river, made such a terrible slaughter of them, that the river was filled with their dead, insomuch that their bodies served for a bridge to those who escaped. This new victory struck such terror into the rest, that they dispersed themselves; immediately after which, the *Suessones*, *Bellovaci*, *Ambiones*, and some others, submitted to him. The *Nervii*, indeed, joined with the *Atrebates* and *Veromandui*, against him, and, having first secured their wives and children, made a stout resistance for some time, but were, at length, defeated, and the greatest part of them slain; the rest, with their wives and old men, surrendered themselves, and were allowed to live in their own cities and towns, as formerly. The *Aduatici* were next subdued, and, for their treachery to the conqueror (Q), were sold for slaves, to the number

*The Belgæ sub-
dued.*

^c Comment. l. i. c. 1, & seq. See before, vol. v. p. 117, & seq.

promised to supply him with corn, but made so many delays, that he began to suspect their fidelity, and to find himself in great distress for want of it. *Divitiacus*, one of the lords of it, was then in his army, with *Liscus*, one of their magistrates: *Cæsar* examined them both about it separately, and the latter told him, that *Dumnorix* the younger, brother of *Divitiacus*, designing to seize upon the supreme power, had allied with the *Helvetii*, and sent that corn to them which should have been conveyed to him. *Divitiacus* confirmed what *Liscus* had said, but without naming his brother; and when *Cæsar* would have punished him for his perfidy, generously interceded for him, and obtained his pardon (14).

(O) The *Arverni* were seated on the *Loire*, and were so called from their metropolis, *Arvernum*, now *Clermont*, the capital of the *Guiennois*. They were once the most powerful people of the *Gauls*, their territories are said to have reached from the ocean to the *Rhine*, on one side, and the *Pyrenæes* on the other (15).

The *Sequani* were neighbours to the *Ædui*, and inhabited that part of *Gallia Belgica* called *Upper Burgundy*, now *Franche Comté*.

(P) *Cæsar*, who lost no advantage he could get on an enemy, had intelligence that some *German* prophetesses, and such were in high esteem among them, had foretold, that they could not be victorious till after the new moon; or rather, he knew that was a superstitious notion common among them, and all the *Gauls*; and this it was made him so eager, and *Ariovistus* so averse, to come to blows before that time.

(Q) These were the remains of those *Cimbri* whom *Marius* had defeated in *Italy*, and had been left on the banks of the *Rhine* to guard the baggage. They made a sham submission to *Cæsar*, and surrendered their arms to him, but had concealed a third part of them, with which they fell foul on the *Romans* in the night: upon which, he broke down the gates of their city, put many of them to the sword, and sold the rest for slaves (16).

(14) *Ibid.* Vide *supra*, vol. v. p. 117. d. e.

(15) *Strabo*, l. iv.

(16) *Comm.* l. ii. c. 1, & seq.

a of 50000. Young *Craſſus*, the ſon of the *triumvir*, ſubdued likewiſe ſeven other nations, and took poſſeſſion of their cities; which not only completed the conqueſt of the *Belgæ*, but brought ſeveral nations from beyond the *Rhine* to ſubmit to the conqueror. The *Veneti*, or ancient inhabitants of *Vannes* in *Britany*, who had been likewiſe obliged to ſend hoſtages to the conqueror, were, in the mean time, making great preparations, by ſea and land, to recover their liberty. *Cæſar*, then in *Illyricum*, was forced to equip a fleet on the *Loire*, and, having given the command of it to *Brutus*, he went and defeated them by land, as *Brutus* did by ſea; and, having put their chief men to death, ſold the reſt for ſlaves. The *Unelli*, with *Veridorix*, their chief, together with the *Lexovii*, and *Aulercei*, were, about the ſame time, ſub-
b dued by *Sabinus*, and the *Aquitani* by *Craſſus*, with the loſs of 30000 men. There remained nothing but the countries of the *Morini* and *Menapii* (R) to be conquered, of all *Gaul*. *Cæſar* marched himſelf againſt them, but found them ſo well intrenched in their inacceſſible fortreſſes, that he contented himſelf with burning and ravaging their country; and, having put his troops into winter-quarters, paſſed again over the *Alps*, to give a more watchful eye over ſome of his rivals there^d; but he was ſoon after obliged to come and defend his *Gauliſh* conqueſts againſt ſome nations of the *Germans*, who were coming to ſettle there, to the number of 400000, and whom he totally defeated, and then reſolved to carry his conquering arms into *Germany*. As this laid the foundation for that bloody war which he afterwards carried
c againſt them, it will be more properly ſeen in the ſubſequent chapters, as well as his ſeveral expeditions into this iſle in that which immediately follows, and to which we ſhall refer our readers.

UPON his return into *Gaul*, he found it labouring under a great famine, which had cauſed a kind of univerſal revolt. *Cotta* and *Sabinus*, who were left in the country of the *Eburones*, now *Liege*, were betrayed into an ambuſh by *Ambiorix*, one of their chiefs, and had moſt of their men cut off. The *Aduatici* were fallen upon *Q. Cicero*, who was left there with one legion, and had reduced him to great ſtreights: at the ſame time *Labiennus*, with his legion, was attacked by *Indutiomarus*, at the head of the *Rhemi* and *Senones*; but had better luck than the reſt, and, by
d one bold ſally upon them, put them to flight, and killed their general. *Cæſar* acquired no ſmall credit by quelling all theſe revolts, but each victory loſt the lives of ſo many of his troops, that he was forced to have recourſe to *Pompey* for a freſh ſupply, who readily granted him two of his own legions to ſecure his *Gauliſh* conqueſts^e.

BUT it was not long before they, ever reſtleſs under a foreign yoke, raiſed up a new revolt, and obliged him to return thither. His fear left *Pompey* ſhould gain the affections of the *Roman* people, had obliged him to ſtrip the *Gauls* of their gold and ſilver, to bribe them over to his intereſt: and this gave no ſmall handle to theſe frequent revolts which happened during his abſence. He did, however, ſoon
e reduce the *Nervii*, *Aduatici*, *Menapii*, and *Treviri*, the laſt of which had raiſed the revolt, under the command of *Ambiorix*; but he ſoon found the flame ſpread much farther, even to the greateſt part of the *Gauls*, who had choſen the brave *Vercingetorix* their generaliſſimo. *Cæſar* was forced to leave *Inſubria*, whither he had retired to watch the motions of *Pompey*, and, in the miſt of winter and ſnow, repaſs the *Alps*, into the province of *Narbonne*, where he gathered all his ſcattered troops with all poſſible ſpeed, and, in ſpite of the hard weather, beſieged and took *Noviodunum*, now *Noyons*; and defeated *Vercingetorix*, who was come to the relief of that place. He next took the city of *Avaricum*, now *Bourges*, one of the ſtrongeſt in *Gaul*, and which had a gariſon of 40000 men, of whom he made ſuch a dreadful ſlaughter,
f that hardly 800 eſcaped. Whiſt he was beſieging *Gergovia*, the capital of the *Arverni*, he was informed that the *Nitiobriges*, or *Agenois*, were in arms and that the *Ædui* were ſending to *Vercingetorix* 10000 men, which they were to have ſent to reinforce him. Upon this news, he left *Fabius* to carry on the ſiege, and marched againſt the *Ædui*. Theſe, upon his approach, ſubmitted, in appearance, and were pardoned; but ſoon after that whole nation roſe up in arms, and murdered all the

^d Ibid. p. 119, 121.^e Ibid. 121—124.

(R) Theſe are the territories, now called *Ferrouennes*, the *Unelli*, their abode is differently gueſſed at, but *Cleves*, *Gelder*, and *Juliers*. Thoſe of the *Aulercei* without any certainty. and *Lexovii* are now the *Enneux* and *Liſieux*. AS TO

Suppresses the
revolted Gauls.

Reduces it into
a Roman pro-
vince.

Italian troops in their capital. *Cæsar*, at this, was in great straits what measures ^a to take, but resolved, at length, to raise the siege of *Gergovia*, and at once attack the enemy's camp, which he did with some success; but when he thought to have gone to *Noviodunum*, or *Noyons*, where his baggage, military chest, &c. were left, he heard that the *Ædui* had carried it off, and burnt the place. *Labienus*, justly thinking that *Cæsar* would want his assistance in the condition he now was, went to join him, and in his way defeated a *Gaulish* general, named *Camulogena*, who came to oppose his march; but this did not hinder the revolt from spreading itself all over *Celtic Gaul*, whither *Vercingetorix* had sent for fresh supplies, and, in the mean time, attacked *Cæsar*, but was defeated, and forced to retire to *Alesia*, a strong place, now *Alise* in *Burgundy*, as is supposed. Hither *Cæsar* hastened, and besieged ^b him, and, having drawn a double circumvallation, with a design to starve him in it, as he was likely to have done, upon that account refused all offers of a surrender from him. At length, the long-expected reinforcement came, consisting of 160000 men, under four generals: these made several fruitless attacks on *Cæsar's* trenches, but were defeated in three several battles, which, at length, obliged *Vercingetorix* to surrender at discretion. *Cæsar* used all his prisoners with great severity, except the *Ædui* and *Arverni*, by whose means he hoped to gain their nations, which were the two most potent of *Celtic Gaul*, as he actually did; for both of them submitted to him, and the former received him into their capital, where he spent the winter, after he had put his army into winter-quarters. This campaign, as it proved one ^c of the hardest he ever had, so he gained more glory by it than any *Roman* general had done before: yet could not all this procure him from the servile senate, now wholly dedicated to his rival, a prolongation of his proconsulship; upon which, he is reported to have laid his hand upon his sword, and said, that that should do it. He was as good as his word, and the *Gauls*, upon their former ill success, resolving to have as many separate armies as provinces, in order to embarrass him the more, *Cæsar*, and his generals *Labienus* and *Fabius*, were forced to fight them one after another, which they did, however, with such success, that, notwithstanding the hardness of the season, they subdued the *Bituriges*, *Carnuti*, *Rhemi*, and the *Bellovaci*, with their general *Correus*, by which he at once quieted all the *Belgic* ^d provinces bordering on *Celtic Gaul*. The next who followed were the *Treviri*, the *Eburones*, and the *Andes*, under their general *Dunmarus*. The last place which held out against him was *Uxellodunum*, which was defended by the two last acting generals of the *Gauls*, *Drapes* the *Sennonian*, and *Luterius* the *Cadurcean*. The place being strong, and well garrisoned, *Cæsar* was obliged to march thither from the furthest part of *Belgic Gaul*, and soon after reduced it, for want of water. Here, again, he caused the right-hands of all that were fit to bear arms, to be cut off, to deter the rest from revolting afresh. Thus was the conquest of *Gaul* finished from the *Alps* and *Pyrenees* to the *Rhine*, all which vast tract was now reduced to a *Roman* province under the government of a prætor. The sum of all the provinces, cities, and prisoners taken, if not exaggerated by that conqueror and *Plutarch*, the reader may see in the *Roman* history above quoted ^e.

Thus ended, in a great measure, the liberty of that once famed and warlike nation, and with it their singular valour, as *Tacitus* observes, in the life of *Agriкола*. Some cities, or commonwealths, however, we are told ^f, were permitted to remain free; such as the *Nervii*, *Ubaneses*, *Suessones*, and *Leuci*; and others retained the title of confederates to *Rome*, viz. the *Ædui*, *Lingones*, *Rhemi*, and *Carnutes*: as to the rest, who were reduced into the form of a *Roman* province, we may guess at their miserable condition, by what *Crisognatus* the *Arvernian*, as quoted by *Cæsar* ^g, tells us of it. "If, says he, you would know after what manner distant nations ^f are used by the *Romans*, you need but look at our neighbouring *Gaul*, now reduced into a province, which having its laws and customs changed, and being brought under the power of the axes, is oppressed with perpetual slavery." To understand rightly the difference of these three conditions, or, more properly, degrees of slavery; the first was, the having a number of soldiers quartered upon them, to

^f Ibid. 126. & seq.
^g Vol. v, p. 129, a, b.

^h Cicer. ad Attic. l. v. epist. 15. & seq. Vide & PLUTARCH. in Cicer. & Cæsar.
ⁱ PLIN. hist. l. iv. c. 11.

^k Comment. l. vii.

- a keep them in awe (S); the next was, when the province was laid under tribute, in which case they were compelled to endure a vast number of tax-gatherers, which, like so many leaches, or harpies, sucked out the very vitals of the country (T). The third was, when they were deprived of the privilege of being governed by their own laws and magistrates, but had governors set over them, with full power and authority (*cum imperio & securibus*) over their lives and estates, and sent to them from Rome. It was on account of this threefold tyranny that they so often revolted; for, as Tacitus himself observes, in the reign of Tiberius the continuance of those taxes, the extortions of usurers, and insolence of the soldiers, were become so intolerable, that it drove the Gaulish cities into a fresh rebellion. And Suetonius, in the life of Nero, tells us, that the world, having for near thirteen years groaned under his tyranny, did at length shake it off, the Gauls setting the first example to all the rest.

Gaul was soon after divided into sixteen provinces, the names of which the reader will find in the margin (V), each of which groaned now, more or less, under the Roman tyranny, according as they were more or less favoured by the emperors, or by the prætors sent thither to rule them. However, neither under Cæsar, whilst he lived, nor even under his successor Augustus, do we read of any considerable revolt; on the contrary, though the latter did, in a manner, begin his reign with making them undergo a census, which is the first we read of made out of Italy, and which could not but be galling to them, they seem to have submitted to it patiently. Some years after, indeed, when Drusus was sent thither to stop the incursions which the Germans were frequently making upon them (W), and had there begun a second, and perhaps a more strict one, taking a particular account of each person's estate, in order to tax them according to it; they then began to express an universal discontent, and an inclination to take up arms, and regain their liberties. Drusus, however, without seeming to suspect any thing like it of them, summoned all the Gaulish chiefs to assist at the consecration of the temple which the Lugdunenses had built in honour of Julius Cæsar, and, upon their coming, behaved with such address and complaisance to them, that they not only dropped their intended revolt, but agreed to build an altar to Augustus, and to pay him divine honours, even during his life. Sixty Gaulish nations, it seems, contributed to the rearing and adorning of this magnificent altar, which was consecrated on the 1st of August, and games were, at the same time, instituted, in honour of this new kind of deity, not unlike the Isthmians and Nemeans of Greece¹.

Gallia divided into 16 provinces.

Year of the flood 2977, before Christ 22.

THIS

¹ Vide STRABO, l. iv. SUTON. in August. LIVY, &c. & supra, vol. v. p. 319.

(S) In which case, if these provinces continued quiet and peaceable, they had, it seems, no great armies quartered in them, since Josephus tells us (17), that, in Titus's time, they had no more than 1200 soldiers in garrison in all Gaul, although, adds he, they had fought for their liberty against the Romans above 800 years, and had near as many cities as these had then soldiers there.

(T) We are told, accordingly, that, after Julius Cæsar had finished the conquest of Gaul, he laid it under a tax, or tribute of HS. *quadringenties* (18), that is, about a million of English crowns. How much heavier they were taxed in subsequent reigns, may be easily guessed, by their frequent revolts, and continual complaints against those extortions and oppressions, some instances of which we shall have occasion to mention by-and-by.

(V) *Viennensis, Narbonensis prima, Narbonensis secunda, Aquitania prima & secunda, Novempopulana, Alpes maritima, Belgica prima & secunda, Germania prima & secunda, Lugdunensis prima, secunda, & tertio, Maxima Sequanorum, & Alpes Græci*; of all which, the reader may see a further account in the authors hereunder quoted (19).

This division, however, was not made by Julius Cæsar, since we find it still under the three distinct

tions in which he left them, when Augustus caused the first census to be made in it (20); but was begun towards the latter end of this last's reign, and finished by some of his successors.

(W) It is hardly to be doubted but the Gauls, who did so grievously brook the plundering and insolences of the Romans, and found themselves too weak now to make head against them, did, by some private means, either invite the Germans as friends, or hire them as auxiliaries to their assistance; and this seems to have been the first beginning of the colonies of the Franks. For those Germans, whether defeated by the Romans, or, which is more likely, bought off by them, began, by little and little, to settle on the borders of Gallia. For we are told, that Augustus transplanted the Suevi and Sicambri, who submitted to him, into Gallia, and assigned them lands along the Rhine (21). And of Tiberius we read, that he brought 40000 of those that surrendered themselves, in the German war, over into Gallia, and settled them on the banks of the Rhine (22).

To this we may add, what another author tells us of the emperor Probus, in whose reign above sixty cities had revolted from the Romans, and made a bold push for the recovery of their liberty. This prince, says he (23), marched with a vast army into Gaul,

(17) Antiq. l. ii.

(18) Eutrop. l. vi.

(19) Anton. isinor. S. Ruf. Ammian. Marcel. l. xv.

(20) See before, vol. v. p. 298, f.

(21) Sueton. in vit. Aug.

(22) Idem in Tiber.

(23) Vopisc.

in vit. Prob. Histoman. Francogal. c. 3.

THIS fulsome flattery to that monarch, which might, probably, be owing to the presence of *Drusus*, did not, however, divert them long from their favourite view of regaining their liberty, whenever fortune should favour them with a proper opportunity. The druids, on the contrary, seem, upon this occasion, to have exerted themselves to cherish that noble design in them, to prevent any further defection from their antient religion; and hence, most likely, arose those frequent revolts, as well as threatening edicts, that came out against them in the succeeding reigns, and of which we have had occasion to speak in a former section: however that be, the violent extortions, and horrid butcheries which they underwent under *Caligula*^m, were of themselves sufficient to have spirited up a less warlike nation; though that reign was not long enough to ripen their design, and under the next they either enjoyed more respite, or, which is as likely, were more narrowly observed. But in that of *Nero*, under whom they were more cruelly treated than ever, the brave and noble *Julius Vindex* (X), at that time governor of *Celtic Gaul*, declared his resolution to free his country from slavery, and the empire from that bloody tyrant. As soon as his design was known, the *Gauls*, harrassed and reduced to beggary by intolerable imposts, flocked to him from all parts to assist him in it; so that, though he had no *Romans* under his command, yet he soon saw himself at the head of 100000 armed men. When *Nero* heard the news of this revolt, he appeared quite glad at it, as it would afford him occasion for fresh extortions and cruelties. What he seemed most affected with was, that *Vindex*, in some of his edicts against him, among other contemptuous language he had given him, did call him a bungling harper; so that, instead of making proper preparations to oppose him, he only strove to display his skill in music, to wipe off the scandal, as he thought it, that was thrown upon him. But when messengers came to him thick and threefold, and acquainted him with the progress *Vindex* had made in *Gaul*, and with *Galba's* revolt in *Spain*, he left *Naples*, in a fright, and repaired to *Rome*: however, a frivolous, but lucky omen, as he imagined it, having dispelled his fears, he returned again to his musical amusement, without taking one step to suppress either revolt. We shall not need repeat here the unworthy behaviour, and dreadful end, of that emperor, of which a full account has been given in a former volumeⁿ: all that needs be recapitulated here concerning the ill success of our *Gaulish* general is, that his army, having been surpris'd by that of *Rufus Virginius*, who was march'd against him, whether by treachery or accident, is not agreed, the *Gauls* were defeated, with the loss of 22000, who were killed on the spot; upon which, *Vindex*, in a fit of rage and despair, laid violent hands upon himself, and the rest dispersed themselves for want of a leader. *Galba* had much better success, and was soon after rais'd to the empire^o; but the *Gauls* were so heavily oppress'd by him, and so loaded with taxes, that they dared not undertake any thing against him. In the great struggle between his two successors, *Otho* and *Vitellius*, though they heartily hated them both, yet they were forced to declare for the latter, by *Fabius Valens*, who, in his march through their territories towards *Italy*, whither he was leading a gallant army, committed the greatest plunders and extortions. This threw the nation into such a terror, that every province and city sent their ambassadors to meet him, and bribe him with large presents, to prevent their towns from being either plundered or burnt (Y).

Vindex's revolt
in Gaul.

His ill success,
and death.

THEY

^m See vol. v. p. 475, b, c.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 569, & seq.

^o Ibid. p. 573, & seq.

which, after *Posthumus's* death, was all in commotion, and, when *Aurelian* was killed, was, in a manner, possess'd by the *Germans*. There he gain'd so many victories, that he recover'd from the barbarians sixty of the most noble cities of *Gallia*; and whereas they had overspread all *Gaul* without controul, he slew near 400000 of those who had seated themselves within the *Roman* territories, and transplanted the remainder of them beyond the rivers *Neckar* and *Elb*: but of this we shall have occasion to speak more fully in the subsequent chapters.

(X) He was descended from the antient kings of *Aquitain*, and bore a natural aversion to all tyrants. Upon his first resolution of revolting, he sent to per-

sua'de *Galba*, then in *Spain*, to do the same, who neither followed his advice, nor betray'd his design, though some other governors, to whom he wrote on the same subject, sent his letters to *Nero*: but *Galba*, upon receiving a second letter from him, actually rais'd a revolt there (24).

(Y) Amongst those that suffer'd the effects of his fury and avarice, was the city of *Vienne*, against which that of *Lyons* had instigated him, as having aid'd the late noble *Vindex* in his revolt. They were therefore forced to buy their pardon from him by an immense sum, besides a donative of 300 sesterces, the surrender of all their arms, and furnishing his army with provisions.

(24) *Plutarch. in Galb. Dio, l. lxi. Sueton. in Ner. Tacit. l. i. c. 16.*

- a** THEY did, however, recover themselves so far, notwithstanding all these oppressions, as to make several bold pushes for their liberty, especially in the reign of *Vespasian*. We have given an account of it in a former volume ^p, as well as of the peace that emperor thought fit to clap up with them, rather than to exasperate them to turn their arms against him at that juncture ^q. In *Adrian's* time this province was visited by that emperor in his progress through the empire, and as it had been greatly oppressed and impoverished during the former reigns, he left, wherever he passed through it, some tokens of his pity and munificence to that nation, and built some stately edifices there, especially a sumptuous palace, in honour of *Plotina*, *Trajan's* widow. He forgot not, at the same time, to repair all the *Roman*
- b** towns and fortresses in that country, to keep them in subjection ^r, as it actually did, no considerable revolt happening during his and some of the succeeding reigns. All this while they seem to have made no inconsiderable figure, or bore a small sway, since, in that famous contest between *Severus* and his competitors, the *Gauls* having first saluted him emperor, their example was followed by almost all the provinces in *Europe*, and he was every-where acknowledged and received with the loudest acclamations ^s. He proved, however, very ungrateful to them, at least to the christians in this country, having raised a bloody persecution against them, instigated thereto by his favourite *Plautianus*, who took occasion of a soldier's refusing to wear a crown as a donative, to seize on the estates of all the christians of rank and quality, and to
- c** put a great number of them to death, and amongst them *Ireneus*, the worthy bishop of *Lyons* ^t. *Gaul* was again made the scene of war, in the famed contest between *Gallienus* and *Posthumius*, the latter of whom had delivered this province from the dominion of the *Germans*, under which it had groaned for some time, and for which he had been acknowledged emperor both there, and in *Spain* and *Britain*, of which we have already given a full account in the *Roman* history ^u. The latter having been murdered by his soldiers, for debarring them from the plundering of *Mentz* ^v, *Lollianus* got himself proclaimed emperor of that part of it which borders upon the *Rhine*; whilst *Victorinus*, whom *Posthumius* had taken for his colleague, governed over the rest. Both these being soon after murdered, as we have there related, and
- d** the son of the latter, then an infant, being named his successor, the *Gauls* murdered him likewise, and set up in his room one *M. Aurelius Marius*, formerly an armourer, but a man of extraordinary courage and strength; but he being likewise run through by a soldier who had been formerly his journeyman, and with a sword, as himself told him, of his own making, *P. Pivejus*, or *Pesuvius Tetricus*, a man of senatorial and consular dignity, was proclaimed in all this province, and soon after acknowledged in *Spain* and *Brittain*. *Tetricus* did not long enjoy his dignity, before the constant jars and mutinies which happened in his army, as well as the approach of the emperor *Aurelian*, who had restored peace in all other parts of the empire, and was marching to reunite *Gaul* and *Britain* to it, made him wish to
- e** be fairly rid of it. There is even some reason to suspect, that he invited him into *Gaul*; and though he made a faint opposition against him at the battle of *Chalons*, yet, upon the first onset, he yielded himself to that emperor; so that the *Gaulish* troops, for want of a leader, were intirely cut off, and this province again reduced to its former obedience ^x. This action quite completed the conquest of *Gaul*, and *Tetricus*, whether to cover his treachery in abandoning his troops, or because he did not make his submission soon enough, was led in triumph by that emperor; but was soon after advanced, and loaded with honours and titles by him, as we have formerly seen ^y. In *Constantine's* time, who is supposed to have been the person who first divided the whole empire into four parts, each containing a number of
- f** provinces, or, as they were then called, dioceses, and each of these four parts put

Christians in
Gaul persecuted.

^p See vol. v. p. 641, f. & seq.
^p Ibid. p. 105, pass.

^q Ibid. p. 643, b, c.

^r See vol. vi. p. 35, b—d.

^s Ibid.

^t Ibid. p. 115, b, c & seq.

^u Ibid. p. 176, & seq. p. 183, f.

^v Ibid. & seq.

^x Ibid. p. 192, d, & seq.

^y P. 193, c. p. 194, c.

As he drew nearer the *Alps*, he ordered the city of *Lucus*, a municipal town of the *Vocontii*, now *Dauphiné*, to be set on fire, because they expressed a backwardness to pay him the large sum he had exacted from them; and thus he went on extorting

all the way he passed, whilst *Cecina* did the same among the *Helvetii*, who, not having been apprised of *Galba's* death, refused to acknowledge *Vitellius*; but, upon their submission, they were at length pardoned by him (25).

(25) *Tacit.* c. 60, & seq. see vol. v. p. 599, & seq.

under the government of a distinct *præfektus prætorio*, which was before only under two, *Gaul* being made one of those dioceses, and had its provinces assigned to it; we have already had occasion to mention them in this chapter, and in a former volume^a; and shall not repeat it here, but only add, that the *Gallic* præfekt had *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, under him.

We should now come to the latter part of the *Gaulish* history, and give an account of the horrid ravages this country since suffered from the *Germans*, the *Huns*, especially under *Attila*, under the *Vandals*, and especially under the *Goths*, or *Visigoths*, and *Burgundi*, who formed themselves into distinct kingdoms here, and held them, through a series of princes, till dispossessed of them by the *Franks*: but as these have already been spoken of in the course of the *Roman* history^a, and must be resumed in that of those northern invaders, in the chapters hereafter following, we shall refer our readers to them as they come in course, and proceed now to the history of the antient *Germans*.

C H A P. XII.

The history of the antient Germans, to their breaking into the Roman empire, invasion of Gaul, and expulsion out of it by the Franks.

Germans, their origin.

IT is universally acknowledged, that the farther northward we move from ancient *Gaul*, the more we are in the dark about the nations that inhabited the vast regions beyond the *Rhine* and the *Danube*, which, we have seen in the last chapter, were, in a great measure, the limits between the *Gauls* and them. Nothing is more uncertain than their origin, the countries they came from, and the territories they settled themselves in: antient authors^a commonly confound them under the names of *Celtes*, *Scythians*, and *Celto-Scythians*; and, among them, such a great variety of people are comprehended, that it would be dangerous to apply that to the antient *Germans*, which they write of them under those other names, without some concurring circumstances to confirm it. Yet we may venture to affirm, after no small number of modern^b, and some of the antient writers^c, that they were originally one and the same nation with the *Celtes* and *Gauls*, and both descended from the antient *Gomerians*, or descendants of *Gomer*, the eldest son of *Japhet*. Only the *Germans* were very much intermixed with the old *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*, on that side which joined with their territories, and particularly, as we hinted in the last chapter, between the two great rivers *Rhine* and *Danube*^d: and these, no doubt, had adopted a great many of their customs among them, as well as intermingled some of their language with their own; but in all other parts of *Germany* we find such an exact conformity in their religion, laws, customs, and (what may appear still more surprising to the generality of readers, but has been fully proved by some of the modern authors last quoted) in their very language^e, as leaves scarce any room to doubt but that they were descended from the same antient stock with the *Celtes* or *Gauls*, and came, by gradual migrations, from *Asia*, as we have already shewn these did, both in a former volume, and at the entrance of the last chapter^f. The truth is, as *Pliny* rightly observes^g, that the *Germans* were little known to the *Romans*, or, indeed, to any but their very neighbours, till a long time after the coming of *M. Agrippa* into those parts; and many things which even *Tacitus* has written of them, pretendedly from their own relation, are apparently fabulous: so that we must

^a Ibid. p. 270, pass.

^b Ibid. p. 283, 350, 353, & seq. 494, c, f. 514, s, & seq.

^c CÆSAR.

Comment. TACIT. PLIN. STRAB. JUSTIN. ex. Trog. & al. See also, vol. ii. p. 241, & seq.

^d CLUVER. BO-

CHART. PHALEG. PEZRON. Antiq. Celt. Relig. des Gaul. PELLOUTIER. Hist. Celt. CALMET. Comment. in Genes. & al.

^e JOSEPH. Antiq. l. i. c. 7. EUSTAT. ANTIOCH. in Hexamet. HIERON. tradit. Hebr. JOS. BEN GOR. ap. BOCHART. ISIDOR. ORIG. EUSEB. CÆSAR. Chronic. ZONAR. & al.

^f See ch. xi. p. 344, t, c.

^g PELLOUTIER. Hist. Celt. l. i. c. 15. p. 165, & seq. PEZRON. Antiq. Celt. KEYZLER. Antiq. Septentr. pass.

^h See before, vol. ii. p. 253. section 1. p. 1, & seq.

ⁱ N. Hist. l. iv. c. 28.

- a fetch our intelligence from another quarter, even from those moderns who have with indefatigable pains endeavoured to strike light out of darkness: among whom, besides those already mentioned, we may add two celebrated ones, *viz.* *Renner* and *Majcov*, whose curious discoveries, in many points, have added no small evidence to those who had written before them on this head. So that, abating the almost unavoidable fondness with which they have all of them endeavoured to give the preference to their own nation, in point of antiquity, into the merit of which it is not our business to enter, unless we could do it with greater certainty than the subject will possibly admit of; we may venture to follow them as sure guides in other respects. If the evidence seems to lean on one side more than the other, we should
- b conclude it to be on that of the *Gauls*, not only as their origin can be more clearly traced from the antient *Gomerians*, as we have formerly seen; but as they are found seated in the best and noblest climate of the two, whilst the *Germans*, as a younger branch, were, perhaps, forced to spread themselves towards the more northern and inclement parts of *Europe*, till length of time gave them an opportunity of crossing the *Rhine*, and possessing themselves of the southern provinces, as we have seen they did, at the close of the last chapter, and shall farther shew at the sequel of this.

- How this country came to be called *Germany*, and its inhabitants *Germans*, is not *Namus* easy to guess; the reader may see the various conjectures about its etymon in the following note (A): but it is plain, it was not their original name, but is of a more
- c modern date, and seems to have had its rise on the other side of the *Rhine*, when the *Condrusi*, *Eburones*, *Cerafi*, and *Pamani*, crossed that river, after the example of some others of their countrymen, and went to settle in *Gaul*. These, it seems, were the first to whom the name of *Germans* was given, and which therefore extended no further than the *Rhenish* shore on the *Gallie* side, but soon after passed over to the other, and became common to other nations of the same original language and customs, till at length it became the general name of the whole nation, and the country called, from them, *Germania*, or *Germany*^b. But whether it was given to them by the *Gauls* on their coming over to their assistance against the *Romans*, or by these on account of the affinity of their religion and customs, or, lastly, whether
- d assumed by them on their settling themselves among the *Gauls*, and claiming by it a kindred to them, we will not venture to determine. One thing is plain, that it is not of *Dutch* extract; so that if they really called themselves by it, as *Tacitus* says they did, it is surprising it should not have been rather preserved by them, and handed to us in their own language. If we may be allowed to offer a conjecture as to their primitive and general name, both from what we have observed from their original descent from the antient *Gomerians* or *Celts*, and from several monuments they have left in several parts of *Germany*, especially towards the north, such as *Cimbrica Cbersonesus*, and such-like; it is not improbable, that they called themselves *Cimri*, or *Cymbri*, which is but a harsher pronunciation of the original *Gomerai*: *Cimbri* probably the oldest inhabitants of
- e for these *Cimbri* are allowed to have been an antient, if not the antientest people of *Germany*, and inhabited a very considerable part of that country. We have already hinted, that they gave their name to the *Cimbrica Cbersonesus*, which was a kind of *Germany*.

^a Antiq. Germ. hist. Ant. Germ. Engl. by LEDIARD.

(A) It is not easy to determine whether this word be of *Celtic* or *Roman* extract; if the latter, it must have been given by the *Gauls*, either on account of their nearness of kindred to them, or of that frequent assistance they called upon them for, against the domineering *Romans*, of which we have spoken in the conclusion of the last chapter. *Tacitus*, indeed, thinks they were called so by other nations, on account of their similitude of religion, manners, &c. with the *Gauls* (1): but though this resemblance was really true, in fact, yet the etymon itself seems too far fetched and strained.

The other, which makes it of *Celtic* extract, is, indeed, much more natural, *Ger* and *man*, in that antient tongue, signifying a warlike or martial man, as, indeed, it is plain, that the *Germans*, as well as

Gauls, did highly value themselves on that account. They were likewise known by another name, *viz.* that of *Allemani*, which, though supposed to have been given them by the *Gauls*, or *French*, because only preserved by them, who still call them *Allemani*, and their country *Alemanie*, and *Alamagne*, and, as is pretended, on account of their intermixing, after *Marobedunus's* retreat, with strolers of all nations; yet to us that name appears to be rather of *German* extract, and signifies nearly the same as *Ger-man*, that is, altogether warlike: and this name may have been carried thither either by those *Germans* who went thither to assist the *Gauls* against the *Romans*, or by those who at length conquered that country, and are better known by the name of *Franks*.

(1) *Mer. Germ. sub init.*

peninsula extending from the mouth of the river *Elbe* into the north sea¹: and if they really were the same, as they were antiently supposed, with the *Cimmerians* that inhabited the countries about the *Palus Maotis*, and *Posidonius* seems to confirm it, from the great likeness of their names², they must have spread themselves vastly along that northern tract. We are, moreover, told, by *Strabo* and *Livy*, that the *Cimbri* alone penetrated into *Noricum* and *Illyricum*, and, about the 640th year of the *Roman æra*, defeated the consul *Papyrius Carbo* near *Noreia*³. Some years after, they sent an embassy to *Rome*, to desire the senate to assign them lands to inhabit in, in consideration of which they would serve them in their future wars. Their suit being denied, gave occasion to a bitter war which they waged against them, in conjunction with the *Figurini*, of which we shall have further occasion to speak, and which is only hinted here, to shew how powerful and numerous they were by this time, and how, probably, they were some branch of the old *Gomerai*, and the antientest inhabitants of *Germany*. We shall see, in the sequel, their valour, and various fortunes, against the *Romans*, *Gauls*, and other nations. As for those who remained in their native country, or returned thither after their defeat, they, in time, joining in their excursions with the *Saxons*, who likewise inhabited some parts of the forementioned peninsula, it is supposed, that they became so blended with them, that their name was swallowed up in that of *Saxon*, so that nothing was retained of it but the denomination of *Cimbrica*, which was still given both to their country, and to the sea that surrounded it. The name of *Allemani* and *Alamanni*, still retained by the *French*, we have spoken of under the last note; that of *Teutones*, from which their present one of *Teutschen*, or *Dutch*, is thought to be derived, is another by which they were antiently known, and is of a much older date than that of *Germans*, but the etymon of which is not easily guessed at, unless we fetch it from the *Celtic Theut*, as we shall shew further in the sequel. These, according to *Mela*^m, antiently inhabited the neighbouring coasts and islands of the east, or *Baltic* sea; but growing too numerous for those narrow territories, the most daring part went, with their wives and families, to seek new settlements in other countries; but when, and where, is not easy to guess (B). We shall see them, in the sequel of this history, often joined with the *Cimbri*, *Cimbrones*, and others, and making excursions into *Gaul*, *Italy*, and *Spain*, till at length a number of them, who were left to guard the heavy baggage along the *Rhine*, being greatly harrassed on all sides, fought their way quite to *Belgic Gaul*, where they settled, and became, in time, known by the name of *Atuatici*^a.

Teutones.

Atuatici in
Belgia.

Thus much shall suffice for the most noted common names of the antient *Germans*. A vast variety of others they had, according to their particular tribes, cantons, kingdoms, and commonwealths, which being in a continual fluctuation, as they were continually either warring and jostling each other out of their habitations, or were jostled out of them by the *Gauls*, who were frequently throwing in new colonies over the *Rhine*, sometimes penetrating as far as the *Hercynian* forest, at others spreading themselves far and wide, along the sides of it, and beyond; in so much that, as we observed in the last chapter, there was scarcely a country from that river to the east sea, or the most northern verge, but had some of that nation either intermixed with the *Germans*, or settled in some territories between them; it were labour lost to endeavour to fix their different abodes, or even to offer any conjectures about them, or of their various governments, laws, and manner of life. They, like the *Gauls*, never committed any thing to writing concerning either that or their own history, and were still more unknown than they, both to the *Romans* and *Greeks*, even in their very names, till the times that, by intercourse with, or by their wars against the former, they became, by degrees, more and more known unto them, and their names, countries, and history, recorded by their writers. In

¹ *Cæs. Comm. l. ii. c. 4.* *TACIT. Germ. c. 2.* See *MASCOR. ubi supra, l. i. c. 6.*
in *Mario.* ² *Apud STRAB. l. vii.*

³ *Liv. epit. STRABO, l. v.*

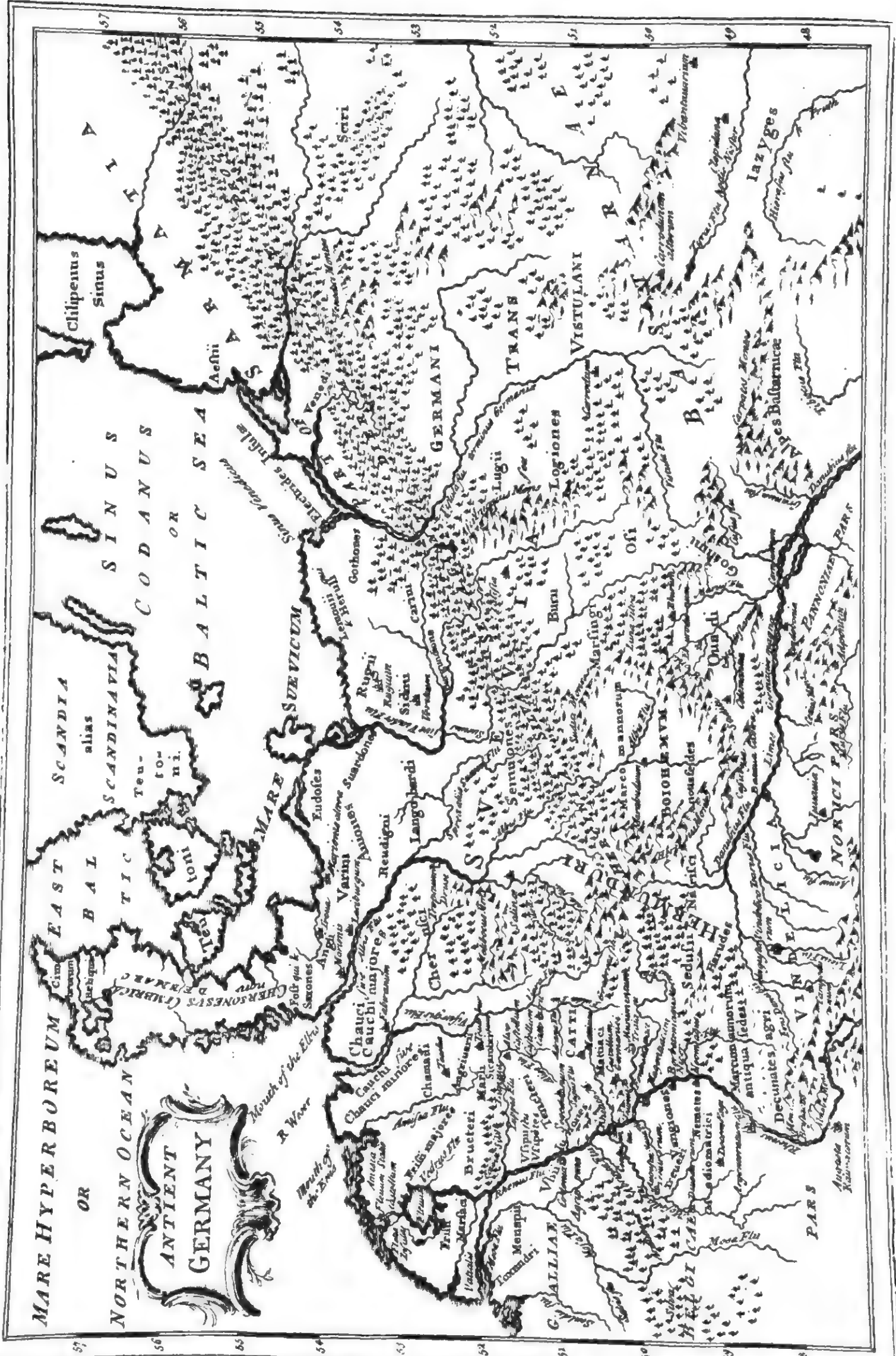
^m *Vide PLUTARCH. l. iii.*

(B) According to one author, they joined with the *Cimbri*, and, having crossed the *Rhine*, invaded some of the *Gaulish* territories (a); but we have seen, a little higher, out of *Livy* and *Strabo*, that the *Cimbri* had long enough before invaded some of those pro-

vinces, then under the *Roman* yoke, and had settled themselves in them: so that it is not easy to determine whether this *Teutonic* expedition tell upon *Gaul*, *Italy*, or any still more distant regions.

(a) *Vel. Patensul. l. ii. c. 8.* *Vide Cæs. comment. l. ii. c. 19.*

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a our settling, therefore, the confines of *Germany*, and of those cantons and territories which each different nation of that vast tract of ground possessed, we shall go no further back than the epocha in which they became fully known to them.

We took notice in the preceding chapter, that the *Rhine*, according to the *Roman* authors, divided the ancient *Gauls* from the *Germans* on the west, and the *Danube* on the south; the *Hercynian* forest, at that time reckoned impenetrable, confined them on the north, and the *German* and northern ocean on the north-west, and *Scythia* and *Sarmatia* on the east, where they were as much intermixed with those two nations, as they were on the west with the *Gauls*, and where it is still more difficult to fix their boundaries, by reason of their constant fluctuation, and change of abode, as they so frequently invaded and drove each other out of them. *The extent and limits of Germany.*

b Of those several nations which the *Romans* reckoned of *German* extract, we shall have the less to say in this chapter, because we have given as full an account of them as could be extracted out of those ancient writers in a former volume, to which we shall refer, as we go on, in enumerating them, that the reader may readily find all that can be known of them, and the authorities there referred to for what is said of them. We have already spoken of the *Cimbri*, and their neighbours the *Saxons*, who inhabited the *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, on the other side the *Elbe*. On this side that river were the *Chauci*, upper and lower, who were divided from each other by the *Visurgis*, now the *Veſer*; their country contained what is now called *Bremen* and *Lunenburgh*, *Friezland* and *Groningben*; and the upper had the *Cherusci*, and the lower the *Chamavi* on the south-east, and the *German* ocean on the north-west. *The Chauci.* The *Frisii*, upper and lower, were divided from the lower *Chauci* by the river *Amisæ*, *Frisii.* now *Ems*; and from each other by an arm of the *Rhine*. Their country still retains the name of *Friezland*, and is divided into east and west; but the latter of the two is now dismembered from *Germany*, and is one of the seven united provinces: from them were parted by the *Isela*, now *Isel*, the country of the *Bructeri*, since called *Brockmerland*, and the *Marſi*, situate about the river *Lupia*, or *Luppe*, of whom *Bructeri, Marſi and Uſipii.* we have also formerly given an account. On the other side of that river were the *Uſipii*, or *Uſpeter*, but these were famed for often changing their habitation, and *Uſipii.* are therefore found in other territories; the *Tenſteri* were next to them, and next to these the *Jubones*, or inhabitants of *Juliers*, between the *Maese* and the *Rhine*: the *Cotti*, another ancient warlike people, who inhabited part of *Hesse* and *Thuringia*, from the *Hartzian* mountains to the *Rhine* and *Weſer*, and of whom we have formerly spoken; among whom were comprehended the *Mattiaci*, whose capital was called from them *Mattiacum*, by some taken to be *Marpurgh*, and by others *Baden*, on account of its hot waters. Next to them were the *Sedusii*, bordering upon *Swabia*; *Narisei*, or ancient inhabitants of *Northgow*, whose capital is the famed city of *Nuremberg*; and the *Marcomani*, whose country anciently reached from the *Rhine* to the head of the *Danube*, and to the *Neckar*: here were the famed *Agri decumales*, so called, among other reasons, for their being taxed a tenth part of their produce by the *Romans*. The *Marcomani* afterwards went and settled in *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, under their general *Maroboduus*, and some of them in *Gaul*, whence they drove the *Boii*, who had feared themselves there.

c On this side the *Rhine*, between that river and the *Mosa*, or *Maese*, were the *Ubii*, who were brought over by *Agrippa*. Their metropolis was *Colonia Agrippina*, so called from the empress of that name, who founded it, and now *Cologne*; and next to them the *Tungri*, which are supposed to be the same whom *Cæſar* calls *Eburones* and *Condrusi*, and whose metropolis, then called *Attematica*, is since known by the name of *Tongres*. Higher up from them, and on the other side of the *Mosel*, *Uſipii.* were the *Treviri*, whose capital was *Augusta Trevirorum*, now *Triers* (C); next to them

* *CÆSAR. Comm. l. ii. c. 29.*

† See before, vol. v. p. 319, d. 366, (H).

‡ Ibid. p. 374, (C).

§ Ibid. p. 33, c. 370, (Q).

¶ Ibid. p. 122, (B). 370, (S).

‡ Ibid. p. 372, (T).

¶ See ibid.

p. 373, (W).

¶ Ibid. p. 313, (E).

¶ Ibid. p. 122, a. 364, (D). 366, a, (F).

(C) As *Germany* came to be divided into *Primo* and *Secunda*, the former being that which was nearest the *Alps*, the *Treviri* have been supposed to have belonged to it (3), as they boasted themselves of

German extraction; but this is much questioned by others, who rather think, that they, with some others who obtained their liberty, and are by *Pliny* (4) called *libera civitates*, were excluded from that

(3) *Bocherius, Belg. Rom. l. i. c. 12.*

(4) *Nat. Hist. l. iv.*

them were the *Tribocci*, *Nemetes*, and *Vangiones*; the former dwelt in *Alsatia*, and a their metropolis was called *Argentina*, and *Argentoratum*, now *Straßburg*. The others lived in the cities of *Worms*, *Spire*, and *Moguntia*, now *Mentz*. Those three, besides the *Treviri* mentioned in the last note, made the *Germania prima*; and those below them the *Germania secunda*, and reached as far as the *Maes* and lower *Rhine*, and was divided from *Belgia* by the *Demer* and *Scheld*, which latter has always divided the sees of *Liege* and *Cambray*. The *Mediomatrici* were situate along the *Mosel*, about the city of *Metz* in *Lorraine*; above them, on the same river *Rhine*, were seated the *Raurici*, called also *Rauraci*, and *Kauriaci*, another ancient German nation, who inhabited that part of *Helvetia*, or *Switzerland*, about *Basil*: their capital was *Rauracum*, or *Augusta Rauracorum* ⁷.

Vindelici. BETWEEN the heads of the *Rhine* and of the *Danube*, were seated the antient kingdoms of *Vindelicia*, whose capital was called *Augusta Vindelicorum*, now *Augsburg* ⁸; and below it, along the banks of the same river, those of *Noricum* and *Pannonia*, the former of which was divided into *Noricum Ripense* and *Mediterraneum*, and contained a great part of the provinces of *Austria*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, *Tyrol*, *Bavaria*, and some others of less note ⁹; and the latter the kingdom of *Hungary*, divided into upper and lower, and extending from *Illyricum* to the *Danube* and the mountains *Cætii*, in the neighbourhood of *Vindebona*, now *Vienna*, the metropolis of *Austria* ¹⁰. On the other side of the *Danube*, which was more properly called *Germany*, and *Germania magna*, besides the *Marcomans* (D), whom we have mentioned above as more properly situate between the *Rhine* and it, were the *Hermunduri*, whose country ran northwards from it, and extended itself along the *Hercynian* mountains quite up to the river *Sala*. These possessed, particularly, the country now called *Misnia*, in *Upper Saxony*, though some make their territories to have extended much farther, and to have reached quite to, and even beyond the kingdom of *Bohemia*. On the other side those mountains was the abovementioned kingdom of *Boiobemum*, now *Bohemia* ¹¹, once one of the seats of the *Boii*; and beyond them, north of the *Danube*, was another seat of the *Marcomani* along the river *Albis*, now *Elbe*; from which they spread themselves into *Bohemia*, and drove the *Boii* out of it, as we hinted a little higher: we have spoken of these in a former volume, to which we refer the reader ¹². The *Quadi* were situate next to *Bohemia*: their territories extended from the *Danube* to *Moravia*, and the northern part of *Austria* ¹³; these are likewise comprehended under the antient name of *Suevi*, part of whom forced their way into *Spain*, and settled a kingdom there, as hinted under the last note. The **Bastarnæ.** *Bastarnæ* were situate eastward of the *Quadi*, and parted from them by the *Granna*, now *Gran*, a river that falls into the *Danube*, and by the ridge of the *Carpatian* mountains, called from them *Bastarnicæ Alpes*: their country made, indeed, part of the *European Sarmatia*, and so out of the limits of *Germania propria*; but they antiently lived on this side the *Danube*, were concerned with the *Marcomans*, *Quadi*, *Hermunduri*, *Suevi*, and a number of other German nations, in the famed war against *M. Antoninus* ¹⁴, and are accounted of German extract by *Pliny* ¹⁵; and it was not till the reign of *Probus* that they were transplanted over the *Danube* thither by that emperor, to repeople those countries which were become desolate by the wars and pestilence. These soon conformed to the *Roman* laws, and became one nation with the other inhabitants of that country ¹⁶. We have formerly taken notice of that colony of them which was settled in *Thrace* by *Probus* ¹⁷; but where the original seat

⁷ See *Mascov.* l. iii. c. 5.

⁸ See vol. vi. p. 290, d.

⁹ Vol. v. p. 4, (C). p. 313, (E).

¹⁰ Ibid.

p. 314, sub not.

¹¹ Ibid. p. 317, (F).

¹² Ibid. p. 313, (E).

¹³ Ibid. p. 334, (S).

¹⁴ Ibid.

p. 396, (O).

¹⁵ *JUL. CAPITOL.* in vit. Marc. c. 22.

¹⁶ *Nat. hist.* l. iv. c. 28.

¹⁷ *VOPISCUS*

in vit. Probi, c. 18.

division (5). The other cities mentioned by that author were those of the *Nervii*, *Suessones*, *Sylvanectes*, and *Leuci*; those on the other hand of the *Rhemi* and *Lingones* in *Gaul*, that is, of the provinces of *Rheims* and *Champagne*, he there calls *civitates federatæ*.

The *Treviri*, however, became in time the principal nation of *Belgica prima*.

(D) These, the *Quadi*, and some others we shall have occasion to mention, were of that tribe of

antient Germans known by the name of *Suevi*: they antiently possessed a considerable part of *Germany*, that is, the greatest part of it from the *Rhine* to the *Elbe*; but, in process of time, some of them removed more northward, and settled along the *Danube*, whilst another part went into *Spain*, and formed a kingdom there, as we shall shew in a subsequent chapter.

(5) *Vide Mascov.* l. iii. c. 5.

a of them was before their removal, is not easy to guess; it has been, for that reason; much questioned whether they were of *German* or *Sarmatian* extract: we, however, quoted *Pliny* in favour of the former opinion, who in another place makes them one of the five principal tribes of the *German* nation¹. We may add to his evidence that of *Strabo*, who plainly distinguishes them from the *Sarmatians*; and that of *Tacitus*, who ranks them among the former². We read of their assisting *Perseus* and *Mithridates* against the *Romans*³, but after their conquest by the latter, we hear no more of them by that name; probably the remainder of them united with the *Goths*, and as for those who stayed in their native country, if any such there were, they were, in all likelihood, blended with those *Picinigi*, or *Patzinice*, which we find b mentioned in the *Byzantine* and *Polish* history, and which *Strabo* and *Tacitus* mention in the place above quoted with the *Bastarnæ* and some other *German* tribes⁴.

BETWEEN those nations we have seen seated along the other side of the *Danube*, and the *Hercynian* forest, were several other antient nations, of whom we know little more than their names, and about whose exact situation we are quite in the dark: such as the *Martingi*, *Burii*, *Borades*, *Lygii*, or *Logiones*, and some others, who are Burii. placed by our geographers along the forest abovementioned, between the *Danube* and the *Vistula*. The *Burii* are reckoned the same with the *Borades*, and are mentioned as assistants to the *Marcomani* in their war against *M. Antoninus*; and the *Lygii*, or *Logiones*, as assisting *Vibullius*, king of the *Hermunduri*, against the haughty *Vannius*, king of the *Suevi*: and their bordering one upon another is collected from a passage of *Pliny* which places the latter between the *Danube* and the forest abovementioned⁵, but with no sufficient exactness to lead us to the right situation of either: only the *Silesian* historians affirm, that the *Lygii*, and part of the *Quadi*, remained still in their own original country⁶. The last we shall mention on this side the *Hercynian* forest, were the famed *Ratii*, now *Grisons*, who were seated on the Ræti. *Alps*: their country, which was antiently called *Western Illyricum*, was divided into *Rætia prima*, or *propria*, and *secunda*, and was then of a much larger extent, spreading itself towards *Swabia*, *Bavaria*, and *Austria*. This country, and that of *Noricum*, and others, became a *Roman* province, and belonged to the kingdom of d the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*; but upon the declension of it they fell under the dominion of the *Franks*, about which time the name of *Bavarians* first became noted in history⁷.

On the other side of the *Hercynian* forest were the antient seats of the *Suevi*, whom we have shewn above to have been an old tribe of *Germans* (E), and spread themselves from the *Vistula* to the *Elbe*, and beyond, though they in time did, at least a great part of them, either penetrate through that forest, or wind themselves about it, and came and settled in the more pleasant southern parts of *Europe*, such as *Belgium*, *Gaul*, and even *Spain*, as shall be seen in the sequel. The most famous of these were the *Longobardi*, so called, according to some, on account of their wearing e long beards; but, according to others, on account of their consisting of two nations, viz. the *Bardi* and *Lingones*; these dwelt along the river *Elbe*, and bordered southward on the *Chauci*, mentioned a little higher, and both these were reduced by *Tiberius*, as we have shewn in a former volume⁸. But the *Longobardi*, having passed the *Danube*, invaded and defeated the *Heruli*⁹, did afterwards cross the *Alps*, and settle in *Italy*, where they founded the kingdom of *Lombardy*¹⁰, and, in process of time, quite forgot their antient *German*, and adopted that of *Italy*¹¹. The *Burgundi* *Burgundi* are the next of note. *Pliny* affirms them likewise of *German* extract, and

¹ Vol. vi. p. 201, d. p. 215, d. Nat. hist. l. ii. c. 4.

² Geogr. l. iii. p. 306. Mor. Germ.

c. 46.

³ Vide PLUTARCH. in vit. Æmil. APPIAN. de bell. Mithrid. p. 365.

⁴ See LEDIARD,

vol. ii. add. xxx. p. 389.

⁵ H. N. l. iv. c. 25.

⁶ Vide inter al. HANKIUM de major. Silesior. c. 21.

MASCOV. l. xi. § 21.

⁷ See before, vol. v. p. 313, & seq. and notes.

⁸ Ibid. 334, b. (R).

⁹ See

before, vol. vi. p. 391, d. e.

¹⁰ Ibid. 532, a.

¹¹ Vide GIANNON. hist. Neapol. p. 294. MASCOV. l. xv. c. 14.

(E) At least we find them so styled by *Pliny*, and other antient authors: but we must here remind our readers of what has been heretofore occasionally observed with respect to those authors, that they so often confound the *Celts* and *Scythians*, that it is not easy to guess whether those antient *Suevi* or *Germans*, whom they allow to be of *Celtic* extract, were really so, or of *Scythian* breed. But from the nearer likeness of manners, language, &c. to the latter, one

would be more apt to think they derived their original from them. However, the truth seems to be, that both *Celts* and *Scythians* were in all these parts so intermixed and blended together, especially from the *Rhine* eastward and northward, that all those antient *Germans* bid fair to be the offspring of that mixture, rather than of either *Scythic* or *Celtic* original properly so called.

Semnones.

Æstii, and their
amber trade.

ranks them with the *Vindili*, *Varini*, *Carini*, *Guttones* and *Ingevones*, which last he makes to have been a mixed people, partly *Cimbria*, partly *Teutonic*, and partly *Chauci*. It were labour lost to inquire after their original seat (F), but it is plain they were, like their other neighbours, inticed to exchange it for a better; and, having penetrated first into *Germany*, where they assisted *Valentinian* against the *Alemanii*, they afterwards crossed the *Rhine*, and settled in *Gaul*, where they founded a kingdom in that province which still retains the name of *Burgundia*, as we shall shew in some of the subsequent chapters. The *Semnones*, likewise, left their old habitation, and settled about the *Lionnois* in *Gaul*: we find them seated about the *Elbe*, in *Tiberius's* time, and, in conjunction with the *Hermunduri* and other *Germans*, bravely striving to obstruct his crossing that river^a; but at what time they passed from thence into *Gaul*, is not easy to guess; but they fell upon one of the most fruitful parts of that kingdom, and there grew so rich and considerable, that they are thought to have been called *Semnones* on that very account, it being an old *Celtic* word, which signifies opulent and venerable (G), as we have had occasion to shew in the history of the *Gauls*^b. These three were the most noted nations on the other side the *Hercynian* forest, to which we shall only add the names of some others, though scarcely known to us by any thing else: such are the *Aviones*, *Reudigni*, *Eudoles*, and *Swardones*, whom we find placed between the *Elbe* and the *Sarvus*, or *Viader*, on the north of the *Longobardi*; the *Rugii*, *Lemnovii*, *Haruli*, *Gebiones*, or *Gotbini*, the *Sidui* *Carini*, between the last-mentioned river and the *Vistula*: as for the *Angli*, *Saxi*, *Goths*, *Huns*, &c. they will be spoken of in some of the following chapters. But before we pass further, we must not omit the country of the *Æstii*, an ancient tribe of the *Suevi*, who inhabited along the coasts of the east sea (H), so famed for the great plenty of amber that was found there, especially along those of *Prussia*, and for the vast quantity that was fetched from thence both by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, of which we find particular mention in most ancient authors, such as *Herodotus*^c, *Diodorus Siculus*^d, *Pylheas Massiliensis*, as quoted by *Pliny*^e, but especially by *Tacitus*^f, who has given us a very curious description of

^a Ubi supra, l. iv. c. 28.^b See before, p. 350, c.^c MARCELLIN. l. xviii. c. 5.^d L. iii. c. 15.^e Bihl. l. v.^f VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 106.^g N. H. l. xxxvii.^h Mon.

(F) Some have imagined the *Burgundi* and *Burgundiones* to have been two different people, but without any probability, since they are mentioned by some ancient authors as the same nation, though under those two different names; and that is, *Marcellinus* calls them *Burgundi*, whom *St. Jerom* and *Orosius* call *Burgundiones*.

(G) Some have, indeed, sought the etymon of this name from the *Greek*, and think they were so called from the word *Ξένος*, stranger, new-comer; on account of their being some of the last *German* nations that came over the *Rhine* into *Gaul* (8). Accordingly, a *Roman* historian tells us (9), that they were the very last of all the strangers that came thither. *Servius*, indeed, thinks they were at first called *Ξένος*, and afterwards *Ξένωνες*, because they received *Bacchus* into their country.

But if we must have recourse to the *Greek*, would not the word *Ξένος* afford us a better etymon, as it is more like the name of the ancient *Semnones* than that of *Senones* or *Xenones*? We read of *Semna myseria*, and *Semnai theai*, in which the word implies something venerable or awful, and might be either taken up by the *Semnonic* tribe, or given them by their neighbours, either on account of their opulence, or the great sway they bore above the rest, all which doth well agree with their history. But we would rather chuse to stick to the *Celtic*, which doth still more closely square to it than to the *Greek*, which, how like soever to it in most things, doth yet sometimes deviate from the original design and meaning, especially as to such appellatives as this we are upon:

and if we observe, that in several provinces of *Gaul*, even to this day, the natives never pronounce an *m* before an *n*, but like a *nn*, we may perhaps find out the most probable etymon for the words *senex*, *senatus*, *senator*, *senior*, *seniorato*, *seneschal*, *carta senica*, and many others of the like import, in which the *m* was gradually absorbed into *nn*, and this last softened into a single one.

(H) So called, in all probability, from their inhabiting those coasts of the east sea, containing part of *Prussia*, *Courland*, and *Livonia*. These, as well as their neighbours the *Gotbini*, were not unknown to *Tacitus*, who has given us a succinct description of their religion, customs, and language; in all which they differed so little from the *Celts*, or old *Gauls*, that we may take it as a further proof, that the ancient *Germans* and they were but distinct branches of the same nation, as we observed at the beginning of this and the last chapter. What is still more observable is, that our author tells us, that their language differed but little from the old *British*, that is, from the old *Celtic* or *Gomerian*; the *Britons*, who were a branch of these, or rather the same nation, under a different name, that was given them on account of their painting their bodies, the word *Brū*, in the old *Celtic*, signifying the same as *Paint* or painted, and both *Britons* and *Gomerians* retaining the same tongue not only then, but even to this day, as we have had frequent occasion to observe, both in the last chapter, and in the history of the ancient *Celts* (10).

⁽⁸⁾ Vide *Flacc. fest.* vol. ii. p. 253, v.⁽⁹⁾ *Tit. Liv. histor. l. v. c. 35.*⁽¹⁰⁾ See before, p. 331, & seq. and

it,

- a it, as well as of these *Æstii*, who gathered and sold it to them. These, he says, worshipped the mother of the gods, and placed such confidence in her safeguard, that they scarcely knew the use of iron weapons, or any other sort but cudgels. They were more industrious than the rest of the *Germans* in cultivating their corn and other fields, and dived into the seas and rivers for amber, which is a commodity peculiar to them, and which was of little use to them, except to sell it to strangers, rough and unwrought, as they gathered it. He then goes on in describing the nature of that wonderful gum, according to the notion they then had of it, which we need not here dwell upon, but from which, as well as from what other ancient authors have writ of it, we may infer, that it was in very high esteem in those days.
- b In *Nero's* reign, by which time the *Romans* had wholly set aside the thoughts of conquering *Germany*, one of that emperor's favourites persuaded him to send thither a kind of embassy to buy it there upon the spot, and at the first hand^f. The thing was accordingly done, and the *Roman* knight, who was at the head of this expedition, setting out from *Carnuntum*, a fortress on the banks of the *Danube* (l), arrived at the place, and met with a kind reception from the *Æstii*, from whom he bought and brought away, according to *Salinus*^g, 13000 pounds weight of that commodity; which was designed, it seems, by one of their kings, as a present to the emperor; and among it there was a piece which must have been of very great value, if it be true, what another author affirms, that it weighed alone thirteen pounds^h. We find
- c in *Cassiodorus*, a letter sent by *Theodoric*, king of the *Goths*, to the *Æstii*, wherein he thanks them for a noble parcel they had sent to him of the same precious drugⁱ; and wherein he promises them his friendship, which, it seems, they were endeavouring to obtain by this embassy, and valuable present. By this letter it should seem, that the inhabitants were wholly ignorant whence it came, and how it was formed; for so their ambassadors told that monarch; and added, that the sea threw it upon their coasts. These *Æstii* were still famed among other *German* nations on the east sea, in the time of *Charles the great*^k. We read of the *Scirri*, *Hirri*, *Gallindi*, and *Sudeni*, in *Ptolemy*, which some have endeavoured to prove were to be reckoned among the *Æstii*^l, or ancient inhabitants of *Prussia*, but with very little likelihood: as for the name of *Prussia*, it is of much more recent date, as shall be seen in the modern part of this work. All that needs be added, with respect to the *Æstii*, is, that they were at length conquered; with some other nations, by *Ermanaric*, king of the *Goths*^m.

ON this side the *Æstii*, and, as is supposed, near the mouth of the *Vistula*, now *Weychseł*, were the *Gepidæ*; and farther north, on the coasts of the east sea, between these and the *Æstii*, were the *Cbaiboni*. It is not easy to determine whether these two were of *German*, *Scythic*, or *Gothic* extract: the *Gepidæ* are indeed affirmed to be *Germans* by some ancient authorsⁿ; but we have had frequent occasion to observe, that they frequently confound those nations, so that we cannot readily depend upon them: were we allowed to offer a conjecture of our own, we should rather think

e them of *Celtic* origin. We have already observed, in the *Gaulish* history, that the *Celtes* had spread themselves towards the farthestmost parts of the north, as the *Cimbrians* in the *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, and the *Teutones* (K) in the islands adjacent: and, indeed,

Gepidæ, their extract, and kingdom.

^f See *PLINY* nat. hist. l. xxvii. c. 3.

^g *POLYBIUS* c. 33.

^h *PLINY* ubi supra.

ⁱ *Varia*.

l. v. epist. 2.

^k *EGINHARD* in vit. Carol. Mag. c. 12.

^l Vide *HARTENOK* Prof. A. & M. part 1.

c. 1.

^m *JORNAND* hist. Goth. l. iv.

ⁿ Vide *PROCOR* de bell. Vind. l. i. c. 2. & *MASCOW* l. x. c. 6.

l. xi. c. 21.

(l) *Carnuntum* was a fortress in *Upper Pannonia*, on the same side with *Vienna*, and was a kind of boundary between the frontiers of the *Germans* and *Pannonians* (11). If, therefore, this embassy set out from thence, as our author affirms, and it be very unlikely they should sail up the *Danube*, and down the *Rhine*, in order to coast it round to the *Prussian* coasts; it may be inferred, that the *Hercynian* forest must have had some passage cut across, for them to go thither by land: and as we are told they passed through the country of the *Guthiones*, or *Gothini*, in their way thither, we may conclude it probable, that

they sailed down the *Vistula*, at the very mouth of which were the *Electride insula*, or *Amber islands*, so called from that commodity being either gathered upon those coasts, or brought thither as to a mart by the *Æstii*.

(K) We have already hinted some conjectures concerning the etymon of that word, at the entrance of this chapter, and in a former volume, in speaking of the *Tirani*. The old *Celtes* boasted themselves sprung from the god *Thesus*, or *Mercury*, whom *Cæsar* calls *Dis* (12), the name of that deity after his death, or *apothefus*, as we shewed in the last chapter;

(11) Vide *Isner. Ant. Plin.* l. iv. c. 12.

(12) *Comm.* l. vi. c. 18.

indeed, it seems as if those ancient *Gomerians* were either elbowed by new-comers, a farther and farther northwards, as our *Welsh* were here in *England*; or, if we suppose them to have been *Celtic* colonies, sent afterwards in search of new habitations, as they were often forced to do for want of room, that they found the more temperate parts already so well inhabited, that they were forced to take up with such climates as they found still uninhabited by reason of their extreme coldness. In either case the *Cimbrians*, *Teutones*, *Gepidæ*, *Cbaiboni*, and *Æstii*, being found all in one line, and under the same climate, may, probably enough, have been all of the same extract, considering the conformity of their manners, language, &c. but we only offer this as a conjecture. Of the *Cbaiboni*, indeed, we know but little, except what we read of their invading *Gaul* in the time of *Dioclesian*°, and of their being b totally routed by *Constantine the great* P. The *Gepidæ* are famed in history for having reared themselves into an early kingdom, and extending their territories into *Pannonia*, and taking the famed city of *Sirmium*, or *Sirmish*, from the emperor *Marcian*(L); as likewise for their wars with the *Goths*, *Burgundians*, and especially the *Romans*¹, for their invasion of *Germany* and *Belgia*, and for the terrible havock they made in both, in conjunction with the *Quadi*, *Vandals*, and other northern nations, of which *St. Jerom* gives us a particular and dreadful account², as may be seen by the abstract in the margin (M). They kept themselves in possession of all *Dacia*, till the emperor *Justin*'s reign, when, being left in the lurch by that prince, and *Cunemund*, their last king, being overthrown and killed by *Alboin*, king of the c *Longobards*, there was a final end put to their kingdom. The *Abares*, who were allied with *Alboin*, took possession of *Dacia*, and the whole *Gepidæan* nation was so thoroughly dispersed³, as never to recover itself again. Some of them we find accompanying that conqueror's expedition into *Italy*⁴, and the rest went and refuged themselves where they could (N), as we shall see in a subsequent chapter. THUS

The end of it,
and them.

* CL. MAMERTIN. panegy. i. c. 4. & 5.

p. 201, d.

† Epist. ad Ager. de monogam. ep. 92.

Diac. hist. Longobard. l. ii. c. 26.

‡ NAZAR. int. panegy. vet. ix. c. 18.

§ Excerpt. ex MENAND.

¶ See vol. v.

¶ Vide PAUL.

and *Tacitus* *Twiflon* (13); and upon that account did, in all probability, take the name of *Teutates* from him, which, by length of time, variety of dialects, and of hands, through which it passed, diversified itself into *Teutoni*, *Teutones*, *Teutonarii*, *Teutobodi*, *Teutofagi*, *Taurisci*, *Tausantii*, *Tudescei*, and *Teutschei*, which two last names they still retain in *Germany* and *Italy*.

That this name is very antient, and common to all the *Celts*, we have shewn in the parts of their history above quoted, and we shall beg leave to add a pregnant testimony of it, which is as follows: *Servius* observes, that the city of *Pisa* had received its name from *Pisus*, a king of the *Celts*, who founded it; and presently after, upon the authority of *Cato*, adds, that the *Teutones* were settled in that country long before the *Hebrucei* made themselves masters of it. The city itself, says he, was called *Teuta*, and the inhabitants *Teutæ* (14).

As to the *Teutofagi*, we find a tribe of them in the neighbourhood of *Tholouse* in old *Gaul*, who were surnamed *Volscei*, of whom we spoke in the last chapter. *Cæsar* and *Strabo* mention another tribe, who were seated about the *Hercynian* forest, and make the former of them to be descended from the *Gaulish* (15). We find the *Teutones* and *Teutonarii* spread far and wide about the *Baltic*, and *Scandinavia* had scarcely any other inhabitants but *Teutones*, if we may believe *Pliny* and *Mela* (16). Among the *Gallo-greeks*, or *Galatians*, we find two tribes, one of which had the name of *Teutofagi*, and the other *Teutobodiæci*, or *Teutobogi* (17). The Name of *Taurisci* can hardly come from any other than *Thaur-rich*, the kingdom of *Thaur*, and that of *Tausantii* from *Thaur-lands*, the land of *Thaur*. All these, put together, sufficiently

shew that they were originally, or boasted themselves such, the descendants or subjects of *Thent*, or *Mercury*, once the famed monarch of the greatest part of *Europe* (18).

(L) It seems that emperor had suppressed the annual pension which he had engaged to pay to them; upon which, they, under the conduct of their king *Ardaric*, who had already conquered *Dacia*, passed the *Danube*, and added some part of *Pannonia* to their kingdom. As for *Sirmium*, it was the metropolis of *Lower Pannonia*; and though it was afterwards destroyed by lightning (19), and since then reduced to a mere village by the *Turks*, yet it was celebrated heretofore for two *Arrian* councils held in it under *Constantinus*, viz. AN. 351. and 357. and for being the birth-place of *Probus* (20).

(M) These barbarians broke down, like an inundation, not only on *Upper* and *Lower Germany*, but into *Gaul* likewise, and as far as even *Spain*. In the former they destroyed, among other cities, those of *Strasbourg*, *Spire*, *Worms*, and *Metz*; and in *Belgia* those of *Rheims*, *Amiens*, *Tournay*, *Arras*, and *Throuane*; and carried the inhabitants captive into *Germany*. They likewise ravaged, in a woful manner, the provinces of *Aquitania*, *Lugdunensis*, and *Narbonensis*, and carried off an immense plunder. The rest the reader may find in the letter above quoted.

(N) It is supposed, that the poor remains of the *Gepidæ* took refuge under the emperor *Justinian*, and that he took, upon that account, the title of *Gepidicus*, which we find afterwards added to the imperial ones, as appears by the preamble of some of his successors letters, especially that of *Maurice*, who styles himself there, *Alemanicus*, *Gothicus*, *Ausicus*, *Vandalicus*, *Herulicus*, *Gepidicus*, *Africanus*, &c. (21).

(13) German. c. 2.

c. 24. Geogr. l. xii.

ubi supra.
p. 364. f.

(14) Ad Æneid. x. Vide & Cluver. Ital. antiq. c. 7.

(16) N. H. l. iv. c. 14. De situ, l. iii. c. 3. Vide & Ptolem. l. ii. c. 2.

(18) See before, vol. ii. p. 263, & seq.

(21) See Mascey. l. xiv. c. 3. & 24.

(15) Comm. l. vi.

(17) Strabo,

(20) See vol. vi.

- a THUS much shall serve for the names and situation of the antient *Germans*, according to their different tribes and nations at the time of the *Romans* first invasion of them, as far as a subject so involved in darkness and confusion can be brought into any tolerable light and order. In *Augustus's* reign it was divided into *Germania* Germany, how divided. *Prima* and *Secunda*, that is, *Upper* and *Lower*, as we hinted above, and guarded by eight legions of *Roman* forces, which were, according to custom, employed in making high roads, new fortifications, and other useful works, whenever they were not engaged in the field*. This division seems to have continued till about the time of the emperor *Jovinus*, when, though the constitution still subsisted with regard to *Germania Prima*, yet it was then, in all probability, lost, with respect to *Germania Secunda*, which was by that time become, in a great measure, subject to the *Franks*: for in the *Notitia Imperii*, which is thought to have been written then about, though the state of *Belgica Prima* and *Secunda* be there still intire, yet there is no farther mention of *Germania Secunda*.

- As for the country of *Germany* itself, we have such a dreadful account given us of it, both by *Cæsar* and *Tacitus**, even of those parts of it which lie under a more temperate climate, that one would think it almost incredible that such a brave nation as that would have been contented to live in it, when they wanted neither strength nor courage to have broken their way into others, more pleasant and fruitful. Nor would one be able to know the worst parts of it, as they are now, by the description they give us of the best. According to them, it was barren, uncultivated, and frightful all over; and even its variety of soil and climate added to the horror of it from the dreadful forests, stinking and unwholsome bogs, the inclemency of its winds, dampness of its seas, lakes, and rivers, and harshness of its soil. But as, on the one hand, we must allow for exaggeration in historians, who plainly sought in every thing to magnify their own courage and prowess, by the difficulties and hardships they met with in the conquests of those countries and nations; so we must grant, on the other, that the *Romans* proved the means of cultivating those, till then, barren and inhospitable territories, by cutting down great numbers of forests, draining of wet and marshy grounds, and other such-like improvements as they were able to admit of. So that we need not now tell our readers, that this pretended barrenness and unhealthiness was rather owing to the supineness of the inhabitants, than to any defect in its soil or climate, since we find it now capable of bearing all sorts of grain, vines, fruit, and even foreign plants, in great abundance, and due maturity. And thus far may be owned, that the coming of the *Romans* into *Germany*, as well as into *Gaul*, contributed much to the fertilising and enriching of those two countries, which, till then, had been wholly neglected by both nations, who, as we hinted in the last chapter, thought this, and every occupation, besides the martial trade, too much below their fierce and warlike genius. We are told, in particular, that the emperor *Probus* was the first who permitted vines to be brought into *Gaul* and *Germany*, and to be planted along the *Rhine* and *Mosel*, and other parts† (O). Vines, when first brought thither.

AMONG those many woods and forests with which this country abounded, perhaps, more than any other on this side the *Rhine*, was that famed one called the *Hercynian*, and, by the *Greeks*, *Orcinian* forest, the longest and thickest in *Europe*, and reckoned by *Julius Cæsar* to have extended sixty days journey in length, and nine in breadth. We have given an account of it in a former volume, to which we refer‡: all that we need to add is, that not only this, but all the forests, woods, and groves, in

* BUCHER. Belg. Rom. l. c. c. 12, 17, & 18. in vit. Prob. c. 18.

† M. Germ. c. 2. Comment. l. iii. c. 1.

‡ VORIS.

§ Vol. v. p. 335, (T). 372, (T).

As for the unfortunate *Cannibals*, the use which *Albin* made of his body was, to make a drinking-cup of his skull, a custom descended to them from their barbarous ancestors, of which we have had occasion to speak, in the history of the *Celts* and *Scythians*, and which, it appears by this, was still rise among a vast many nations of their descendants, so many ages after their embracing christianity. As to the *Gepids*, we have nothing to add concerning them, but that they professed *Arianism* in common with the *Goths* (12), as will be seen in some of the following chapters.

(O) An antient author compares this action of his to that of *Hannibal*, who caused olive-trees to be planted in *Africa*, in order to furnish the soldiers with profitable employments in time of peace (23). But if *Probus* knew any thing of that natural propensity which the *German* nation had to strong liquors, one would be apt to think he had something more in his view than the bare finding out proper employment for them, when he introduced the juice of the grape among them (24).

(12) Procop. bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 2.

(13) Aur. Viſt. in Cæſ. c. 37.

(14) See the last chapter, p. 387, pass.

Germany, even the trees, boughs, and leaves of it, were reckoned sacred; and this is the reason why the ancient *Germans* made it a piece of their religion not to cut them down, unless it be some branches of the oak, and some other trees which they carried with them, on particular solemnities²; but since their conquest by the *Romans*, a good many were cut down, partly for conveniency, and partly out of a dislike of those superstitious and bloody rites, which were performed in them. Many more were destroyed, since their embracing of christianity, upon the same account, and some are yet still remaining; and, amongst others, one which is known by the name of the black forest: the *Bacenian* is another famed one, which parted the *Suevi* from the *Cherusci*, by some supposed to be that of *Thuringia*, and by others the black forest last mentioned. The *Casian* forest, or *Casia Sylva*, was likewise very famous: some suppose it to have likewise been a remnant of the *Hercynian*, and part of it remains still in the duchies of *Cleves* and *Westphalia*. *Tacitus* tells us of a famous one dedicated to *Hercules*, and called, from him, the *Herculean* forest³; but it doth not appear that they had, as yet, adopted either that, or any other *Roman* deities: so that if there was any such forest of that name, it must have been called so upon some other account than a religious one. For, as we have observed in the last chapter, the *Germans* made a much longer stand against the *Roman* polytheism than the *Gauls*⁴.

Rivers. RIVERS of note they had in abundance, of which we shall only mention the most considerable ones, and what is most remarkable in them. At the head of these may justly be placed the *Danube*, now *Ister*, by far the largest in *Europe*. It has its rise in *Swabia*, and flowing through that province, and those of *Bavaria*, *Austria*, *Hungary*, *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Moldavia*, *Besserabia*, and part of *Tartary*, and receiving about sixty other rivers in its course, falls into the *Euxine* or *Black Sea*, in two arms. It was once the boundary between *Sarmatia* and *Germany*, but became afterwards subject to the *Romans* to its very source, under the emperor *Trajan* (P). The *Rhine*, another famous river, which antiently divided *Germany* from *Gaul*, and springs from the *Rhetian Alps* in the western borders of *Switzerland*, and northern of the *Grisons*: as it rises from two springs, which unite their waves near *Chur*, now *Coire*; so it divided itself into two streams, one of which falls into the *Maeße*, and the other into the *German* ocean: upon both accounts, perhaps, it is called, by *Virgil*, *Rhenus bicornis*, or *bicorniger*. It has now no passage into that ocean, but with the *Maeße* above-mentioned, below *Briel*, unless that branch of the one part of it called the *Yffel*, which empties itself into the *Zuyder-Zee*, may be said to do it⁵. This mouth, which was antiently known to the *Romans* by the name of *Flavum*, and still retains that of *Vlie*, or *Flie*, had a strong castle built by it, to guard the passage out of the *Zuyder*, or south, into the north sea. As for the *Rhine*, it became afterwards a barrier between the *Romans* and the *Germans*, upon the overthrow of *Varus* by the latter, who unwisely spent their time in destroying the fortresses of the former along that river, instead of pursuing the advantage of that signal victory; so that they only shortened the extent of the *Roman* territories, which before reached as far as the *Weßer*, if not beyond⁶. The same river did likewise part the *Balevi* from the other *Germans*, as has been formerly hinted⁷. *Julius Caesar*, in one of his *German* triumphs, caused, among other pageantic figures, that of the *Rhine* to be carried; in imitation of which, it is judiciously observed, that his successors did oftener triumph over, than conquer it⁸. The *Vistula*, now *Weichsel*, was another considerable river, which divided *Germany* from the *European Sarmatia*, whence the latter was called *Germania Transfistulana*. It had its rise in the *Carpatian* mountains in *Higher Silesia*, and, crossing the *Hercynian* forest, disembogued itself, by three streams, into the *Baltic* sea, not far from *Dantzic*. The *Drave*, or *Drau*, springs from the *Alps* in the *Tyrolese*, and, dividing *Upper* and *Lower Hungary* from *Sclavonia*,

² Vide *CLAUDIAN*. in laud. *Silic*. *LUCAN*. l. iii. ver. 429. *AGATHIAS* hist. l. i. *KEYLLER*. antiq. septentr. c. 4. § 7. ³ *L. ii. c. 13.* ⁴ See before, p. 337. ⁵ See *MASCOV. German.* & *LIEDARD*. ibid. sub Ind. ⁶ See *FLORUS*, l. v. ⁷ Vol. vi. p. 251. ⁸ *FLORUS*, l. v. c. 2.

(P) We are told, that he established at *Zarmigeforhusa*, the capital of *Sarmatia*, the famed colony called *Ulpia Trajana*, laid a bridge over the *Danube*, as appears from several antient medals, and, parti-

cularly, by the column erected in honour of him; and the explanation given us of it by the authors quoted in the margin (25).

a falls into the *Danube* near *Esseck*. The *Moraw* rises in the confines of *Bohemia*, *Moraw* divides *Moravia* into two parts, and falls into the *Danube* not far from *Vienna*. The *Nab*, in *Nortgow*, hath its source near that of the *Main*, and falls into the *Nab*. *Danube* a little above *Ratisbou*. The *Neckar*, in *Suabia*, rises from the black forest, *Neckar* not far from the *Danube*, but takes a different course, and falls into the *Rhine*. *Regen* rises in *Nortgow*, on the borders of *Bohemia*, and empties itself into the *Danube* at *Ratisbou*, thence called *Regensburgb*. The *Veser*, antiently *Visurgis*, descends from *Veser*. *Franconia*, and, passing by *Bremen*, falls into the *German* ocean between the mouths of the *Elbe* and *Ems*. The former of these, called by the *Romans* *Albus*, and by the *Elb*. *Germans* *Elue*, *Elbe*, and now *Elb*, is a very large and considerable one, and hath
b its spring in the mountains called the *Giant Mountains*, *Montes Heroum*, in *Silesia*, on the confines of *Bohemia*, and, passing through it and *Upper* and *Lower Saxony*, falls into the above-mentioned sea at *Rützbuttel*, twenty leagues below *Hamburgb*. The latter, viz. *Ems*, antiently *Amisia*, rises in the bishoprick of *Paderborn*, and, *Ems* passing by *Embsen*, the metropolis of *East Friesland*, and through the bay of *Dul-lert*, falls into the same ocean a little above the mouth of the *Visurgis*, or *Veser*. The *Lippia*, now *Lippe*, and *Isala*, or *Nel*, fall, the one into the *Rhine*, below *Cologn*, *Lippe* and divided the *Bructeri* and *Marfi* from the *Usipii*; and the other into the *Fossa Drusiana*. The rest, being of less note, we shall pass by.

CITIES of any consideration the *Germans* did not begin to build till after the
c coming in of the *Romans*, but were divided into cantons and districts, like the *Gauls*, and lived in villages like them: even those famous large ones they now have, were either most of them built by the *Romans*, or enlarged, beautified, and enfranchised by them (Q). Such were the city of *Cologn*, of which we have given an account in *Cologn*. a former volume^a, and of its being called *Agrippinae*. It was formerly called *Colonia Ubiorum*, and was their metropolis. It is commodiously situated on the *Rhine*, and in the circle of the lower *Rhine*, and is now the metropolis of the archbishopric of that name, an imperial city, and a famed university. *Colonia Trajana*, another antient *Roman* colony, below the former, by some thought to be the present *Keyserf-waert*. *Colonia Ulpia*, now *Cleves*, the capital of *Cleveland* in *Lower Germany*, sup-
d posed to have been built by *Julius Caesar*, as well as that of *Bonn*, antiently *Bonna Julia*, situate above *Cologn*, and on the same river. This last is now the residence of the electors of *Cologn*. *Ausburgh*, i. e. *Augustus-burgh*, antiently called *Augusta* *Ausburgh*. *Vindelicorum*^b, now the capital of *Suabia*; this is likewise an imperial city, very populous and trading, situate on the *Lech*, not far from the *Danube*, and famed, among other things, for the *Augustan* confession, or confession of *Ausburg*, which is that of the *Lutherans*. *Argentoratum*, now *Strasburgb* in *Alzacia*, the antient capital *Strasburgb* of the *Trebochi* on the *Rhine*, is reckoned one of the antientest cities in *Germany* (R), and is now famed for its magnificent cathedral, and the spire and curious clock of it, of which we shall say something more in the sequel; but, above all, for a living
c well, inclosed in that church, which was originally dedicated to superstitious and heathenish uses, such as we have mentioned in the last note. *Triers*, another antient *Triers* city of *Lower Germany*, said to have been built by *Trebesas*, the brother of *Ninus*, 1496 years before *Christ*, and made a *Roman* colony in the time of *Augustus*. It became afterwards the most famed city of *Gallia Belgica*, and was, for some time, the seat of the western empire, in the reign of *Constantius*^c. Here *Valentinian*

^a Vol. v. p. 508, b.
Alex. ap. Socrat. l. ii. c. 2.

^b Ibid. p. 313, & seq. (E).

^c Vide Cod. THEODOS. & epist. ad pop.

(Q) These new colonies were, it seems, endowed with most of the privileges of the city of *Rome*; and *Cologn*, we are told (26), was one of them.

(R) And well it may, if what some *German* antiquaries pretend be true, that it was built 33 years before *Abraham*. But it will be time enough to believe it when they give us some further proofs of it than they have hitherto.

This place, we are told, was chiefly famed, in antient times, for a living well, or spring, which was used for the washing and purifying of the victims which were offered up by their priests, and was from

thence called *Blotkeda*, and *Blotabrum*, from the antient word *blot*, which signifies a bloody sacrifice. Hence some infer, that human victims were thrown alive into the well; others, that they were first dashed to death against the stones, and then flung into it (27). This well was, after the conversion of the *Germans* to christianity, inclosed with a wall, and consecrated, to serve for a baptismal font; and the waters of it became so famous, for some miraculous power attributed to them, that they were fetched or resorted to from all parts: but since the reformation it hath been opened, for common use (28).

(26) Paul. Diac. de cens. l. viii.
Schad. de for. templ. argem. 1517. p. 35.

(27) Vide Keyser. antiq. sept. in fin. c. 3.

(28) Vide Qf.

Ratisbon.

Mentz.

triumphed, in a magnificent manner, over the *Aleman*^k. *Triers* had been formerly a the seat of the *Gaulic* prefects, or of the *præfectura Galliarum*^l, and obtained the right of coinage from the *Romans*^m; at present it is only the metropolis of the ecclesiastic electorate of that name, though the bishops of it were formerly styled primate of those of *Gaul*, on account of its having been once the seat of the prefects of it, which was afterwards removed to *Arles*, on occasion of the former being destroyed by the *Franks*ⁿ. *Ratisbon*, in the circle of *Bavaria*, said to have been first built by *Tiberius*, and now famous for the diet of the empire being held there. *Mentz*, now famous for the invention of printing by *John Fust*, alias *Faustus*, a gentleman of that city^o, and for being the residence of one of the ecclesiastic electors, in the lower circle of the *Rhine*, and situate on the banks of it; was formerly enlarged and fortified by *Drusus*, with several others on that river; such as *Bonn* *Andernach*, and many others on the same river, as well as upon the *Maese*, *Elbe*, and *Wefer*. He built, likewise, bridges over them, especially at *Mentz* and *Bonn*, and kept a fleet, for the security of those parts^p: near the former of these was erected a monument, in form of a funeral pile, in memory of him, by those legions which he had there commanded, some remains of which are still to be seen, and are mentioned by several antient and modern authors^q, and described by *Hutichius*^r. It is known by the name of *Eichelstein*, and stands in the now citadel-yard of the city above-named; but that this was the same that was erected for that prince, we must depend wholly upon tradition, as we must for a vast number of other such structures, with which this country abounds, but which retain neither inscriptions nor any other indices, by which they may be fixed to their original design. As we mentioned these cities only on account of their being either built, fortified, or celebrated by the *Romans*, we shall not take upon ourselves to go any farther with the rest, because we confine our geography to the antient, and not to the modern *Germany*, which latter is too well known to our readers, to need our expatiating upon it.

S E C T. II.

Of the religion, government, laws, and policy, of the antient Germans.

The religion of the antient Germans almost the same with that of the Gauls.

THIS subject hath been already so copiously handled in the last chapter, as it is so naturally knit and interwoven with it, that we hope we may save ourselves the pains of a needless repetition. The *Gauls* and *Germans*, as nearly allied to each other originally, received their religion, laws, and customs, from the same hand, and both retained them, some few particulars excepted, during a long series of ages, with an invincible tenaciousness; and we have had occasion to observe, that the latter continued much longer inflexible against introducing the *Roman* superstition, than the former: so that, with regard to their antient religion, they exactly agreed, in worshipping the same supreme deity, under the name of *Ejus*, or *Hesus*, falsely said, by *Roman* authors, to have been *Mars*, or *Mercury*. They worshipped him under the emblem of an oak, consecrated that tree more peculiarly to him, and had a great veneration not only for the tree itself, but for its leaves and fruit, especially the mistleto, which they call, to this day, by the old name of *gutbyl*, or *gutbeyl*, and ascribe extraordinary virtues to it, especially in epileptic diseases: (A).

Their

^k Auson. in laud. Mosel. v. 426. Vide Mascoy. l. vii. c. 5.

c. 29. ^l Pollio ap. eund.

MALINCROT & PALMER hist. typogr.

CHRON. SERRAR. rer. Mogunt.

Germ. KEYZLER. ant. sept. dissert. de visco pass.

^m See PAGIANNAI. ad an. 332. ap. Mascoy. l. vi. c. 32.

ⁿ Flor. l. iv. c. ult.

^o Collect. antiq.

^p See MASCOY's list of them, l. v.

^q Dio, Sueton. in Claud. Otto Frig.

^r Vide PLINY, N. H. l. xvi. c. 44. Vide CLUVER.

SOLEBATCH and DOUGLAS on the mistleto, &c.

(A) This name doth in the old *German* signify good heal, or good healer, as doth that of *mistleto*, or rather *mistle dha*, in the *Celtic*; though some question whether the word *mistle* be of *Celtic* extract. Hence, that which we formerly mentioned out of *Pliny*, that they called it by a name which signified all heal. The inhabitants of some parts of *Upper Germany*, who still retain a great number of antient

heathenish superstitions, are affirmed to retain the old druidish custom of rambling about, at certain seasons, from town to town, and from house to house, in great troops, rapping at every door and window with hammers, and crying out *gutbeyl*, *gutbeyl*, alluding to that verse falsely ascribed to *Ovid*,

Ad viscum druides, druides clamare solebant:

In

a Their method of, and time for gathering it, was the same which was observed by the *Gauls*^b. They held, like them, all other trees, likewise, as sacred, though not in the same degree with the oak; all woods, forests, and deserts, as well as groves, lakes, rivers, fountains, &c. in high veneration. The druids had the sole care and direction in all religious, and the greatest sway and authority in civil matters; only it may be here observed, that though both nations held some sort of women, whom they looked upon as prophetesses, in great esteem; so the *Germans* seem to have exceeded the *Gauls* in this kind of superstition, and to have shewn and retained a much greater fondness and veneration for their pretended oracles (B). In other things they were, as far as can be gathered from *Cæsar* and *Tacitus*, subject to, and
 b obliged to receive their directions, like the *Gauls*, from that grand druid, who, as we hinted in the last chapter, had his residence in *England*, or some one of the *British* isles. If there was any difference between the *Gauls* and *Germans* in point of religion, it consisted only in this, that the latter, being more fierce and untractable, were not only more full and tenacious of their superstitious rites, but likewise more cruel and inhuman in them. They not only offered the same expiatory human victims, and used them in their auguries, and other parts of their religion, but treated them much more cruelly than they. The *Gauls*, in some cases, fattened them for one whole year with the finest dainties, put them to a quick death, and sometimes stabbed them unexpectedly in the back: the *Germans*, on the contrary, made theirs undergo
 c many grievous indignities and torments, before they dispatched them, some instances of which we have given in the *Gaulish* history^c, that will hardly bear repeating. Other victims they likewise offered of domestic animals, and of these the horse was reckoned the most acceptable. The flesh of them was, it seems, to be boiled, stewed, or dressed in some other way, in the heart of their groves; the fat and the flesh was served to the votaries, by way of feast, and the blood was sprinkled upon the altar, trees, and by-standers, by way of ablution: but though they did the same by that of human victims, it doth not appear, that they eat the flesh of them. We have formerly observed, likewise, from *Cæsar*, *Tacitus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Athenæus*,

^b See before, p. 332, a, b, (H).

^c See before, p. 336, c.

In some other parts, especially in *Alsace*, they give it the name of *marensaken*, or the bush or shrub of spectres; probably from those magical virtues which were attributed to it, not only by the *Germans* and *Gauls*, but much more by the more northern nations; concerning which, the reader may see some extravagant instances in the authors quoted in the margin (1). Among other virtues they attributed to it, that of driving off all shafts and offensive weapons from the person that wore it, or of effectually directing against the person or beast they intended to shoot, was so wise, that they never went even a hunting without it (2).

(B) It is not easy to guess whence this high esteem for those female soothsayers had its rise; but most antient authors agree, that the *Germans* never undertook any thing of importance without consulting them, and would even forbear fighting an enemy, let the advantage appear ever so great on their side, if those women disapproved of it (3). They seem to have derived this custom from the *Celts* and *Cimmerians*, their ancestors, who, as we have formerly observed, looked upon them as inspired (4); and we have likewise mentioned some of them, who are reported to have foretold some very strange events to some of the *Roman* emperors (5), enough to raise their reputation, not only among their own people, but likewise among the *Romans* and *Greeks*.

If we may, however, be permitted to offer a conjecture concerning the origin of this superstition, it

seems to have had its rise from this: The *Germans*, warlike, fierce, and active as they were, and constantly employed either in the martial or hunting trade, might, probably, have committed the care of their sick and wounded to their women, who, having more time and leisure upon their hands, began to study the virtues of herbs, plants, and other medicinal things. From this skill, which they generally intermixed with that of astrology, they might, in time, pretend to greater, and to be able to pry into futurity. The old ones might likewise naturally give into dreams, visions, and other superstitious observations, such as were then practised by almost all other nations; such as the flight of birds, the running of rivers, and the colour of their waters; the entrails of victims, and such-like kinds of sortileges; till they, at length, raised themselves to such credit and admiration, that, if *Tacitus* may be credited, they were looked upon as a kind of goddesses: and, in particular, that famed one called *Velleda*, of whom he speaks as of a person deified, and worshipped by the whole *German* nation (6). Some others are mentioned of like high repute, viz. *Aurinia* (7), or *Alruna*, *Ganna* (8), *Festba*, *Sifa*, *Thrudur*, &c. of which we shall say nothing more, seeing we are quite in the dark about them in every respect, but that of their being spoken of as famed prophetesses among the *Germans*. The reader may, however, see all the different conjectures of the learned about them, in the authors quoted in the margin (9).

(1) *Plin. Tacit. ubi supra. Keyzler, Coplebach, Douglas, & al. de visco. Islandorum mytholog. c. 43.*
 (2) *Vide Keyzler, ubi supra.* (3) *Vide Tacit. German. c. 8. & histor. l. v. Commens. l. i. c. 50. Strabo, l. vii. Plutarch. in Cæsar. Arrian. & Clem. Alexand. Strom. l. i. & al.* (4) *Vide Polyan. Strateg. l. vii. & vol. vi. p. 145, b. 206, a—d.* (5) *See the last chapter, p. 363, d.* (6) *Histor. l. iv. c. 61, 65. l. v. c. 32. & de mor. Germ. c. 8.* (7) *Idem ibid.* (8) *Snid. sub voc. Seid, & uga.* (9) *Vorm. isinertar. & Keyzler differenz. de mulier. fasid. c. 56, & seq.*

The Germans
had antiently
no temples.

The goddess
Hertha.

and other antient authors, that the *Germans* had no temples, but performed their religious rites in groves erected for that purpose or in woods, forests, and desert places; tho' this latter seems to have been practised after their conquest, and to avoid the penalties of those severe edicts which the *Roman* emperors had issued out against the druids, and their inhuman sacrifices: however that be, temples were not introduced in *Germany* till long after the *Gauls* had shewed them the way; and it is plain, that after the former had introduced the worship of *Jupiter*, *Mars*, &c. they dedicated still oaks, groves, woods, and whole forests to them, and performed their superstitious rites in them a considerable while before they could be brought to erect temples to them. This is evident, from what *Tacitus* tells us of the goddess *Hertha*, one of their antient deities, whose idol was preserved in a wood, or grove, *Castum Nemus*, upon a covered cart, and had but one priest to minister to her, and the only one who dared come near it. He adds, that whenever the deity had a mind to go out and air herself, or to take a view of mankind, that priest, who was her only confidant, gave notice of it to the whole nation; upon which, nothing was to be seen but feasting and jollity amongst them, whilst she was carried about in her covered car, drawn by two heifers, and attended by the priest above-mentioned. His chief business was to observe when she appeared fatiated with rambling, and to convey her into her sacred grove again^d. He doth indeed mention a temple which he there calls the temple of *Tanfana* (C), and which, he says, the *Romans* levelled to the ground: but as in the foregoing instance of *Hertha* he first calls it a temple, though he says in general, that the *Germans* had none, and afterwards explains his meaning by calling it a grove, and a private lake; might not this of *Tanfana* be of the same kind? However, suppose it to have been a real temple, there will be no wonder, that such a building should be erected by the *Marfi*, or, at least, in their country, and, perhaps, by the *Romans*, who had, by this time, subdued them^e; for this was in *Augustus's* reign, about eighty years before the time in which *Tacitus* wrote. For though this be the only one we read of, yet there might as well have

^d Annal. l. v. c. 9.

^e Ibid. l. i. c. 51.

^f See before, vol. v. p. 33. & 369, & seq.

(C) It will be, in a great measure, labour lost, to inquire who this *Tanfana* was, whether a *German* goddess, or the place where the temple was: if the former, her name is quite foreign, and no footsteps are left of her, or her worship, unless our author, or his copiers, mistook *Tanfana* for *Onfana*, the name of *Minerva* among the *Gauls*.

There are some inscriptions, one in particular, dug up in the neighbourhood of *Lyons*, in which these words are engraven on a marble stone: *Pro salute Dom. N. Imp. L. Sept. Sever. Aug. totiusq; Domus ejus Ausanis Matronis & Matribus Pannoniorum & Delmatarum*. T. Cl. Pompeianus, &c. from which a modern antiquary (10) would conclude, that it should be *Tanfania*, instead of *Ausania*, as bearing some relation to the goddess *Tanfania*, whose temple *Tacitus* here speaks of. But since there are other inscriptions which agree with this, and call these *Matres Ausania*, his conjecture will hardly be allowed.

Who these *Matrone* were, is as hard to guess; the author last quoted thinks them to have been *campestrian* deities, such as presided over woods, rivers, lakes, &c. and were, by this time, worshipped both by the *Gauls* and *Germans*, as we have seen in the last chapter: but why such aerial beings should be called *Maires* and *Matrones*, cannot well be conceived; and to us it seems more probable that they were those famed druidesses, or prophetesses, of whom we have spoken in the last note, and who, being deified after their death, were still invoked by the living, and had altars, and other inscriptions, reared to them by their votaries, as they were supposed to preside still on health, life, pregnancy, &c. whereas those aerial beings, which were thought to live in, or preside over fire, water, earth, woods, &c. and have been since distinguished by the names

of salamanders, sylphs, nymphs, and gnomes, were supposed to have been created from the beginning, and to have had those elements assigned them by the Supreme Being.

Hence we may see whence the *Roscrucian* notion, so much in vogue still among the *Germans*, and other northern people, had its rise; and that it is no other than a relic of the old northern heathenism, improved by the enthusiastic help of a warm imagination: for, to this day, the same, and even much more preposterous superstitions, are still preserved, in several parts of *Germany*, among the vulgar, and much more so as you go farther northwards, especially among the *Icelanders*, *Samojedes*, *Laplanders*, &c. some of which can hardly be read without horror, and might be much better passed over in silence, were it not that they plainly shew to us how far unassisted reason may be depraved and warped, by education and custom; since all the pains that have hitherto been taken, especially since the reformation, have not been able to root it out.

Before we dismiss this subject of these *Dea Matris*, or *Matrona*, we beg leave to mention an inscription found upon an altar-stone at *Lowther* in *Westmorland*, with these words: *DEABUS MATRIBUS TRAMAI TRAMAI VEX CERMA. P. V. R. D. PRO SALUTE, &c.* in which a *German* antiquary has endeavoured to shew, that the word *Tramai* should be read *Tarami*, or *Taran*; *Taran* being one of the Celtic names of *Jupiter* (11). But we think our learned *Gale* (12) hath much better corrected the lection, by reading it *Brama*, the name of a place in that country, mentioned in the *Itinerarium Antonini*, and from which these *Matres* might, in all likelihood, be denominated.

(10) Reines. fyns. avs. 175. Vide Keyzler ubi supra, c. 39. mens. in itiner. Anton. p. 7.

(11) Schedius de diis Germ. c. 8.

(12) Com-

been

- a been some others built by this time, either in imitation of, or obedience, to the conquering *Romans*, who, as we have formerly hinted, were very industrious to propagate their religion amongst those nations they subdued. For if, either through complaisance or fear, they once adopted their deities, why might they not, from the same motives, erect also temples to them?

We have already spoken of those inferior ones introduced among the *Gauls*, such ^{Their deities:} as *Jove*, or *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Apollo*, *Mercury*, *Venus*, *Diana*, &c. The same, and ^{Jupiter.} very nearly under the same notion, were adopted by the *Germans*, though some of them under different names: we shall just mention some of those names and attributes, as they were peculiarly given by the *Germans* to each of them. *Jupiter* was worshipped under the name of *Tbor*, *Tharam*, or *Taran*, i. e. the thunderer. This name we have already seen, in the last chapter, was given by the *Gauls* to *Mars*, also, on account of the clattering noise of the martial trade. The same was done by the *Germans*, who gave it to their *Odin*, or *Woden*, which was the same deity, as we shall see under the next article. As for the name of *Jupiter*, we have formerly shewn, that it was never adopted by the *Gauls*, nor doth it appear to have been so by the *Germans*: if these had any other names for him than those we have mentioned, they have been since lost, and are not worth seeking further after.

- Mars*, called by them *Odin*, *Othin*, and *Woden* (D), has sometimes been con- ^{Mars, or Odin:} founded with *Mercury* by the *Roman* authors, and no wonder, when they were so unacquainted with their language, and could have so little information from them concerning their religion or politics. For the *Germans*, as well as the *Gauls*, made it a constant maxim, not to communicate any thing of either to strangers; and hence may be assigned the reason why some of them have even more absurdly imagined this *Odin* to have been the same with *Hesus*, or *Efusus*, the Supreme Deity. The great veneration they observed to be paid to the former, their calling upon him at the beginning of a fight, and vowing to him all the plunder, and even lives, of their enemies, might easily lead those authors to mistake him for the latter. *Mars*, when his worship came to be adopted, was always, as far as can be gathered from antient monuments, represented in armour, though antiently under the type of a naked sword^a; whereas *Hesus* was only worshipped under the type of an oak, or even the bare stump of one. *Mars* was looked upon not only as the god of war, but as the patron and guardian of those who were slain, whose souls the survivors bequeathed to him, in words to this effect, *Odin receive thee; mayest thou be with Odin* (E)! If you ask what they supposed was to be their employment in that place of bliss which was called by them *Valhalla*, and of which *Odinus* was the chief ^{The dispenser of} disposer; some of their antient poets will tell you, that one of them was, to carouse ^{future hap-} with exquisite beer in human skulls, whilst *Odinus* alone is allowed to drink wine. ^{pinefs.} They were, moreover, to be served by elegant virgins, whose business it was to furnish them with a constant supply of whatever could make them happy and merry; and this notion of a *Mohammed's* paradise was no small spur to warlike actions, since

^a LUCAN. *Pharsal.* l. i. LACTANT. l. i. c. 12.

^b See before, vol. ii. p. 272, d.

(D) This deity had several other names, according to the several offices they attributed to him; such as *Walfader*, and *Wallador*, the father of slaughter, and of arms; *Sigmundur*, the giver of victory, and the like. This of *Odin* seems derived from the antient word *Andun*, which signifies exterminator, as they prayed to him to exterminate their enemies. The *Gauls* did, most likely, give him that of *Ollodius*, as has been found by an inscription dug up near *Aix* in *Provence*, which runs thus: *Vigilia Melia Massa filia Marti Olloudio*, which last word is thought by some to be of *Greek* extract, as it was found so near *Marseilles*, where *Greek* had been so long introduced; and may be either from *ὀλλύω*, or *ὀλλύμι*, to put to death, to destroy (13). In the same sense he is called, by *Homer*, *ὀύλδς*, fatal, or murderer; as his chief business, according to the heathen theology, was, to supply hell continually with new-comers.

Yet, after all, it may not improbably be derived

from the old *Celtic* *ahll*, which signifies beer. For as neither *Germans* nor *Gauls* had vines till long after the *Romans* invaded them, as we have lately shewn, beer was not only their choicest liquor, but they believed, that *Mars*, or *Odin*, dispensed it in large quantities to his votaries in the next world, as we shall see by-and-by. So that he might be properly enough called *Ollodius*, or *Ollodius*, from thence, that is, the god of strong beer.

(E) It seems from some sepulchral inscriptions, and funeral orations, still extant, that in some of the northern regions they bequeathed the souls of the deceased to *Odin*, in words to this effect: *Odin preserve thee, a dear child, faithful friend, an honest servant*, and the like; even after their embracing christianity: and the sending any one to *Odin*, was reckoned a very kind and good wish, though it is since looked upon, especially by the *Suevi*, as bad as sending one to the devil (14).

(13) *Snorro de reg. Haquino. Vids. & Keyzler. antiq. Septentr.* c. 8. § 7. vol. ii. c. 4.

(14) See *Relig. des Gaul.*

every man's felicity there was to rise in proportion to the number of enemies they a had conquered or killed¹ (F). According to this notion, we need not wonder at their consecrating so great a share, and sometimes all the plunder of their enemies, making him heir of all their wealth, keeper of all their treasure, and often vowing their own lives to him; since they expected to be so amply rewarded by him in the next life, and with such a kind of happiness as best suited with their genius^k.

Is made a
northern hero
by their histo-
rians.

THE German, and other old historians, have since transformed this deity into a northern hero, whom they bring from Asia into Scandinavia, where, after a long and bloody prowess, and a reign stuffed with the greatest wonders, during which he gave them a body of laws, some of which we shall speak of in its proper place, that he might end as he began, and inspire his people with the same contempt of b death, he gave himself a slight wound with an arrow, because he would not go into the other world without one, and soon after died; and, after a magnificent funeral, in which his corpse was laid on a large and magnificent pile, that the brighter and higher the flames ascended, the greater might be his glory among the gods, he was deified as the protector and rewarder of those who die in battle^l. This may, perhaps, have been trumped up to wipe off the imputation of their having given into the Greek and Roman idolatry, and to shew, that they only paid a more than ordinary veneration to their heroes and heroines, some of whom they ranked in the same number as Hercules among the men, and Hertha and Fria, or Friga, among the women. Their mythologists, on the other hand, have split this Odin into two; the c antientest of the two they suppose some to have been Mars, others the sun, and the youngest to have been one of their deified heroes: yet there is no doubt but that one may find a great resemblance between the antient Germans, Suevi, Æstii, &c. and other most distant nations; such, for instance, we may reckon the worship of the goddesses Hertha, mentioned a little higher, which agreed with that which the Romans and others paid to the earth, under the name of Magna deorum mater; or, as Tacitus says of the latter^m, their worship of Fria, or Friga, under that denomination (G).

Their worship
of other deities.

How

¹ Edda mythol. 34. & seq. Carmen in Lodbrog. reg. ex verſ. Barthol. Vide MASCOV. & LEDIARD. Germ. l. xiv. c. 3. n. 1. ^k Vide inter al. Bartholin. de contempt. mort. in Dan. l. ii. c. 12. ^l SNORRON. Yngliga saga, c. 8. ^m Germ. c. 9. & 45.

(F) We have properly no antient author to vouch for this their belief of a Turkish paradise; our authority for it is only taken from some of the oldest northern poets (15), who quoted it from more antient songs and verses of their druids, who, as we have often observed, couched all their religion and history in such kinds of poems, and conveyed them down from one generation to another. To this we may, however, add, this collateral proof, from the general agreement of Greek and Roman authors, that the antient Celtes and Scythians made use of the skulls of their slain enemies to carouse with, and that they were in general, but none more than the Germans, very fond of drinking to excess. So that it is very natural to suppose, the druids would carry this notion of happiness beyond the grave, in order to inspire the people with courage, and a contempt of death.

Accordingly, the famous king Lodbrog is introduced singing his own requiem, in these words, as translated out of Edda, by Bartholine.

Pugnabimus ensibus
Hoc ridere me facis semper
Quod Balderi (Odin) patris scamna
Parata scio in aula
Bibemus cerevisiam brevi
Ex concavis crateribus craniorum
Non gemit vir fortis contra mortem
Magnifici in Odini domibus
Non venio desperabundis
Verbis ad Odini aulam (16).

He concludes thus (17):

Fert animus finire
Invisans me dea
Quas ex Othini aula
Othinus mihi misit
Latus cerevisiam cum Asu (diis)
In summa sede bibam
Vita elapsa sunt hora
Ridens moriar (18).

(G) That historian is, however, contradicted by some German authors, who pretend, that Fria, Friga, or Frejun, was the sun (19). This they pretend to prove by what he adds, that they wore the hoar on their standard, and which, these pretend, was owing to an acceptable sacrifice, which Odinnus had offered of this creature to that planet. But, if they worshipped the sun under the name of Frejun, or Friggon, might they not as well do the same by the moon, under the name of Frea, Fria, and Frigga? And might not the wild boar be as fit a sacrifice to that huntress, as to the sun?

Isis, who was the same with the moon, since Caesar calls the same deity Luna which Tacitus calls Isis, was worshipped by Germans and Gauls, and is affirmed, by the latter historian, to have been the chief deity of the Suevi. He doth, indeed, there say (20), that he could find no footsteps upon what account her worship was there introduced; but supposes, by the figure in which she was represented, viz. that of a ship, or frigate, that it was brought thither from

(15) Edda mythol. 30. & seq. Carm. in reg. Lodbrog. supra citat. & al.

(17) Stroph. 29.

(18) Vide Vormii literas. Run. p. 222. & seq. & Keyzler. antiq. sept. c. 2. § 13.

(19) Vide Keyzler. ubi supra, § 15.

(20) De mor. c. 45.

abroad;

- a How much of this kind of idolatry they may have had before their becoming acquainted with the *Romans*, is not easy to say; and we shall gladly refer our readers to what has been already hinted on that head in the history of the *Gauls*; but after that time, especially after their being subdued by them, there is no doubt but they adopted many of their other deities, as well as a great number of their ceremonies and superstitions. However, it plainly appears, upon the whole, that their antient theology differed much from the mythology of the *Romans* and *Greeks*. The *Germans*, even according to the testimony of *Roman* writers, neither presumed to confine their deities within temples, nor to represent them under any forms^a, nor admitted into that number any but such as they saw, and received assistance and benefit from; such as the sun, moon, and *Vulcan*^b, or the god of fire (H). Their veneration for their deified heroes and heroines, and the encomiums they gave them in their poetical performances, extended no farther than to their virtues and heroic exploits, their strength and courage, victories and conquests^c; whereas the *Greeks* and *Romans* not only attributed to their deities all their own imperfections, but even sanctified their most monstrous and unnatural vices^d.

THE *Germans*, as well as *Gauls*, were early taught, by their druids, two momentous truths, viz. an over-ruling providence, and the immortality of the soul. The misfortune was, that these two noble springs of virtue and religion did not run long uncorrupted; for as, on the one hand, a too eager desire in the people of prying into futurity, and a fatal ambition in their druids and diviners of being thought more intimately acquainted with the ways of that providence, introduced an infinite variety of auguries and superstitions; and some of them, as we have elsewhere hinted, were of the most inhuman and diabolical kind; so, on the other, the belief of a future life and immortality, proved but too fatal a spur to rashness, ambition, and cruelty, especially after they came to imbibe that poisonous notion hinted a little higher, that the surest way to that happiness was, to die in the field of battle; and that their felicity in the next world was to rise according to the number of the enemies they had destroyed in this. For this not only inspired them with a barbarous courage and cruelty in their wars, but made them less solicitous to inquire whether the motives of it were just or unjust. We have already given such instances of these bloody superstitions, in the history of the antient *Celts* and *Scythians*^e, and lately in that of the *Gauls*^f, that our readers, we hope, will easily spare us the trouble of repeating them here, seeing they are all of the same kind, and of such a nature, that they can scarcely be read without horror. Only this we must be bound to add, that, whether the *Germans* received them from their neighbours, or whether they crept in amongst them by degrees, as they did almost everywhere else, they appear not only to have exceeded other nations in them, but to have retained them much longer than any of those who received the

^a Idem ibid. c. 9. & 43.
MINUT. FEL. CLEM. ALEX. & al.

^b CÆS. COM. l. vi. c. 21.
^c See vol. ii. p. 252, c.

^d German. c. 2.
^e See before, p. 348, 350, & seq. 354, pass.

^f LACTANT.

abroad; and it is somewhat strange, since she was worshipped by the *Romans* under that type, as presiding over the sea, and navigation⁽²¹⁾, and had a set festival in their *fasti*, that he should conclude from thence, that the *Suevi*, who were of *Celtic* extract, and given to navigation, should receive that deity from abroad, which was peculiar to all the *Celts*. However, therefore, *Fris* and *Frius*, *Ifu* and *Mithras*, *Sol* and *Luna*, *Apollo* and *Diana*, may be found confounded in antient historians, on account of their joint influence on earthly things, and their common course in the heavens; yet there is no doubt to be made but they were severally worshipped by all the northern, as well as southern nations; and why not more so than earth, water, rivers, lakes, woods, forests, trees, and plants?

(H) So, at least, that author is understood by most writers. We are, indeed, told, by *Plutarch* (22), that *Viridomarus*, a king of the *Gauls*, who lived above 200 years before our Saviour, having declared war

against the *Romans*, made a vow to consecrate all the arms he took from the enemy to *Vulcan*: so that if that author be right in the name, the worship of that deity must have been very ancient among the *Gauls* and *Germans*. But the misfortune is, as a late writer observes (23), that the *Roman* writers either mistook the names of those heroes or deities, or mentioned them by the names of such of their own gods as they imagined them to resemble most; by which means, that part of *German* antiquity is become so intricate, that it can hardly be tied on.

Some inscriptions shew, that they had a deity called *Volian*, or *Volianus*, according to the *Roman* termination. Hence some authors have concluded, that the two branches of the K were worn out, and that the name was originally *Volkannus*, which supposition is natural enough. But *Volian* being a *Celtic* word, which signifies either a furnace, or a fiery forge, the latter may, probably, have been the original name, though hardened since into *Vulcan*.

(21) Lactant. l. i. c. 18. *Diod. Sicul. Apul. & al.*
Germ. l. ii. c. 35.

(22) *In vit. Marcell.*

(23) See *Mafcov.*

gospel (1). One piece of superstition, common to all the *Germans* and *Gauls*, was, a never to fight, or undertake any material point, before the moon was full six days old, nor even then, if their soothsayers, who were mostly women, did not like the auguries. These were always consulted, upon all emergencies, as the druids and druidesses were in *Gaul*. They were always admitted to their councils, bore the greatest sway in them, not only as having the chief management of all their auguries, without which they did not do any thing, but as being esteemed by the whole nation to have been endowed with a prophetic spirit¹.

Their priests.

NEXT in authority to these pretended prophetesses, were the druids, or rather priests. *Cæsar* says, indeed², that they had no druids, as the *Celts*; but *Tacitus*, who was better acquainted with them, speaks frequently of their priests, whose office and authority, according to him, being much the same with the *Gaulish* druids, shews them to have been the same order of men, though they did not, perhaps, bear the same name. For these priests, he tells us³, were not only admitted to their public councils, but accompanied them in the wars, and bore a great sway in both. For we are told, that they were the only ones who had power to impose silence in those meetings, to reprove or punish offenders, which exactly agrees with what *Cæsar* says of the *Gaulish* druids, whose office it was to try, condemn, and even to inflict capital punishment⁴. And hence it may be, that the office of hangman is still in so much request all over *Germany*, contrary to what we find it in all other christian nations; where they are either taken from the dregs of the people, or, when that fails, some noted delinquent is commonly condemned to it.

Their office.

As, therefore, one main part of the priests' office among the antient *Germans*, consisted chiefly in stirring them up to martial deeds, in killing and slaying victims, and very frequently human ones, both in their sacrifices and auguries, in condemning and executing criminals, in punishing lesser offenders with milder punishments, and the like; we need not wonder if the external part of their religion was so void of the *Greek* and *Roman* pomp, and so full of every thing that could strike an awful dread on that fierce and warlike people, whose devotion might perhaps be better kept up under the covert of thick and gloomy groves, as well as by the bloody rites performed in them, than by all the ornaments of *Greek* and *Roman* temples, and the pageantry of their ceremonies and dress. It is therefore no small wonder, that such men should chuse a garb so contrary to their butcherly trade, and to affect to be clad in white, and not rather in the deepest crimson: and may not this contrast be a kind of proof, that their office at first was of a quite different nature, and that from singing the praises of their Creator, and of their famed heroes, or killing, perhaps, some few harmless creatures, in honour to them; their ambition, and thirst of rule over an untractable people, made them degenerate, by degrees, into this pitch of arbitrary power and cruelty? But we offer this only as a conjecture, which is not, however, without some foundation, if we consider, that they received their religion from the same fountain that the *Perfes*, *Brachmans*, and other *Indian* sects, did, who yet, either from their living, perhaps, in milder climes, or from a more conscientious adhering to their primitive institution, have ever been justly famed for a character the most opposite to theirs.

Dress.

Their laws and government.

As for their antient laws and government, we can only say, that they discover those evident marks by which men, by degrees, were forced to form themselves into societies for their general good and preservation; to have magistrates to govern and protect them in times of peace, and generals to command and lead them in war. This, considering the extent of their territories, and their fierce and warlike genius, prevented their being long united into one common state, whatever they might have been originally. But every tribe of them had its own form of government, independent from the rest, except, perhaps, that they had some laws in common, for the

¹ *TACIT. Germ. c. 8. & alib. pass.*

² *Comm. l. vi. c. 21.*

³ *TACIT. ubi supra, l. viii.*

⁴ *Idem ibid.*

(1) Hence all that sad trade of witchery and sorceries still in vogue among the more northern parts; the divining wand, to find out mines, thieves, and murderers, among the southern; their notions of fairies, and other aerial beings, some of a benevolent, others of a malevolent nature; of apparitions, charms, enchantments, fascination, magical and diabolical

contracts, carnal commerce with demons, and a number of other heathenish forgeries, which cannot be rooted out from among the vulgar of both; all which plainly appear to be owing to their tenaciousness of, and fondness for, the old leaven of the antient *Celtic* superstition.

- a better union and preservation of the whole body against foreign enemies, or to keep up a kind of balance amongst themselves, that one nation should not grow too strong for the rest: in other things each canton held their national councils at least once a year, that is, in the spring, and oftener, if need required; and there deliberated about peace or war, the choice of magistrates, and other annual officers, both civil and military; the sending out of colonies or auxiliaries, and other such points, according to their present exigence^r. And these assemblies were so exactly observed, that, we are told, the last comer to them was sure to lose his life (K). It is very likely also, that all other matters relating to property, crimes, and such-like, were here also finally determined by the plurality of votes, rather than by any body
- b of laws they can be supposed to have had in these early days. Liberty, being by them looked upon as the *summum bonum*², made them exceeding watchful against every thing that looked like an infringement of it; and as they were too impatient to go through the fatigues of long law-suits, they rather chose to have them decided at once by such an assembly, and sometimes by single combat, rather than stay for their next meeting. These assemblies were commonly accompanied with sumptuous banquets, as they were judged to promote friendship and mutual confidence, to inspire men with greater freedom of speech, and open a door to wholesome counsels^s. In those states which were under a kingly government, as a great many of them were, they applied to the prince only in matters of smaller moment; but in those
- c which concerned the whole nation, to the grand council of it^b: neither allowed they any other revenues to those monarchs but a part of the fines, and such free-will offerings as the people thought fit to make to them of cattle, and the fruits of the earth; so that they had little else to keep up their grandeur, except their hereditary estates^c. Their expence was, indeed, inconsiderable, because all their subjects, fit to bear arms, were obliged to follow them into the field, and their nobles thought it an honour to make part of their retinue; upon which account these had the free use of the prince's table, and were sometimes presented with a horse, or some of his arms^d. The subjects were distinguished into several ranks, or classes, such as nobles, free-born, freed-men, and bondsmen; in each of which classes those were still most
- d esteemed, who had signalized themselves best, by their courage, conduct, or any laudable exploit^e. As for their other laws, if any such they had compiled in a body, they were rather preserved by tradition and custom, than kept upon record, since we have often observed they made it a constant maxim, not to commit any thing to writing. But that some such laws they had, is apparent from this, that they still retained many of them, even after those of the *Romans* had been introduced amongst them. Judges they likewise had of their own, and their office was held in such esteem, that men of the highest rank were promoted to it, as well as those of the greatest probity, years, and discretion: even their princes sometimes took it upon them. Every judge had, it seems, a number of assessors, with whom
- e he might consult upon occasion; whence, probably, the office of *scabinus*, or sheriff, had its rise^f.

THESE general assemblies were antiently held in the open country; for the *Germans* despised cities and fortresses, as monuments of servitude, rather than places of defence; and were some of the latest of the *Europeans* that either built any for themselves, or would take refuge in them: so that, whenever they were obliged to fight an enemy, they always chose to do it in the open field, and, when worsted, to retire into woods, marshes, and inaccessible places, where they could get provision for their cattle, and keep their pursuers at a distance; rather than to shelter themselves in towns, and fortified places, where they might be caught, as in a trap.

f It was, moreover, a common saying among them, that even wild beasts would lose

^r Idem ibid. & c. 11, & seq.

ibid. c. 22.

c. 11.

^b Ibid. c. 11.

^f See Mascov. German. l. ii. c. 38.

² LUCAN. Pharsal. l. vii. v. 430. TACIT. ubi supra, c. 37.

^c Ibid. c. 15, & seq.

⁵ TACIT. ann. l. iv. c. 64.

^s Idem

^e Ibid.

(K) This, we are told, they did in imitation of the cranes, to which they, as well as the *Gauls*, in their auguries, paid a singular regard: and as these birds are said by naturalists to shift their habitations every year, and to appoint a general rendezvous, in order to take their flight, and to kill the last comer to the place; so they did the same by him who came last to the general assembly (24).

(24) See Hoff. de idololat. l. iii. c. 22.

all their strength and courage, if penned up^a. And we are told, that this custom subsisted in *Gaul* till the eighth century, and much longer in *Germany*^b (L). The whole nation being, moreover, naturally of a warlike genius, and esteeming cowardice as the greatest reproach and disgrace that could be thrown upon them, all such fenced cities and fortified places were looked upon by them as so many shameful asylums for the weak and pusillanimous to flee to, and they, consequently, despised them, as unworthy a brave people, who always scorned to take any advantage of their enemy, whether of weapons, intrenchments, discipline, stratagems, or, indeed, of any other kind but those of strength and bravery, intrepidity, and an invincible love of liberty. It was in these that they solely trained up their youth, leaving all other arts of gaining a superiority to those of their enemies to whom the want of these martial virtues rendered them more necessary. Accordingly, no nation could take more care than they did to inure them to all hardships (M), to inspire them with a contempt of danger, and even of death, and to rear them up to martial deeds. This was their chief and surest road to wealth, honour, and preferment, and, as their priests taught them, even to the greatest happiness in a future life^c. It was for this that the ambitious amongst them neglected agriculture, and despised all mercantile and mechanic employments^k, how necessary and advantageous soever, and obliged all who were able to bear arms to go into the field. Hence it was that they were never at a loss how to raise, in a very short time, such powerful and numerous armies either to repulse an enemy, or to assist their friends and allies^l: for whenever any country was disengaged from a war, the ablest soldiers were sent into foreign service, not singly, or according to their own option, but in considerable bodies, and under the command of such officers as were set over them by the state; by which means, the whole nation not only shared in the honour of their exploits, but was likewise furnished with more experienced generals. Another advantage was reaped from it, viz. that, when a canton or state became too populous, they could draw out such numbers as could be spared, to go and seek out new habitations; and these, by being trained up to the trade of war, could the better fight their way through, and maintain themselves in those countries which they had the good fortune to settle in^m.

Their cavalry,
and foot.

THEY had but little cavalry, in proportion to their foot, in which they placed^d the main of their strength; but what they had of the former was extremely well disciplined, though their horses were, it seems, inferior to those of the *Romans*, either in bigness, swiftness, or dexterity, as well as in those evolutions which were so artfully used by the latterⁿ. As for saddles and stirrups, they were quite neglected, by both *Gauls* and *Germans*, who were accustomed to mount and dismount by

^a Cæs. comment. l. iii. c. 29. l. iv. c. 19. & 29.

^b Vide PELLOUTIER. hist. Celt. l. ii. c. 5. sect. 4.

^c Cæs. com. l. vi. c. 22, & seq.

^k Idem ibid. See also Essay on those countries, &c. which helped to

pull down the Roman empire, p. 13—16.

^l Idem ibid. See MASCOV. l. ii. c. 37.

^m Tacit.

ann. l. iv. c. 12. Cæs. comm. l. vi. c. 23.

ⁿ Tacit. Germ. c. 6.

(L) We have formerly seen, that both antient *Germans* and *Gauls* lived in a kind of cantons, or villages, with their houses and grounds about them, at a convenient distance from each other, that every family might have land enough for themselves and their cattle (25); and that, as soon as they had gathered in their harvest, they generally removed to new habitations. But when they came to be either conquered by the *Romans*, or enslaved, perhaps, by some of their ambitious princes; either of these were forced to build castles, fortresses, and fenced cities, to keep them in awe, and deprive them of all possible means of regaining their liberty. And hence proceeded their aversion to all such strong places, as tending only to bring and hold them the faster in slavery. But as necessity, in process of time, obliged them to have their cities, castles, &c. for their own defence and preservation, they fell into the same superstition with the *Greeks* and *Romans*, of dedicating them to certain deities, and even personifying and apotheosing them, and to celebrate a kind of anniversary of their foundation: which custom lasted

till long after their embracing christianity, as appears from many antient inscriptions, which the reader may find in *Gruter's* collection, and from sundry prohibitions of christian bishops against all future observances of them (26).

(M) We are even told, that those who lived nearest the *Rhine*, or any other rivers, used to dip their children, as soon as born, into them, in order to knit and harden their limbs (27). We have, indeed, formerly observed, from *Julian* the apostate (28), that the waters of that river were supposed to have some peculiar virtue above others, inasmuch that they threw their children into it whenever they had any suspicion of their mothers fidelity. Whether our authors mistook the design, or confounded the one with the other, we cannot affirm; but it is very probable, that if any such custom they had, it was rather introduced on a persuasion, that such children who were not proof against the severity of such a trial, were not worth the rearing up, and might as well be left to be swallowed up by the waves.

(25) See before, p. 325, c. (H).
L. vii.

(26) Vide Reliq. des Gaul. l. iv. c. 27.

(27) Vide Aristot. de repub.

(28) See p. 334, a. (I). & Claudian. in Ruf. v. 109, & Nonn. ap. Lediard. Germ. l. iii. c. 37. n. 2.

their

a their own agility, and could, whenever occasion required, fight as well on foot as on horseback (N). In their order of battle, every canton and district were placed together, that every one of them might reap either the glory or disgrace of fighting valiantly or cowardly, which was no small spur to them to behave in such a manner as might be a credit to their own tribe; and, by this means, they commonly fought in several distinct bodies. We are told, indeed, that some of them, especially the *Cimbri*, formed their whole infantry into one square battalion, and placed their wives, children, and baggage, behind a fence made of their waggons: as soon as every thing was ready for the onset, the signal was given, which was answered by an universal shout, which was redoubled in a most dreadful manner, till they came to close engagement. They used no art or stratagems in fighting, but placed their whole confidence in a joint and furious onset on the enemy, and continuing it with a desperate intrepidity, till they had either won or lost the day; by which means, if they once met with a stout repulse, or were put into disorder, they seldom knew how to rally again, but became stupified and desperate, and either fought till they died, or else betook themselves to flight; for it was reckoned so inglorious amongst them to yield themselves prisoners, that we read but of few instances of their doing so, in comparison to those in which they died with sword in hand. Time and experience did, indeed, at length teach them to trust less to their own strength and courage, and to study a little more the *Roman* discipline, and art of fighting. But they began too late: had they done so from the beginning, they might, perhaps, have continued unconquered to this day.

THEIR weapons were likewise vastly inferior to those of the *Romans*; the cavalry had their shields and spears in common with the foot, but the latter had, besides, their darts, bows and slings, and seldom had recourse to their pikes and swords. Helmets, armour, and coats of mail, were generally despised amongst them; some of them did even affect to fight naked: so that if any such armour was worn amongst them, it was rather for distinction, than defence: upon which account, they adorned them with the horns and heads of some wild beasts. Hence those frightful figures which *Plutarch* observed among the *Cimbrian* cavalry, some of which are still to be seen upon the seals and arms of those antient times. Their shields, which they distinguished only by different colours, or some particular emblem, were reckoned so sacred amongst them, that they looked upon it as the greatest disgrace to lose them in fight; because none durst appear either at their religious ceremonies, public assemblies, or even funerals, without them (O). Their arms were esteemed their favourite furniture, and chiefest ornament; they never appeared in public without them, and nothing was so earnestly wished for by their youth, as the day in which they became qualified to bear them. The sword was so sacred amongst them, that no oaths were reckoned more binding than those they took upon a naked one; neither did they appear in public, or assist at any solemn rite, without their sword, shield, and spear. We are even told, that they wore them at their familiar visits, banquets, religious dances, and the like. When they sat down, they had their sword by their side, and a servant behind, to hold their shield and spear; and when they rose, every one took them up again: in a word, they looked upon themselves as wedded to their arms; and when they had worn them from their youth to their extremest old age, they commonly caused them to be burnt or buried with them, when they died. It was on account of this excessive

* TACIT. & CÆSAR, ubi supra. PLUTARCH. in MAR. VALER. MAX. l. ii. c. 6. See before, p. 375, c. & seq. P TACIT. ubi supra. PLUTARCH. ubi supra. ¹ Idem ibid. ² TACIT. ubi supra, c. 13. ³ AM. MARCEL. l. xvii. c. 12. ⁴ NIC. DAMASC. ap. STROB. serm. 164. LIVY hist. l. xxi. c. 20. CÆS. comm. l. vii. c. 21. ⁵ TACIT. Germ. c. 2, 13, 22. ANNAL. l. iv. c. 64. ATHEN. ex POSID. l. iv. c. 12. ⁶ CLAUDIAN. de bell. Get. v. 501. COMMENT. l. vi. c. 19. TACIT. Germ. c. 13, 27.

(N) This plainly appears, by *Cæsar's* own confession (29), who owns, moreover, that he had them in most of his wars; and often boasts of the great services he received from them (30).

(O) *Tacitus* adds, that they were forced to live in disgrace all the remainder of their days, and excluded from the company of men; insomuch that they chose often to put an end to both by a voluntary

death (31). He tells us farther, that the *Suevi* were the only people in all *Germany* where private men had not the liberty to wear their arms, or even to keep them at home; and the reason he gives is, that they lived under arbitrary princes, who, to maintain themselves in their tyranny, stripped their subjects of them, and put them under the custody of their favourite creatures (32).

(29) COMMENT. l. iv. c. 2. (30) Ibid. l. vii. c. 13. Vide HIRT. com. de bell. Alexandrin. c. 29. (31) Tac. Germ. c. 6. (32) Ibid. c. 44.

regard they paid to their warlike weapons, as well as from their antient custom of a rearing a sword, pike, or spear, at the head of their army, round about which they all gathered themselves to perform their devotions, that they were supposed to worship them^a; though it is plain, that they only worshipped the Deity, or, at most, the god *Mars*, since adopted their grand patron and protector, under these types: but, upon the whole, it appears, that both *Celts* and *Scythians*, and all their descendants, were accustomed to wear their arms, as well in the time of the profoundest peace, as in war; which was also practised by all the *Greeks*, *Persians*, and other antient nations^b (P).

Si ges.

IN their sieges of places they were likewise vastly inferior to the *Greeks* and *Romans*, whether in the offensive or defensive, being strangers to those destructive instruments which were used by the latter, such as towers and circumvallations, battering-rams, mining and counter-mining; and, placing the stress of their confidence in their missile weapons, as darts and stones, and their vigorous assaults and scalings, or in a resolute and intrepid resistance, if these failed, as they too often did, especially when they were engaged against the well-disciplined and artful *Romans*, who, besides that they used all these, and many other such warlike engines, in the greatest perfection, were likewise expert in a great variety of stratagems, with which the *Germans* were wholly unacquainted, they fell immediately into confusion, and became an easy prey to them. Hence the native strength and valour of the latter is the more conspicuous, as they defended themselves so long, and so bravely, against such powerful and dexterous enemies, and at length conquered them by their own arts^c.

Valour.

Punishments.

FROM what we have seen we may infer, that the *Germans* in general, though too long unacquainted with the art of war, did yet observe a strict discipline with their soldiery; and that cowardice and neglect of duty were severely punished amongst them: they were not, indeed, so strict in other cases, but adapted their punishments to the different purposes of the commonwealth; were severe against some offences, and remiss towards others; insomuch, that even murder was not esteemed capital amongst them^a, but was punished by such a fine, of great or small cattle, as was deemed a sufficient compensation to the family for their loss. In disputes and accusations, whenever the case appeared dubious or intricate, they had two expeditious ways of deciding the matter; the one by their pretended divine auguries, and the other by single combat; for in either of these they looked upon Providence as the chief director, and therefore submitted to its unerring judgment. When, therefore, *Varus* endeavoured to introduce the *Roman* laws among them, we are told, that they refused it; alledging, that it was their way to decide all their controversies by the sword^b; and this custom continued amongst them several hundred years^c.

Sciences.

SCIENCES they were altogether strangers to, if we except those who lived by the sea-coasts, and had made some considerable progress not only in navigation, and building of ships, but probably, also, in some branches of astronomy, as well by observation, as by their converse with other more polite nations: the rest were all rude and ignorant, and it is even doubted whether they knew the use of letters (Q).

Their

^a See vit. DAGOBERT. ap. du Chesne, tom. i. c. 31. ADAM BREMENS. & al. c. 8. THUCYDID. l. i. c. 6. AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xxiii. c. 6.

^b ARISTOT. politic. l. ii.

^c See MASCOV. Germ. l. ii. in fin. c. 37.

^a TACIT. Germ. c. 11, & 21.

^b VEL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 188.

^c In vet. leg. Aleman. tit. 44.

ap. MASCOV. l. ii. c. 38.

(P) It is not unlikely, that not only the *Persians*, but likewise the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*, had this custom from the old *Celts*. However, the two last, when they came to form themselves into more regular societies, and under a wholesome set of laws, probably abrogated this custom, and permitted the people to carry their arms, in time of peace, only at their public spectacles, games, &c. (33).

(Q) At least *Tacitus*, who knew them best, and may be supposed to have been conversant with the politic sort, tells us, that neither men nor women knew any thing of them (34); unless by *litterarum se-*

creta be meant something more than the bare knowledge of letters, which is not unlikely; since he tells us, in the same book, that both they and the *Switzers* made use of the *Greek* characters (35); which is also confirmed by *Cæsar* (36), and by some antient coins and inscriptions written in that character (37).

We have already taken notice, that the *Gauls* probably received that character from the *Greek* colony that settled at *Marseilles* (38); from whence it might easily pass into *Switzerland*, and thence into *Germany*, and have been adopted by these for the same reason that they were by the *Gauls*; and this is the

(33) Vide *Lucian. de gymnosoph.* p. 803. *Pellousier. hist. Celt.* l. ii. c. 6.

(34) *Germ. c. 18.*

(35) *Ibid.*

c. 3. (36) *Comment. l. i.*

(37) Vide *Rom. subterr. ap. Mabillon. Bonteroue traité des mo-*

noyes, p. 157, & 379. Vide & *Relig. des Gaul.* l. i. c. 4.

(38) See before, p. 379, c—e.

- a Their greatest skill in physic consisted in the knowledge and use of certain plants and roots found out by observation and experience, in which these pretenders intermixed a deal of superstitious trash; such as the time of the moon for gathering and applying them, charms, and other occult quackeries, which served only to amuse and raise the admiration of the vulgar. Music and poetry were much better cultivated amongst them, though one would be apt to judge their tongue too harsh and inharmonious for the one, and for the other. But besides that such foreign languages appear more so to us than to the natives, we may reasonably suppose, that both their music and poetry being adapted to the genius of the *German* nation and tongue, their harshness might be looked upon rather as a majestic beauty, than a defect:
- b however that be, they had a set of men whose business it was to couch the heroic deeds of their warriors in lyric poems, and to sing them to the people, upon proper occasions, as the *Gauls* did of theirs^d. And as martial deeds were the common topic of these verses, and one part of the instrumental music, which accompanied it, was the clattering their swords against their shields, it is no wonder *Julian* the apostate, whose ears were accustomed to more gentle and harmonious strains, gives such a frightful account both of the *German* tongue, music, and poetry^e.

- THEIR sports, games, and exercises, were all, likewise, of the masculine kind, and fit to inure them to the martial trade. The youth performed them naked, and with incredible agility, such as running, shooting, swimming, leaping, and the like. Some equestrian exercises were much in vogue with them, as they were extraordinary horsemen; they were likewise fond of gaming, to such a degree, that, when they had lost all they were worth, they would venture even their liberty upon one cast more of the dice^f. Manufactures were not introduced very early amongst them, that of linen excepted, which was, perhaps, one of the first, if not the only one they cultivated, for a considerable time, as it was the favourite dress of their women, priests, and men of quality^g. Their original dress, when they came first to cover themselves, were the skins of beasts (R); the *Germans* and *Britons* seem to have been some of the last who exchanged them for cloaths made of flax and wool: these they did not wear long and full, as the *Sarmatians*, but short and strait, and fit to display every limb of their body^h. As they became more acquainted with the *Romans*, they not only improved in their dress, and the manner of weaving, flowering, and embroidering those stuffs of which they were madeⁱ, but adopted a great number of manufactures, in which they have since excelled other nations: for it was their contempt of such trades, and not their want of a capacity for them, which made them be so long neglected, as beneath a martial genius; but when they came to take them up, they soon convinced the world, that their country seemed cut out to produce the best artificers; and we may add, that, in the number and variety of

^d Vide TACIT. Germ. c. 2, & 3.^e Misopog. p. 336, & seq.^f TACIT. ubi supra, c. 24.^g PLIN. nat. hist. l. XXIX. c. 1.^h TACIT. ubi supra, c. 17.ⁱ Idem ibid.

only way to reconcile *Tacitus* with himself, and with *Julius Caesar*.

With respect to the *Germans* being ignorant of the liberal sciences, we must except what a later author says of the *Goths* (39), that a *Grecian* philosopher, named *Dicæneus*, finding in them a fit capacity for philosophy, astronomy, &c. took the pains to instruct them in every branch of them: for if that be true, the *Germans* could not be long without them. But our author, who was a *Goth*, is too justly suspected of partiality for his own nation, in many other particulars as well as this, to be relied on. As for the *Germans*, it plainly appears, that literature of any kind was not introduced amongst them till even some centuries after him, as we have shewn in the last chapter (40).

(R) These were called by several names, according to those nations among which they were worn. In some parts of *Germany* they were called *remo*, which *Cluverius* thinks is derived from the rein-deer, whose skins they made their garments of (41). In others,

mastruga; supposed to have been called so because it made those who wore them appear like monsters (42), or brutes in human shape. *Tacitus* adds, that the only distinction between men of quality and the vulgar consisted in the richness and fineness of those furs (43).

And here it will not be amiss to take notice of a merry jest which some *Greeks*, settled in *Scythia*, had endeavoured to impose upon *Herodotus*, as a serious truth; viz. that the *Neuri*, a northern nation, were once a year changed into wolves, and, after some time, resumed their own shape (44). He doth indeed own, that he could hardly give credit to it; but it is plain they only imposed on his too great credulity in this point, as they did in some others, particularly where they told him that on the other side the *Danube* the air was, at some seasons, so full of feathers, meaning of snow, that a man could scarce see two yards before him. Wolves, it is certain, were in such quantities, and so dangerous, in all these northern countries, that the inhabitants were forced

(39) *Jornand. de reb. Getar.* c. 11.

(40) See before, p. 381, b, c.

(41) *Germ. ant.* p. 110.(42) *Isidor. Orig.* l. xix. c. 23.(43) *Tacit. Germ.* c. 17.(44) *Herodot.* l. iv. c. 105.

Writing.

curious mechanic inventions, they have outdone all the world (S). They did not so soon give into the liberal arts, or even that of writing: we are told, that *Charles the great* caused some of their old barbarous poems, which they till then only sung by heart, and contained the actions of their antient kings and heroes, to be committed to writing for their use, and to encourage them to learn to read^k. The *Saxons* had such a contempt for letters, that they refused to learn to read the gospels till they were put into verse, and set to such tunes as they could easily sing^l. Even their laws were not, it seems, reduced to writing till about the 12th or 13th century^m: which plainly shews that their *runæ*, or letters (T), are not of so antient a date as some moderns have imagined.

Genius and character.

Robustness.

BEFORE we finish this section, it will not be amiss to say something concerning the character and genius of the antient *Germans*, which was pretty near the same through all that large country. They are generally described to us by *Greek* and *Roman* authors as resembling one another, and differing from other nations by the largeness of their stature, ruddy complexion, blue eyes, and yellow and bushy hair, haughty and threatening looks, strong constitutions, and proof against hunger, cold, and all kinds of hardshipⁿ. Nothing could be more conducive to their bodily strength than their coarse diet, their living in huts rather than houses, their constant and strenuous exercises, and inuring themselves betimes to all kinds of fatigue; to which *Tacitus* joins another thing, which is not, perhaps, quite so authentic, viz. their drinking of strong liquors made of barley or wheat^o, and which they drank in large quantities. *Cæsar* adds, that their animal spirits not being exhausted in their youth by study, learning, or any troublesome occupations, nor enervated by early amours and gallantry, their bodies were more apt to grow large and robust^p. *Pliny* attributes much of this to the temperateness of their climate^q; but though it be true, that the perspiration is not so copious in such cold countries, yet it may be much doubted whether this doth so much contribute to the growth and strength of

^k EGINHARD in vit. Carol. mag. c. 19.^l SCHOTTEL. de antiq. Germ. jur. p. 254. PELLOUTIER. hist. Celt. l. ii. c. 10.^m TACIT. Germ. c. 4. & 30. HORAT. epod. xvi. v. 7. JUVENAL. satir. xiii. AUSON. idyl. vii. Comment. l. i. c. 39. APOL. l. viii. c. 9, & 21.ⁿ TACIT. ubi supra, c. 23.^o Comment. l. iv. c. 1.^q Nat. hist. l. ii. c. 78.

to destroy them as fast as they could. Their skins they probably dressed, and made them into close garments, to wear during the winter, and, when spring came on, they exchanged them for some lighter habit: and this is all that could be meant by this pretended transformation. Unless we will suppose, not without some probability, that those *Greeks* had so far corrupted their native language, by their long abode in *Scythia*, that our author, naturally fond of wonders, understood them quite differently from what they meant.

(S) Amongst these, that of clocks, watches, and other such kind of useful and curious machinery, they have been long since famed for; but for none more than for the noble art of printing, which was found out at *Mentz*, soon after the year 1440, by *John Fust*, or *Faust*, a citizen of that place, and improved by his son-in-law, *Peter Shœffer*, and from thence propagated, by some of his countrymen, through all the famous cities of *Europe*, in less than half a century (45).

In speaking of this noble and useful invention, we cannot pass by a pathetic reply which a *German* made to a *Frenchman*, who allowed, indeed, that the *Germans* were generally good mechanics, but in other cases, said, that they had but a low and groveling genius, and no wit. To which the *German* gravely asked the following question: "Pray, Sir, which of the two nations shewed the brighter genius; ours, which invented the art of printing; or yours, which condemned the inventor of it to the flames for a conjurer?" For it plainly appears, that the parliament of *Paris* had condemned *John*

Faust to be burnt for magic, and that he with great difficulty obtained his pardon, at the expence of discovering his new invention to the archbishop of *Paris* (46).

(T) The *runæ*, or antient characters, are supposed to have been called so *ab incidendo*, from cutting out, because they were either cut out of wooden blocks, or cut into the bark of some trees (47), and in a very rude manner. The antientest author who appears to have made mention of those *runæ*, is *Venantius Fortunatus*, who lived about the beginning of the 6th century; he speaks of them as being used by the *Franks*, whose manner of writing, as well as of the *Goths*, was as yet but coarse and uncouth. He gives us their method of painting, or rather gravating them upon wooden planks, which were called *runæ*. The *Germans* have retained the same etymon in their language, in calling their letters *buchstaben*, which implies their being engraven on wood, and in strait lines (48). It has been much disputed whether those letters were *Latin* or *Greek*, and much has been urged on both sides; but a sepulchral inscription, dug up at *Rome*, and the only one, perhaps, that has been preserved of that old character, shews them to have been mostly *Greek*, with here and there a *Roman* one (49). Some old coins also confirm it, in some of which the legend is wholly *Greek*, and, in others, partly that, and partly *Latin* (50). And this is, in all probability, the character which is, by *Venantius* abovequoted, called the *runic*, and was, at that time, common to all the *Europeans*; only among the northern nations they were very coarse and ill-shaped, in comparison of the rest.

(45) See Palmer's history of printing, l. i. c. 2, & seq. l. ii. c. 1, & seq.

(47) See Celsus's letter to Mr. Vignoles, ann. 1733. ap. Pelloutier, ubi supra, l. ii. c. 10.

(48) Ibidem

(49) Vide Relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 4.

(50) Bouteroue, ubi supra, p. 43, 62, & seq.

their

a their inhabitants : on the contrary, experience shews, that there are very small people in some of the coldest climates, as in *Lapland*; and very gigantic ones in some of the warmest, as among some of the *Ethiopians*, as the same author justly observes. What may have farther contributed to the strength and stature of the *Germans*, was, their never or rarely intermarrying with other nations, nor adopting any of their soft customs; by which means, they transmitted these qualities to their children pure and uncorrupted^r.

THEIR native disposition displayed itself chiefly in their martial genius, and in *Valour and* their singular fidelity. The former of these they did indeed carry to such an excess, *fidelity.* as came little short of downright ferocity; but as to the latter, they not only valued

b themselves highly upon it, but were greatly esteemed by other nations for it; in-
somuch that *Augustus*, and several of his successors, committed the guard of their
persons to them, and almost all other nations either courted their friendship and
alliance, or hired them as auxiliaries: though it must be owned, at the same time,
that their extreme love of liberty, and their hatred of tyranny and oppression, has
often hurried them to treachery and murder, especially when they have thought
themselves ill used by those who hired them: for, in all such cases, they were easily
stirred up, and extremely vindictive. In other cases, *Tacitus* tells us, they were
noble, magnanimous, and beneficent, without ambition to aggrandize their domi-
nions, or invading those from whom they received no injury; rather chusing to
c employ their strength and valour defensively, than offensively; to preserve their
own, than to ravage their neighbours^s. Their friendship and intercourse was rather *Hospitality.*

a compound of honest bluntness and hospitality, than of wit, humour, or gallantry.
All strangers were sure to meet with a kind reception from them, to the utmost of
their ability; even those who were not in a capacity to entertain them, made it a
piece of duty to introduce them to those who could; and nothing was looked upon
as more scandalous and detestable, than to refuse them either the one, or the other^t.
They do not seem, indeed, to have had a taste for grand and elegant entertain-
ments; they affected in every thing, in their houses, furniture, diet, &c. rather
plainness and simplicity, than sumptuousness and luxury. If they learned of the
d *Romans* and *Gauls* the use of money, it was rather because they found it more conve-
nient than their antient way of bartering one commodity for another; and then they
preferred those antient coins which had been stamped during the times of the *Roman*
liberty, especially such as were either milled or cut in the rims, because they could *Money.*
not be so easily cheated in them, as in some others, which were frequently nothing
but copper, or iron, plated over with silver. This last metal they likewise preferred
before gold, not because it made a greater shew, but because it was more conve-
nient for buying and selling^u. And as they became, in time, more scared by, or more
useful to the *Romans*, so they learned how to draw enough of it from them to supply
their whole country, besides what flowed to them from other nations.

e As they despised superfluities in other cases, so they did also in the connubial way;
every man was contented with one wife (U), and both were so faithful to each other, *Marriages.*
and chaste, true, and disinterested, in their conjugal affections, that *Tacitus* prefers
their manners, in this respect, to those of the *Romans*. The men sought not
dowries from their wives, but bestowed them upon them^v. Their youth, in those
cold climes, did not begin so soon to feel the warmth of love, as they do in hotter
ones; and it was a common rule with them, not to marry young; and those were
most esteemed, who continued longest in celibacy; because they looked upon it as an
effectual means to make them grow tall and strong: and to marry, or be concerned
with a woman, before they were full twenty years old, was accounted shameful wan-
tonness^w. They have been, indeed, unjustly taxed with permitting a promiscuous *Unjustly char-*
and unnatural commerce of parents with their children, brothers with their sisters, *ged with in-*
and the like; but the only thing that seems to have given a colour to this pretended *cessuous com-*
merce.

^r TACIT. ubi supra, c. 4. CONRING. de habit. antiq. & nov. corp. Germ. causis. MASCOV. LEDIARD Germ. l. ii. c. 32. ^s TACIT. Germ. c. 35. ^t Ibid. c. 2. ^u Idem ibid. c. 5. ^v Ibid. c. 10.

^w CAS. com. l. vi. c. 21.

(U) Our author, however, excepts some cases, plurality of wives, more, says he (50), out of gran-
which yet were not frequent among them, as when deur and ostentation, than wantonness.
any of their princes or noblemen allowed themselves a

(50) Tacit. ubi supra, c. 18.

incestuous mixture was, their living together in their plain and homely cottages, and the whole family lying promiscuously in the straw, and stark-naked : which custom, though shocking to more polite nations, yet, being natural to them, was much more likely to restrain such unnatural commerce, than to give birth to it. But though they did lie thus together in the same hut, yet we can scarcely doubt but nature taught them to observe some decency ; and that the husband and wife lay in some corner apart, and the boys and girls at a convenient distance from each other. We may add, that such a brutish intermixture is quite opposite to that care which they took to keep their youth chaste and unmarried, till after twenty ; and to that conjugal fidelity for which they are so justly admired. The women shared with their husbands not only the care of their family, and the education of their children, but even the hardships of war. They attended them in the field, dressed their victuals for them, dressed their wounds, stirred them up to fight manfully against their enemies, and sometimes have, by their courage and bravery, recovered a victory, when it was upon the point of being snatched from them. In a word, they looked upon such constant attendance on them not as a servitude, like the *Roman* dames, but as a duty, and an honour. We find, in most parts of *Germany*, especially where vassalage is still in use, some notable relics of this antient female submission ; we have even lately seen some remarkable, and, as they appeared to us, shocking instances of it here, in those *Palatines* and *Saltsburghers* whom persecution and distress drove hither for shelter ; young, hale, and lusty fellows, fauntering along, with their pipes in their mouths, and a staff under their arm, whilst their obsequious wives trudged and sweated after them, under a load of their cloaths, and other lumber, and a child or two in their arms (W). But what appears to have been still a harder fate upon the antient *German* dames was, that their great *Odinus* excluded all those from his *valballa*, or paradise, who did not, by some violent death, follow their deceased husbands thither. We shall have occasion to speak of it in the next paragraph, and conclude this with an observation, that, notwithstanding their having been antiently in such high repute for their wisdom, and supposed spirit of prophecy, and their continuing such faithful and tender helpmates to their husbands, yet they sunk, in time, so low in their esteem, that, according to the old *Saxon* law, he that hurt or killed a woman, was to pay but half the fine that he should have done, if he had hurt or killed a man.

THEIR funerals. THERE is scarcely any one thing in which the *Germans*, though so nearly allied in most of their other customs to the *Gauls*, were yet more opposite to them than in their funerals. We have shewn, in the last chapter, with what pomp and profusion the latter performed theirs : those of the former were done with the same plainness and simplicity which they affected in all other things : the only grandeur they affected in them was, to burn the bodies of their great men with some peculiar kinds of wood ; but then the funeral pile was neither adorned with the cloaths and other fine furniture of the deceased, nor perfumed with fragrant herbs and gums : each man's armour, that is, his sword, shield, and spear, were flung into it, and sometimes his riding-horse. The *Danes* did, indeed, fling into the funeral of a prince, gold, silver, and other precious things, which the chief mourners, who walked, in a gloomy guise, round the fire, exhorted the by-standers to fling liberally into it, in honour of the deceased. They afterwards deposited their ashes in urns, like the *Gauls*, *Romans*, and other nations ; as it plainly appears, from the vast numbers which have been dug up all over the country, as well as from the sundry dissertations which have been written upon them by several learned moderns of that nation, a list and account of which the reader may see in the author last quoted. One thing we may observe, in general, that, whatever sacrifices they offered for their dead, whatever presents they made to them at their funerals,

7 Specul. Sax. l. i. c. 45.
KEYZLER ant. sept. p. 115.

8 Vide KEYZLER de mulier. fatidic. c. 2.
9 P. 109, & seq.

10 Saxo-Græm. l. viii.

(W) We have ourselves taken upon us to reprove their husbands for it, and told them, in a friendly manner, that our nation was much offended at it ; but have been gravely answered, by their passive dames, that it was the fashion of their country, and that it would cast a much greater disgrace on their good men to help them off with any share of the

burden. And what appeared still more surprising was, when these poor women have been offered a draught of ale or beer to refresh them, they have desired it might be given to their husbands, for that themselves could drink water : so great is the force of education and custom.

a and whatever other superstitious rites they might perform at them, all was done in consequence of those excellent notions which their antient religion had taught them, the immortality of the soul, and the bliss or misery of a future life^c.

It is impossible, indeed, as they did not commit any thing to writing till very lately, and as none of the antient writers have given us any account of it, to guess how soon this belief of their great *Odin*, and his paradise, was received among them. ^{Notion of the state of souls after death.}

It may, for aught we know, have been older than the times of *Tacitus*, and he have known nothing of it, by reason of their scrupulous care of concealing their religion from strangers: but as they conveyed their doctrines to posterity by songs and poems, and most of the northern poets tell us, that they have drawn their intelligence from those very poems which were still preserved among them; we may, rightly enough, suppose, that whatever doctrines are contained in them, were formerly professed by the generality of the nation, especially since we find their antient practice so exactly conformable to it. Thus, since the surest road to this paradise was, to excel in martial deeds, and to die intrepidly in the field of battle, and since none were excluded from it but base cowards, and betrayers of their country, it is natural to think, that the signal and excessive bravery of the *Germans* flowed from this antient belief of theirs: and, if their females were so brave and faithful, as not only to share with their husbands all the dangers and fatigues of war, but, at length, to follow them, by a voluntary death, into the other world; it can hardly be attributed to any thing else but a strong persuasion of their being admitted to live with them in that place of bliss. This belief, therefore, whether received originally from the old *Celts*, or afterwards taught them by this, since deified *Odin*, seems, from their general practice, to have been universally received by all the *Germans*, though they might differ one from another in their notions of that future life (X). In general, they seem to have had a twofold notion of this future state, the one to precede, and the other to come after, what they called, in their language, *ragna rockur*, or the crepuscule of the gods, or heroes; by which they meant the consummation of all things by a general conflagration^d. So that, according to them, there was to be a future life of bliss and misery, till the destruction of the world; and another which was to follow it presently after, when a new sun, new heavens, and a new earth, were to be created, and in them a place of endless happiness for the good, and another of endless misery for the bad: which notion one would be apt to imagine they had imbibed from the christians, did it not appear, from *Seneca*, to have been the doctrine of the stoics; unless we should suppose that author had it rather from some of the apostles^e, or their disciples, than from his own sect (Y). However that be, some of the circumstances, which these old *Germans* believed would attend this general conflagration, seem to us to have been taken from the apocalypse, and adapted to their own antient notions and taste: we shall give our readers some few instances of this in the margin (Z), they being scarcely worth mentioning any-where.

^c Vid. DION. SICUL. hist. l. v. AM. MARCEL. l. xv. CÆS. COMM. l. vi. c. 14. STRAB. MELA, & al. ^d EDDÆ mythol. 30, & 48. EIVIND. SCALDASPILER. & al. ap. Keyzler. ubi supra, p. 119, & seq. ^e Conf. 2 PET. c. iii. v. 7, & seq. SENEC. QUINT. INST. l. iii. & consolat. ad Marcian. OVID. metamorph. l. ii.

(X) What the bliss of this paradise consisted in, we have already seen; but, besides this, there are some notions attributed to them, by these writers lately mentioned, which do not seem to square altogether with it (51): such as that of the transmigration of souls, which, if we may believe some antient christian writers (52), *Pythagoras* received from them. We have shewn, in the last chapter, that the *Gauls* were unjustly charged with adopting the same notion; and the same thing may, for aught appears, have been done with respect to the *Germans*. But if these had any such belief amongst them, it can only be reconciled with that of *Odin's* paradise, by supposing the latter to be reserved for their brave and enterprising heroes; whilst the rest, who had no title to it, were left to transmigrate from body to body, more or less noble and happy,

according to their merit or demerit, in a continual rotation, till the consummation of all things.

(Y) It is not to be doubted, that the doctrine of a general conflagration was believed by many antient nations, as we have had occasion to shew at the beginning of this work; but *Seneca*, in the place last quoted, speaks of it in such a manner, as makes one believe he had conversed with some christians, or, at least, some *Jewish* rabbis, from whom he had adopted many particulars, which the stoics, till then, knew nothing of.

(Z) They tell you, among other things, the old earth, being thus destroyed, a new one is to start up out of the sea, which will produce all things, necessary and delightful to its inhabitants; and that the males and females which escape the general destruction are quickly to replenish it with a more hopeful

(51) See Keyzler. ubi supra, p. 116, & seq. & Auct. ab eo citat. Euseb. prep. l. x. c. 2.

(52) Clem. Alex. Strom. l. vi.

Unnatural
customs.

Excessive love
of strong li-
quors.

where else. We shall finish this section with observing, that the notion of a future a happiness obtained by martial exploits, especially by dying sword in hand, made them bewail the fate of those who lived to an old age, as dishonourable here, and hopeless hereafter: upon which account, they had a barbarous way to send them packing into the other world, willing or not willing. And this custom lasted several ages after their receiving christianity, especially among the *Prussians* and *Venedi*; the former of whom, it seems, dispatched, by a quick death, not only their sick children, servants, &c. but even their parents, and sometimes themselves^f: and of the latter we have instances of this horrid paricide being practised even in the beginning of the 14th century^g. All that need be added is, that, if those persons, thus supposed to have lived long enough, either desired to be put to death, or, at least, b seemed cheerfully to submit to what they knew they could not avoid, their exit was commonly preceded with a feast, and their funeral with another; but if they endeavoured to shun it, as it sometimes happened, both ceremonies were performed with the deepest mourning. In the former they rejoiced at their deliverance, and being admitted into bliss; in the latter they bewailed their cowardly excluding themselves from it. Much the same thing was done towards those wives who betrayed a backwardness to follow their dead husbands. We need not here observe, that, in these funerals, as well as in all their other feasts, they were famed for drinking to excess; and one may say of them, above all the other descendants of the ancient *Celtes*, that their hospitality, banquets, &c. consisted much more in the c quantity of strong liquors, than in the elegance of eating. Beer, and strong mead, which were their natural drink, were looked upon as the chief promoters of health, strength, fertility, and bravery; upon which account, they made no scruple to indulge themselves to the utmost in them, not only in their feasts, and especially before an engagement, but even in their common meals. *Tacitus* tells us, that they could bear neither heat nor thirst; and that they thought it no disgrace to spend whole days and nights in quaffing^h: so that though they were in no case more invincible than in this, yet, if you plied them with enough of it, you could not fail of overcoming themⁱ. As for wine, though they at first betrayed an excessive fondness for it, yet they quickly found by experience, that it only tended to enervate d and emasculate the men, and obstructed the fecundity of the women; for which reason some of them, especially the *Suevi*, forbade the importation of it^k. And it is thought, to this day, that the degeneracy of the modern *Germans*, in this respect, as well as that of the *Gauls*, *Spaniards*, and other nations, is, in a great measure, owing to their exchanging their old natural liquors for the foreign juice of the grape^l.

^f See CHRISTOPH. HARTKNOCH. antiq. Prussia, dissert. xiii.

l. ii. c. 8. KRANTZ. Vandal. l. vii. KEYZLER. ubi supra, p. 147, & seq.

c. 23. Vide & JULIAN. misopog. p. 352.

supra, c. 6. § 6.

^g MARESCALE annal. Herul. & Vandal.

^h Germ. c. 4. & 22.

ⁱ Ibid.

^k CÆSAR. comment. l. iv. c. 2.

^l KEYZLER. ubi

offspring: that on the south side of heaven there is a court vastly brighter than the sun itself, and which will be proof against the flames which are to destroy the rest of the creation; and there it is that the good will be preserved for that new and endless life. That the general destruction is to be preceded by the most severe seasons, bloody wars, enormous crimes, &c. after which, two monstrous wolves are to be let loose, who shall devour sun, moon, and stars. That the rainbow, by which the souls of the good went up to heaven, will be broken down. That some of the *asa*, or deified heroes, shall begin an unsuccessful war, and *Odin* himself be devoured by one of the wolves; after which, the universe is to be set on fire: that there is another court, as dismal as the other is glorious, whose gates open towards the north; the fences of it are woven with the hinder-parts of venomous serpents, whose

heads are all turned towards the inside of it, and cast continual streams of deadly poison, which infects all the rivers round it, through which the wicked are forced to wade; and much more to the like purpose.

We shall not trouble ourselves further, to inquire whence those northern poets drew all this mythological rhapsody; but only observe, from the whole, that they plainly appear not to have had so high an opinion of their country, as some of a modern date, who have taken a vast deal of pains to prove, that the earthly paradise was situate there, and that they, especially *Suedland*, afforded every thing that is useful and delightful to mankind (53); for if those old ones had entertained any such favourable opinion of these cold regions, they would hardly have made them the abode of miserable souls, and removed the seats of the blessed to the southern side of the universe (54).

(53) Rudbeck. *Olai Atlantici*. & al.

(54) Vide Keyzler. ubi supra, p. 123.

S E C T. III.

The history of the antient Germans.

- ^a **W**E have taken notice, at the beginning of this chapter, that the most antient The antient history of the Germans unknown. historians, both *Greek* and *Roman*, have so injudiciously confounded the whole *German* nation under the names of *Scythians* and *Celtes*, and that *Tacitus* himself, who had conversed so much amongst them, is, in some cases, so manifestly fabulous, and, in many others, so obscure and inconsistent, that no tolerable certainty can be expected, either with relation to their origin, or antient history, except we can strike out some light from better hands, and from some such concurring circumstances as may add weight to their testimony. This, we hope, we have done, in some measure, with relation to the first of these two points; but it is much more difficult to adjust the latter to any satisfaction, considering what a vast number of nations are comprehended in the general name of *Germans*, their constant fluctuations, and driving each other from place to place, their various intermixtures with each other, till the name of the one was quite swallowed up in the other; that many of them did, in time, come to differ widely from the rest, in their customs, government, laws, and politics; and others are scarcely known to us by any thing but their names; and especially, considering that none of them wrote any thing of their own affairs, and that both *Romans* and *Greeks* had but a very confused, if any knowledge of them, till the *Romans* did, by their wars and commerce with them, open a more easy way to it (A). Upon these accounts, we must be contented to set down the epocha between the coming and settling of the former in the several parts of *Germany*, and the invasion of the latter, for dark and uncertain, and as impenetrable as their famed *Hercynian* forest; except what we have been able to gather from those authors concerning their names, situation, and some few other particulars, which we have already, or shall have occasion to mention, in the sequel of this section.

^b **W**HAT occasioned the *Romans* breaking in upon *Germany*, as they did upon all other nations they could come at; we have already seen, in the course of the *Roman* history^a; the *Germans* were then so far from being formed into one single community, that they were divided into a vast number of small kingdoms and commonwealths. They might, indeed, look upon themselves, in general, as a nation descended originally from the same stock, and so have some laws in common to them all, either for the supporting of each other against foreign invaders, or for the preservation of a due balance amongst their vast variety of commonwealths; but, in other things, each had its particular form of government, laws, policy, and interest. They were all of them bred up with an excessive love of liberty, and hatred to all kinds of invasion; and could not, but with jealousy and resentment, behold

^a See vol. iv. p. 690, & seq.

(A) It is plain, that, before the *Romans* came over the *Alps*, they had so little knowledge of them, that they confounded them with the *Gauls*, and called both nations by that name. The general one of *Germans* doth not, indeed, appear to have been of so early date as some have thought it, as we have shewn at the beginning of this chapter; so that each nation being distinguished by their peculiar names, unknown then to the *Romans*, it was natural for these to include them all under the name of *Celtes*, *Gauls*, and *Galatae*, as they were so nearly allied in their origin, religion, customs, &c.

There is, indeed, one passage, in the *fasti Capitolini* (1), in which mention is made of that great victory so much cried up by *Virgil* and other writers (2), which *Marcellus* gained over *Viridomarus* and his *Gauls*, who are here joined with the *Insubri* and *Germans*, and which, if this last name be not

corrupted by the transcriber, will plainly shew it to have been longer in use than we suppose it. But a late writer hath shewed it very probable, at least, both from the similitude of the names, and other concurring circumstances, that *Germani* is here transcribed, instead of *Cenomani* (3); for these were not only next neighbours to the *Insubri*, and concerned with them in the same war against the *Romans*, but were defeated with them, not long after, by *Cethegus*, who, thereupon, triumphed over them both at the same time (4).

This *Viridomarus* is by some styled a king, and by others a general of the *Gauls* (5); and his invasion threw the *Romans* into such a consternation, that, to turn away the impending evil, they were guilty of that inhuman piece of superstition we have mentioned out of *Plutarch*, in a former volume (6).

(1) *Sub an. U. C. 531. Capitol. sub an. U. C. 556. before, vol. vi. p. 27, a, b.*

(2) *Æneid. vi. v. 855, & seq.*

(3) *Masov. Germ. l. i. c. 4.*

(5) *Plutarch. in Marcell. Polyb. l. ii. Flor. l. ii. c. 4, & al.*

(4) *Fast. (6) See*

the daily encroachments which the *Romans* continually made on all their neighbours, a or, consequently, without uniting themselves more closely against them, and assisting those of their neighbours, who were likely to fall the next sacrifice to their ambition; as we have seen they did, with respect to the *Gauls*, *Helveti*, and other neighbouring states. Hence arose those wars and conquests which ended in their total conquest; for the politic *Romans* soon took the advantage of their being divided into so many different republics; and by fomenting jealousies among some of them, bribing and corrupting others, and by using all their force and art against the rest, they found means to subdue them gradually, and by piece-meal: so that one state after the other fell a prey to their conquering arms, till the whole country was reduced into a *Roman* province. This part, therefore, of their history, is not to be looked b upon as a general one of a whole nation, but as a separate one of such a number of different states subdued one after the other, and in a great measure independently one from the other, till we come to that period of time the *Franks* brought and united all the other *Germans*, who remained in those countries, together with many other *Roman* provinces, under their dominion. For this reason, and because a full and particular account has been given of all these conquests in the *Roman* history, we shall, to avoid all unnecessary repetitions, content ourselves with giving a chronological summary of the reduction of each of these nations, till we come to the grand epocha of the *Franks* above-mentioned; and refer our readers to the volume and page where each of them is more fully and severally mentioned. For the *Roman* c history being not only the most considerable one in this whole work, in all respects, but being, as it were, the basis, or pivot, on which that of all the nations they subdued doth chiefly turn, we thought it would render it more complete, useful, and instructive, to give them all in one view, or series, in that part of it, than if we had detached them from the main body, and branched them out into so many distinct parts of history; which could hardly have been done without either great confusion, or endless repetitions. From the conquest of *Germany* by the *Romans*, our next point in view will be, to shew by what means they regained their liberty, and made such ample reprisals upon their conquerors under the *Franks*; and as the defection of these gave rise to the *German* empire, which will make a considerable d part in our modern history, which is to follow, we shall, to avoid confusion, give the history of all those several nations, and of those kingdoms which they erected in other countries, in their several transmigrations, each in a distinct chapter, and confine ourselves, in the latter part of this, to mentioning the most considerable of those other countries which have been since conquered and possessed by the *Germans* who now inhabit the empire, at least as far as will be necessary to open the way to the modern history of it.

The design of
this section.

Germany in-
vaded by the
Gauls.

BUT before we come to the *Roman* invasion, it will be necessary to mention some transactions, relating to the antient *Germans*, which are previous to it, and have yet been but touched upon; the first of which is, the *Gaulish* irruption into their e territories, under the conduct of *Sigovesus*, whilst his brother, *Bellovesus*, made the like over the *Alps*. These two valiant princes were sons to the sister of *Ambigatus*, a king of the *Celtae*, or *Gauls*, about the time of *Tarquinius Priscus*. That monarch, finding his subjects to increase too fast for the extent of his territories, resolved to send two large colonies out of it, to settle somewhere else, under the conduct of his two nephews. These being directed, as the *Gaulish* manner then was, by the flight of birds, the former of these was directed over the *Rhine*, and settled in the *Hercynian* forest f, whilst the other went and penetrated into *Italy*, as we have seen in a former volume (B). Whether the *Germans* had any hand in this latter expedition, doth not clearly appear, for the reasons mentioned in the last note. Only if the regions f

^b Livy decad. l. v. c. 34.

^c Vol. iv. p. 561, c.

(B) We find, however, no farther mention of the former colony, and their settlement in *Germany*, unless we suppose, that it is of them which *Julius Caesar* speaks, when he informs us of a *Gaulish* nation, which in his time inhabited the heart of *Germany*, along the *Hercynian* forest, and all the most fertile parts of that country between the *Rhine* and that

famed wood, and had intirely conformed themselves to the customs and manners of that country (7). *Tacitus*, likewise, by placing the *Boii* and *Helvetii* much about the very same spot of ground, and making them both to be descended from the *Gauls* (8), doth, in all probability, mean the very same nation and colony with *Caesar* and *Livy*.

(7) *Comments*. l. vi. c. 24.

(8) *German*. c. 28.

a lying at the foot of the *Apennine* hills were at that time inhabited by *Germans*, or semi *Germans*, as *Livy* calls them^d, there is no question to be made but they might be hurried, by those *Gaulish* swarms, to follow them in those excursions, and share in those devastations and pillages, which they committed. But hitherto it doth not appear, that the rest of the *German* nation were at all concerned in them, since *Tacitus* gives them this peculiar character, that they rather studied how to preserve their own, than how to invade the territories of others^e; and it is most likely, that they did not begin to act offensively against the *Romans*, at least, till they were alarmed at the greatness of their power, and the daily encroachments they made round about them. Swarms of colonies they must be supposed to have sent abroad, to prevent b the want of elbow-room, as they multiplied so fast: but there was so much of that to spare towards the north parts of *Europe*, and so little on the south parts, where they were, moreover, sure to meet with a stout opposition, that they poured most of them towards the other way, at least till the *Gauls* did, in some measure, oblige them to make reprisals upon them.

THE first of these we meet with, and which, in all appearance, is of much later date than that of *Segovesus* into *Germany*, is that of the *Belgæ*, one of the fiercest, and most warlike nations of *Germany*; who, having passed the *Rhine*, and driven the *Gauls* out of a canton of it, seated themselves so firmly in it, that neither their neighbours, whom they continually annoyed, nor any other nation, could ever c drive them out of it. *Cæsar* adds, that they were not a little proud of this their settlement, and that they assumed a high hand over all their neighbours^f; and we have elsewhere observed, that they were, probably, called *Belgæ*, upon that account, that word, in the old *Teutonic*, signifying fierce and quarrelsome^g (C). They afterwards peopled the coasts of *Britain*, and drove the natives into the inland parts, and waged continual wars with the *Germans*^h. We have already given an account of these *Belgæ*, of their origin, wars with the *Romans*, and reduction to their yoke, in a former volume, to which we refer our readersⁱ. From this irruption of the *Belgæ* into *Gaul*, which is the first the *German* nation made upon them, at least that we read of, these two nations continued in a kind of alternate state of hostility and d friendship, as occasion served; sometimes invading each other's territories, at other times assisting each other against the *Romans*, as we have had frequent occasion to hint in the last chapter, and shall again in this: but it is time that we should speak of those wars and defeats which the several *German* nations waged against the *Romans*, the defeats they received from them, and by which they were subdued by them, in the succinct method and order of time, as we have promised.

THE first we read of, who ventured to invade the *Roman* territories, were the *Cimbri* invade *Cimbri* and *Teutones*: we have already spoken of their antient settlement, the former Italy, in the *Cimbrica* *Cæronesus*, and the latter on the coasts and isles of the *Baltic*^k; but whether, for want of room there, or, perhaps, invited by the beauty of a warmer c clime, both these (D) marched, with their wives and children, through, and ravaged *Noricum* and *Illyricum*, penetrated into *Italy*, defeated the *Romans*, at several pitched

^d Decad. l. xxi. c. 28.

^e Germ. c. 35.

^f Comment. l. ii. c. 4.

^g See before, p. 321, (A).

^h Comment. l. i. c. 1.

ⁱ See vol. v. p. 119, d—f, (X). p. 128, c.

^k See before, p. 406, & seq. 487, a.

(C) And which is the character *Cæsar* gives them, and attributes this roughness of theirs to their living at a distance from the more civilized provinces of *Gaul*, and having few or no foreign merchants to trade with them, and bring them such commodities as serve to effeminate mankind (9).

(D) It doth not, indeed, appear, that these two nations began their first excursions jointly, or at the same time; much less, that they all left their territories, for they left a much greater number behind; but only that some of the resolute of each resolved to exchange them for new ones. It is more likely, that, upon the sight of the vigorous opposition they were likely to meet with from the consular armies, and under such experienced generals, the *Cimbri* invited the *Teutones*, who were their neighbours, to come and join them, as they did some others, both

Germans and *Gauls*, through whose territories they passed; particularly the *Thyrini* and *Ambrones*, who are mentioned in the same invasion (10). They parted, indeed, from them all, upon what account doth not appear; but, instead of pursuing their *Italic* invasion towards the *Pyrenæi*, being there repulsed by the *Celtiberi*, they rejoined the *Teutones* again, and made sad havock in *Gaul*, which was then in no condition to withstand them. They moved, at length, towards *Italy*, by several ways, and were forced to fight their way through each of them. It proved, however, a fatal expedition to them all, particularly to the *Teutones*, who, after having insulted the *Roman* army with the most biting taunts (11), were cut off by them, to the number of 100,000, by the same victorious consul (12).

(9) Comment. l. i. c. 1. Maria.

(10) See vol. v. p. 4. & 34.

(11) Ibid. 36, &

(12) In

Defeated by
Marius.

battles¹, and threw all *Italy* into the greatest consternation^m. In the first of these actions they vanquished the famed consul, *Papyrius Carbo*; in another, *M. Junius Silanus*, another consul, who was soon after called to a severe account for it; and, in a third, *L. Cassius*; and, in a fourth, the brave *M. Aurelius Scaurus*, whom they took prisoner, and put to death, by their king, *Bolos* (E), for speaking too boldly in praise of the *Romans*: but, after several other successes in *Italy*, they were totally defeated and destroyed by the policy of consul *Marius*ⁿ. For this general took care to post himself so advantageously, on the day of battle, that the *Cimbri* had not only his army, but the sun, wind, and dust, to combat with, and were the more easily overthrown, by that subtle stratagem (F). How greatly the *Romans* esteemed this victory, may be seen by the triumph, and other singular honours^b which they decreed both to *Marius*, and to *Catulus*, as well as by the monuments which these caused to be reared in memory of it^o (G). Those *Cimbri* who escaped this dreadful slaughter, did, in all likelihood, return into their own country; for they are said to have sent afterwards a submissive embassy to *Augustus* P; and are likewise mentioned, by authors of later date, as the most warlike of all the northern *Germans*^q, down to *Claudian's* time, who calls the north sea by their name^r. But it is likely the *Saxons*, their neighbours, joining with them in their excursions, and growing, by degrees, more famous, the *Cimbrian* name was swallowed up in theirs^s.

Ariovistus
settles in Gaul,
and forms a
kingdom there.

THE next excursion we find recorded of the *Germans*, is that which happened in c
Julius Cæsar's time, on occasion of the jealousy, which it is justly supposed that politic conqueror fomented between the *Ædui* and the *Arverni*, the then two most potent nations in *Gaul*; the former of whom being then in friendship with *Rome*, and the latter allied with the *Sequani*, these thought fit to call in the neighbouring *Germans* to their assistance. At first, only 15000 came over to them, but they became so enamoured with this delightful country, that, to keep their footing in it, they sent for fresh supplies from over the *Rhine*, inasmuch that they amounted, at last, to 120000. The *Sequani*, by their assistance, soon subdued the *Ædui*, as we have formerly seen^t; but their victory cost them dear, for they were forced by *Ariovistus*, the *German* king, to evacuate one third part of their kingdom, to settle his d
troops in. He soon after obliged them to yield another third to him, as a settlement for 40000 *Harudes*, who crossed over to him, and, at the same time, did, by his address, induce *Julius Cæsar*, then consul, to allow him the title and honour of a king^u. But it proved a short-lived kingdom, and *Cæsar*, who only caressed him

¹ Vol. v. p. 4. & seq. 28. & seq.

^m Ibid. p. 34. c. 37. & seq.

ⁿ Ibid. 38. pass.

^o See

PLUTARCH. ubi supra. & vol. v. p. 38. & seq.

^p STRABO, l. vii.

^q TACIT. Germ. c. 37. PROLEM.

l. ii. c. 11.

^r Consul. Honor. p. 335. 450.

^s See MASCOW, in fin. l. i.

^t See before, vol. v.

p. 118, b.

^u Dio, l. xxxviii.

(E) This is, in all likelihood, the same whom *Plutarch* calls *Bolorix*, king of the *Gauls* (13), but *Livy* *Bolos*, king of the *Cimbri* (14). We have formerly mentioned the murder of the brave *Scaurus*, by that young hot-headed prince, and the occasion of it (15); and there we followed the former of these authors, though, most likely, the latter is in the right. We lately took notice, how apt the *Greeks* and *Romans* were to confound the *Gauls* and *Germans*; the *Cimbri* were, doubtless, antient *Celts*, as their name imports, with respect to their origin; but *Gauls* they could not be, since they inhabited the most northern parts of *Germany*.

(F) This circumstance we are beholden to *Plutarch* for (16), and need the less question it, seeing that author had it out of *Sylla's* memoirs, who was himself in *Marius's* army, and had wrote a description of this victory, besides *Catulus*, who likewise left an account of his consulship; and, perhaps, some other helps he might have had besides. The description which he and some others (17) give us of the order of battle of the *Cimbrians*, their accoutre-

ments, weapons, valour, and intrepidity to the last, plainly shews what brave warriors they were, and that they only wanted some parts of the *Roman* discipline and policy to have made them, in all points, superior to the conquerors of the world.

We are told, farther, that their wives behaved, in this action, with incredible bravery; and at length preferred an honourable death for themselves and their children, to a dishonourable captivity (18); and *Seneca* adds, that, after their death, their very dogs fought in defence of the carriages, which these heroines had lost their lives for.

(G) Among these was the famed temple of *Virtue*, built by the former, and the brazen bull, which the latter is said to have taken from them, and caused to be preserved in his own house (19). What this bull was, hath puzzled most antiquaries, because it is not mentioned by any other author: some think, that the *Cimbrians* had it upon their standards, as the *Romans* had the eagles; others, that it was only a bullock's head (20); but all this is mere conjecture, and not worth dwelling upon.

(13) *Plutarch. ubi supra.*

(14) *Epist. lxxvii.*

(15) *Vol. v. p. 28. & seq.*

(16) *In Mario.*

(17) *Valer. Max. l. ii. c. 6. Vide & Artholin. de contempt. mors. ap. Danos.*

(18) *Plutarch. ubi supra.*

(19) *No. Hist. l. viii. c. 41.*

(20) *See Mascow. & Lediard. l. i. c. 13. m. 1. & seq.*

- a for his own ends, soon found a specious pretence to dispossess him of it. The vast numbers of *Germans* which *Ariovistus* had brought into *Gaul*, and the success which their bravery had gained them, could not but raise the *Roman* jealousy, and alarm not only the *Sequani*, but the greatest part of the *Gauls*, who thereupon applied to the consul with bitter complaints against the *German* devastations, and the danger they were in of being quickly swallowed up by them. *Cæsar* turned all this to his own advantage, and sent to desire an interview with the *German* prince, who found means to excuse himself from it, and to get six other nations, or cantons, to join with him, besides his own *Suevi* (H), and a fresh reinforcement of those which were hastening over to him; upon which, *Cæsar* made what haste he could towards
- b him, to prevent their joining. A conference was, at length, agreed upon, in which *Cæsar* used some threats to him, and plainly told him, that the *Romans* would doubly resent his tyrannic use of their old friends the *Ædui*, after they had shewed him so much regard, and bestowed such honours upon him; and therefore insisted, that he should restore their hostages to them, send back part of his *German* troops, and forbear all future hostilities. To all this imperious stuff, *Ariovistus*, in vain, pleaded the right of conquest, his being invited into *Gaul*, and his treaties with the *Sequani*, and even offered his services and friendship to *Cæsar* himself: the conference was broken, and followed with a dreadful engagement, in which the *Roman* policy got the advantage of the *German* bravery (I), gave them a total overthrow^w, and forced them over the *Rhine*, some by swimming, and others in boats, and,
- c amongst the rest, *Ariovistus* himself, who, by what may be guessed by a passage in *Cæsar*, did not long outlive his disgrace^x. After this, the nations which fought under him dispersed themselves, the *Marcomans* into *Boiobemum*, under the conduct of *Maroboduus*; the *Tribochi*, *Nemetes*, and *Vangiones*, stayed in *Gaul*, or went over the *Rhine*, and submitted, with the *Ubii*, to the *Romans*; for we find them still seated along the banks of that river^y. As for those *Suevi* who were assembled on the same side, they retired, upon their receiving the news of this defeat; only a great number of them were cut off, in their flight, by the *Ubii*, who had been treated in a hostile manner by them^z. And thus ended this second expedition of the
- d *Germans* into *Gaul*. On the very next year the *Belgæ*, alarmed at the success of the *Romans*, formed a great alliance with the *Celtes*, *Germans*, and *Gauls*, in order to drive them farther from their neighbourhood. *Cæsar*, according to custom, found means to sow such divisions amongst them, that many of those allies submitted to

^w *Cæs. comment. l. i. c. 52, & seq.*
Germ. c. 28.

^x *Ibid. l. v. c. 29.* See vol. v. p. 118, c—e.

^y *TACIT.*

(H) These were the *Marcomans*, *Harudes*, *Tribochi*, *Vangiones*, *Nemetes*, and *Sedusii*. We have given an account of these *German* nations, at the beginning of this chapter; besides these, the *Treviri* gave notice to *Cæsar*, that a fresh swarm of *Suevi* were got as far as the banks of the *Rhine*, under the command of *Nasua* and *Cimberius*, two brothers, who were just on the point to cross over into *Gaul*, and join the *German* army (21).

(I) *Cæsar* played a double stratagem against them; the first, by animating his *Romans* and *Gaulish* allies, with a pretence, that *Ariovistus* had been guilty of the blackest treachery against him (22); which notion, whether true, or false, would not fail exasperating them, and disheartening the *Germans*: the other, by obliging them to fight before the new moon, which, he had been informed, both *Gauls* and *Germans* carefully avoided, as ominous to them: and, accordingly, *Ariovistus* strove all he could to shun it, till the *Romans* fell suddenly upon him, and obliged him to fight, which both he, and his men, did, with greater fury than discretion; and being once put into disorder, betook themselves to a hasty flight, in spite of the cries and endeavours of their wives and children to rally them, and stopped not till they got safe over the *Rhine*.

The misfortune is, that we have no other account

of these things but what *Cæsar* has been pleased to give us, who is evidently partial to his own nation, and much more to himself. Had they been written by a more impartial hand, it is likely we should find them in a very different light from what he has given them. However, even as we have them from him, it is not difficult to discover such inconsistencies as seem to us to carry their own confutation. Such as is that which he says of the *Germans* at this action, viz. that they formed themselves into such a thick and impenetrable phalanx, and held their shields so close over their heads, that the *Romans* were forced to leap upon them, and tear them asunder, and, sinking down between them, kill those who lurked under them, till they had opened a passage for their companions to come in upon them (23).

But *Cæsar* was not the only *Roman* writer who betrays such fond partiality for the glory of that nation; the account which some of them give of the total overthrow of such a vast army as that of the brave *Cimbrians*, and their allies, mentioned a little higher, and with the loss of only 300 men on *Marius's* side (24), seems no less stretched beyond all probability, especially considering how bravely they tell us the enemy behaved on this occasion, and how much superior they had proved in all former actions.

(21) *Comments. l. i. c. 35. & seq.*
Eutrop. & Flor. l. i. c. 14.

(22) See vol. v. 118, d.

(23) *Comments. ibid. c. 52.*

(24) *Vide*

The Belgæ
subdued.

53000 Atuatii
sold for slaves.

Tencteri and
Ulpetes de-
feated.

A bridge built
over the Rhine.

him; only the *Nervii*, *Atrebatæ*, and *Veromandui*, stood firm against him, and, a though defeated at length, yet yielded him one of the dearest victories he had ever got: so that the whole *Belgic* nation was forced to submit to the *Roman* yoke^a. *Comius*, a faithful dependent on *Cæsar*, was by him made king of the *Atrebatæ*, and soon gained a considerable authority over all that country^b; the *Atuatii*, about the same time, hearing of these swift conquests, came in one body to the succour of the *Atrebatæ*, and entertained no small contempt of the *Romans*, when they found them so far inferior in stature: they were, however, soon undeceived, to their cost, when, being briskly besieged by them in their capital, into which they had been forced to retire after the defeat of the *Atrebatæ*, and unable to obtain better terms than to surrender it at discretion, both their city, and all the garrison of it, to the b number of 53000, were sold by the conqueror^c (K).

Cæsar was, not long afterwards, forced into a war with two other *German* nations, viz. the *Tencteri*, and *Ulpetes* (L): these, having been forced out of their own territories by the *Suevi*, the fiercest and most warlike of all the northern *Germans*, of whom we shall speak in the sequel of this volume, had passed into *Gaul*, and settled themselves in the neighbourhood of the *Eburones* and *Condrusi*. *Cæsar* was then at *Rome*, to obstruct the cabals of *Lucius Domitius* against him, but was obliged to hasten into *Gaul*, to prevent their joining with that nation against the *Romans*. Upon his arrival, they sent an embassy to acquaint him with the reasons of their coming into that country, and to beg, that he would allow them settlements there, c promising him, if he did, to serve him upon all occasions; otherwise, that they would maintain their ground by force of arms. *Cæsar* not only refused to grant them their request, but fell suddenly and furiously upon them, and made a terrible slaughter of them, together with their wives and children; and of those who escaped, the greatest part perished, with endeavouring to cross the *Muse*^d; only their cavalry, who happened not to be in the battle, crossed the *Rhine*, and fled to the *Sicambri*, whose territories were sited between those two rivers. This, and the assistance which the *Ubii* about *Cologne* sent to beg of him against the threatening *Suevi*, afforded him a pretence for building a bridge over the *Rhine*, to the great surprise of all the *Germans* (M), but especially of the *Sicambri*, whose country he ravaged at an unmerciful rate, set fire to their houses, cut down their corn, and returned to the *Ubii*; whilst they, at his approach, ran with all their effects into their forests, and exhorted the *Tencteri* and *Ulpetes* to do the same^e. This was the first time, in all likelihood, that the *Romans* set foot on the *German* territories, which became afterwards the scene of so much bloodshed on both sides, both under that conqueror, and his successors, and which ended in the almost total conquest of this brave nation. The *Treviri* were the first who gave an occasion to that general to invade their country, who doth not appear to have had any intention, upon his first entering *Germany*, to carry on a war against them, but only to keep them in awe, by convincing them, that he was not afraid to come and attack them e in their own territories (N). However that be, the *Treviri*, grown jealous of the

^a Ibid. l. ii. pass. See vol. v. p. 119, d—f. 118, e.
& seq.

^d Ibid. c. 1, & seq. See vol. v. p. 112, 2, b:

^b Comment. l. iv. c. 11.

^c Ibid. c. 33.

^e Comment. ubi supra, c. 7, & seq.

(K) *Cæsar*, in his account of this action, seems to intimate, that he had extirpated the whole nation by it (14): for he says, that they had all abandoned their cities and towns, and had sheltered themselves in this capital, where those who escaped being killed in the siege, were all sold for slaves. But they are found, in process of time, to have made such powerful head against the *Romans*, as shews plainly enough how apt that conqueror was to exaggerate every advantage he got against those who fell under his hand.

What this capital was, he doth not tell us: *Cluverius* thinks it to have been *Namur*; if so, it is strange, that *Cæsar*, when he describes the strength of the place (15), should say nothing of the *Muse*, on which that place is situate, and which could not but add considerable strength to it.

(L) We have given an account of these two

nations, and their country, in a former volume (16):

(M) The *Ubii*, indeed, offered to waft him over in their boats; but the politic general told them, that it would be more for the honour of the *Romans* to build a bridge over that river; which, it seems, was the first attempt of that kind, they being used before to cross it in floats, and other slight and flat vessels. What increased their surprize, if his account can be credited, was, that he finished it in ten days, and set a strong guard on each side of it. The reader may see this famed fabric described by himself (17).

(N) *Cæsar* had two other views, the one to shew the *Germans*, by the example of the *Sicambri*, how dangerous it was to exasperate the *Romans*; and the other, by the timely assistance he gave the *Ubii* against the *Suevi*, though for his own ends, to induce them to set a high value upon *Roman* friendship.

(14) Comment. l. ii. c. 19, & seq.
mens. l. iv. c. 17.

(15) Ibid. c. 24.

(16) Vol. v. p. 112, (B).

(17) Com-
mens. l. iv. c. 17.

^a *Romans*, and of their own liberty (O), had, by their credit and valour, well nigh stirred up a general revolt in *Gaul*, which had groaned some time under the *Roman* yoke: this obliged *Cæsar* to send *Labienus* against them, whilst he went to the assistance of *Cicero*, who was, in some measure, besieged by the *Nervii*. We have given already a full account of all these transactions, in a former volume; for which reason, we shall refer our readers to them, as they are quoted in the margin, to avoid needless repetitions ^f.

For the same reason we shall content ourselves with just recapitulating the principal and brave efforts which they made, upon all favourable conjunctures, for the recovery of their liberty, and the desperate wars which they renewed, and carried on, upon all proper occasions, against several *Roman* emperors, and during several centuries, till they had accomplished their end, and subdued their conquerors; and refer our readers to those parts of the *Roman* history, where they have been as fully treated of as could be done in a work of this extensive nature. It is not, indeed, to be supposed, that their insuperable love of liberty could suffer them to be longer patient under the *Roman* yoke, than till an opportunity offered itself for shaking it off; and this, in spite of the *Roman* caresses, policy, and vigilance, could not but often happen, considering the continual distractions of that unwieldy empire: neither could the ill success, which too often attended these attempts, discourage them from fresh ones: so that it would unavoidably draw us too far, to particularize them all here again; especially considering that they were, in process of time, divided into many distinct nations, and appear, in history, under several names; such as those of *Franks*, *Alemans*, *Gepidæ*, *Burgundians*, &c. of each of whom, as well as of the other considerable northern nations, such as the *Hunns*, *Goths*, *Sueves*, *Dacians*, *Lombards*, &c. we shall give a full history, in the subsequent chapters (P).

WITH relation to the *Germans* in general, the most considerable transactions which remain to be taken notice of, are those which follow, and which having been already spoken of in the two last volumes, we shall here only recapitulate and refer our readers to the places quoted in the margin. In *Augustus's* reign, who, as we formerly took notice, had issued out some edicts against the inhuman superstitions of the druids, which, in all likelihood, affected both nations, the *Germans* took that opportunity to pass the *Rhine*, and to ravage those countries which were subject to him. Against them *Agrippa* was sent, whose arrival so intimidated them, that they quickly repassed that river ^h. But whilst he was gone into *Spain*, they repassed it, and defeated a body of *Roman* horse, and afterwards the *Gallie* proconsul *M. Lollius*, from whom they carried off a standard: but he soon recovered his honour, and drove them back again ⁱ, with considerable loss. All this while the *Gauls* were in great ferment, and meditating a general revolt; upon which he sent *Drusus* thither to quell them, which he had no sooner done ^k, but he passed the *Rhine*, drove all before him, and penetrated almost to the *German* ocean ^l.

^f See vol. v. p. 119, & seq. p. 121, b, c. p. 126, d, e. p. 128, e. p. 309, e. p. 313, c. p. 319, pass. p. 373.

^g See before, p. 348, c.

^h See vol. v. p. 309, e, f.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 313, b, c.

^k See the last

chapter, p. 401, c. & vol. v. p. 319, a, b.

^l Ibid. c—f.

(O) They had been formerly reckoned a very powerful nation among the *Germans* (28), and, having since passed the *Rhine*, had extended their dominions from that river quite to the country of the *Rhemi*. They had, a little before, shook off the *Roman* yoke, and were even reported to have invited other *Germans* to come, and assist them, and the *Gauls*, in defence of their liberty (29); which occasioned their being defeated by *Labienus*, as has been elsewhere hinted (30).

(P) It will not, however, be amiss to advertise our readers here, that, as those nations branched out into a vast multitude of tribes, governments, and names, it will be impossible, in a work of this extent, to take notice of them all under separate articles, especially as many of them are known to us by little more than their names, or, at most, on account of some of their alliances with, or assisting

other more considerable ones, and sharing with them either in some notable victory or defeat. Of such, we hope, it will be sufficient to speak occasionally, as we find them mentioned by ancient authors, and to give the best account which can be found of them, in as few words as possible.

But of those who have made a greater figure in ancient history, such as the *Alemans*, *Gepidæ*, *Lombards*, *Vandals*, *Suevi*, &c. among the ancient *Germans*, the *Hunns*, *Goths*, eastern and western, and other *Scythian* nations, together with their migrations, settlements, wars, conquests, &c. they will be best treated of, each under a separate chapter, according to the best accounts we can get from ancient authors, and in such a manner as may best open the way to the modern history of the *German* empire.

(28) *Tacit. Germ. c. 28.*

(29) *Comments. l. v. c. 2.*

(30) See vol. v. p. 128, e.

THE famed revolt which happened among the *Roman* legions left in *Pannonia*, and a which was happily quelled, in part, by *Drusus*, and afterwards wholly by *Germanicus*^m, gave occasion for a fresh invasion, which the last-mentioned general carried on with great success, and much greater havock and slaughter of the *Germans* for fifty miles about; and, if we may believe *Tacitus*, without the loss, or even the wounding of one single *Roman*ⁿ. This action, which may be more properly called a massacre than a conquest (Q), alarmed some other *German* nations against them; but these, likewise, had the misfortune to be defeated, as we have seen in the *Roman* history^o. The *Roman* general had soon after a fairer field offered to him, on occasion of the rupture between the two *German* chiefs, *Arminius* and *Segestes*, the former a sworn enemy to the *Romans*, the latter a staunch friend to them. What advantage *Germanicus* made of this rupture, we need not repeat here, but only that the *Germans* received several defeats, and *Arminius* himself, after some advantages gained over them, was totally routed^p. All that we shall add concerning this war is, that though it cost the *Roman* general very dear^q, yet he had received such reinforcements of men and arms from *Gaul* and other parts, that he hoped in one campaign to have reduced all *Germany*; but his success raised the jealousy of *Tiberius*, and occasioned his being recalled^r.

THEIR other most considerable wars with the *Romans* the reader will find in the places quoted in the margin^s; in the reign of *M. Aurelius*^t, and afterwards under the following emperors, which we shall but just mention here, and refer to the places^c where they are spoken of in the *Roman* history, viz. against *Alexander* and *Maximin*^u, against *Valerian*^w and *Aurelian*^x, *Probus*^y, *Constantius*^z, *Julian*^a, *Valentinian*, and some of his successors^b: but these, and the sequel of their history, will be best seen in some of the subsequent chapters, where we shall speak of them under the names of *Alemans*, *Gepidæ*, *Franks*, &c. by which they were distinguished, and better known, by that time.

BUT before we come to their several histories, it will be necessary to pass, according to our plan, over to the *British* isles, whose first inhabitants being undoubtedly of antient *Celtic* extract, as we have, we hope, sufficiently shewn in a former volume^c, as well as in this and the foregoing chapters, claim a preference, in point of time; d whereas those northern people above-mentioned, so far as they appear, at least, under those new names, being not only of recenter date than the antient *Britons*, but of more uncertain origin, we think will more properly be spoken of in the subsequent chapters, and each in its due order.

^m Vol. v. p. 359—368.

ⁿ Annal. c. 49. & seq.

^o Vol. v. p. 369, & seq. & notes.

^p Ibid.

p. 372—378, 381, & seq.

^q See ibid. 378, a, b.

^r Ibid. p. 386, a, b.

^s Ibid. p. 641, c, f,

& seq. ^t See vol. vi. p. 66, pass & seq.

^u Ibid. p. 145, b. p. 152, d, e.

^w Ibid. p. 173, b, c.

^x P. 188, c.

^y P. 199, & seq.

^z P. 294, d.

^a P. 301, & seq.

^b P. 350, & seq. vol. ii.

p. 241, & seq.

(Q.) That general was, it seems, informed, that the *Germans* were then celebrating some great festival; and as he knew it was their custom to drink very hard, and to carouse it all night, he did not doubt but to find them either dead-drunk, or fast asleep, as he actually did. For having, with a numerous army, crossed the *Casian* forest all night, he fell upon them, before they either knew any thing of his coming, or were recovered from their debauch.

The confusion that reigned amongst them upon such a surprize, made them become an easy prey to him, and he failed not to make the best advantage of it; permitting his troops to put all to fire and sword, sparing neither age or sex, or even their most sacred groves; witness that famed one of *Tanfana*, of which we have had occasion to speak at the beginning of this chapter, and which they burnt, and levelled to the ground (18).

(18) See *Tacitus's* ann. c. 50. & seq. & vol. v. p. 369, b—d. & (P).

C H A P. XIII.

The antient state and history of Britain, to its desertion by the Romans, and the invasion of the Angles and Saxons.

S E C T. I.

Description of Britain. The first inhabitants. The customs, religion, government, &c. of the antient Britons. The state of Britain under the Romans.

- ^a **T**HE island, which is now called *Great Britain*, and comprehends the two kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, with the principality of *Wales*, was, in more antient times, by way of distinction, styled *Albion*, the name of *Britain* being then common to all the islands, that lie round it. Hence, *Agathemerus* speaking of the *British* islands, *They are many in number*, says he; *but the most considerable among them are Hibernia and Albion*^a. And *Ptolemy*, to the chapter, wherein he describes the island now called *Great Britain*, prefixes the following title; *The situation of Albion, a British island*^b. But, as this far excelled the other *British* islands, the name of *Albion*, in process of time, was quite laid aside, and that of *Britain*, by way of excellency, used in its room. By this name it was known in *Pliny's* time, and even in *Cæsar's*. The island of *Britain*, says *Pliny*, *so much celebrated by the Greek and Latin writers, was formerly called Albion, the name of Britain being then common to all the islands round it*^c. And *Cæsar*, *The other angle of Britain, shooting out to the west, lies over-against Spain; on which side is Hibernia, an island thought to be half as big as Britain, and about the same distance from Britain, as Britain is from Gaul*^d. Hence it is manifest, that the name of *Britain*, once common to all the islands in our ocean, was, in *Cæsar's* time, and *Pliny's*, become peculiar to the island, which is still known by that name. Whence it had the name of *Albion*, is uncertain, some deriving it from the Greek word *alphon*, which, according to *Festus*, signifies *white*, the chalky cliffs, that, in several places, rise on our coasts, being of that colour; while others pretend this name to have been borrowed from a giant, feigned to have been the son of *Neptune*, and mentioned by several antient writers. Some of our etymologists have recourse to the *Hebrew* tongue, and some to the *Phœnician*; *alben*, in the former, signifying *white*; and *alp*, in the latter, *high*. The derivation from the Greek word *alphon*, or from the *Hebrew* *alben*, seems to be countenanced by the *British* poets, who style *Britain* *Inis Wen*, that is, the *White Island*^e. The origin of the name *Britain* is no less uncertain, than that of *Albion*. *Nennius*, and some other *British* writers, derive it from *Brutus*, whom they likewise call *Brito*, the fifth in descent from the celebrated *Æneas*. Others bring it from the *British* words *Pryd Cain*, that is, a *white form*, softened, by degrees, into *Britannia*. The learned *Camden* derives it from the words *Britb*, which, in the antient language of the island, signifies *painted*, and *Tania*, importing, in *Greek*, a *region* or *country*; so that the name *Britbania*, changed in process of time into *Britannia*, expresses what the *Britons* really were, that is, *painted*. *Somner*, disliking *Camden's* etymology, proposes another, viz. that the name *Britain* comes from *Brydio*, signifying, in the *British* tongue, *rage*, and pointing out the violent motion of the sea, that surrounds the island. Of these four etymologies, the first is founded on a fable; and against the other three lies one common, and, in our opinion, unanswerable objection; which is, that the name of

Britain called, in more antient times, Albion.

Various conjectures concerning the original of this name.

Whence styled Britain.

Various etymologies of the word Britain.

^a AGATHEM. l. xi. c. 4.

^b PTOL. l. ii. c. 3.

^c PLIN. l. iv. c. 16.

^d CÆS. l. v. c. 13.

^e Vide SELD. annot. ad Polyalb. p. 20.

Bochart's opinion the most natural.

Britain was given to the island by foreigners, who could not borrow it from the *British* tongue, with which they were, in all likelihood, unacquainted. That the island received the name of *Britain* from foreigners, is evident, since the natives never styled themselves *Britons*, nor their country *Britain*, their true name being *Cumri*, or *Cumbri*; whence *Cambria* the name of *Wales* to this day among the *Welsh*. Besides, the second of the above-mentioned etymologies, deriving *Britain* from *Pryd Cain*, seems too far fetched. As to *Camden's* etymology, *Somner* observes, that *Cæsar*, in telling us the *Britons* painted their bodies with woad, speaks only of the inhabitants of *Albion*; whereas all the isles in our ocean were called by one general name *insula Britannica*, *British islands*. Is it probable, that a name, common to all the islands in our ocean, should owe its origin to a custom peculiar to one, though the most considerable among them? As for the rage and fury of the sea, whence *Somner* derives the name of *Britannia*, it is not true, that the sea rages more on the coast of *Great Britain* than elsewhere. The learned *Bochart*, speaking of the colonies and language of the *Phœnicians*, offers a conjecture, which most of our modern writers have adopted as the most natural. The *Phœnicians*, according to that writer^f, called this island, and some others near it, *Barat Anac*, that is, *the land or country of tin or lead*, and more contractedly *Bratanac*; which name, passing from the *Phœnicians* to the *Greeks*, and from these to the *Romans*, might have been softened into that of *Britannica* and *Britannia*. That the *Phœnicians* first discovered those isles, which were afterwards by the *Greeks* called *Cassiterides*, and are proved by *Camden* to be our *Silly* islands, appears both from *Strabo* and *Pliny*, of whom the former tells us, that the *Phœnicians* first brought tin from the *Cassiterides*, which they sold to the *Greeks*; but kept the trade to themselves, and the place private^g; and the latter writes, that *Medicritus* was the first, who brought lead from the *Cassiterides*^h; where *Bochart* shews, that we ought to read *Melichartus*, who is the *Phœnician Hercules* of *Sanchoniathon*, to whom the *Phœnicians* ascribed their first western discoveriesⁱ. But, notwithstanding the care of the *Phœnicians* to conceal these islands, the *Greeks* at last discovered them, and gave them the name of *Cassiterides*, which, in the *Greek* tongue, answers that of *Barat Anac* in the *Phœnician*. This name was at first given to the above-mentioned islands, but, by degrees, communicated to all the others lying in the same sea. Thus *Bochart*. But, after all, his opinion, however plausible in appearance, may be as foreign to the purpose, as any of the rest, the late instances of names given to new-discovered countries teaching us, that the origin of such names is not always owing to reason, but often to chance and caprice. As therefore the origin of the names given to this island is of too antient a date to be traced with any certainty, we shall dismiss this subject, and proceed to some more material account of the country.

Description of the country.

Britain lies over-against *France* and *Germany*, as *Cæsar* observed, in a triangular form, having three promontories shooting out three different ways, viz. *Belerium*, the *Land's-end* towards the west, *Cantium*, the *Kentish* or *North Foreland* towards the east, and *Travisum* or *Orcas*, *Calbness*, towards the north. It is divided from *Ireland*, to the west, by the *Vergivian* or *Irish* sea; washed on the north by the northern ocean; on the east, where it faces *Germany*, by the *German* ocean; and on the south, towards *France*, by the *British* chanel, called by the *Romans* *Fretum Britannicum*. Some writers have thought, that, where the chanel is most contracted, the island was antiently joined by an isthmus to the continent^k. It lies between the 50th and 59th degrees of north latitude, extending from north to south about 560 miles. Its breadth is various; and in compass its three sides are found to contain, allowing for the windings of the coast, about eighteen hundred miles. The south side, extending from the *North Foreland* in *Kent* to the *Land's-end* in *Cornwall*, contains about three hundred miles; the west side, from the *Land's-end* to the most northern point of *Scotland*, about eight hundred; and the east side about seven hundred. Were *Great Britain* to be considered as a perfect triangle, formed by three right lines, the length of its three sides, put together, would amount to about fifteen hundred miles. The fertility and pleasantness of *Britain* gave occasion to *Isaacius Tzetzes* to imagine, that these were the fortunate islands, described by the poets, where the face of nature smiled with a perpetual spring. It was, in former times, the granary of the western empire; for hence was every year transported an immense quantity of corn for the

^f BOCH. l. i. c. 39.

^g STRAB. l. ii. c. 2.

^h PLIN. l. vii. c. 36.

ⁱ BOCH. ubi supra.

^k Vide SÆV. in Virg. *Et penitus toto divisos*, &c. WHITE hist. Brit. l. ii. not. 2. BURTON, comment. in Anton. p. 18, 19. TWIN. de reb. Albion. SAMMES Brit. l. i. c. 4. VERSTEGAN. l. i. c. 4.

- a supply of the armies on the frontiers of *Germany*. But the convenience of its situation, the fertility of its soil, and the innumerable blessings, with which it has been enriched by nature, are, with high encomiums, described by two ancient panegyrists, one of whom pronounced his speech before *Constantine*, and the other before *Constantius*. To these we refer the reader, and pass to the first inhabitants of this island.

THE southern parts of *Britain* were peopled, according to *Cæsar*¹, by the *Gauls*. ^{Its first inhabitants.} *Tacitus* is of the same opinion: *If we consider all circumstances*, says he, *it is probable, that Gaul first peopled Britain, which lies so near it*^m. This opinion, which is followed by most of the ancient, as well as the modern writers, is chiefly founded on the agreement observed by the *Roman* writers between the two nations in their customs, manners, language, religion, form of government, way of fighting, &c. Besides, as the *Gauls* sent colonies into *Italy*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Thrace*, and *Asia*, it is but reasonable to conclude, that they did the same with respect to *Britain*, which lay so near them, that they could discern it from the continent, and was no less plentiful than the other countries, where they settled. As for the more northern inhabitants of *Britain*, *Tacitus* infers, from the make of their limbs, and other circumstances, that they came from *Germany*ⁿ; and *Cæsar* telling us, that they were *Aborigines*, seems to imply, that he discovered no affinity in their language, manners, customs, &c. with those of *Gaul*, and the southern parts of *Britain*.

- As for the *Picts*, who held the eastern parts of *Britain*, which lay north of the ^{The origin of the Picts.} *Tine*, the venerable *Bede* tells us, that they came out of *Scythia* in long ships, and landed first in the north of *Ireland*; but, not being suffered to settle there by the *Scots*, who then possessed that island, they were advised to plant themselves in the north part of *Britain*; which they did accordingly, with the assistance of the *Scots*, who moreover supplied them with wives to perpetuate their colony; but upon this condition, that, in all disputes concerning the succession to the crown, the *Picts* should prefer the female to the male line of their former kings; which is observed among them, says *Bede*, to this day^o. By *Scythia* *Bede* perhaps meant the northern parts of *Germany*; for that *Scandinavia*, now comprehending the kingdoms of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*, was, by the best writers of the middle ages, styled *Scythia*, is shown by the learned *Usher*^p, and *Stillington*^q, of whom the latter admits, as not improbable, the conjecture of *Helior Boetius*, deriving the *Picts* from the *Agathyrsi*, who, from *Sarmatia*, came into *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, and from thence into *Scotland*. As no *Roman* author makes mention of the *Picts* before *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who ^{Whether the Picts and Britons were one and the same people.} lived about the end of the fourth century, some writers are of opinion, that the *Picts* were not a distinct people from the *Britons*, but such of that nation as, to avoid the tyranny of the *Romans*, had retired into the northern parts of the island, where, continuing to paint their bodies, they were, by the *Romans*, called *Picti*, to distinguish them from those, who, submitting to *Rome*, had laid aside that custom, and adopted the *Roman* manners. To confirm this opinion, they allege the authority of *Camden*, who, in his introduction, endeavours to shew, that the names of places, formerly held by the *Picts* in the south and west parts of *Scotland*, are *British*, and consequently, that one and the same was the language of the *Britons* and *Picts*. But that these two nations spoke different languages, is manifest beyond dispute from *Bede*, who tells us, that, in his time, God was served in five several languages in *Britain*, viz. of the *Angles*, of the *Britons*, of the *Scots*, of the *Picts*, and of the *Latins*; which latter was commonly used in divine worship^r. Now, this difference of language, which *Bede*, who lived so near a neighbour to the *Picts*, could not be ignorant of, weighs down, with us, all the arguments, that are alleged to prove, that the *Britons* and *Picts* were one and the same people. Besides, it is certain, that the *Picts* were, for several ages, a separate and distinct nation, differing both from the *Scots* and *Britons*, not only in their language, but in their laws and customs. The contrary opinion is intirely built on the conformity of the name *Picts* with the *Latin* word *Picti*; which is but a weak foundation, since some writers, and among the rest *Verstegan*, derive the name of the *Picts* from a word in their own language signifying *warrior*. The *Scots* called them *Pebiti*, which name, in the opinion of some antiquaries, answers that of *Picts*, from the *Latin* word *Picti*; but others think it highly improbable, that the *Scots*, who were late subdued by the *Romans*, and continued but a short time under their dominion, should give their neighbours a *Roman* name. *Buchanan* takes

¹ CÆSAR, l. v. c. 16.^m TACIT. vit. Agr.ⁿ Idem ibid.^o Bed. hist. l. i. c. 1.^p Uss. antiq. Brit. c. 15.^q STILLINGF. orig. Brit. c. 5.^r Idem ibid.^s Bed. l. i. c. 1.

the name of *Picts* to be *Roman*; but at the same time pretends they came from certain *Gaulish* colonies settled in *Thrace*, where they painted their bodies, as well as in *Britain*. The same author adds, that the *Picts* spoke the same language as the *Britons* and *Scots*. But herein he is contradicted, not only by *Bede*, whom we have quoted above, but by *John Major*, one of the most antient *Scots* historians, who tells us, that as yet, that is, in his time, almost half Scotland spoke the Irish tongue, which they had brought over with them from Ireland.

The origin of
the Scots.

As for the origin of the *Scots*, *Bede* tells us, that they came into this island out of *Ireland*: In process of time, says that writer^a, Britain received a third nation, viz. the *Scots*, besides the *Britons* and *Picts*, who, coming out of *Ireland*, under the conduct of one *Reuda*, possessed themselves of those territories, which they still hold among the *Picts*.^b From this *Reuda*, adds our historian, they are called, to this day, *Dalreudini*, the word *Dal*, in their language, signifying share or portion. But of this colony, and the time, in which it is supposed to have settled in the north part of *Britain*, called afterwards *Scotland*, we shall speak more at length in the history of that kingdom.

The customs
and manners of
the antient
Britons.

To return to the *Britons*: their manners, customs, religion, form of government, &c. are described, not only by *Cæsar* in his commentaries, but by others, and perhaps more fully, who wrote after the *Romans* were become masters of the island. The country was, according to *Cæsar*, well peopled, and stocked with cattle. Their houses were not unlike those of the *Gauls*. They used copper or iron plates, weighed by a certain standard, instead of money. If they bred domestic fowls, hens or geese,^c it was for their diversion, being strictly forbidden by their religion to eat them. Of all the *Britons* those, who inhabited *Cantium* or *Kent*, were the most civilized, not differing much in their manners from the *Gauls*. The more inland people, for the most part, sowed no corn, their usual food being milk and game, with which their woods and plains were well stored. The use of cloaths was scarce known in the island. Only the inhabitants of the southern coast covered their nakedness with skins of wild beasts, carelessly thrown over them, not so much to defend themselves against the cold, as to avoid giving offence to the strangers, who came to trade with them. All the *Britons* painted their bodies, with the juice of woad, of a sky-colour, and wore long hair; but shaved the rest of their bodies, except their upper-lip. One^d custom prevailed among them, which seemed detestable to other nations; which was for ten or twelve men, brothers or friends, to have wives in common^e. This custom continued among them some time after the *Romans* were masters of the island; for *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that a *British* lady, being upbraided with this usage by *Julia*, wife to the emperor *Severus*, returned her this smart answer: Surely the Roman ladies ought not to reproach us on this account, since we do publicly with the best of men no more what they do privately with the worst of their freemen and slaves^f. They abstained from all manner of fish, though the seas, that surrounded their island, and their rivers, were plentifully stored with them^g. Their towns, or rather villages, were a confused parcel of huts, placed at a small distance from each other, and, generally^e speaking, in the middle of a wood, whereof the avenues were defended with slight ramparts of earth, or with the trees, that were cut down to clear the ground^h. *Strabo* tells us, that they exceeded the *Gauls* in stature, but their bodies were not so well-set; that he saw, at *Rome*, some of their youth taller by half a foot than other men; that they had many princes and distinct governments among them; that their woods served them instead of cities; for having cut down trees, and inclosed with them a large, round spot of ground, there they built huts for themselves, and folds for their cattleⁱ. *Diodorus Siculus* speaking of the manners and customs of the antient *Britons*, Their houses, says he, are made of reeds or wood; they lay up their corn in the ear in granaries, taking from thence no more than what they consume in one day; they are simple and upright in their dealings, and strangers to the craft and subtlety of our countrymen; their manner of living is remote from the luxury of other nations; they are satisfied with a very mean and frugal diet; their island abounds with men, who are subject to divers kings and princes. Thus *Diodorus*^b. And *Pomponius Mela*: *Britain* is well peopled, and obeys several kings; but they are all rough and unpolished, and the farther they live from the continent, the less they are acquainted with foreign riches, abounding chiefly in cattle. They dye their bodies with woad, but whether by way of ornament, or for some other cause, is uncertain. Ambition of

^a Idem ibid.

^b Cæs. comm. l. v.

^c Diod. Sic. l. lxxvi.

^d Cæs. ubi sup.

^e Idem

ibid.

^f STRAB. l. iv.

^g Diod. Sic. l. iv.

- a empire, and desire of enlarging their dominions, prompt them to disturb each other with frequent wars^c. *Tacitus* writes, that the *Britons*, in their manners, resembled the *Gauls*, which was owing either to the same original, or the like climate; that the *Britons* however, not yet softened by a long peace, shewed greater intrepidity in war; that they were formerly governed by kings, but were then, that is, in *Agri- cola's* time, divided by petty princes into parties and factions. *Tacitus* adds, that nothing was of greater advantage to the *Romans* against the most powerful among them, than their not consulting one common interest, nor their joining to repel common dangers. Thus, while they fight separately, says that author, they are all alike overcome^d. *Dion Cassius*, as epitomized by *Xiphilin*, speaking of the more northern *Britons*, says, that they tilled no ground, their food being game and fruits; that they lived in their huts naked; that they had wives in common; that the chief authority resided in the people; that, in war, their arms were a shield, and a short spear, to the lower end of which was fastened a ball of brass, in order to terrify the enemy with the noise, when they shook it. They are inured to hunger, cold, and all manner of hardships, continues the same writer, and, when in the woods, can live upon the bark and roots of trees. He adds, that, on all occasions, they had ready a certain kind of food, of which if they took but the quantity of a bean, they were not troubled with hunger or thirst for a considerable time after^e. *Herodian* and *Solinus*, in describing the more northern nations of *Britain*, tell us, that they knew not the use of garments, but girt their waists and necks with iron, by way of ornament, that metal being no less in request among them, than gold was among other nations; that they made deep incisions in their bodies in the shape of flowers, trees and animals, which, with the juice of woad, they painted of a sky-colour, that never wore out^f. They are a warlike nation, adds *Herodian*, and most greedy of slaughter. In war they use a narrow shield, a lance, and a sword. As for breast-plates and helmets, they look upon them as an incumbrance^g. *Pliny* observes, among their other customs, that they wore rings on their middle fingers, and manured their land with marl; which must be understood of the more civilized *Britons* dwelling near the coast; for the others, as we have related above, did not apply themselves to agri-
d culture.

As to their manner of fighting, *Cæsar*, who extols their valour, and the undaunted bravery, with which they went to battle, tells us, that they made use of chariots, driving furiously among the enemy's ranks, and discharging their darts, by which means they often put the *Romans* in disorder. When they engaged the horse, they left their chariots to fight on foot, their charioteers in the mean time retiring, and placing themselves so, that their masters, if overpowered with numbers, might readily find them, and have an easy retreat. By this manner of fighting, they had, says *Cæsar*, both the speed of the horse, and the steadiness of the foot, and were, by daily practice, so expert, that they could stop their horses on a steep descent, though in full career, turn them in a narrow compass, run along the pole, sit upon the yoke, and from thence, with incredible quickness, return to their chariots. Thus *Cæsar*^h. But why they chose to engage the horse rather on foot than in their chariots, is not easily conceived.

THEIR trade was very inconsiderable, notwithstanding the convenient situation of their island for carrying on an extensive commerce. Their vessels were very small, with their keels and ribs made of slight timber, interwoven with wicker, and covered with hides; which shews, that they undertook no long voyages; nay, in all likelihood, they never ventured to sea beyond the coasts of *Gaul*. Their chief traffick was with the *Phœnician* merchants, who, after the discovery of the island, which happened, according to *Sammes*, before the *Trojan* warⁱ, yearly exported great quantities of tin, which they sold to the *Greeks*, and other distant nations. As this trade proved very profitable, the *Phœnicians*, with great care, concealed, for many ages, the fountain-head; but the *Greeks* discovered it at length, about an hundred and sixty years before *Julius Cæsar*, as *Sammes* will have it^k, and traded to the same place, giving the islands, from whence chiefly they brought the tin, the name of *Cassiterides*, answering, as we have observed above, the *Phœnician* name *Barat-Anac*. But this

^c POMP. MEL. de situ orbis, l. iii.^d TACIT. vit. Agric. c. 2.^e Dio apud Xiphilin. l. lxxiii.^f HERODIAN. l. xi. & SOLIN. l. vii. c. 8.^g HEROD. ibid.^h CÆS. comment. l. iv.ⁱ SAM. Brit.

p. 47.

^k Idem ibid.

trade was only carried on in the *Scilly* islands, where *Camden* tells us that some a veins of lead were found even in his time.

Their religion. THE religion of the antient Britons was, as *Cæsar* informs us¹, much the same with that of their neighbours the *Gauls*. They worshipped *Jupiter* under the name of *Taranis*, or *Taran*, signifying in the antient *British* language, as it does still in the *Welsh*, thunder. *Maximus Tyrius* writes, that they paid divine worship to the highest oak they could find, as the figure or representation of this god. Their other deities were *Tutates*, called by the Britons *Duw Taub*, the god of journeys, and supposed to be the same with *Mercury*; *Hesus*, called also *Camuius*, according to *Camden*, the god of war, or the *Mars* of the Britons; *Beleus* or *Belinus*, that is, as appears from a passage of *Julius Capitolinus*², *Apollo*, who is also supposed to have been called *Belatucardus*, this inscription, *Deo Belatucardo*, being found in several monuments of antiquity. As for their goddesses, they worshipped *Diana* under the name of *Camma*, and paid a very particular veneration to *Andate*, their goddess of victory, who had a temple at *Camalodunum*, now *Maldon* in *Essex*. To her they are said, by *Dion Cassius*, who calls her *Andrasie*, to have sacrificed their prisoners of war³. The care and direction of all religious matters was, by the Britons as well as the *Gauls*, committed to the *Druids*, whose authority was great, not only in religious, but civil affairs. Their name seems to come from the *British* word *Deru*, or the *Greek* word *Drus*, both signifying an oak, not only because they esteemed nothing more sacred than the mistleto that grows on the oak, but likewise because their usual residence was in groves among oaks; nor did they perform any of their ceremonies without some branches or leaves of that tree⁴. They were held, both by the Britons and *Gauls*, in such veneration, that their authority was almost absolute. To them belonged the care of private and public sacrifices, the interpretation of religion, the bestowing rewards, or inflicting punishments, the deciding controversies, let the difference be of what nature soever; and whoever refused to obey their decree, whether lord or vassal, was excluded from the sacrifices, which was accounted the greatest punishment that could be inflicted; for such as were thus, we may say, excommunicated, were reckoned in the number of the wicked, and, as such, avoided by all, not allowed to commence a suit, to discharge any public office, or to have the least regard paid them. These *Druids* had a superintendant or pontiff, to whom they were all subject. Upon his decease, the most worthy succeeded him; but, if there happened to be several candidates of equal merit, the election was decided by a majority of votes, and sometimes, as *Cæsar* tells us, by the sword. Once a year, the *Druids* of *Gaul* had a general assembly in the midst of the country, to which resorted persons from all quarters, who had any controversies to decide, every one submitting readily to their decrees⁵. The discipline of the *Druids* was thought, as *Cæsar* writes⁶, to have been first instituted in *Britain*, and from thence transferred to *Gaul*; for, even in his time, those who were desirous to have a thorough knowledge of it, came over to this island to learn it. The *Druids* were exempted from all military duties, taxes, and imposts, and met with such encouragement, that many embraced that profession. The youth, especially the nobility, were educated by them. Those who embraced the same profession, were, first of all, obliged to learn by heart a great number of verses; which employed some, says *Cæsar*, for the space of twenty years; for the *Druids* never committed any thing to writing, not that they were ignorant of letters, for, on all other occasions, they made use of *Greek* characters, but in order to lock up, by that means, their mysterious learning from the vulgar, or to exercise the memory of their disciples. Thus *Cæsar*. But from hence we must not conclude, that they had any knowledge of the *Greek* tongue, since *Cæsar* himself, when he wrote to *Q. Cicero*, besieged among the *Nervii*, penned his letter in *Greek*, to prevent its giving, if intercepted, any intelligence to the enemy; which plainly shews, they were strangers to that language. *Selden* thinks the word *Græcis* has crept into the text, the meaning of *Cæsar* being, that the *Druids* never committed their learning to writing, but, on all other occasions, made use of letters; which opinion does not appear to us ill grounded. One of the chief tenets they taught, was the immortality of the soul, and its transmigration from one body to another; which doctrine they looked upon as proper to inspire them with courage, and a contempt of death. They instructed their youth in several other traditions concerning the stars, and their

¹ CÆS. comment. l. iv.
L. xvi. c. 44.

² JUL. CAPIT. in vit. Maximin.
³ CÆS. l. vi. PLIN. ubi sup.

⁴ DIO, l. lxxiii.

⁵ Vide PLIN.

a motions, the extent of the world, the nature of things, and the power of the immortal gods¹. There were women as well as men *Druids*; for a female *Druid* of *Tungria*, now the bishoprick of *Liege*, foretold to *Dioclesian*, as we read in *Vopiscus*, when yet a private-soldier, that he should one day be emperor. The sect and religion of the *Druids* spread as far as *Italy*; for *Augustus* published an edict, forbidding the *Romans* to celebrate their mysteries. Besides the *Druids*, there were, among the *Britons* and *Gauls*, priests of an inferior rank, called *Bards*, whose province it was to celebrate the exploits of their heroes in verses, which they sung to the harp. The *Bards* were still in *Britain*, after the *Romans* had intirely abandoned it.

b THE same form of government prevailed in *Britain*, as in *Gaul*; that is, the whole country was divided into several small states, with a head over each, dignified by authors with the name of king. Of these heads or kings, *Cæsar* mentions four in the small compass of *Kent*. Whether these states were hereditary, or elective, we find no-where recorded. On great and imminent dangers, one of these heads or kings was, in a general assembly, and by common consent, chosen commander in chief of all their forces. Thus, when *Cæsar* invaded the island, the chief command of all the *British* forces was conferred upon *Cassibelanus*; and when the *Britons* revolted in the time of *Claudius*, *Caradacus*, king of the *Silures*, was chosen general. As in other cases, the several states, into which *Britain* was divided, had no dependence upon each other, they had, no doubt, quarrels and contests among themselves. But of their affairs before *Cæsar's* invasion, we have no account, but such as may be deemed fabulous; and therefore at that period, and no higher, ought the *English* historian, as *Camden* well observes, to begin his history.

c THAT part of *Britain*, which comprehends the present kingdom of *England*, and the principality of *Wales*, was in antient times divided into seventeen petty states, whereof the inhabitants were distinguished by the following names, viz. the *Danmonii*, the *Durotriges*, the *Belgæ*, the *Attrebatii*, the *Regni*, the *Cantii*, the *Dobuni*, the *Catticuchlani*, the *Trinobantes*, the *Iceni*, the *Coritani*, the *Cornavii*, the *Silures*, the *Dinettiæ*, the *Ordovices*, the *Brigantes*, the *Ottadini*. That part of *Britain*, which extends a great way to the west, and is bounded on the north by the *Severn* sea, on the south by the *British* ocean, and on the west by *St. George's* chanel, was antiently inhabited by those *Britons*, who are called by *Solinus*, *Dunmonii*, by *Ptolemy*, *Dam-*
nonii, and, in the more correct copies, *Danmonii*. In this tract, or, as we may call it, peninsula, now comprehending the counties of *Cornwall* and *Devon*, the following places are mentioned by *Ptolemy*, viz. the estuary *Vexalla*, formed by the confluence of the two rivers *Pedredus* and *Iwellus*, now the *Parret* and the *Ill*; the promontory of *Hercules*, about half-way between that estuary and another promontory, called by *Ptolemy*, *Belerium*, and by *Diodorus Siculus*, *Belerium*. The promontory *Belerium*, which is by *Ptolemy* called also *Antivestæum*, is the most western point of *Britain*, now known by the name of the *Land's-end*. Not far from this shoots
d out to the south the promontory *Danmonium*, or *Ocrinum*, now the *Lizard*. On the south coast the following places are taken notice of by our geographer, viz. *Voliba*, now *Falmouth*; the mouth of the *Tamara*, now the *Tamar* or *Tamer*, on which stands the town of *Plymouth*; the mouth of the *Isca*, now the *Ex*. The inland places mentioned by *Ptolemy* are, *Isca Danmoniorum*, *Exeter*; *Tamare*, *Tavistock*; *Uxella*, according to *Camden*, *Lestwithiel*.

e NEXT to the *Danmonii*, eastward, were the *Durotriges*, inhabiting that tract, which is now called *Dorsetshire*. In this county *Ptolemy* takes notice of one place only, which he calls *Dunium*, and *Antoninus*, in his itinerary, *Durnovaria*. All critics agree, that, instead of *Dunium*, we ought to read in *Ptolemy*, *Durnum*; and
f that this was the antient name of *Dorchester*, the chief town of the county of *Dorset*. To the north and east of the country of the *Durotriges*, were situated the *Belgæ*, who possessed *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, and *Hampshire*. In this country *Ptolemy* and *Antoninus* mention on the coast *Magnus Portus*, *Portsmouth*; and *Trisantonis Portus*, *Southampton*, so called from the river *Trisanto*, now *Hampton*, on which it stands. Either *Portus Trisantonis*, or another place very near it, is called by *Antoninus*, *Clausentum*. In the inland country stood *Venta Belgarum*, *Winchester*, a place of great note in antient times, as we read both in *Ptolemy* and *Antoninus*; *Aquæcalida*, or, as *Antoninus* styles it, *Aquæsolis*, so called from its hot waters, now *Bath*; *Ischalis* or *Ischalis*,

¹ Idem ibid.² PROL. l. ii. c. 3.³ DION. SIC. l. v. c. 22.

Attrebatii.

Regni.

Can. ii.

Ilchester. On the *Belgæ* bordered the *Attrebatii*, the inhabitants of *Berkshire*. The *Attrebatii*, as well as the *Belgæ*, came originally from *Belgic Gaul*, as we read in *Cæsar*^a, and settling in *Britain*, retained their ancient names. The chief city of the *Attrebatii* was *Calcuæ*, as *Ptolemy* calls it, or *Caleva*, as it is named by *Antoninus*, now *Wallingford*. *Antoninus* mentions another place, viz. *Spina*, which, according to *Camden*, still retains its ancient name, being called *Spene*; but is now only a village near *Newbury*, which rose out of its ruins. On the country of the *Attrebatii*, bordered that of the *Regni*, comprehending *Surry*, *Sussex*, and part of the sea-coast of *Hampshire*. In this country *Ptolemy* mentions but one city, viz. *Noviomagus*, which is also taken notice of by *Marinus Tyrius*, as appears from *Ptolemy*^b. Some antiquaries take this to be the present town of *Guilford*; but *Noviomagus* was only ten miles distant from *London*, as we read in *Antoninus*'s itinerary; whereas *Guilford* is thirty. *Camden* tells us, that, in his time, were still to be seen the ruins of a city, answering exactly the distance set down in the itinerary. Besides *Noviomagus*, *Antoninus* mentions several other places in the country of the *Regni*, viz. *Oibona*, where was, according to the *Notitia*, the station of the *Roman* soldiers called *Fortenies*. *Camden* takes *Oibona* to have stood where *Hastings* now stands. *Portus Adurni*, now the small village of *Ederington*, and *Regnum*, now *Ringwood*, that is, the wood or forest of the *Regni*, into which they fled for protection. In the country of the *Regni*, namely at *Ockham* in *Surry*, where the *Wey* falls into the *Thames*, at a place to this day called *Coway-stakes*, from the stakes, with which the *Britons* had fenced the bank, *Cæsar* passed the *Thames*, and entered the territories of *Cassivelaun*. *Cæsar* crossed the *Thames* eighty miles from the sea; and this is the only place, at that distance, where the river is fordable. To the east of the *Belgæ* and *Attrebatii*, lay the country of the *Cantii*, called by *Ptolemy* and *Cæsar*^c, *Cantium*, by *Bede*, *Cantia*^d, now *Kent*. The *Cantii* were, according to *Cæsar*, the most civilized of all the *Britons*, not differing much, in their customs and manners, from their neighbours the *Gauls*^e. The places in *Cantium*, mentioned by the ancients, are, *Durovernum*, *Durobrivis*, *Durolenum*, *Portus Rutupiae*, *Portus Dubris*, *Regulbium* or *Regulvium*, and *Portus Lemanis*, now *Canterbury*, *Rockester*, *Lenham*, *Dover*, *Reculver*, and *Lime*. Whether *Rutupiae* and *Portus Rutupensis*, called by *Tacitus* *Portus Trutulensis*, were one and the same place, is questioned by our antiquaries. *Somner* thinks they were two places^f, contrary to the opinion of *Leland*, *Lambard*, and others. Perhaps he may be in the right; but it is not probable, says *Camden*, that *Sandwich* was the *Portus Rutupensis*, it being evident, that *Stonar* was the road, where the ships lay, that came to *Rutupiae*; and *Somner* himself allows *Stonar* to have been an ancient port^g. In the opinion of *Camden* therefore, *Portus Rutupensis* was *Stonar*, and *Rutupiae* the present village of *Richborough*, at some distance from the sea. Be that as it will, it is certain, that, in the *Roman* times, *Gessoriacum*, now *Bologne*, and *Rutupiae* or *Portus Rutupensis*, were, for those who from *Gaul* came into *Britain*, or from *Britain* crossed over into *Gaul*, what in our times are *Dover* and *Calais*. Hence, frequent mention is made of *Rutupiae* by the *Latin* writers^h; nay the word *Rutupinus* was, by some of the poets, used instead of *Britannus*ⁱ, so famous was *Rutupiae* in the *Roman* times. *Portus Dubris*, now *Dover*, is first mentioned by *Antoninus*; but, before the *Romans* abandoned the island, it became no less famous than *Rutupiae* itself. At *Rutupiae* was quartered the second *legio Augusta*; at *Portus Dubris* the *Tungricani*; at *Portus Lemanis*, or *Novus Portus*, as *Ptolemy* calls it, the *Turnacenses*; and at *Regulbium* or *Regulvium*, the first cohort of the *Betasii*, as we read in the *Notitia*. *Ptolemy* reckons *Londinium*, *London*, among the cities of the *Cantii*; but he was therein certainly mistaken. When the *Roman* government was established in *Britain*, the sea-coast of *Kent*, which they termed *littus Saxonicum*, or the *Saxon shore*, had, from the time of *Dioclesian*, a particular governor, called by *Marcellinus*, *count of the sea-coast*, and by the *Notitia*, *count of the Saxon shore*, whose province it was to prevent the barbarians, especially the *Saxons*, who began then to infest *Britain*, from plundering the country. In imitation of the *Romans*, our ancestors set over this coast a governor or portreeve, commonly called the *warden of the cinque ports*, from his presiding over five ports. *Cæsar* landed, when

^a CÆS. COMM. l. v. c. 12. ^x PTOL. l. i. c. 15. ^y PTOL. ubi supra. CÆS. COMM. l. v. c. 14.
^b BED. HIST. l. i. c. 26. & l. iii. c. 3. ^c CÆS. IBID. ^d SOMN. PORTS AND FORTS, p. 3, 4. ^e Vide
 CAND. BRIT. p. 244. ^f Vide LUCAN. l. v. c. 67. JUVEN. SATIR. iv. VER. 140. AUSON. PARENTAL. xviii. &
 de CLAR. URB. ZOS. l. iv. c. 25, 46. AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xx. c. 1. & l. xxvii. c. 18. TACIT. VII. Agric.
 c. 38. ^g JUVEN. & AUSON. IBID.

a he invaded *Britain*, in the country of the *Cantii*, and, as is commonly believed, at *Deal*, on the twenty-sixth of *August*, in the afternoon, fifty-four years before the birth of Christ^f. *Cantium* is parted from the continent by a narrow sea, called by *Solinus*, *Fretum Gallicum*; by *Tacitus* and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Fretum Oceani*, and *Oceanus Fretalis*. Thus far of that part of *Britain*, which is bounded by the ocean, the *Severn* sea, and the river *Tbames*.

On the north side of the *Tbames*, near its head, are placed by *Ptolemy* the *Dobuni*, *Dobuni*. the antient inhabitants of *Glostershire* and *Oxfordshire*. In their country that writer mentions but one city, namely *Corinium*, called by *Antoninus*, so far as we can conjecture from the distances set down in his itinerary, *Durocornovium*, which stood in or near the place, where the present town of *Cirencester* stands. Two other places are taken notice of by *Antoninus*, viz. *Altona*, or *Avone*, and *Clevum*, or *Glevum*, built by the *Romans*, as a curb upon the *Silures*, now *Alvington* and *Glocester*. To the east of the *Dobuni* lay the country of the *Cattiueclani*, *Calyeueclani*, *Cattidudani*, *Catbicludani*, as they are styled in different copies of *Ptolemy's* works. *Dion* calls them *Cattuclani*, and also *Cassii*. In their country, which comprehended *Buckinghamshire*, *Bedfordshire*, and *Hertfordshire*, the following places are named by *Antoninus*; *Lastodorum*, *Bedford*; *Magiovinium*, *Ashtwell*; *Durocobrivis* or *Durocobriua*, *Hertford*; *Pontes*, placed in the itinerary twenty-two miles from *London*; and *Verulamium*, mentioned not only by *Antoninus*, but by *Ptolemy*, and all the *Roman* writers, who speak of *Britain*. *Camden* conjectures *Verulamium* to have been the town of *Cassivelaun*, which was taken by *Cæsar* g. In *Nero's* time it was a *municipium*, as we read in *Tacitus* h; but being afterwards destroyed, as is supposed, in the *Saxon* war, the town of *St. Albans* rose out of its ruins, which are still called *Verulam*. In the country of the *Cattiueclani*, *Ptolemy* mentions only *Verulamium*, which he calls *Urolanium*, and *Salena*, of which no footsteps are remaining. Before the arrival of *Cæsar*, the *Cattiueclani* had reduced great part of the country belonging to the *Dobuni*, and were constantly at war with their neighbours.

Next to the *Cattiueclani* were the *Trinobantes*, as *Cæsar* calls them, or *Trinonnantes*, *Trinobantes*. as they are styled by *Tacitus* and *Ptolemy*. They inhabited the present counties of *Middlesex* and *Essex*. To them belonged the city of *London*, called by *Tacitus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Antoninus*, *Londinium*; by *Ammianus*, *Lundinum*; by *Stephanus*, *Lindonium*; and by *Bede*, *Lundonia* and *civitas Lundonia* i. There seems to have been no such place as *London* in *Cæsar's* time; and yet it was a town of great note and trade in *Nero's*, as appears from *Tacitus* k. It must therefore have been founded between the times of these two emperors, and, in all likelihood, as the learned bishop of *Worcester* thinks, about the time of *Claudius*. *Tacitus* calls it a place famous for trade, and the concourse of merchants, though not distinguished with the title of *colony* l. Whether in process of time it attained this honour, may be questioned; for though *Ammianus Marcellinus* styles it *Augusta*, yet we cannot from thence conclude, that it was a *Roman colony*, since antiquaries, of no mean character, are of opinion, that the emperors allowed some towns, that were not colonies, to assume that title m. Perhaps it took the name of *Augusta* from *Constantine the Great*, who is said to have surrounded it with a wall. *Ptolemy*, as we have observed above, and also *Ravennas*, place *London* in *Cantium*, on the south side of the *Tbames*. The other towns of the *Trinobantes* were, *Durolitum*, *Cæsaromagus*, *Cononium*, *Camalodunum*, and *Colonia*, now *Leiton*, *Burghstead*, *Cannonden*, *Maldon*, and *Colchester*. *Camalodunum*, called by *Ptolemy*, *Camudolanum*, was the first *Roman colony* in *Britain*, granted by the emperor *Claudius* to the veterans, who, driving out the natives, settled there; but they were afterwards themselves, in a general insurrection, either driven out, or put to the sword, the theatre, the temple of *Claudius*, and the several villa's in the neighbourhood, belonging to the *Roman* commanders, being utterly demolished by the incensed *Britons*, who looked upon the colony as the seat of slavery n. The country bordering on that of the *Trinobantes*, and comprehending the counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntingdon*, was inhabited by the *Iceni*, called by *Ptolemy*, *Iceni*. *Simeni*, and by others, *Tigeni*. *Camden* is of opinion, that the *Iceni* were the people, whom *Cæsar* calls *Cenomagni* o. To them belonged the following places, mentioned both by *Ptolemy* and *Antoninus*, *Villa Faußini*, *Cambretonium*, *Sitomagus*, *Venta Icenorum*.

^f Vide HALLEY philosoph. transact. No 193. ^g Cæs. comm. l. v. c. 21. ^h TACIT. l. xiv. c. 33.
ⁱ BED. l. ii. c. 4. 7. 3. ^k TACIT. ubi sup. ^l Idem ibid. ^m Vide CELL. geog. antiq.
tom. ii. l. ii. c. 4. ⁿ TACIT. l. xiv. c. 31. & vit. Agric. c. 16. ^o CAMD. Brit. p. 434.

rum, *Garienis Ostium*, *Iciami*, *Brannodium*, and *Durobrivæ*, now *St. Edmundsbury*, *Brettenham*, *Tbetsford*, *Castle*, *Tarmouth*, *Icbburrough*, *Brancaſter*, *Dornford*. In the Roman times, the commander of the horſe under the count of the Saxon ſhore was ſtationed at *Oſtium Garienis*, called alſo *Oppidum Garianorum*; and the *Dalmatian* horſe, as appears from the *Notitia*, at *Brannodunum*. To theſe we may add *Camboriturum*, mentioned by *Antoninus*, though not by *Ptolemy*, and in the itinerary placed on the *Cam*, where the preſent city of *Cambridge* ſtands; which *Camden* ſuppoſes to have been built out of the ruins of *Camboriturum*.

Coritani.

On the *Iceni* bordered the *Coritani*, whoſe country comprehended *Northamptonſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, *Rutlandſhire*, *Lincolnſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, and *Derbyſhire*. Their chief places were, *Lindum*, *Lincoln*; *Tripontium*, *Towceſter*; *Bennaveſſa* or *Beneventa*, thought to be *Northampton*; *Ratæ*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Rage*, according to *Camden*, *Leiceſter*; *Verometum*, *Burrowhill*; *Margidunum*, *Margedoverton*; *Pontes*, *Panton*; *Crococolanum*, and *Agelocum*, or, as *Camden* will have it, *Adelocum*, *Iſleton*. *Lindum*, called by *Bede*, *Lindocolina civitas*, was, according to *Ptolemy*, the metropolis of the *Coritani*. In this country, between the ſprings of the *Nen* and the *Avon*, are ſtill to be ſeen the ruins of antient fortifications and military fences, erected, as *Camden* believes, by *Oſtorius* governor of *Britain*, after he had fortified the banks of the *Severn*, the *Avon*, and the *Nen*, in order to prevent the irruptions of thoſe who inhabited *Wales*, and the north parts of *Britain*. When the banks of the two latter rivers, the one running eaſtward, and the other weſtward, were well defended, the only paſſage from the north into the hither part of *Britain* was between the ſprings of theſe two rivers; and this paſs was defended with ſtrong works, whereof the ruins are ſtill to be ſeen at *Gildsborough* and *Dantrey*. *Oſtorius*, ſays *Tacitus* [†], after having diſarmed ſuch as were ſuſpected, by fortifying the banks of the *Antona* and *Sabrina*, reſtrained them from breaking into the province; where, inſtead of *Antona*, mentioned by no other writer, *Camden* reads *Auſona*, or *Avona*, which name was, according to him, common to the *Nen* and *Avon* [‡]. To the weſt of the *Coritani*, were ſituated the *Cornavii*, who, according to *Ptolemy*'s deſcription of their country, ſeem to have poſſeſſed *Warwickſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Shropſhire*, and *Cheſhire*. Their chief towns were, *Branonium*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Branogenium*, *Worceſter*; *Præſidium* on the *Auſona* or *Avona*, *Warwick*, where the præfect or commander of the *Dalmatian* horſe was poſted by the appointment of the governor of *Britain*, as we read in the *Notitia*; *Pennocrucium*, *Penkridge*; *Viroconinum* or *Uriconium*, as *Ptolemy* calls it, the metropolis of the *Cornavii*, probably built by the Romans, when they fortified the banks of the *Severn*, which is here fordable, and no-where lower. It is now a ſmall village, called *Wrockceſter*. Out of its ruins roſe the preſent town of *Shrewsbury*. *Deva*, or *Deuna*, as *Ptolemy* calls it, on the river *Deva*, from whence the town borrowed its name, now *Cheſter*. It was antiently a Roman colony, and the ſtation of the twentieth legion, ſurnamed *Victrix*. *Condate*, *Congleton*; and *Rutunium*, now *Routon*.

Silures.

THE principality of *Wales*, formerly comprehending the whole country beyond the *Severn*, was, in the Roman times, inhabited by the *Silures*, the *Demetæ*, and the *Ordovices*. To theſe belonged not only the twelve counties of *Wales*, but likewiſe the two others lying beyond the *Severn*, viz. *Herefordſhire* and *Monmouthſhire*, now reckoned among the *Engliſh* counties. The *Silures* and *Demetæ*, according to the deſcription *Ptolemy* gives us of them, inhabited that part, which is now known by the name of *South Wales*, and comprises the following counties, *Radnorſhire*, *Brecknockſhire*, *Glamorganſhire*, with *Herefordſhire* and *Monmouthſhire*. As to the origin of the people, *Tacitus* is of opinion, that they came originally from *Spain*, on account of their ruddy complexion, their curled hair, and their ſituation over-againſt that country. They were a warlike people, of great intrepidity and reſolution, utterly averſe to ſervitude, and great ſticklers for their liberties, as will appear from their wars with the Romans under *Oſtorius*, *Veranius*, and *Julius Frontinus*, who in the end ſubdued them. In *Herefordſhire* ſtood *Bletium*, now the *Old Town* on the *Munow*; and about three ſhort miles weſt of the preſent city of *Hereford*, near the village of *Kencheſter*, *Ariconium*, mentioned by *Antoninus*. In this country are to be ſeen the veſtiges of ſeveral Roman camps. In *Brecknockſhire*, towards the north, where it is divided from *Radnorſhire* by the *Wye*, ſome place *Bullæum Silurum*; but others think it ſtood in *Glamorganſhire*.

[†] TACIT. l. xii. c. 31.

[‡] Vide CAMD. BRIT. p. 404.

- a *shire*. *Brecknock*, the chief town of the county, was inhabited, in the *Roman* times, as appears from several *Roman* coins found there, from a *Roman* brick discovered with this inscription, *Leg. II. Aug.* and from a square camp near this place, called by the natives *Gaer*, that is, *fortification*. In *Monmouthshire*, about three miles from *Chepstow*, which stands near the fall of the *Wye* into the *Severn*, is placed by all our antiquaries *Venta Silurum*, called to this day *Kaer-went*, that is, *the city Venta*; but now only some ruins of it are to be seen. On the north-west border of the county stood *Gobannium*, mentioned by *Antoninus*, at the confluence of the *Isca*, now *Wyck* or *Uck*, and the *Gavenni*; whence it took the name of *Gobannium*, which, with a small alteration, it retains to this day, being called *Aber-Gavenni*, that is, the confluence of the *Gavenni* or *Gobannium*. About twelve miles from *Gobannium*, *Antoninus* places *Burrium*, where the *birdbin* or *Birtbin* falls into the *Uck*. This place is now known to the *Welsh* by the name of *Brynbiga*, and to the *English* by that of *Uck*. On the other side the *Uck*, twelve miles from *Burrium*, stood *Isca Silurum*, where the second legion was stationed; whence it is styled by *Antoninus*, *Legio Secunda*, and by the *Britons* to this day *Kaer-Lbeion*, or *Kaer-Wyck*, that is, the city of the legion, or of the river *Uck*. The *Legio Secunda*, called also *Britannica Secunda*, was raised by *Augustus*, and removed out of *Germany* into *Britain* by *Claudius*, under the conduct of *Vespasian*, to whom, upon his aspiring to the empire, it secured the *British* legions. It was placed in garrison at *Isca* by *Julius Frontinus* against the *Silures*, and long after that, that is, in the reign of *Valentinian*, translated from thence by count *Theodosius*, the father of *Theodosius the Great*, to *Rutupia*, as we read in the *Notitia*, and in *Marcellinus*. At *Isca Silurum*, many monuments of antiquity have been discovered, as the reader will find in *Camden*. The most southern county formerly belonging to the *Silures*, is *Glamorganshire*, where, at a small distance from the *Remney*, which divides it on the east from *Monmouthshire*, is to be seen *Kaer-phily-castle*, in the opinion of *Camden*, the most noble and ancient piece of architecture remaining in *Britain*. That this castle was built by the *Romans*, seems highly probable, though we have no other reason to conclude it *Roman*, but the stateliness of its structure, no *Roman* inscriptions, statues, coins, or other monuments of antiquity, having ever been discovered there. *Camden* thinks it was the *Bullaum Silurum*, of which we have spoken above.

- THE remaining part of *South Wales*, comprehending *Caer-Mardbinshire*, *Pembroke-Demetae-shire*, and *Cardiganshire*, was likewise inhabited, according to *Pliny*, by the *Silures*; but *Ptolemy*, to whom *Britain* was better known, placed another nation here, called by him *Demetæ* and *Dimetæ*. Besides, both *Gildas* and *Nennius* style this country *Demetia*; and the *Britons* to this day call it *Dyved*, changing *M* into *V*, according to the dialect of that language. Perhaps the *Latin* name *Dimetia* owes its origin to the *British* *Dyved*; for it was the custom of the *Romans*, as *Camden* observes, to retain such names of the places they conquered, as had been given them by the natives, adding only to them a *Latin* termination. In the country of the *Demetæ*, *Ptolemy* takes notice only of two places, *Loventium* or *Luentium*, at the mouth of the *Tuerobis*, now the *Towy*, and *Maridunum*, or, as *Antoninus* calls it, *Muridunum*, now *Caer-Mardbin*. The country now known by the name of *North Wales*, and comprehending *Montgomeryshire*, *Merionethshire*, *Caernarvanshire*, *Denbighshire*, and *Flintshire*, was inhabited by the *Ordovices*, a brave and powerful nation, who held out first against the *Romans*, and afterwards against the *English*, after the other *Britons* were subdued; for by the *Romans* they were not reduced till the time of *Domitian*, nor by the *English*, till the reign of *Henry I.* In their country, namely in *Montgomeryshire*, where the village of *Meivod* stands at present, stood formerly, according to the conjectures of the best antiquaries, the city of *Mediolanum*, celebrated both by *Ptolemy* and *Antoninus*. Besides *Mediolanum*, *Antoninus* mentions other places in the country of the *Ordovices*; viz. *Segontium*, on the river *Sejont*, whence, without all doubt, it took its name; *Conovium*, now *Conway*; and *Varis*, of which the ruins were to be seen in *Camden*'s time, near the village of *Bodwar*. In this country are the ruins of several ancient forts raised by the *Romans*, to awe and keep in subjection the natives. Over-against *Caernarvanshire* lies the island of *Mona*, now *Anglesey*, the ancient seat of the *Druids*, first attempted by *Paulinus Suetonius*, and afterwards reduced by *Agricola*. It was called in the *British* tongue *Mén*, and, when conquered by the *English*, *Anglesey*, that is, the *English* island.

* AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xxvii. c. 18.

* Vide CAMD. Brit. p. 718, 728.

Brigantes.

THE *Brigantes*, whom *Stephanus* calls *Brigæ*, a numerous and powerful people, and much commended by the ancient writers, possessed the following countries; viz. *Yorkshire* and the bishoprick of *Durham* towards the east and the *German* ocean, and to the west *Lancashire*, *Westmorland*, and *Cumberland*. In *Yorkshire*, and in the west-riding, on the *Dan*, now the *Don*, stood the city of *Danum*, mentioned by *Antoninus*, and in the *Notitia* called the station of the *Crispinian* horse. *Nennius* styles it *Caer-Dann*; but it is now known by the name of *Doncaster*. *Olicana*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*, is, from its situation with respect to *Eboracum* or *York*, thought by *Camden* to have stood where *Ilkly*, on the *Wharf*, now stands. It was rebuilt in the reign of *Severus* by *Virius Lupus*, legate and proprætor of *Britain*, as appears from an ancient inscription dug up there¹. The second cohort of the *Lingones* was quartered here. Near the confluence of the *Calder* and the *Aire* stands the small village of *Castleford*, formerly, according to *Camden*, *Lageolium*, or as *Antoninus* styles it, *Lagetium*. This our learned antiquary conjectures from its situation, by a *Roman* way, from several monuments of antiquity discovered there, and its distance from *Danum* and *Eboracum*. *Colcaria*, according to some *Tadcaster*, according to others *Aberford*, is mentioned by *Antoninus*, but not by *Ptolemy*. *Isurium Brigantum* is placed by both on the *Ure*; and by *Camden* thought to have stood where the present village of *Aldborough* stands, at a small distance from *Borrowbridge*. *Eboracum* or *Eburacum*, now *York*, on the *Ouse*, for the *Ure* takes that name at *Aldburrow*, where the *Ouseburn*, a small brook, falls into it, was the metropolis of the *Brigantes*. It owed, no doubt, its origin and grandeur to the *Romans*; for it was both a *Roman* colony and a *municipium*, as appears from several ancient inscriptions². The sixth legion, called *Viatrix*, sent out of *Germany* into *Britain*, was quartered here in the time of the *Antonines*, and likewise the ninth in *Galba's* reign³. In this city the emperors had a palace, in which died *Septimius Severus*, and *Constantius Chlorus*. Upon the death of the latter, his son *Constantine*, who afterwards acquired the surname of *Great*, was here first declared emperor. The rescript of the emperors *Severus* and *Antoninus*, *de rei vindicatione*, is dated from this place. Upon the death of *Severus*, justice was, for some time, administered here by the great oracle of the law *Æmilius Paulus*. When the *Romans* abandoned *Britain*, *Eboracum* was, by the *Scots* and *Picts*, reduced to the shadow of what it had been. In the east-riding, about seven miles from *York*, stood *Derventio*, now *Auldby*, a small village on the *Derwent*, formerly *Derventio*. At the same distance from the *Abus*, now the *Humber*, where the small town of *Wigton* stands, stood, in the *Roman* times, *Delgovitia*; and on the promontory called by *Ptolemy*, *Ocellum*, now *Holderness*, the city of *Prætorium*, now *Patrington*. The only places in *Lancashire* mentioned by *Antoninus*, are, *Mancunium*, now *Manchester*, and *Alione*, called in the *Notitia*, *Alione*, now *Lancaster*, the chief town of the county to which it gives name. In *Westmorland*, two short miles from the *Ituna* or *Eden*, stood *Vetere*, now a village called *Burgh*. It is mentioned by *Antoninus*; and from the *Notitia* we learn, that upon the decline of the *Roman* empire, was quartered there a præfect, with a band of *Diretores*. Not far from hence stood *Aballaba*, on the *Ituna*, the station, as we read in the *Notitia*, of the *Mauri Aureliani*. It retains its ancient name, being now called by contraction *Apelby*. At *Wharfedale* appear vast ruins of an ancient town, where *Roman* coins and urns have been frequently dug up. Here stood, according to *Camden*, *Gallagum*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*, and called by *Antoninus*, *Gallatum*; which conjecture agrees with the distances in the itinerary. From this place, an old causeway runs almost in a strait line, for the space of about twenty miles, to *Caer-Varran*, near the *Picts* wall. Upon this causeway, now commonly called the *Maidenway*, *Camden* thinks, that the stations and mansions, mentioned by *Antoninus* in his ninth *iter*, were settled. At *Brougham*, according to *Camden*, the ancient *Brocovum* and *Brevoniacum* of *Antoninus*, called in the *Notitia*, *Brocaniacum*, where a cohort of the *Defensores* was quartered, several coins, and other monuments of antiquity, have been dug up. In *Cumberland*, the sea-coast was fortified by the *Romans* in such places as were convenient for landing; whence the *Scots*, when from *Ireland* they invaded our island, met here with the greatest opposition. Many remains of antiquity are still to be seen at *Moresby*, perhaps, as the present name seems to imply, the *Morbium* of the ancients, where, according to the *Notitia*, the *equites cataphracti* were quartered. At the head of the *Wize*, a small river, that falls into the *Waver*, are

¹ Vide CAMD. p. 867.
Brit. p. 19.

² Vid CAMD. p. 878. GRUT. p. 485. GALE in comment. ad Anton. it.
³ Vide CAMD. ibid.

Horeſti.

Meatae.

Caledonii.

Picti.

Attacotti.
Scotti.

Adrian's wall.

Alauna and *Viſtoria*. The *Horeſti*, mentioned by *Tacitus*, are placed by *Camden* ^a between the *Selgovæ* and the *Ottadini*. *Agricola* entered their country, as we read in *Tacitus*; and, having received hoſtages, commanded his admiral to ſail round *Britain*. Hence *Camden* infers, that their country bordered on *Solway-frith*, and that the *Roman* fleet was then riding there. In this voyage were diſcovered the *Orcades*, unknown to the world till that time. That narrow neck of land, by which *Gleſta* and *Bodotriæ æſtuaria*, that is, *Dumbrion* and *Edinburgh* friths, arms of different ſeas, are kept from joining, was fortified by *Agricola* with gariſons and caſtles; by which means all *Britain*, on this ſide, being poſſeſſed by the *Romans*, the barbarians were removed, as it were, into another iſland. Thoſe who dwelt beyond the two friths, are by *Dion Caſſius* comprehended under the two denominations of *Meatae* and *Caledonii*. ^b The ſouth part of *Britannia Barbaræ*, as the *Romans* ſtyled it, was poſſeſſed by the former; and the north part by the latter. From the *Caledonii*, *Calidones*, *Deucaledonii*, or *Dicalidones*, as they are ſtyled by different authors, the north part of *Britain* was called *Caledonia*; nay, *Florus* calls the woods adjoining to the *Thames*, *Caledonian* woods; for ſpeaking of *Cæſar* ſoon after he had paſſed that river, *Having followed the Britons*, ſays he, *into the Caledonian woods, he took one of their kings priſoner* ^a. But herein he ſhews himſelf little acquainted with the country. Of the *Picti* no mention is made either by *Tacitus* or *Ptolemy*; but under that denomination the *Caledonians* were comprehended in *Conſtantine's* time: *I do not mention*, ſays *Eumenius* in his panegyric upon that prince, *the woods and marſhes of the Caledonians and other Picti* ^b. And *Ammianus Marcellinus*, writing of the time of *Valentinian* and *Valens*; *The Picti*, ſays he, *under which denomination are comprehended the Dicalidones and the Vecturiones, the Attacotti likewise, a warlike nation, and the Scotti, roaming about, committed great deſtroyations* ^c. Hence it is manifeſt, that, in the reigns of thoſe two princes, the *Attacotti*, and the *Scotti* or *Scots*, were two different nations from the *Caledonii* and the *Picti*. But of *Scotland*, and its antient inhabitants, we ſhall ſpeak more at length hereafter. Thus far of the inhabitants of *Britain*, of their towns and territories, while the *Romans* were maſters of the iſland, in the deſcription of which we have followed *Ptolemy*, *Antoninus*, and our beſt modern antiquaries. But, after all, we cannot pretend exactly to aſcertain the bounds of ſo many different nations ſubject to ſo many kings, who were continually making encroachments upon ^d each other. Moſt of the towns we have mentioned were, in all likelihood, built after the *Romans* had made themſelves maſters of the iſland; but that the *Britons* had no towns at all before their arrival, as *Strabo* ſeems to inſinuate ^d, is what we can hardly believe. What that geographer wrote of *Gaul* and *Britain*, he copied from *Cæſar*, who tells us indeed, that the *Britons* gave the name of towns to woods, after they had fortified them with a ditch and rampart, to reſtrain the incuſſions of thoſe with whom they were at war ^e. But, from their giving the name of towns to the woods, which they choſe for places of ſhelter, and fortified in time of war, we cannot conclude, that they had no other places, deſerving that name, to dwell in, when under no apprehenſion of an enemy. Who can believe, that the twenty towns, which ^e *Veſpaſian* reduced under the emperor *Claudius*, as we read in *Suetonius* ^f, were only woods thus fortified and fenced in?

WE cannot diſmiſs this ſubject, without taking notice of the walls or ramparts raiſed by the *Roman* emperors in this iſland, to ſecure the countries belonging to *Rome* againſt the incuſſions of the northern barbarians. That three walls were erected for that purpoſe by three different emperors, is manifeſt from hiſtory. Of theſe the ^f firſt and hithermoſt was, without all doubt, the work of *Adrian*; for *Spartian* tells us in expreſs terms, that he was the firſt, who, by a wall or rampart eighty miles in length, parted the *Romans* and barbarians ^a. This wall is, by our beſt antiquaries, placed between *Solway-frith* and *Tinmouth*; and truly, conſidering its extent, it can be placed no-where elſe. This wall or rampart, (for ſome writers ſtyle it *muris*, and others *vallum*) was made, ſays *Spartian*, *in modum muralis ſepis*, or *ſepti*, that is, *after the manner of a mural hedge*, with large ſtakes fixed deep in the ground, and faſtened together. Upon it ſtood *Pons Ælia*, perhaps *Pont-Eland* in *Northumberland*, *Claffis Ælia*, *Cobors Ælia*, and *Ala Sabiniana*, which took their names from *Ælius Adrianus*, and his wife *Sabina*. In the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, the ſucceſſor of *Adrian*, the

^a FLOR. l. iii. c. 10.^b EUMEN. panegy. Conſt. c. 7.^c AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xxvii. c. 18.

VALES. c. 18.

^d STRABO, l. iv. p. 138.^e CÆS. l. v. c. 21.^f SUET. in Claud. c. 4.^g SPARTIAN. in Adrian. c. 11.

a *Brigantes* revolted; but *Lollius Urbicus*, then governor of *Britain*, having overcome them, and driven back the barbarians, built another wall of turf or earth, says *Capitolinus* in the life of *Antoninus Pius*^b. As no ancient writer mentions the place where this second wall was built, it is impossible to determine it with any certainty. Some learned antiquaries, whom we have followed in our *Roman history*^c, place it between the friths of *Forth* and *Clyde*. But *Camden* and *Brietius*, upon the authority of a very ancient chorographical table, are of opinion, that it began at the mouth of the *Taus* or *Tweed*, and was carried southward to the head of the *Eske* in *Eske-dale*, so as to secure the east coast, and inclose part of the country of the *Ottadini*. Upon second thoughts, this opinion does not seem to us improbable, since *Antoninus* begins his itinerary from the mouth of the *Tweed*, as the most northern boundary, at that time, of the *Roman* empire. The first wall was built, according to our best chronologers, in the year of the christian æra 123. the fourth of *Adrian's* reign, *Glabrio* and *Torquatus* being then consuls; and the other in 142. the third of *Antoninus Pius*, then consul with *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*^k. That a third wall was built by the emperor *Severus*, is plain from *Spartian*, who, in the life of that prince, tells us, that he secured *Britain* with a wall carried on cross the island from sea to sea^l. There is a great disagreement among antiquaries about the place where this wall was built. *Camden* maintains, that *Severus's* wall was raised in the same place, where *Adrian* had erected his about eighty years before. But we cannot help disagreeing herein with that learned antiquary, since *Eutropius*, in the life of *Severus* writes, that he built a wall thirty-two miles in length, reaching from sea to sea; whereas *Adrian's* wall extended eighty, viz. from *Solway-frith* to *Tinmouth*. Besides, we cannot persuade ourselves, that *Severus*, after having overcome in several battles the barbarians, after having marched from one end of the island to the other, and been at an immense trouble and charge, not to mention the loss of fifty thousand men, in draining marshes, cutting down woods, and making highways, should have abandoned so extensive a country, which *Agricola* had formerly reduced, and *Antoninus* inclosed with a wall, and this at a time when the enemies of *Rome* were quite dispirited, and suing for peace. It must therefore be placed on the isthmus between the friths of *Forth* and *Clyde*; and indeed, if it was but thirty-two miles in length, it could stand in no other part of the whole island, that was ever possessed by the *Romans*. But the hithermost wall, says *Camden*, is still called *Gual Seuer*, that is, *Severus's* wall. May not those, who call it so, be mistaken? Is it not well known; that many appellations, or, as we may style them, traditions, of this nature, when narrowly examined, prove quite groundless? Such is this, if we believe the *Scots* writers, who, as *Camden* himself observes, have always called the hithermost wall *Adrian's* wall. The neck of land between the two friths of *Forth* and *Clyde* is not above sixteen miles over. This tract *Agricola* secured with castles and forts placed at convenient distances, that the forces might easily draw together upon the first apprehension of danger. In building afterwards the wall, those who were employed in the work, took the most direct line; which must be the cause why some of the forts are at a distance from it. They began it where the rivers are narrow, and carried it along the neck of land between the friths. It begins between the *Queen's-ferry* and *Abercorn*, and, for the space of thirty-six *Scots Miles*, runs westward to *Dumbrition*, with a great ditch on the north side of the wall, and many square fortifications in the form of a *Roman* camp. It is called by the inhabitants of the neighbouring country *Graham's dyke*. But of *Severus's* wall, we have spoken at length in our *Roman history*^m, to which we refer the reader. The hithermost was, as we have observed already, built by *Adrian*, not with stone, but turf or earth, and defended by a rampart, and sharp stakes driven deep into the ground. However, it is certain, that afterwards a stone wall was built in the same place; but when, or by what emperor, we cannot determine. The remains of this wall were still to be seen in *Camden's* time. That learned antiquary traced it with great care, and, according to the account he gives us of it, it began at *Blatobulgium*, or *Bulnefs*, on the *Irish* sea, kept along the side of *Solway-frith* by *Burgh-upon-sands* to *Lugovallum*, now *Carlisle*, where it passed the *Ituna* or *Eden*. Thence it was carried on cross the little river of *Cambeck*, where the ruins of a great castle were to be seen. Afterwards passing the rivers *Irthing* and *Poltrofe*, it entered *Northumberland*, and through those mountains along the river *South Tine*, was continued by a bridge over *North Tine*,

^b CAPITOL. in Anton. Pio, c. 5. p. 108, & 116.

^c Vide Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 57.

^d SPART. in vit. Sever. c. 18.

^e Vide ALFORD. annal. Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 118.

and ended at the *German* ocean. On the north side of the wall was a ditch twelve a yards broad. In some places it is six yards deep, hewn out of the solid rock. The wall itself was about eight foot thick, and in very few places built upon that of *Adrian*. *Camden* takes this to be the wall, that was built by the *Romans* about the middle of the fifth century, upon their abandoning the island. But one legion only was then sent over, and that was soon after recalled: and could one legion, in a very short time, and in great haste to return, build, even with the assistance of the *Britons*, a stone wall eight foot in breadth, twelve in height, and eighty miles in length? This to us seems incredible, and therefore we are inclined to think, that this last wall was built upon that of *Severus* between *Bodotria* and *Glota*, where, in *Buchanan's* time, were discovered the remains of a stone wall^a. This is the opinion of the learned b *Usher*, who maintains, that *Bede* was mistaken in placing the last wall between the *Eden* and the *Tine*^c. The last legion, sent to the assistance of the *Britons*, drove out the barbarians with great slaughter, and recovered the country they had seized. Is it therefore probable, that, abandoning such a vast tract to the enemy, they would have chosen to build a wall eighty miles in length, though in great haste to return to the continent, when they might have inclosed a much larger country with a wall not half so long?

Britannia Superior and Inferior.

THESE three walls were, in different times, the boundaries of the *Roman* empire, dividing *Britannia Romana* from *Britannia Barbara*, which last appellation they gave to that part of *Britain*, which was not subject to *Rome*. *Britannia Romana* was c divided into *Britannia Superior*, and *Britannia Inferior*, or *Upper* and *Lower Britain*. The former reached from the *Chanel* at least as far as *Chester*, comprehending both *England* and *Wales*, as they are now styled; for, on one hand, we read in *Dion Cassius*, that the *legio secunda Augusta* was quartered in *Upper Britain*^d; and on the other, in *Ptolemy*, that it had its station at *Isca Silurum*, now *Caer Lleon*, about four miles from the *Severn* in *Monmouthshire*^e. The same *Dion Cassius* tells us, that the *Legio vigesima*, called likewise *Valeriana* and *Vittrix*, was quartered in *Upper Britain*; and both *Ptolemy* and *Antoninus* determine the place, viz. *Deva*, now *Chester*, on the *Deva*, now the *Dee*. The *Legio sexta Vittrix* is placed by *Dion Cassius* in *Lower Britain*; and by *Antoninus*, as well as by *Ptolemy*, at *Eboracum* or *York*, which, as it d is plain from hence, stood in *Lower Britain*. Under this division was comprised only that part of *Britain*, which was subject to the *Romans*, the other more northern part being by them distinguished with the name of *Britannia Barbara*. This division owed, without all doubt, its origin to the emperor *Severus*, who, having settled the affairs of *Britain*, divided it, as we read in *Herodian*^f, into two prefectures. Before that prince's reign, no mention is made of any division of *Britain*; and *Ptolemy*, who divides *Germany*, *Pannonia*, and *Mæsia* into *Upper* and *Lower*, takes no notice of any such division in his description of *Britain*; a convincing proof, that, when he wrote, that is, in the reign of *Marcus Antoninus*, this division was not yet introduced. If *Severus* was, as he seems to have been, the author of this division, e *Britannia Inferior* extended to the isthmus between *Glota* and *Bodotria*, where he built a wall, parting *Britannia Romana* from *Britannia Barbara*.

Britain divided into five governments.

Britannia Romana, comprehending the *Upper* and *Lower Britain*, was first divided, probably by *Constantine the Great*, into four governments; viz. *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, *Flavia Cæsariensis*, and *Maxima Cæsariensis*. *Britannia Prima* lay between the *Chanel* on one side, and the *Thames* and the *Severn* on the other; *Britannia Secunda* reached from the *Severn* to the *Irish* sea; *Flavia Cæsariensis* was inclosed by the *Thames*, the *Severn*, and the *Humber*; and *Maxima Cæsariensis* extended from the *Humber* to *Adrian's* wall. To these was added afterwards the province of *Valentia*, probably so called by the emperor *Valentinian* from his brother *Valens*; for, in f the reign of *Valentinian*, this country, extending from *Adrian's* wall to the friths of *Bodotria* and *Glota*, was recovered by *Theodosius*, father to the emperor of that name. This division we have copied from the breviary, which *Sextus Rufus* wrote, and dedicated to the emperor *Valentinian*. Of this work, some imperfect copies leave out *Flavia Cæsariensis*; and one of these *Camden* has followed. Each of these provinces had its particular magistrate, some a consular, others only a *præses* or president. They were all, according to the *Notitia*, subject to the *vicarius* of *Britain*, as he was to the *præfectus prætorio* of *Gaul*, one of the four *præfecti prætorio* instituted by *Con-*

The form of the Roman government in Britain.

^a BUCHAN. rer. Scot. l. iv. sub rege 27. p. 564.

^c PTOL. l. ii. c. 3.

^d USS. rer. Brit. p. 1024, 1027.

^e HERODIAN. l. iii. c. 8.

^f DIO CASS. l. lv.

a *stantine*. The vicar of Britain had several officers under him for the better and more expeditious administration of civil affairs, viz. his *princeps* or lieutenant; a *cornicularius*, who published the sentences and decrees of the vicar and other magistrates, and was so called from *cornu* a horn, with the sounding of which he commanded silence in the court; two *numerarii* or accountants, whose province it was to set down the sums of the public revenues; a *commentariensis* or jailor, so called from the *commentaria* or kalendars of the prisoners, which he kept, and delivered to the judges; officers called *ab actis*, that is, public notaries, who wrote testaments, contracts, and other instruments; secretaries called *de cura*, and *de cura epistolarum*, whose office it was to write and send letters and dispatches from the governors of the provinces to the emperor, or to each other. Besides a great number of petty officers, viz. informers, pursuivants, apparitors, &c. the vicar had under him the governors of the five above-mentioned provinces, who were three presidents, and two consulars; for by presidents were governed *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, and *Flavia Casariensis*; and the other two, *Maxima Casariensis* and *Valentia*, by consulars, as appears from the *Notitia*, and was agreeable to the custom of the Romans, who, on the decline of the empire, committed to consulars the care of those provinces only, that, lying next to the enemy, were most exposed to their attempts. The vicar had the power of reversing the judgments and decrees of the other governors; and with the same power was the *præfectus prætorio* of Gaul vested, with respect to the judgments and decrees of the vicar. The ensigns of the vicar's office were a book of mandates in a green cover, and five castles placed on the triangular form of the island, with the names of the five above-mentioned provinces, which they represented.

Their civil government.

By the vicar, and the governors of the five provinces under him, was the civil government administered. As to the military, it was executed by three chief officers under the *magister militum* of the west; viz. the *comes Britanniarum*, the *comes littoris Saxonici*, and the *dux Britanniarum*. No mention is made in the *Notitia* of the troops under the command of the count of Britain, nor of the places under his jurisdiction; but as the other two commanded on the coasts, and in the northern parts of Britain, as appears from the places where their forces were quartered, we conclude from thence, that the inland and south part of the island was subject to his command. The *comes littoris Saxonici*, or count of the Saxon shore, whose province it was to cover the eastern coast, lying over-against Germany, and prevent the Saxon pirates from ravaging the country, had no fewer than eight *præpositi* under his command, and one tribune; viz. the *præpositus* or commander of the *numerus* or cohort of the *Fortenses*, quartered at *Osbona*, thought to be *Hastings*; the *præpositus* of the *Tungricani* at *Dubris* or *Dover*; the *præpositus* of the *Turnacenses* at *Lemanis* or *Lime*; the *præpositus* of the *Branodunenses*, who were *Dalmatian* horse, at *Branodunum* or *Brancaaster* in *Norfolk*; the *præpositus* of the *Stablesian* horse at *Gariannonum* or *Caistor*, near *Tarmouth*; the *præpositus* of the second legion, called *Augusta*, quartered at *Rutupie* or *Richborough*; the *præpositus* of the *Abulci* at *Anderida* or *Newenden*; and the *præpositus* of the *exploratores*, whose office it was to discover the state and motions of the enemy, at *Portus Adurni*, or *Ederington* in *Suffex*. The tribune commanded under the *præpositus* of the legion. The *dux Britanniarum* had under him fourteen *præpositi*; viz. the *præpositus* of the sixth legion quartered at *York* or *Eboracum*; the *præpositus* of the *Dalmatian* horse at *Præsidium*, or *Patrington* in *Holderness*; the *præpositus* of the *Crispian* horse at *Danum* or *Doncaster*; the *præpositus* of the *Catafractarian* horse at *Morbium*, perhaps *Morsby* in *Cumberland*; the *præpositus* of the *Barcarii Tigrinenses* at *Arbeia* or *Jerby* in the same county; the *præpositus* of the *Nervii Diētenses* at *Diētis* or *Diganwy* in *Caernarvanshire*; the *præpositus* of the *Vigiles* or scouts at *Concangii* or *Kendal* in *Westmorland*; the *præpositus* of the *Exploratores* at *Lavatres* or *Bowes* in *Yorkshire*; the *præpositus* of the *Direlli* at *Vetera* or *Burgh upon Stanmore* in *Westmorland*; the *præpositus* of the *Defensores* at *Broconiocum* or *Bougham* in the same county; the *præpositus* of the *Solenses* at *Magona*, thought by *Camden* to be *Macbleneth* in *Montgomeryshire*; the *præpositus* of the *Pacenses* at *Magi* or *Old Radnor*; the *præpositus* of the *Longonicarii* at *Longonicus* or *Langcheester*, in the bishoprick of *Durham*; and lastly, the *præpositus* of the *Derventionenses*, so called from *Derventio*, where they were quartered, a town upon the *Derwent*, seven miles from *York*, thought to be *Auldbury*. All these *præpositi* are named in the *Notitia*, with the places where they were quartered.

Their military government.

* Vide PANCROL. in notit. imperii.

BESIDES the above-mentioned forces, a strong guard or watch was kept on the wall, or, as the *Notitia* expresses it, along the line of the wall; *per lineam valli*. Here was posted the tribune of the fourth cohort of the *Lergi*, at a place called *Segodunum*, now *Seaton*, on the sea-coast of *Northumberland*. The tribune of the cohort of the *Comonii* had his station at *Pons Ælii* or *Pontland* in *Northumberland*. This bridge was probably made by order of the emperor *Ælius Adrianus*. The tribune of the *ala* of the *Astores* was quartered at *Condercum* or *Chester-upon-the-street*, in the bishoprick of *Durham*. Next to him was stationed the tribune of the first cohort of the *Frixagi* at *Vindobala*, as we read in the *Notitia*, or *Vindomora*, as it is styled in the itinerary, the former name importing, in the *British* language, *finis muri*, and the latter *finis valli*; and hence the place is now called the *Wall's-end*, in *Northumberland*, the river *Tine* serving perhaps instead of a rampart from this place to the sea. The prefect of the *ala Saviniana* was posted at *Hunnum*, which *Camden* conjectures to be *Sevenshale* in the same county. The prefect of the second *ala* of the *Astores* lay at *Cilurnum*, which some take for *Cillerford*, and some for *Scilicest-on-the-wall*, likewise in *Northumberland*. The tribune of the first cohort of the *Batavi* was stationed at *Procolitia*, according to some, *Colchester* upon the *Tine*. The tribune of the first cohort of the *Tungri* was quartered at *Borcovicus* or *Borwick* in *Northumberland*. The tribune of the fourth cohort of the *Gauls* at *Vindolana* or *Winchester-on-the-wall*. The tribune of the first cohort of the *Astores* at *Æsica*, thought to be *Neiberly* on the *Esk* in *Cumberland*. The tribune of the second cohort of the *Dalmatae* at *Magni*, a place without all doubt near the wall, and not *Raanor*, called by the same name. The tribune of the first cohort *Ælia* at *Amboglanna*, according to some *Willoford* in *Cumberland*, according to *Camden*, *Ambleside* in *Westmorland*. The prefect of the *ala Petriana* at *Perith* in *Cumberland*. The prefect of the *Mauri Aureliani* at *Aballaba*, or *Apleby* in *Westmorland*. The tribune of the second cohort of the *Lergi* at *Congavata*, or *Rose-castle* near *Carlisle* in *Cumberland*. The tribune of the cohort of the *Hispani* at *Axelodunum*, now *Hexham* in *Northumberland*. The tribune of the second cohort of *Thracians* at *Gabrosetum*, *Gatehead*, close to *Newcastle*. The tribune of the first cohort, called *Ælia Classica*, at *Tinnocellum* or *Tinmouth*. This cohort, *Camden* thinks, was employed in naval affairs, induced thereunto by the surname of *Classica* given it in the *Notitia*. That the *Romans* kept some vessels on the *Tine*, to hinder the *Caledonians* from making descents on their territories, is not improbable; for that they maintained a fleet in the ports of this island, is manifest from a law still extant in the pandects, wherein mention is made by *Javolenus* of one *Seius Saturninus*, archigubernus or admiral of the *British* fleet*. The tribune of the first cohort of the *Morini* was stationed at *Glannobanta*, thought by *Camden* to have stood on the *Wentbeek* in *Cumberland*. The tribune of the third cohort of the *Nervii* at *Alione*, now *Whitley-castle* in *Westmorland*. The *cuneus* of the *Armatura* is placed by the *Notitia* at *Brementuracum*, a station near the wall, and not in the neighbourhood of *Preston* in *Lancashire*, sixty miles distant from the wall, as *Camden* would have it. The prefect of the first *ala Herculea* had his station at *Olenacum* or *Ellenborough* in *Cumberland*, where many monuments of antiquity have been discovered. The tribune of the sixth cohort of the *Nervii* is mentioned the last of all in the *Notitia*, and placed at *Verosidium*, thought to be *Werewich* upon the *Eden* near *Carlisle*. All these forces were appointed to defend the limit, that is, to secure the wall, under the command of the *dux Britanniarum*. These three officers, viz. the *comes Britanniarum*, the *comes littoris Saxonici*, and the *dux Britanniarum*, were equal in power, but subordinate to the vicar. The forces maintained in *Britain* under the two latter officers, amounted, according to *Pancirolos*, to nineteen thousand two hundred foot, and seventeen hundred horse. Of the troops under the *comes Britanniarum*, we find no account in the *Notitia*; *Pancirolos* thinks, because the greater part of the island was then in the power of the barbarians. But this reason might have served against enumerating the forces under the two other commanders; for, at the very time the *Notitia* was compiled, the *Britons* were, by frequent embassies, soliciting the emperor, and his officers in *Gaul*, for aid; which they could not have wanted, had the fourth part of the troops, set down in the *Notitia*, been quartered towards the wall. In the times before the *Notitia*, no mention is made of the *comes Britanniarum*, but only of the *dux*, and the *comes tractus maritimi*, called *comes littoris*

* Pand. SC. ad Trebell.

- a *Saxonici*, when the Saxon pirates began to infest the coasts. The first vicar of Britain we find mentioned in history, and probably the first who, with that title, governed here, is *Pacatianus*, to whom we find an edict directed in 319. enacting, that one *decurio* should not be bound to pay the taxes that were due from another*. The authority of the count of the Saxon shore was thought to have been confined within Britain, till it was by the learned *Selden* extended to the opposite coasts of *Cimbria*, *Batavia*, *Belgica*, and *Armorica*†; for to them he finds the name of *littus Saxonicum* given by the writers of those times, no doubt from their being infested by the Saxon pirates. The count of Britain had for his ensigns a book of mandates, and the island represented in a triangular form; the count of the Saxon shore a purple book, with nine castles, representing the nine places where the *præpositi* and tribune, under his command, were quartered; and the *dux* likewise a purple book, with the fourteen places, where the prefects under him were stationed. Of these munitions or forts, fourteen have over them the names we have mentioned; but the first has only the word *sextæ*, signifying, we suppose, the station of the sixth legion, which was quartered at York; whence that city is styled by *Antoninus*, in his itinerary, *Eboracum legio sexta*; and in a coin of *Severus*, *Col. Eboracum Legio vi. Victrix*. If the power and jurisdiction of the count of the Saxon shore had extended to the opposite coasts of Gaul and Germany, as *Selden* maintains, mention would have been made in the *Notitia* of the forces under his command in those places; but as the *Notitia* is quite silent upon that head, and, in the ensigns of that officer, we find only the names of nine British towns or garrisons, we conclude from thence, that his authority was confined to this island. His troops were quartered in several towns or stations along the coast from Kent to the most northern part of Norfolk. The more northern coasts, and that facing Ireland, with the inland countries in those parts, were under the jurisdiction of the *dux Britanniarum*; for *Danum*, now *Doncaster*, seems to have been the most southern station of his troops. These stations, designed at first for camps, called in Latin *castra*, grew, by degrees, into cities; and this is the origin of almost all our great cities and towns, built either in the same places where the Roman camps were, or at a small distance from them. This observation holds especially in those, the names of which end in *chester* or *cester*, derived from the Latin word *castra*; for, to this day, the stations or forts near the *Picts* wall, the remains of which are to be seen in several places, are, by the common people, called *Chesters*‡.

- To maintain a communication between one station and another, and for the convenience of the armies, when they marched, or of the governors, when they visited the provinces, the troops, in peaceable times, were employed in making roads or causeways, called *viæ militares*, *consulares*, *prætoriae*, *stratæ*, *publicæ*, &c. As no fewer than an hundred and fourteen mansions through fifteen different roads are mentioned in the *Itinerary*, and in the *Notitia* forty-six garrisons, viz. nine on the sea-coast, under the command of the *comes littoris Saxonici*, fourteen more inland; and twenty-three *per lineam valli*, or along the wall, under the jurisdiction of the *dux Britanniarum*, many highways must have been made for passing, according to the Roman custom, from one place, however distant, to another. Our historians indeed mention only four of note; but, in a province so abounding with stations, camps, fortresses and cities, there must, without all doubt, have been a great many more. Had the *Notitia* given us an account of the forces and places under the command of the *dux Britanniarum*, as well as of the other two great officers, we should have had knowledge of more cities and places of note in this island; for *Bede* tells us out of *Gildas*, who flourished about the time the *Notitia* was composed, that, in those days, there were twenty-eight most stately cities, besides innumerable castles, fortified with strong walls, towers, and gates§. The four ways, or, as we call them, *streets*, mentioned by our historians, are, *Watling-street*, so called, as is conjectured, either from *Vitellianus* a Roman, perhaps employed in making it, or from a Saxon word signifying a beggar, it being much frequented by beggars. This way is thought by some to have reached from Dover to Cardigan in Wales; by others to have extended from Dover to the coast over-against Anglesey, passing through London, Dunstable, Towcester, Allerstun, and crossing the Severn near the Wrekin in Shropshire. The *Foss-way*, so called perhaps, because in some places it was never perfected, but left like a ditch. This way is thought to have reached from Totness in Cornwall to Lincoln, and from Lincoln to

The Roman highways.

* Lib. ii. de exst. Cod. Theod. l. xii. tit. 7. dat. 12 calend. Decemb. A. D. 319.

in Mari clauso.

† Vide BURTON. comment. in Antonin. itiner.

‡ Vide SELD.

§ BED. hist. l. i. c. 1.

Casbness,

Cathness, the most northern point in Scotland. *Ikenild-street*, so called perhaps from *Æleni*. It led from *Southampton* to *York*, and from thence to *Tinmouth*. *Ermine* or *Erminage-street*, reaching from *St. David's* to *Southampton*^a. Besides these, we find two others mentioned in history; viz. *Julia Strata* in *Monmouthshire*, made, as *Camden* conjectures, by *Julius Frontinus*, who subdued the *Silures*; and *Strata Marcella*, mentioned by *Giraldus Cambrensis*, as lying at a small distance from *Julia Strata*: The former is thought to have been the work of *Ulpus Marcellus*, proprætor of *Britain* in the reign of *Commodus*.

Several corps of
Britons in the
Roman armies

THE forces, employed in the defence of *Britain*, were all foreigners, as the reader must have observed, the *Romans* not thinking it safe to trust the natives, who perhaps would have defended their country with more vigour and resolution against the barbarians, but might, when masters of all the strong places, have turned their arms against their masters, and shaken off the yoke. To prevent this, the *Romans* transplanted into other countries the numerous levies raised here. It appears from the *Notitia*, and several antient inscriptions, that bodies of *British* troops were dispersed almost over the whole empire; for we find the following corps mentioned; viz. *Ala Britannica milliaria*, *Ala quarta Britonum in Ægypto*, *Cobors prima Ælia Britonum*, *Cobors tertia Britonum*, *Cobors septima Britonum*, *Cobors vicecima sexta Britonum in Armorica*, *Britanniciani sub magistro peditum*, *Invieli juniores Britanniciani*, *Excubitores juniores Britanniciani*, *Britones cum magistro equitum Galliarum*, *Invieli juniores Britones intra Hispaniam*, *Britones seniores in Illyrico*. These different corps were supplied from time to time out of this island. No wonder therefore, that *Britain*, exhausted and deprived of its youth by so numerous levies, became, upon the withdrawing of the foreign troops quartered here, a prey to the northern barbarians. Having thus described the state of *Britain* before and after the arrival of the *Romans*, we shall now proceed to the history of that part of it, which was subject to *Rome*, from the time of its being first invaded by *Julius Cæsar*, to its desertion by the *Romans* in the reign of *Valentinian III.* containing the space of about five hundred years.

^a Vide BARTON. comment. in itiner. Antonin.

S E C T. II.

The history of Britain, from the first coming of Julius Cæsar, to its desertion by the Romans.

Cæsar's first expedition into Britain.

BRITAIN was but little known to the *Romans* till the time of *Julius Cæsar* (A), d who, having carried his victorious arms to the opposite coast of *Gaul*, parted from *Britain* by a narrow chanel, there formed the design of bringing the *Britons*, as he had already done the most warlike nations of *Gaul*, under the dominion of *Rome*. Whatever

(A) We must ingenuously confess, that we have no accounts, but such as are evidently fabulous, of what passed in this island before the *Romans* were acquainted with it. *Gildas*, who flourished in the latter end of the sixth century, freely owns, that, as for the antient monuments of his country, they were no-where to be found in his time, being either destroyed by the enemy, or carried into foreign countries by the banished *Britons*. However, *Annius* of *Viterbo*, in his *Berosus*, gives us a long succession of Celtic kings, whom he derives from *Samothet*, one of the sons of *Japhet*, supposing him to have planted colonies first on the continent of *Celtica* or *Gaul*, and afterwards in this island, from him named *Samothet*. But *Annius* has been long since unmasked, and the fables he vends in his counterfeit *Berosus* universally exploded. What *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* writes of *Brutus*, and the kings descended from him, supposed to have reigned in this island, deserves no more credit, than the fables of *Annius*, whether *Geoffrey* was the author, or only the translator of that pretended history; for, in the preface prefixed to it, he tells us, that he received an anti-

ent *British* history from *Walter* archdeacon of *Oxon*, which he faithfully translated out of the *British* tongue into *Latin*. This history, or rather romance, he inscribed to *Robert* earl of *Glocester*, natural son to *Henry I.* But though it was at first received with uncommon applause by the *Welsh*, who, to this day, are unwilling to give it up as fabulous, yet it began very early to be cried down, as appears from what we read in *William Niobrigensis*, who flourished not long after *Geoffrey*, and writes of him thus: "In these our days a certain writer is risen, who has devised many foolish fictions of the *Britons*. His name is *Geoffrey*." And a little after: "With how little shame, with what great confidence, does he frame lyes!" However, as it would be unpardonable in us to pass over in silence what all our historians have thought fit to take notice of, we shall here relate, in a few words, what we read in *Geoffrey's* fabulous history of *Brutus*, and his successors, said to have reigned in this island many ages before the arrival of the *Romans*. According to that writer, *Brutus*, the great-grandson of *Æneas* by his son *Ascanius*, having accidentally killed with an

- ^a Whatever was the real motive that prompted him to this undertaking, whether his unbounded ambition and thirst of glory, as to us seems most likely, or the hopes of enriching himself with the *British* pearls, as we read in *Suetonius* ^b, the pretence he alleged was, that, in all the wars of *Gaul*, the *Britons* had assisted with considerable supplies the enemies of the republic. Upon this either real or pretended provocation, he attempted to pass over into *Britain*, and, by the conquest of this island, enhance the reputation, which he had already acquired in *Gaul*. As the summer was already far spent, and winter came on very early in these northern climates, he was sensible, that the time of the year would not allow him to finish the war. However, he thought it would be no small advantage to view the island, to learn the temper, ^b customs, and manners of the inhabitants, and to get some knowledge of their ports and havens, then visited by none but merchants, who were acquainted with the coast lying over-against *Gaul*, but seemed utter strangers to the rest of the country; for, being called together by *Cæsar* from all parts, they could not inform him of what extent the island was; by what nations, and how powerful, it was peopled; how they understood the art of war; by what customs they were governed; or what ports were capable of receiving a fleet of great ships (B). In order therefore to discover what he could not learn of the merchants, he sent out *C. Volusenus* with a galley, injoining him to return as soon as possible with what intelligence he could get. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Cæsar* went in person to view the coast; but *Cæsar*'s own ^c account shews that writer was mistaken ^c. In the mean time *Cæsar* marched all his forces into the country of the *Morini*, now the province of *Picardy*, whence was the shortest passage into *Britain*, ordering at the same time all the vessels, that lay in the neighbouring ports, and the fleet, which he had built the year before for his expedition against the *Morini*, to attend him. The *Britons*, alarmed at these preparations, dispatched ambassadors to *Cæsar*, offering to submit to *Rome*, and deliver hostages for their fidelity. *Cæsar* received them with great kindness; and having encouraged them, with fair promises, to persist in their resolution, he sent them back to their own country, ordering *Comius*, whom, for his extraordinary wisdom, virtue, and fidelity, he had made king of the *Atrebares*, to attend them into *Britain*,

The Britons
send embassa-
dors to Cæsar.

^b Suet. in Jul. c. 58.

^c Idem ibid. Cæs. comment. l. iv.

an arrow his father *Sylvius*, king of *Alba*, was forced to leave *Italy*; and flying into *Greece*, joined there the *Trojans*, who had settled in that country after the destruction of their city. With these he put to sea, being supplied with a fleet by *Pandrusus*, king of the country, whose daughter he had married; and entering the *Atlantic* sea, performed wonders in several places, particularly in *Gaul*, where he overcame *Goffarius* king of *Aquitain*, and drove him from his kingdom. But the banished king having prevailed upon the other princes of *Gaul* to lend him powerful succours, *Brutus*, not finding himself in a condition to withstand so great a force, put to sea again, and, after a few days sail, arrived on the coast of *Albion*, and landed at the place in *Devonshire*, where *Tonnes* now stands. He immediately marched up into the country, which he found peopled by giants, whose chief or king was *Gogmagog*. These he overcame; and having rooted them out, and divided the lands among his people, he called the island, from his own name, *Britain*. Having got possession of the whole country, he built a city in a proper place, which he made the seat of his kingdom, calling it *Troja Nova*, a name afterwards changed into *Troynovantium* or *Trinobantum*. Before his death, he divided his kingdom among his three sons. *Loetrinus*, the eldest, had for his share *Leogria*, so called from him, now *England*. *Camber*, *Brutus*'s second son, had *Cambria*, now *Wales*; and *Albanactus*, *Albania*, now *Scotland*. Having laid this foundation, the author pursues his history, giving us an account of the various revolutions, that happened in the island in the reigns of the kings, who succeeded each other, from *Brutus* to *Cassibel-*

lan, who, being appointed guardian to *Androgeus* and *Temmanius*, his two nephews, the sons of king *Lud*, prevailed upon the people to transfer the kingdom upon himself. *Lud* is said by *Geoffrey* to have surrounded the city of *London* with new walls and towers, and to have built a gate, which, from him, is still called *Ludgate*. In the reign of *Cassibelan*, *Cæsar* landed in *Britain*; and here it is, as *Camden* well observes, that the *English* historian ought to begin his history, whatever *Geoffrey* or others have written of the *British* affairs before this period being altogether groundless. As for *Geoffrey*'s history in particular, it sufficiently confutes itself, bringing with it such marks of forgery, as must evidently convince every reader, that the whole is a fiction either of *Geoffrey* himself, or of the author, whom he pretends to have copied.

(B) *Cæsar* tells us elsewhere (1), that *Divitiacus*, one of the most powerful men in *Gaul*, was not only master of a considerable part of that country, but had some footing likewise in *Britain*; that several provinces of *Britain* were peopled by colonies from *Gaul*; that the *Britons* had assisted the *Gauls* in most of their wars; and lastly, that such of the *Gauls* as were desirous to be perfect masters of the learning of the *Druids*, used to pass over into *Britain* to study it there. How could *Britain* therefore, at that time, be so utterly unknown in *Gaul*, or only known to merchants, nay, and to them so little, that being called together by *Cæsar* from all parts, they could not give him any tolerable account of the people, of their customs, manners, laws, method of fighting, &c. nay, not even of their ports and harbours?

(1) *Cæsar. comment. l. ii. c. 2.*

Caesar em-
barques with
two legions.

The Britons op-
pose the land-
ing of the Ro-
mans.

The Romans
land with great
difficulty.
Year before
Christ 54.

The Britons
sue for peace.

with instructions to visit as many states as he could, to persuade them to accept of an alliance with *Rome*, and to acquaint them with his design of landing in a short time in their country. In the mean time *Volusenus*, having made what discoveries he could from his ship, for he did not think it advisable to venture ashore, returned after five days to *Caesar*, and acquainted him with what he had observed. Hereupon *Caesar*, having embarked two legions on board eighty transports, and appointed eighteen more, which were wind-bound at a port about eight miles off, to convey over the cavalry, weighed anchor about the third watch, commanding the cavalry to embark at the port, where the vessels lay ready to receive them, and follow him; which orders were too slowly executed. *Caesar* himself arrived in a few hours on the *British* coast; but finding the hills and cliffs hanging over the sea covered with armed men, who from thence might, with their darts, easily prevent his landing, he lay by till three in the afternoon, waiting for some of his ships, that were not yet come up, in order to look out for some other place, where he might land his troops with less danger. Upon their joining the fleet, he summoned the chief officers to a council of war; and having acquainted them with the intelligence he had received from *Volusenus*, and given them such orders as he thought proper for the occasion, he set sail, and arriving at a plain and open shore about eight miles farther, he there came to an anchor. The *Britons*, apprised of *Caesar's* design, sent their cavalry and chariots before, the rest of the army hastening after them, in order to oppose his landing. The main difficulty in getting to land proceeded from the largeness of the ships, which required a considerable depth of water; so that the *Roman* soldiers were obliged, loaded as they were with heavy armour, to leap into the sea, and at the same time to struggle with the waves, and encounter the enemy, who, having their hands disengaged, as they either stood on dry land, or waded but a little way into the water, could boldly cast their darts, and drive back an enemy thus incumbered. This disadvantage so discouraged the *Romans*, as *Caesar* himself owns, that they did not appear so chearful, nor so eager to engage the enemy, as in their former conflicts on dry land; which being perceived by the general, he ordered his long ships or galleys to advance with their broad sides towards the shore, in order to force the *Britons*, with their slings, arrows and engines, to retire from the water-side. This had, in some degree, the desired effect; for the *Britons*, surprised at the make of the galleys, a sort of shipping they had never seen, and overwhelmed with showers of darts and arrows thence discharged upon them, began to give ground. But the *Romans* still betraying great backwardness to throw themselves into the water, the standard-bearer of the tenth legion, having first invoked the gods, cried out aloud, *Fellow soldiers, unless you will forsake your colours, and suffer the Roman eagle to fall into the hands of the enemy, follow me; for I am resolved to discharge my duty to the commonwealth and my general.* Having thus spoken, he leaped into the sea, and advanced with the eagle towards the enemy. Hereupon the soldiers in the same ship, encouraging each other not to suffer so great a disgrace as the loss of their ensign, followed his example; which those in the other ships perceiving, they too cast themselves boldly into the sea, and, pressing forward, began the fight, which proved very sharp on both sides, and, for some time, no-ways favourable to the *Romans*; for not being able either to keep their ranks, get firm footing, or, leaping out of several ships, follow their particular standards, they were put into great confusion by the *Britons*; who, being acquainted with the shallows, when they saw them coming in small numbers out of their ships, spurred their horses into the water, and attacked them incumbered and unprepared; which *Caesar* observing, he caused several boats to be manned, and sent them to the assistance of those, whom he saw most distressed. By this means, the *Romans*, having at length gained firm footing, charged the enemy so briskly, that they put them to flight; but could not pursue them for want of horse, the cavalry not being yet arrived; which, *Caesar* says, was the only thing wanting to complete his wonted success^d.

UPON this defeat, the *Britons* immediately sent ambassadors, and with them *Comius*, whom they had committed to prison, to sue for peace. This treatment they endeavoured to excuse, by laying the blame on the multitude. *Caesar*, having upbraided them with their breach of faith, in making war upon him after they had sent ambassadors to him into *Gaul*, desiring peace, promised to forgive them, on condition they

^d Cæsar comment. l. iv.

- a delivered a certain number of hostages. Part of these they brought immediately, promising to return in a few days with the rest, who lived at some distance. Peace being thus concluded four days after *Cæsar's* landing in *Britain*, the *British* princes, having disbanded their men, and sent them back into their several countries, came to submit themselves and their states to *Cæsar*. In the mean time the eighteen transports, that were conveying over the *Roman* cavalry, being overtaken by a violent storm, were driven back to the ports of *Gaul*. By the same storm, *Cæsar's* fleet, *Cæsar's* fleet which lay in the road, was greatly damaged, several of them being dashed to pieces, *greatly damaged by a storm.* and others, by the loss of their anchors, cables, and rigging, rendered wholly useless; which caused a great consternation in the army, for they wanted materials
- b wherewithal to refit them, in order to return to the continent, and provisions to support them any considerable time in the island, *Cæsar* having all along intended to pass the winter in *Gaul*. What added to the misfortune, the same night, it being then full moon, the tide rose so high, that the galleys, which had been drawn ashore, were filled with water. This caused a new panic, the *Roman* mariners being quite unacquainted with the tides. The *British* chiefs, who were assembled to perform their agreement with *Cæsar*, perceiving his want of horse, ships, and provisions, and judging of the number of his men from the smallness of his camp, which was narrower than usual, because the legions had left their heavy baggage behind them, resolved to take arms again, in order to protract the war till winter, persuading themselves,
- c that, if they could cut off the few *Romans* that were come over, or prevent their return, they would thereby deter others from invading *Britain* for the future. The plot being thus laid, they began to steal out of the camp by degrees, and privately to lift again their disbanded troops. *Cæsar* knew nothing of their design; but nevertheless, suspecting an alteration from their delay in delivering their hostages after the loss of his shipping, resolved to prepare against all events. Accordingly he caused all the provisions, that could be found in the neighbouring country, to be brought into his camp, and gave orders, that those ships, which had been the least damaged by the storm, should be refitted with the materials of those, that had been shattered to pieces. He sent likewise to *Gaul* for what things were farther necessary; which
- d were so well applied by the soldiers, who, on this occasion, laboured with uncommon diligence, that only twelve ships being lost, the rest were soon in a condition to put to sea again. In the mean time the seventh legion being sent out to forage, while part of the soldiers, having quitted their arms as under no apprehension of danger, were employed in reaping the corn, and the rest in gathering it, and conveying it to the camp, the *Britons*, who had lain all night concealed in the neighbouring woods, not questioning but the *Romans* would come and forage in that place, the harvest being brought in every-where else, fell upon them unexpectedly; and having killed some of them, drove the rest into a small compass, and surrounded them with their horse and chariots in such manner, that not a single man would have escaped, had not the
- e advanced guards, observing a greater dust than usual rising from that quarter, acquainted *Cæsar* therewith; who, suspecting the *Britons* had begun hostilities anew, hastened to the assistance of the legion with the two cohorts, that were upon guard, ordering two others to supply their room, and all the rest to repair to their arms, and follow him with all expedition. Upon his arrival, the *Britons* gave over the attack, and the *Romans* resumed their courage. However, *Cæsar*, not thinking it advisable to engage the enemy, stood some time with his troops drawn up in battle-array, and then retreated to his camp. After this, the heavy rains, which continued several days successively, kept the *Romans* in their camp, and hindered the *Britons* from attempting any thing against them. The latter however were not idle in the mean
- f time; but having dispatched messengers into all parts of the island, to inform their countrymen how small an army the *Romans* had, how great a booty they might get, and what a favourable opportunity offered of freeing themselves for ever, by forcing the *Roman* camp, they drew together a great body of horse and foot, and boldly advanced to the *Roman* entrenchments. Upon their approach, *Cæsar* drew up his legions in order of battle before the camp, and gave the *Britons* so warm a reception, that they immediately turned their backs, and fled. *Cæsar* pursued them with great slaughter, till his men were out of breath, burnt several towns and villages in the neighbourhood, and then returned to his camp. The *Britons*, disheartened at the loss they had sustained, sent the same day ambassadors to sue for peace; which
- g *Cæsar* readily granted, upon their promising to send him over into *Gaul* double the number

Caesar returns
to Gaul.

number of hostages he had required before. His want of horse, and the fear of a exposing his fleet to another storm, if he staid till the equinox, made him hasten his departure. The same night therefore, the wind proving favourable, he weighed anchor, and arrived safe in *Gaul*, whence he immediately wrote to the senate, acquainting them with his exploits in *Britain*; for which a supplication, or general thanksgiving, was decreed for twenty days^e.

Caesar's second
expedition into
Britain
Year before
Christ 55.

THE *Britons*, it seems, were not much awed by *Caesar's* arms; for of all the states, into which the island was then divided, two only sent him hostages. Provoked at this neglect or contempt, he resolved to make a new descent the following spring with a far more powerful fleet and army. With this view, before he left *Gaul* to return to *Italy*, where he used to pass part of the winter, he ordered his lieutenants to refit the old ships, and build as many new ones as they could. His orders were executed with such diligence, that, upon his return, he found six hundred ships, and twenty-eight galleys, ready to launch in a few days. Having therefore commended the application and diligence of his soldiers, and the supervisors, he commanded them to repair with the fleet to *Portus Itius* (C), while he marched with four legions, and eight hundred horse, into the country of *Treves*, to prevent a rebellion there; which he had no sooner done, than he hastened to the above-mentioned port, and leaving *Labienus* there with three legions, and two thousand horse, to secure it, to provide corn, and to send him intelligence from time to time of what might happen on the continent, he embarked with five legions, and two thousand horse, and weighing anchor about sun-set, arrived with his whole fleet the next day by noon on the *British* coast, where he landed, without opposition, in the same place, which he had found so convenient the year before. The *Britons* had assembled in vast multitudes to oppose his landing, as he afterwards understood from the prisoners; but being terrified at the sight of so numerous a fleet, amounting, with the vessels which several persons had provided for their own use, to eight hundred and upwards, they had left the shore, and retired to the hills. *Caesar*, being informed, after landing his troops, where the *Britons* were lodged, left ten cohorts, and three hundred horse, to secure the fleet, and with the rest marched in quest of the enemy, whom he found posted on the other side of a river, about twelve miles from the place where he had landed (D). Their design was to oppose his passage; but, notwithstanding the advantage of the ground, they were obliged, by the *Roman* cavalry, to quit their post, and retire to a wood, whereof all the avenues were blocked up with huge trees cut down for that purpose. Out of this place, which seemed to have been fortified in some former war, they never ventured but in small parties. But, notwithstanding their utmost efforts to prevent the *Romans* from entering it, the soldiers of the seventh legion, having cast themselves into a testudo, and thrown up a mount against their works, obliged them to abandon their asylum, and save themselves by flight; but the day being far spent, *Caesar*, who was quite unacquainted with the country, thought it more adviseable to return, and fortify his camp, than to pursue the fugitives^f.

He lands with-
out opposition;

And defeats the
Britons.

The Romans
sustain a great
loss by a storm.

EARLY next morning, *Caesar* dispatched both his horse and foot, divided into three bodies, in pursuit of the enemy; but when he was already come in sight of their rear, he was acquainted by some horsemen from *Q. Atrius*, that, by a dreadful storm, which had happened the night before, most of his ships were dashed to pieces, or driven ashore. Upon this intelligence, he hastened back to the sea-side, where he was an eye-witness of the misfortune, which he had heard from the messengers; for forty ships were intirely lost, and the rest so damaged, that they could not be refitted without great trouble and labour. However, having, without loss of time, set all the carpenters in the fleet and army to work, and sent over to *Gaul* for others,

^e CÆS. *ibid.*

^f CÆS. *comment. l. v.*

(C) *Cluverius*, and *Somner* in his dissertation *de Portu Itio*, will have *Bologne* to be the *Portus Itius* mentioned by *Caesar*; others look for the *Portus Itius* at *Calais*, or in that neighbourhood. *Horsely* observes, that *Caesar* calls the passage from *Portus Itius* to *Britain* the shortest and easiest, being about thirty miles. Now, by an accurate survey, the distance at *Calais* from land to land is twenty-six English miles, or twenty-eight and a half *Roman*.

(D) This river is supposed to be the *Stour*, the *Thames* being too distant; so that the battle was fought on the banks of that river, to the north of the town. *Horsely* is of opinion, that the strong place, to which the *Britons* retreated after their defeat, must have been *Durovernum*, now *Canterbury*, distant twelve miles from the place where *Caesar* landed (1).

(1) *Horsely*, p. 14.

- a ordering at the same time *Labienus* to build as many ships as he could with the legions that were there. To prevent the like misfortune for the future, he resolved upon a very difficult undertaking, which was, to draw all his ships ashore, and inclose them within the fortifications of his camp. This stupendous work being completed in ten days, the soldiers labouring the whole time night and day without intermission, and the camp being strongly fortified, *Cæsar*, leaving the same guard as before to defend it, marched with the rest of his forces to the place, whence he had returned from pursuing the enemy. Upon his arrival, he found their numbers greatly increased, under the conduct of *Cassibelan*, king of the *Trinobantes*, whose territories lay about eighty miles from the sea. He had formerly made war on his neighbours; but,
- b upon the arrival of the *Romans*, they had all unanimously committed the whole management of the war to him, as the most proper person to head them at so important a conjuncture. While the *Romans* were on their march, they were attacked by the *British* horse and chariots, whom they repulsed with great slaughter, and drove into the woods; but pursuing them too eagerly, they lost some of their own men. Not long after, the *Britons* made a sudden sally out of the woods, and fell upon the advanced guard, while the *Romans* were busied in fortifying their camp. *Cæsar* immediately detached two cohorts to their assistance; but the enemy, while the *Romans* stood amazed at their new way of fighting, boldly broke through the two cohorts, and returned again without the loss of a man. *Quintus Laberius Durus*, a tribune, was slain in this action; but some fresh cohorts coming to the relief of the
- c *Romans*, the *Britons* were, in the end, put to flight. The next day they kept on the hills, at a considerable distance from the *Roman* camp, till about noon; when three legions being detached by *Cæsar*, with all the cavalry, under the command of *C. Trebonius*, to forage, they fell upon the foragers with great fury; but meeting with a vigorous resistance, they betook themselves to flight; and being pursued by the *Roman* cavalry so close, that they had not time to rally, to make a stand, or to get down from their chariots, according to their custom, great numbers of them were cut in pieces. Upon this overthrow, the auxiliary troops, that had come from all parts, abandoning *Cassibelan*, returned to their respective countries; nor did the
- d *Britons* ever after engage *Cæsar* with their united forces*.

Cassibelan falls upon the Romans; but is repulsed.

The Britons fall upon three Roman legions, but are defeated.

- AFTER this victory, *Cæsar* marched towards the *Thames*, with a design to cross that river, and enter the territories of *Cassibelan*; but when he came to the only place where the river could, though not without great difficulty, be forded, he saw the enemy's forces drawn up in a considerable body on the opposite bank, which was fortified with sharp stakes. They had likewise driven many stakes of the same kind so deep into the bottom of the river, that their tops were covered with the water. Though *Cæsar* had intelligence of this from the prisoners and deserters, yet he ordered the cavalry to ride in, and the legions to follow; which they did with such resolution and intrepidity, that, though the foot were up to the chin in water,
- e the enemy, not able to sustain their assault, abandoned the bank, and fled (E). *Cassibelan*, now despairing of success by a battle, disbanded the greatest part of his forces, retaining only about four thousand chariots, to observe the motions of the *Romans*. With these he kept at some distance in the woods, or in such places as were scarce accessible to the *Romans*, carrying off the cattle and corn from those countries through which the *Romans* were to march. As he was well acquainted with the roads and by-ways, if the *Roman* cavalry ventured a little too far to lay the country waste, he detached part of his chariots to attack them; which they could not engage without great disadvantage. This prevented the *Romans* from making excursions, as they would have otherwise done, and obliged *Cæsar* not to suffer his horse to go farther to
- f burn and plunder the country, than the legions were able to follow them. In the

Cæsar passes the Thames.

* Idem ibid.

(E) *Polyanus* tells us, that *Cæsar*, on this occasion, made use of the following stratagem: he caused an elephant, covered with iron, having a wooden tower on his back full of men, to be driven into the river; which unusual sight struck such terror into the *Britons*, that they abandoned the opposite shore (3). The stakes are just above *Walton* in *Surry*; and the

meadow facing them is called *Coway*. They are even now to be seen at low-water; and one of them was lately pulled out of the *Thames*, but with great difficulty. They are of oak, and, tho' they have been so long in the water, are as hard as brazil, and as black as jet. At *Shepperson*, they have several knife-handles made of them (4).

(3) *Polyan. strat. l. viii.*

(4) *Tindal, in not. ad Rabin.*

The Trinobantes submit to Cæsar.

Who takes Cassibelan's chief city.

Four Kentish kings attack the Roman camp; but are repulsed.

Cassibelan sues for peace, and obtains it.

Cæsar returns to Gaul.

mean time the *Trinobantes* sent ambassadors to *Cæsar*, promising to submit to him, ^a and at the same time intreating him to protect *Mandubratius* against the oppression of *Cassibelan*, and send him to them for their king and governor. *Mandubratius*, called by *Lutropius* and *Bede*, *Androgeus*, was the son of *Imanuentius*, king of the *Trinobantes*; but, upon the death of his father, who was slain by *Cassibelan*, to avoid the like fate, he had fled to *Cæsar*, who had granted him his protection. *Cæsar* readily complied with the request of the *Trinobantes*, injoining them to send him forty hostages, and corn for his army; which they did accordingly. The example of the *Trinobantes*, whose submission secured them from being plundered by the Roman soldiers, was soon followed by other states; viz. the *Cenomagni*, *Segontiaci*, *Anaclites*, *Bibroci*, and *Cossi* (F), who, by their ambassadors, submitted to *Cæsar*. From these he had intelligence, that the town of *Cassibelan*, supposed to be *Verulamium*, now *St. Albans*, well fortified with woods and marshes, whither the country people had retired with their cattle, was but a little way from his camp. Thither therefore he marched with his legions; and though he found the place strongly fortified both by nature and art, he ordered it to be stormed at two different places; which was done with such resolution, that the *Britons*, not able to sustain the fury of the assault, fled out at one of the avenues of the wood; for this town was only a thick wood, surrounded with a ditch, and fortified with a rampart. Many of the *Britons* were overtaken as they attempted to make their escape, and cut in pieces. Here *Cæsar* found great store of cattle ^b.

To repair, in some degree, this loss, and divert *Cæsar* from pursuing his conquests, ^c *Cassibelan*, by his messengers, persuaded four petty princes of *Kent*, *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*, whom *Cæsar* styles kings, to raise what forces they could, and attack the camp, where the ships were laid up; but the *Romans*, having made a sally, repulsed them with great slaughter, took *Cingetorix* prisoner, and returned, without any loss, to their trenches. Upon the news of this defeat, *Cassibelan*, considering the many losses he had sustained, how his country was laid waste, and, above all, that several states had already submitted to the conqueror, resolved to follow their example; and accordingly sent ambassadors to treat of a surrender, who were introduced by *Comius* of *Atrebatum* or *Arras*. As the summer was already far spent, *Cæsar*, who was determined to winter in *Gaul*, to prevent sudden insurrections there, readily hearkened to their proposals; so that a treaty was soon concluded upon the following conditions; viz. that the *Britons* should pay an annual tribute to the people of *Rome*; that *Cassibelan* should leave *Mandubratius* in the quiet possession of his dominions, and not molest the *Trinobantes*; and that he should deliver a certain number of hostages. These *Cæsar* no sooner received, than he marched back to the sea-side, where he caused his fleet, which he found refitted, to be launched. As he had a great number of captives, and some of his ships had been lost in the storm, he resolved to transport his army at two voyages. But most of those vessels, which were sent back from *Gaul* after they had landed the soldiers, that were first carried over, and of the sixty, that *Labienus* had taken care to build, being driven ^e back by contrary winds, *Cæsar*, after having long expected them in vain, lest the winter should prevent his voyage, the equinox being near at hand, crowded his soldiers closer than he designed, and putting to sea about the second watch of the night, reached the continent with his whole fleet by break of day ⁱ.

^a CÆSAR. COMMENT. l. v. c. 21.

^b Idem ibid. c. 23—25.

(F) *Lipsius*, instead of *Cenomagni*, reads *Iceni*, *Cangi* (5), the names of two nations mentioned elsewhere by *Cæsar*. The *Iceni* inhabited *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and *Huntingdonshire*; and the *Cangi* the country lying on the *Irish* sea; for when *Ostorius* led his army against them, he approached the sea, says *Tacitus* (6), that faces the island of *Ireland*. *Camden* agrees with *Lipsius* in changing the first part of *Cenomagni* into *Iceni*; but as for the latter, he reads *Regni*, who were the inhabitants of *Sussex* and *Surrey*, and consequently more likely to follow the example of the *Trinobantes*, who inhabited *Hertfordshire*, *Essex*, and *Middlesex*, than the *Cangi*, who lived at a great distance. The *Segontiaci* are

placed by some in *Berkshire*, by others in *Hampshire* (7). The city of *Seguntium*, mentioned by *Antoninus*, stood on the coast of *North Wales*, over-against the island of *Anglesey*, as appears from the itinerary; but we cannot think the inhabitants of that city to be the *Seguntiaci* mentioned in this place, it being altogether improbable, that they should have submitted by their ambassadors to *Cæsar*, while he was still at so great a distance from their country. The *Anaclites* and *Bibroci* are placed by most of our antiquaries in *Berkshire*, the former about *Henley*, and the latter about *Bray*. The *Cossi* are supposed to have inhabited some part of *Hertfordshire*, perhaps the hundred of *Cnishow*.

(5) *Lipf. in Tacit. l. xii. c. 32.*

(6) *Idem ibid.*

(7) *Thom. Savil. in epist. 13. ad Cam.*

a SUCH is the account *Cæsar* himself gives us of his two famous expeditions into Britain; but other authors have spoken more doubtfully of his victories here. *Dion Cassius* writes, that the Britons utterly routed the Roman infantry; but were afterwards put in disorder by the cavalry. *Horace* and *Tibullus*, in several places of their works, speak of the Britons as a nation not yet conquered*. *Tacitus* tells us, that *Cæsar* rather shewed the Romans the way to Britain, than put them in possession of it¹; and *Lucan* more plainly, that he turned his back to the Britons, and fled. Be that as it will, upon his return to Rome, he offered to *Venus*, as *Pliny* tells us, a breast-plate enriched with British pearls, as a trophy of his conquests in this island.

b AFTER the departure of *Julius Cæsar*, the Romans were diverted, for the space of twenty years, by their domestic broils, and civil wars, from attempting any thing against Britain. During this time, the tribute was not paid, nor perhaps demanded; so that the Britons continued no less free from the Roman yoke, than they had been before the arrival of *Cæsar*. But *Augustus*, having at length put an end to the civil wars, and firmly established himself in the possession of the empire, resolved to force the Britons, that is, those who inhabited the most southern part of the island, to perform the agreement they had made with his uncle *Julius*. With this view he advanced as far as Gaul; but was, by a revolt in Pannonia, diverted from putting his design in execution. About seven years after, he entered Gaul with the same resolution; but the unsettled state of that province made him readily hearken to the proposals of the ambassadors sent by the Britons to sue for peace; which was granted them, no doubt, upon their promising to stand to their agreement with his predecessor *Julius*. But they neglected, it seems, to perform their promise; for the year ensuing *Augustus* resumed the resolution of passing over into Britain; but was anew prevented, by the revolt of the Cantabrians in Spain. However, some of the British princes took care to cultivate his friendship with presents; which were laid up in the capitol^m. *Cunobeline*, who is said to have succeeded *Tenutiarius*, the successor of *Cassibelan*, maintained a correspondence with Rome, and even caused coins to be stamped, after the manner of the Romans, some of which are still to be seen, and among the rest one with the word *Tasc* on the reverse, signifying, according to our antiquaries, tribute; whence they conclude, that this money was designed for the payment of the tribute; for though brass and iron rings of a certain weight served, as *Cæsar* informs us, for their current coin, yet the Romans exacted the tribute in gold or silver; and of the latter metal is the coin we are here speaking of (G). Thus Britain, by degrees, became well known to the Romans, even in *Augustus's* time. That prince however, satisfied with the small tribute that was yearly sent him from Britain, forbore any further attempts upon the island, either thinking the friendship or enmity of the Britons of no moment to the Romans, as *Strabo* insinuatesⁿ, or being, out of a state maxim, resolved to set bounds to the empire, lest it should grow too great and unwieldy^o.

c *Tiberius*, who succeeded *Augustus*, being more inclined to contract than enlarge the bounds of the empire, followed the example of *Augustus*, and never entertained the least thought of conquering Britain; but, satisfied with the respect the British princes shewed him in sending back some of *Germanicus's* soldiers, who had been shipwrecked on their coast^p, and with their paying the usual customs for such commodities as they brought into Gaul, suffered them to enjoy their liberties, and live according to their own laws. These customs the Roman officers collected in a precarious manner, fearing to provoke the Britons, as *Strabo* tells us^q. *Caligula*, the successor of *Tiberius*, having passed the Alps with a design to plunder Gaul, as he had already done Italy, received there under his protection *Admihus*, called by our writers *Guiderius*, the son of *Cunobeline*, who had been banished by his father. Hereupon he wrote boasting

Augustus. State of Britain during his reign.

Cunobeline maintains a correspondence with Rome.

Tiberius suffers the Britons to enjoy their liberties.

* HORAT. epod. viii. & odar. l. i. c. 35. TIBULL. l. iv. l. iv.

ⁿ Idem, l. ii.

^o STRABO, l. iv.

¹ TACIT. vit. Agricol.

^m STRABO,

^q TACIT. in vit. Agricol. JULIAN. in Cæsar.

^p TACIT. annal. l. ii.

(G) On this medal is represented *Apollo* playing on the lyre, the name of *Cunobeline* being engraved round it. *Alford* observes, that the Gauls and Britons worshipped *Apollo*, under the name of *Belus* or *Belinus*; and thence he derives the name of *Cunobeline*. On the reverse is engraved the figure of a woman, with the words *Tascia* and *Novane*. *Tascia*

signifies in the British tongue, according to *Powel*, a tribute-penny, probably from the Latin word *taxatio*, the letter X not being used by the Britons. By the woman is, in all likelihood, represented *Britannia*; and as for the word *Novane*, *Alford* conjectures it to be the name of some town, perhaps the metropolis of the *Novantes* or *Trinobantes* (8).

(8) *Alford. annal. ad ann. 1. Camden, numif. n. 7.*

Caligula's
mock expedi-
tion against the
Britons.

letters to *Rome*, ordering the messengers to drive their chariots into the forum, and a to the very curia, and strictly injoining them not to deliver their letters but in the temple of *Mars*, and in a full senate, as if the whole island had submitted to him. Soon after, no doubt at the instigation of *Adminius*, he marched his forces to the sea-side; but being informed there, that the *Britons* were ready to receive him, his courage cooled, and, instead of pursuing his design, he ordered his soldiers to fill their helmets and laps with cockle-shells, which he called the spoils of the conquered ocean. Having, by such marks of folly and madness, exposed himself to the derision both of the *Gauls* and *Britons*, he wrote to the senate, desiring them to decree him a triumph. But they being averse to comply with his demand, he resolved to cause them all to be murdered; but was murdered himself, before he could put his barbarous design in execution.

Claudius.

What induced
him to make
war on the
Britons.

THE *Britons* may be said to have continued hitherto free from the *Roman* yoke; but in the reign of *Claudius*, the successor of *Caligula*, great part of the island was brought under subjection to *Rome*, and the rest by degrees under the succeeding emperors. *Dion Cassius* gives us a distinct account of the invasion by *Claudius*, the occasion of which he thus relates: *Cunobeline* being dead, his two sons, *Togodumnus* and *Caractacus*, reigned; but whether jointly or separately, whether with equal or subordinate power, we are no where told. In their reign, one *Bericus*, (who he was, is not known) being driven out of the island for attempting to raise a sedition, fled, with those of his party, to *Claudius*; and being highly provoked against his countrymen, persuaded the emperor to invade *Britain*. On the other hand, the *Britons*, resenting the emperor's receiving the fugitives, and his refusing to deliver them up when demanded, forbade all commerce with the *Romans*. A war being therefore resolved on, *Claudius* ordered *Plautius*, then prætor in *Gaul*, to transport those legions he had with him into *Britain*, and begin the expedition. The soldiers, unwilling to make war, as they said, out of the compass of the world, refused to follow their general, or obey his commands; but being at length brought back to a sense of their duty, in the manner we have related elsewhere, they embarked cheerfully, and put to sea from three ports, in order to land in three different places. They were driven back by contrary winds, which greatly disheartened them; but resuming their courage d upon the appearing of a meteor shooting from the east, and directing, as they imagined, their course, they put to sea again, and landed in *Britain* without opposition, the inhabitants, who had been informed of the mutiny in the *Roman* army, and did not expect so sudden an alteration, having delayed to draw together, in order to oppose them. Hearing therefore they were landed, they kept in small bodies behind their marshes, and in their woods, in order to spin out the time till winter; which they imagined *Plautius*, after the example of *Julius Cæsar*, would pass in *Gaul*. But the *Roman* general, having, with great difficulty, first found out *Caractacus*, and afterwards *Togodumnus*, and defeated them both, reduced part of the *Dobuni*, who were then subject to the *Catiuchlani*; and leaving a garrison to keep them in awe, he e

Plautius sent
into Britain
with an army.

He lands with-
out opposition.

And having
defeated two
British princes,
reduces part of
the Dobuni.

The Britons
attack the Ro-
mans, but,
notwithstand-
ing their gal-
lant behaviour,
are put to
flight.

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* SUET. in Calig. DIO, l. lix.

* UNIVERS. HIST. VOL. V. P. 496.

* DIO, l. lx. P. 679, 680.

- a pursuing the fugitives with too much eagerness, fell into the marshes, and were lost. In one of these battles, *Togodumnus* was killed, whose death was so far from disheartening the *Britons*, that they betrayed greater eagerness than ever to oppose the *Romans*, and revenge it. Hereupon *Plautius*, not thinking it advisable to penetrate farther into the country, put garrisons into the places he had taken, and wrote to the emperor, who had ordered him to do so, if any thing extraordinary should happen, acquainting him with the progress he had already made, and the dangers he apprehended from a further pursuit of his conquests. *Claudius*, who aspired at the honour of a triumph, not being satisfied with the triumphal ornaments decreed him by the senate, no sooner received this letter, than he set out from *Rome*; and embarking at *Ostia*, sailed to *Marseilles*, whence he pursued his journey by land to *Gessoriacum*, now *Bologne*, where he again embarked, and, landing safe in *Britain*, joined his lieutenant *Plautius*, who lay encamped on the banks of the *Thames*. Upon his arrival, the whole army passed the river, and falling upon the *Britons*, gave them a total overthrow. After this victory, he advanced to *Camalodunum*, the royal seat of *Cunobeline*, which he took, and, without any considerable opposition, reduced some of the neighbouring states. For these exploits, he was several times by his soldiers saluted *imperator*, contrary to the received custom of the *Romans*, which allowed no general to assume that title more than once in the same war. Part of *Britain* being thus subdued, *Claudius* disarmed the inhabitants, and appointed *Plautius* to govern them, ordering him at the same time to subdue those, who remained yet unconquered. To such as had submitted, he generously forgave the confiscation of their estates; which obliged them to such a degree, that they erected a temple to him, and paid him divine honours. The emperor, after having staid in *Britain* but sixteen days, set out from thence on his return to *Rome*, having sent thither his two sons-in-law, *Pompeius* and *Silanus*, before him with the news of his victories. Upon his arrival in the city, he was honoured with a triumph, and the surname of *Britannicus*; which was given both to him and his son: the officers, who had attended him in this expedition, were distinguished with triumphal ornaments (H): annual sports were decreed by the senate; and two triumphal arches, one to be erected at *Rome*, and the other at *Gessoriacum*, whence he had passed over into *Britain*. On the top of the imperial palace was fixed a naval crown, implying the conquest of the *British* ocean. In short, the same honours were decreed to *Claudius*, who had conquered but a very small part of the island, as had been decreed to other conquerors, after they had reduced whole kingdoms * (I).

Claudius sets out from Rome, and lands in Britain. Year after Christ 44.

He defeats the Britons, and takes Camalodunum.

He returns to Rome, where he is honoured with a triumph, and the surname of Britannicus.

- Plautius*, appointed by *Claudius* governor of *Britain*, pursued his conquests, after the emperor's departure, with such success, that, upon his return to *Rome*, he was honoured with an ovation, and met, without the gates, by the emperor himself, who, at his solemn entry, gave him the right-hand. In this war, *Vespasian* likewise, afterwards emperor, and his son *Titus*, distinguished themselves in a very eminent manner. The former fought thirty battles with the *Britons*, subdued two powerful nations, and reduced above twenty towns, with the isle of *Wight*; for which exploits he received the triumphal ornaments, two sacerdotal dignities, and the consulship. As for *Titus*, he no less signalized his piety, than his courage and valour; for seeing his

Vespasian and Titus distinguish themselves in this war.

* Dio, ibid. p. 680, 681. Suet. in Claud. c. 11.

* Dio, & Suet. ibid.

† Suet. in Vesp. c. 4.

(H) The inferior officers were rewarded with other valuable presents, as appears from an antient inscription still to be seen at *Dorin*, wherein mention is made of the presents, with which *Claudius* rewarded one *C. Gavius*, who, it seems, had distinguished himself in the *British* war. The inscription is as follows:

*C. Gavio L. F.
Stel. Silvano
Primipilari Leg. VIII. Aug.
Tribuno coh. II. vigilum
Tribuno coh. XIII. Urban.
Tribuno coh. XII. Prator.
Dmis Donato A D. Claudio
Bello Britanico
Torquibus, Armillis, Phaleris,
Corona Aurea
Patrono Colon.*

(I) And yet *Suetonius* writes, that he became master of part of *Britain* without bloodshed; which is confirmed by the following antient inscription, copied by Mr. *Wright* from the *Barbarini* palace at *Rome*, and lately published by him in his travels:

*Ti. Claudio Caf.
Augusto.
Pontifici Max. Tr. P. IX.
Cof. v. Imp. XVI. P. P.
Senatus Popul. Q. R. Quod
Reges Britannia Abfq.
Ula Jactura Domueris
Gentesque Barbaras
Primus Indicio Subegeris.*

father in a battle surrounded on all sides, and in imminent danger of his life, he broke a through the enemy's ranks, and having rescued him, put the *Britons* to flight, and pursued them with great slaughter^a. Some years after, that is, in the ninth year of *Claudius's* reign, as we gather from *Tacitus*^a, *P. Ostorius Scapula*, being sent into Britain, fell unexpectedly upon the *Britons*, who had broken into the *Roman* conquests; and having put great numbers of them to the sword, and dispersed the rest, to restrain them from making inroads for the future into the territories of the *Romans*, or their allies, he built several forts on the *Severn*, the *Avon*, and the *Nen*, reduced that part of the island, which lies south of these rivers, to a *Roman* province, and, for a further security, made *Camalodunum* a military colony. This the *Iceni* could not brook, and therefore, being joined by the neighbouring nations, they raised a considerable army, and encamped in an advantageous post, in order to prevent the *Romans* from penetrating farther into the island. However, *Ostorius*, advancing against them, after a most obstinate conflict, put them to flight, and pursued them with great slaughter. After this victory, he led his army into the country of the *Cangi*, probably the present counties of *Shropshire* and *Cheshire*; but being informed, as he approached the *Irish* sea, that the *Brigantes* were in arms, he marched with all speed against them; and having caused the chief authors of the disturbance to be put to death, and pardoned the rest, he soon restored that country to its former tranquillity. After this, *Ostorius* made war upon the *Silures*, the inhabitants of *South Wales*, headed by *Caradacus*, a commander of great renown, whom nevertheless he defeated in a pitched battle, the particulars whereof we have related at length in our *Roman* history, to which we refer the reader^b. *Caradacus*, upon his defeat, fled for protection to *Cratismandua*, queen of the *Brigantes*, who, dreading the *Roman* arms, delivered him in bonds to the conqueror, by whom he was sent to *Rome*, with his wife, daughter, and brothers, and received there by the emperor in a kind of triumph. *Claudius*, moved with the speech which the captive prince made when brought before his tribunal, and admiring the constancy with which he bore his misfortunes, granted to him, to his wife, to his daughter, and brothers, both their lives and liberty. The *Silures*, notwithstanding the loss of their general, pursued the war with great vigour, and gained very considerable advantages over the *Romans*, related by us elsewhere^c; which so affected *Ostorius*, that he died with grief. He was succeeded by *A. Didius*, who restrained the *Silures* making frequent and wide incursions into the *Roman* territories within more narrow bounds; but was not able to restore *Cratismandua*, queen of the *Brigantes*, and an ally of *Rome*, to her kingdom^d. He defeated the *Brigantes* in a pitched battle; but afterwards, as he was stricken in years, he contented himself with acting only defensively, and restraining the enemy by his lieutenants. *Veranius*, who succeeded him in the reign of *Nero*, died in less than a year after his arrival in *Britain*, without performing any thing worthy of notice. After him, *Suetonius Paulinus* governed *Britain*, who reduced the island of *Anglesey*, and defeated with great slaughter the *Britons*, who, under the conduct of queen *Boudicea*, had taken arms, and put incredible numbers of the *Romans*, and their allies, to the sword, as we have related at length in our *Roman* history, to which we refer the reader^e. *Suetonius Paulinus* was succeeded in the government of *Britain* by *Petronius Turpilianus*, and he by *Treballius Maximus*. During their government, nothing remarkable happened; for, as they were both men of an indolent temper, and no ambition, they took care not to provoke the *Britons* by any acts of hostility, giving to this cowardly inaction the specious name of peace. In the mean time *Nero* dying, the *Roman* army in *Britain* was commanded, during the short reigns of *Galba* and *Otho*, only by tribunes, among whom *Calpurnius* bore the chief sway, who, by carefully avoiding to give the *Britons* any just cause of complaint, kept all things quiet in the island. *Vitellius*, upon his accession to the empire, appointed *Vestius Bolanus* governor of *Britain*, who ruled with great gentleness, without either provoking the *Britons*, or being by them provoked. In the reign of *Vespasian*, who succeeded *Vitellius*, *Petilius Cerealis* was sent into *Britain*, to take upon him the command of the army there. *Petilius*, upon his arrival, attacked the *Brigantes*, the most numerous and powerful of all the *British* nations; and having defeated them in several encounters, some of which proved very bloody, he reduced

P. Ostorius Scapula governor of Britain.

Camalodunum is made a Roman colony.

Ostorius defeats the *Iceni*, and quells the rebellious *Brigantes*.

Caradacus is defeated, and delivered up to the Romans.

Ostorius dies, and is succeeded by *Aulus Didius*.

And he by *Veranius*.

Suetonius Paulinus succeeds *Veranius*, and reduces the island of *Anglesey*.

Petilius Cerealis reduces great part of the country of the *Brigantes*.

^a Dio, l. lx. p. 679.

^b Vide Univers. hist. vol. v. p. 509. not. (U).

^c Idem ibid. p. 510.

511.

^d Idem ibid. p. 512.

^e Ibid.

^f Idem ibid. p. 538, 539.

- a great part of their country, and continued to ravage the rest^f. He was succeeded by *Julius Frontinus*, who not only maintained the conquests made by his predecessor, but fought himself with great success against the warlike nation of the *Silures*, whom he intirely reduced. *Julius Frontinus* being recalled, the celebrated *Cneius Julius Agricola* was sent to command in his room. But of the exploits of that renowned commander, we have spoken at length in our *Roman history*^g; and therefore, to avoid tedious repetitions, shall only add here, that having, in seven campaigns, reduced the whole island, he abandoned the more northern parts, and by raising forts, and planting garrisons, on the isthmus between the friths of *Glota* and *Bodotria*, now of *Dunbriton* and *Edinburgh*, he removed the *Caledonians*, as it were, into a separate island. Thus *Agricola* gave the finishing blow to the liberty of *Britain*, and reduced that part of the island, which lies south of the friths of *Glota* and *Bodotria*, to a Roman province. The loss of their liberty was, in some measure, counterbalanced by the politeness, that was introduced among them by the conquerors; for, by degrees, they assumed the customs and manners of the *Romans*, and, forgetting their savage ways, applied themselves to the study of the liberal arts and sciences, which were no less esteemed and cultivated in *Britain*, than in any other province of the empire. But to return to *Agricola*: *Domitian*, who had succeeded his brother *Titus* in the empire, envying his general the great reputation he had gained by his conquests, recalled him, on pretence of preferring him to the government of *Syria*.
- c After his departure, we have but short and broken accounts of what passed in this island, till the reign of the emperor *Adrian*. We do not even know who was *Agricola's* successor in the government of *Britain*. We only read in *Suetonius*^h, that *Salustius Lucullus* was legate of *Britain* in the reign of *Domitian*; and that he was put to death by that prince, for suffering his name to be given to a sort of spears, which he had invented. In the reigns of the emperors *Nerva*, who succeeded *Domitian*, and *Trajan*, who succeed *Nerva*, some commotions happened in the island; but all we know of them is, that they were soon appeased, and the country restored to its former tranquillity, by the *Roman* troops quartered there; which, according to *Josephus*, amounted to four legionsⁱ. In the reign of *Adrian*, the successor of *Trajan*,
- d the *Caledonians*, having demolished some of the forts built by *Agricola* between the above-mentioned friths, made an irruption into the *Roman* province. Against them was dispatched by *Adrian*, in the first year of his reign, *Julius Severus*, a commander of great renown; but he being suddenly recalled, and employed against the *Jews*, then in rebellion, *Priscus Licinius* was sent over in his room (K), and followed soon after by the emperor in person; whose arrival struck the *Caledonians* with such terror, that, abandoning the countries they had seized, they retired to the more northern parts of the island. *Adrian*, not thinking it worth his while to make war upon them, in order to keep them quiet, relinquished to them all the country between the *Tine* and the two friths; but at the same time, to restrain them from making incursions
- e into the *Roman* province, he caused a wall to be built, extending from the *Eden* in *Cumberland* to the *Tine* in *Northumberland*, eighty miles in length^k. Having thus settled affairs in *Britain*, and reformed many abuses there, he returned to *Rome*, where he was honoured with the title of *Restorer of Britain*; which was stamped on his coins (L).

Julius Agricola governor of Britain. Year after Christ 78.

He reduces Britain to a Roman province.

Adrian in Britain. Year after Christ 120.

His wall.

^f Tacit. vit. Agric. c. 4—9.

^g Univers. hist. vol. v. p. 651, 659, 661, 665, 666, 667—671.

^h Suet. in Domit.

ⁱ Joseph. apud Camden. in Roman. SPARTIAN. in Hadrian. c. 5.

^k Idem in Hadrian. p. 6.

(K) It appears from an ancient inscription found near *Adrian's* wall, that *Licinius Priscus* had been proprietor of *Cappadocia* before he was sent into *Britain*, had commanded the fourth legion, and had been honoured with a military banner by the emperor *Adrian* in his *Jewish* expedition. The inscription is as follows:

M. F. CL. Priscus
... in Italia Legatus Augustiorum
PR. PR. Provinc. Cappadocia
PR. PR. Priv. Britannia

Leg. IIII Gallicia Praef. Coh. IIII Lingunorum

Vexille Mil. ornato A Divo Hadriano
In Expeditione Judaica
Q. Cassius Domitius P. Calpurnius

(L) Some of these have reached our times, and, among the rest, one with the figure of *Adrian*, and three soldiers on the reverse, representing, as *Camden* conjectures, the three legions, of which the *Roman* army in *Britain* then consisted, viz. the *legio secunda Augusta*, the *quartadecima Victrix*, and *vicesima Victrix*, called also *Britannica*. Under them is this inscription, *Extr. Britannica*. Other coins of the same prince bear this inscription, *Restitutor Britanniae*.

Lollius Urbicus builds a new wall. Year after Christ 138.

Ulpus Marcellus drives the Caledonians out of the Roman province Year after Christ 184.

The army in Britain mutinies on account of Perennis, who is delivered up to them.

A new mutiny in the army quelled by Pertinax.

To *Adrian* succeeded *Antoninus Pius*, in whose reign the *Brigantes* revolted; and the *Caledonians*, having, in several places, broken down *Adrian's* rampart, began anew to ravage the *Roman* territories. Against them was sent *Lollius Urbicus*, *Licinius Priscus*, whom *Adrian* had appointed governor of *Britain*, being, in all likelihood, dead; for *Antoninus*, as *Julius Capitolinus* informs us¹, removed none of the governors whom *Adrian* had preferred. *Lollius* obliged the *Brigantes* to submit anew to the *Roman* yoke; and having driven back the northern barbarians, he confined them within narrower bounds than before, by a new wall, extending, as *Camden* and *Brietius* conjecture, from *Bremenium*, now *Brampton* in *Cumberland*, to the river *Esk*. For these achievements, *Antoninus* received the surname of *Britannicus*, though he had never seen *Britain* himself^m (M). In the reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, the successor^b of *Antoninus Pius*, new commotions were raised in *Britain*; which obliged the emperor to send thither *Calpurnius Agricola*, who, it seems, appeased them; for *Fronto*, the famous orator, as quoted by *Eumenius*, in a panegyric on the emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, says, among other things, that though, sitting in his palace at *Rome*, he had committed the management of the war to one of his generals, yet, like a pilot sitting at the stern, and guiding the helm, he deserved the honour of the whole expeditionⁿ. To *Marcus Aurelius* succeeded *Commodus*, in whose reign the *Caledonians*, having passed the wall, which parted them from the *Romans*, and cut in pieces the *Roman* general, and most of his army, committed every-where dreadful devastations without restraint, till *Ulpus Marcellus* was sent against them, who, as he was a commander of great experience, and a strict observer of the military discipline, drove back the *Caledonians* with great slaughter, and restored the island to its former tranquillity. The reputation he gained in this expedition was so great, that the emperor, thinking his own glory eclipsed by that of his general, resolved to put him to death; but, in the end, only removed him from his government. For the great advantages gained by *Ulpus* in *Britain*, *Commodus* assumed the title of *imperator* the sixth time^c. That brave commander had no sooner left *Britain*, than the army there began to mutiny, complaining chiefly of *Perennis*, the emperor's favourite, who, governing with an absolute sway, sent only persons of the equestrian order to command the *British* army, whom the soldiers therefore refused to obey. The mutiny was carried so^d far, that the army sent deputies to *Rome*, fifteen hundred, says *Dion Cassius*, of their own body, to complain of *Perennis*. These the emperor met without the city; and being by them informed, that *Perennis* aspired at the empire, and had, with that view, cashiered the bravest officers, and put his own creatures in their room, he delivered the traitor to the fury of the prætorian bands, which he then commanded, and must have no less disobliterated than he had done the *British* army; for he was by them, after a thousand outrages, torn in pieces, with his wife, his sister, and his two sons^e. The downfall and death of this favourite are related by *Herodian* in a quite different manner, as we have observed in our *Roman* history^f. In the mean time *Helvius Pertinax*, afterwards emperor, was sent into *Britain*, to bring back the mutinous army there to a sense of their duty. Upon his arrival, the soldiery, not able to brook the tyrannical government of *Commodus*, offered him the sovereignty; but he, by rejecting their offer with indignation, and proceeding with too much severity against the mutineers, provoked them to such a degree, that one of the legions openly revolting, much blood was shed, and *Pertinax* himself left for dead among the slain. However, in spite of all obstacles, he brought the army at last to submit, and restored tranquillity to the province; but, as his severity had drawn upon him the ill-will

¹ JUL. CAP. in Antonin. c. 5. ^m Idem ibid. p. 821. CAMD. numm. 7. SPEDIUS, fol. 133. univers. vol. vi. p. 89. HERODIAN. l. i. p. 474.

ⁿ EUMEN. panegy. x. ^o DIO, l. lxxii. ^p DIO, ibid. LAMP. in Commod. p. 48. ^q Hist.

(M) *Lollius Urbicus* was sent into *Britain*, according to *Alford*, in the third year of *Antoninus's* reign, of the christian æra 142. and the same year he reduced the rebellious *Brigantes*, and built the wall, which we have mentioned in the text. This *Alford* proves from two of *Antoninus's* medals, coined, by a decree of the senate, in that prince's third consulship, that is, as *Alford* shews, in the third year of his reign. On these medals he is styled *Pater pa-*

trie; and on the reverse is represented *Britain*, on one sitting on a globe, and on the other holding a spear, and resting on a shield. As *Antoninus* is not, on either of these medals, styled *Britannicus*, but on such only as were coined five years after, *Alford* conjectures from thence, that some signal victory was gained, about that time, over the revolted *Brigons* or *Caledonians*, which procured him the title of *Britannicus* (9).

(9) Vide *Alford*, annal. ad ann. 142 & 147.

- a and hatred of the soldiery, he was, some time after, recalled at his own request, *Clodius Albinus* being appointed governor of *Britain* in his room^c. *Albinus*, having, in a speech to the soldiery, upon a false report of the emperor's death, declared for the power of the senate against that of the emperor, was commanded by *Commodus* to resign the government of *Britain* to *Junius Severus*. But *Commodus* being soon after murdered, *Pertinax*, his successor, sent *Albinus* again into *Britain*, where he continued during the short reigns of *Pertinax* and *Didius Julianus*. As he had, by his generosity and largesses, gained the affections of the *British* army, he was, upon the death of *Julianus*, by them proclaimed emperor. To maintain his title against *Severus*, who had received the same honour from the army in *Pannonia*,
- b he passed over into *Gaul* with his *British* troops; but being met by his rival in the neighbourhood of *Lyons*, his army was defeated, and he himself slain, as we have related at length in our *Roman* history^d. *Severus*, now master of the whole *Roman* empire, divided *Britain* into two governments, not thinking it perhaps advisable to trust one man with so great a command. The hither, or southern part of the island was given to *Heracitus*, and the northern to *Virius Lupus* (N), who was so harassed by the continual inroads of the *Caledonians*, that he was in the end obliged to purchase a peace with money; which they maintained till the fifteenth year of *Severus's* reign, when breaking anew into the *Roman* province, they committed everywhere dreadful devastations. *Virius Lupus*, not thinking himself in a condition to withstand them, retired as they advanced, and in the mean time acquainted the emperor with the state of affairs, and the dangers that threatened the province, unless powerful and timely supplies were sent to make head against the barbarians. Hereupon *Severus*, resolved to put an end to the daily incursions of the enemy, by the intire conquest of the north, set out for *Britain*, at the head of a numerous army, accompanied by his two sons *Caracalla* and *Geta*. The *Caledonians* no sooner heard of his arrival, than they sent ambassadors to him, offering to conclude a peace upon honourable terms. These the emperor detained, till he was ready to take the field, and then dismissed them, without granting them their request. As soon as the season was fit for action, he marched into their country, and putting all to fire
- d and sword, advanced to the most distant and northern coasts of the island. Though no battle was fought in this expedition, yet what by the enemy's continual ambuscades, what by the hardships and toils the soldiers underwent in cutting down woods, building bridges, draining marshes, &c. fifty thousand of them are said to have perished. The *Caledonians* however were, in the end, obliged to purchase a peace, by yielding to the *Romans* part of their country, and delivering up their arms. Having thus concluded a peace with the *Caledonians*, he returned to *York*, leaving to his son *Caracalla* the command of the army, and the finishing of the wall, which he had begun, according to the opinion, which to us seems most probable, on the isthmus between the friths of *Forth* and *Clyde*. Of this wall we have spoken above, and more
- e at length in our *Roman* history^e. For this expedition, *Severus* was honoured by the senate with the title of *Britannicus Maximus*, and his two sons with that of *Britannicus*^f. The emperor being taken ill at *York*, the *Caledonians* were no sooner informed of his indisposition, than they took up arms with one accord; which provoked *Severus* to such a degree, that he ordered his son *Caracalla* to enter their country anew with the whole army, and put all he met to the sword, without distinction of sex or age. But the emperor dying before his orders could be put in execution, his two sons, having concluded a shameful peace with the *Caledonians*, returned to *Rome*^g.

Albinus, governor of Britain, is slain, & emperor.

Britain divided into two governments.

Severus goes over into Britain. Year after Christ 207.

And penetrates into the most northern parts of the island.

He builds a new wall.

Severus dies.

In the reigns of the twelve succeeding emperors, viz. *Macrinus*, *Heliogabalus*, *Alexander*, *Maximinus*, *Pupienus*, *Gordian*, *Philip*, *Decius*, *Gallus*, *Valerian*, *Gallienus*, and *Claudius*, we are left almost quite in the dark as to the affairs of *Britain*; for

^c CAPITOL. in *Pertinace*, c. 3.

^d SPART. in *Sever*. GOLTZ. p. 88.

^e Hist. univers. vol. vi. p. 113.

^f Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 88a.

^g Idem ibid. p. 118, 119.

(N) The *Caledonians*, according to *Herodian*, had promised to restrain the *Mæsa* from making incursions into the *Roman* territories; but they neglecting to perform this article of their agreement, *Virius Lupus* was obliged to apply to the *Mæsa* themselves, and buy a peace of them at a great rate. From an antient inscription found at *Ilkly* in *Yorkshire*, by *Ptolemy* called *Olinaca*, it appears, that *Virius Lupus* restored that place. The inscription is as follows:

Im. Severus
Aug. et Antoninus
Cæs. Destinatus restituerunt
Curante Virio Lupo Leg.
eodem P. R.

Constantius,
the father of
Constantine
the Great, sent
into Britain.

Burgundians
and Vandals
transplanted
into Britain.

Carausius and
Allectus usurp
the sovereignty
of Britain.

Constantine
begins his reign
in Britain.

all we know of them, while these princes ruled, is, that Britain still continued to be a Roman province; that, in the reign of Gordian III. it was governed by *Nonnius Pbeippus* (O); that, under *Valerian* and *Gallienus*, the Roman troops quartered in the north, to restrain the *Caledonians*, were commanded by one *Desidienus Ælianus* (P); that Britain, revolting from *Gallienus*, declared for *Posthumus*, who had usurped the sovereignty in *Gaul*; that of the thirty usurpers, or, as they are styled, tyrants, besides *Posthumus*, the following were acknowledged in Britain, viz. *Lollianus*, *Victorinus*, and *Tetricus*, of whom the last being overcome by the emperor *Aurelian*, Britain submitted to the conqueror, who sent hither *Constantius*, the father of *Constantine the Great*, to establish his authority in the island ⁷. *Aurelian* was succeeded by *Tacitus*, and he, after a short reign of about six months, by *Probus*, in whose time *Bonobus*, descended of a Spanish family, but born in Britain, usurped the sovereignty, and was acknowledged here, as well as in *Gaul* and *Spain*; but being, after several battles, reduced by *Probus* to great straits, he chose rather to strangle himself, than fall into the hands of the conqueror, as we have related at length elsewhere ⁸. *Zosimus* ⁹ and *Zonaras* ¹⁰ tell us, that a governor, sent hither by *Probus*, assumed the imperial purple; but was soon after killed by *Victorinus*, upon whose recommendation he had been preferred to the government of this island ¹¹. *Probus* was, according to *Vopiscus* ¹², the first that allowed the *Britons*, *Spaniards*, and *Gauls*, to plant vines. The same emperor having, in an engagement on the banks of the *Rhine* with the *Burgundians* and *Vandals*, taken their king *Igilus* prisoner, with many others of these two nations, he transplanted them into Britain ¹³. In the beginning of *Dioclesian's* reign, *Carausius*, a native of *Gaul*, passing over into Britain, took upon him the title of emperor, and was acknowledged by all the troops quartered here; nay, by a treaty concluded between him and *Maximian*, whom *Dioclesian* had taken for his partner in the empire, Britain was given up to *Carausius*, who governed it with the title of emperor for the space of six or seven years; but was in the end killed by *Allectus*, as was *Allectus*, who had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in Britain, in a pitched battle with *Asclepiodotus*, one of *Constantius's* officers. Upon his death, Britain was re-united to the empire, after it had been held about seven years by *Carausius*, and three by *Allectus*. Of these transactions the reader will find a particular and distinct account in our Roman history ¹⁴. The two emperors *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* having resigned the empire to *Galerius* and *Constantius*, the latter, to whose share fell the western provinces, soon after his accession to the empire, passed over into Britain, to make war, says *Eumenius* ¹⁵, on the *Caledonians* and *Picts*, whom he overcame; but, not long after, died at *York* ¹⁶, where he had the satisfaction to see his son *Constantine* before he expired, and to appoint him his successor; so that *Constantine* began his reign in Britain, and, some time after, returned to this island, as we read in *Eusebius* ¹⁷, probably to put a stop to the daily incursions of the *Caledonians*. Of the new form of government, both civil and military, which he introduced here, we have

⁷ EUMEN. panegy. ix & x. TREBEL. POLL. in 30 tyrann. ⁸ Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 202.
⁹ Zos. l. i. p. 663. ¹⁰ ZONAR. p. 246. ¹¹ Vide Univers. hist. ibid. ¹² VOPISC. in Prob. c. 18.
¹³ Zos. l. i. p. 865. & Univers. hist. ibid. ¹⁴ Ibid. p. 208, 211, 212. ¹⁵ EUMEN. panegy. ix. p. 194.
¹⁶ HIER. chron. AUR. VICT. p. 526. EUTROP. p. 587. ¹⁷ EUSEB. vit. Constant. l. i. c. 25.

(O) This we learn, notwithstanding the silence of the Roman historians, from an ancient inscription found at a place, by the Romans called *Castra Exploratorum*, and by us *Old Carlisle*. It is a votive inscription for the health of the emperor, of his wife, and the whole imperial family, set up by the Roman horse quartered in Britain, under the command of *Æmilius Crispinus*, a native of *Tuidrum* in *Africa*. The words of the inscription are as follows:

I. O. M.
 Pro Salute Imperatoris
 M. Antoni. Gordiani P. F.
 Inviſi Aug. et Sabinae Tur-
 ba Tranquilla conjugi ejus To-
 taque Domus Divina eorum Ala
 Augg. Gordia ob Virtutem
 Appellata posuit: cui praest
 Æmilius Crispinus Praef.
 Eqq. natus in Pro. Africa De

Tuidro sub cur. Nomi Ph-
 lippi Leg. Aug. Praepos
 Africa et Pretorian
 Cass.

In two other inscriptions found at *Lanchester* in the county of *Durham*, mention is made of *Macilius Fuscus*, and *Cneius Lucilianus*, both proprietors of Britain in the reign of the same emperor Gordian III.

(P) This appears from the following inscription found in *Northumberland*:

Pro Salute
 Desidienus Æliani Prae-
 et Sui S.
 Pofuit Pub.
 no. Solvit Libe-
 ra Tufco et Baf-
 so Cass.

- a spoken above. He likewise altered the division of *Britain*, which, by *Severus*, had been divided into two provinces only; but was by him divided into three, viz. *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, and *Maxima Cæsariensis*, which last was afterwards subdivided into two parts, viz. *Maxima Cæsariensis*, and *Flavia Cæsariensis*. The removal of the imperial seat from *Rome* to *Constantinople*, which happened in the reign of *Constantine*, gave the northern nations an opportunity of making frequent irruptions into the *Roman* province, the emperor having carried with him, first into *Gaul*, and afterwards into the east, not only most of the *Roman* troops quartered in *Britain*, but likewise the flower of the *British* youth; whence he is censured by *Zosimus*, for neglecting the boundary of the empire on this side*. *Constantine* divided
- b the empire among his three sons, *Constantine*, *Constans*, and *Constantius*, of whom the latter, being in a short time possessed of the whole, sent into *Britain* the famous notary The famous in- former Paulus, surnamed Ca- tana, in Bri- tain. and informer *Paulus*, surnamed *Catana*, to bring from thence the tribunes, and other officers, who had sided with *Magnentius*. But of the enormous oppressions, extor- tions, and cruelties, practised on this occasion by that merciless man, we have spoken at length elsewhere¹. *Constantius*, about the latter end of his reign, committed the government of the western provinces to *Julian*, afterwards called *the Apostate*, who, being informed, while he was in his winter-quarters at *Paris*, that the *Picts* and *Scots*, about this time first distinguished in history by that name (Q), had broken into the *Roman* province, and committed every-where dreadful ravages, dispatched his lieu- tenant *Lupicinus*, with some troops, against them. *Lupicinus*, embarking at *Bologne*
- c in the depth of winter, reached *London* in a few days; but he had scarce landed his troops, when he was recalled^m, the northern nations having perhaps appeased *Julian* by their submission. During the short reigns of *Julian* and *Jovian*, we find nothing in history concerning the affairs of *Britain*. But, under *Valentinian* I. the *Picts*, *Scots*, *Attacots*, *Saxons*, and other northern nations, invaded the *Roman* province at one and the same time; and having killed *Nectaridus*, count of the maritime tract, and *Fullofaxdes*, who is distinguished with the title of *dux* or duke, and probably commanded the land-forces, ravaged the country far and wide, and reduced the inhabitants to a most deplorable condition. News of this invasion being brought to *Valentinian*,
- d while he was on his journey from *Amiens* to *Treves*, he immediately dispatched into *Britain* *Severus*, his comes domesticorum; but soon after recalled him, and sent *Jovinus* in his room; who having acquainted the emperor with the miserable condition to which the island was reduced, and the still greater evils with which it was threatened, *Theodosius*, father to the emperor of that name, was thereupon chosen for this pro- vince, and trusted with the whole management of so troublesome a war. *Theodosius*, upon his arrival in *Britain*, divided his forces into several parties; which, advancing against the enemy, who were roving up and down the country, cut great numbers of them in pieces, recovered the booty and prisoners they had taken, and obliged them to abandon the province. The barbarians being thus repulsed, *Theodosius* entered
- e *Londonium*, or *London*, in a kind of triumph, and restored that, as well as several other cities, which had suffered greatly by the late invasions, to their former splendor. As the barbarians had retired beyond the friths of *Glota* and *Bodotria*, he built several castles on the isthmus between the two seas, in order to restrain them from break- ing anew into the province. By this means, all the country between *Adrian's* wall and the two friths, which had been, for some time, held by the *Picts*, was reco- vered. Of this tract *Theodosius* made a fifth province, to which the emperor gave The Roman province ra- vaged by the Scots and Picts. the name of *Valentia*, perhaps from his brother *Valens*. *Theodosius*, before he left the
- Theodosius shoulder sent into Britain. Year after Christ 367. He drives back the barbarians.
- And makes a fifth province.

* Zos. l. ii.

¹ Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 288.

^m AMMIAN. l. xx. p. 154.

(Q) *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who wrote towards the latter end of the fourth century, is the first historian that mentions the *Scots*. But *St. Jerom*, in his epistle against *Cresciphon* the *Pelagian*, has given us a much more antient passage, which he translated out of *Porphyry* the *Greek* philosopher, who wrote an age before *Ammianus*. The passage is as follows: *Neither Britain, a province fertile in tyrants, nor the Scottish nations, nor the barbarous nations round about to the very ocean, did ever acknowledge Moses and the prophets*. *Scaliger*, in his notes upon *Propertius*, and

his animadversions on *Ensebius*, corrects the com- mon editions of *Seneca's* satire upon *Claudius*, by reading, instead of the words *Scota Brigantes*, *Scoto Brigantes*; but that correction is not countenanced by any manuscript copies; and besides, it is certain, that *Claudius* never made war upon the *Scots*, but kept in the southern parts of *Britain*. As for *Dempster's* reading *Scoticas primas*, instead of *Scythicas*, in the verses of the poet *Florus* to the emperor *Adrian*, that correction is generally looked upon as altoge- ther groundless (10).

Maximus
usurps the so-
vereignty in
Britain.

Stilicho secures
Britain against
the incursions of
the Scots, Picts,
&c.

The Britons
choose an emper-
or.
Marcus and
Gratian chosen,
and slain.

Constantine
chosen.
Year after
Christ 407.

island, crushed, in its very beginning, the revolt of one *Valentine*, or *Valentinian*,^a who, being banished into *Britain*, had prevailed upon some of the inhabitants to proclaim him emperor; but *Theodosius*, having got the usurper into his power, delivered him up to the civil magistratesⁿ. And now *Britain* being restored to its former tranquillity, *Theodosius* returned to the emperor, by whom he was received with the greatest demonstrations of kindness and esteem. In the joint reign of the succeeding princes *Valentinian II.* and *Gratian*, *Maximus*, who commanded in *Britain*, hearing, that *Gratian* had taken *Theodosius* the younger for his colleague in the empire, and highly affronted at the preference given to a person, in his opinion, so much beneath him in merit, resolved to assume the imperial purple, and put himself upon an equality with his rival. Accordingly, having gained over to his party the *Roman* legions quartered in *Britain*, he carried them, with the flower of the *British* youth, into *Gaul*. As these never returned to their native country, being either cut off with their leader, or settling elsewhere, the nation, thus bereft of its strength, became afterwards an easy prey to the *Picts* and *Scots*. Over these two nations *Maximus* is said to have gained great advantages before his usurpation, nay, and to have driven the latter quite out of the island; but this is not agreeable to what we read in the more antient writers, as we have observed elsewhere^c. In the reign of *Theodosius*, the *Scots* and *Picts* were, it seems, kept in awe by *Chrysantius*, the son of *Marcian*, bishop of *Constantinople*, who, being appointed governor of *Britain*, acquitted himself in that office with great reputation^p. *Theodosius* was succeeded by his two sons *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, the former ruling in the east, and the latter in the west. As *Honorius* was very young, the famous *Stilicho*, who had been appointed by *Theodosius* regent of the western empire during the minority of his son, is supposed to have sent over a legion into *Britain*, to defend it against the *Scots*, the *Picts*, and the *Saxons*^q. Be that as it will, it is certain, that he secured *Britain* against the incursions of its antient enemies; for *Claudian*, in enumerating the great things performed by *Stilicho* before his first consulship, tells us, that he succoured *Britain* attacked by the neighbouring nations, namely by the *Scots*; that he put it in a condition not to fear their arrows, nor the efforts of the *Picts*; and that he secured the *British* coasts against the descents of the *Saxons*^r. He adds elsewhere, that the *Saxons* being overcome, the sea was quiet; that the *Picts* having lost their strength, *Britain* was delivered from her fears^s. About this time a proper officer was appointed to guard the coast against the attempts of the *Saxons*, with the title of *comes limitis Saxonici* (R). But, not long after, the empire being over-run by the *Alans*, the *Vandals*, and the *Suevians*, most of the *Roman* troops quartered in *Britain* were recalled, and the island left almost quite open to the attacks of the *Scots* and *Picts*. Hereupon the natives, expecting no assistance from *Honorius*, resolved to set up an emperor of their own; and accordingly invested with that dignity one *Mark*, whom, though an officer of great credit among them, after a few days, they murdered, and placed *Gratian*, a native of *Britain*, in his room^t. *Gratian*, after a short reign of four months, underwent the same fate, and was succeeded by *Constantine*, a common soldier, who was^u chosen merely for the sake of his name, common to him with *Constantine the Great*. The new prince obliged the *Scots* and *Picts* to quit the *Roman* province, and retire beyond the two friths; which success inspiring him with a mighty opinion of his own merit and fortune, he formed a design of making himself master of the whole empire. With this view he passed over into *Gaul*, taking with him the few *Roman* forces that

^a AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 368.
ecclef. Britan. antiq. p. 595.
^t SOZ. l. ix. c. 11. p. 813.

^c Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 398.
^r CLAUDIAN. de laud. Stil. l. ii. p. 140.

^p SOCRAT. l. vii. ^q Uet.
^s Idem ibid. p. 139.

(R) The learned *Usher* ascribes to *Stilicho* the establishing of a legion in *Britain*, to defend it against the *Picts*, the *Scots*, and the *Saxons* (11). This *Claudian* seems to insinuate, where he introduces *Britain* thus speaking in praise of that great general and minister:

Me quoque vicinis parentem gentibus, inquit,
Munivit Stilicho, totam cum Scotus Iernem
Movit, & infesto spumantis remige Tethys.

Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
Scotica, nec Pictum tremorem, nec litore toto
Prospicerem dubiis variisq. Saxonis vallis.

As *Stilicho* is supposed to have appointed troops to guard the coasts of *Britain*, and prevent the *Saxons* from making descents, so he may be likewise said to have appointed a proper officer to command them, with the title of the *comes of the Saxon shore*.

- a had been left here, and such of the *Britons* as were able to bear arms. Of the success that attended him at first in *Gaul* and *Spain*, and of his unhappy end, we have spoken at length in our *Roman* history, to which we refer the reader ^a. The unhappy *Britons*, thus left to themselves after the departure of the *Romans*, and the flower of their youth, were more harassed than ever by the *Scots*, the *Picts*, and other northern nations, who, meeting with little or no opposition, broke into their country, and putting all to fire and sword, soon reduced them to a most miserable condition. In this state they continued from the year 407. when the usurper *Constantine* passed over into *Gaul*, to 410. when, after having often implored in vain the emperor's assistance, they withdrew their obedience to *Rome*, says *Zosimus* ^x, and, being resolved to
- b defend themselves with their own strength, would no longer obey the laws of the empire. The emperor *Honorius* seemed to approve their conduct; for, by his letters, he permitted, and even advised, them to provide for their own safety ^y; which was an implicit resigning the sovereignty of the island, and releasing the inhabitants from their allegiance to the empire. This renunciation was made, according to *Bede*, a little after the taking of *Rome* by *Alaric*, in the year of the city 1164 ^z. or rather 1163. for it is certain, that *Rome* was taken in 410. The *Britons*, now again a free people, seem to have at first fought with success against their antient and irreconcilable enemies the *Scots* and the *Picts*; for *Zosimus* writes, that they delivered their cities from the insults of a haughty enemy ¹. But being in the end overpowered,
- c they had recourse to the emperor, imploring his protection, and promising an intire and perpetual obedience to *Rome*, provided they were delivered from the tyranny and oppression of their merciless enemies. *Honorius*, touched with compassion, sent a legion to their relief; which, landing unexpectedly in *Britain*, cut in pieces great numbers of the *Scots* and *Picts*; and having obliged them to retire beyond the friths of *Edinburgh* and *Dunbriton*, they advised the natives to build a wall on the isthmus from sea to sea, and then returned to the continent, where their assistance was wanted to repulse the barbarians, breaking from all quarters into the empire. The *Britons*, without loss of time, applied themselves to the building of the wall; but as it was done only with turf, the barbarians broke it down in several places, and pouring in
- d upon the territories of the *Britons* like a torrent, committed more dreadful ravages than ever, destroying every thing with fire and sword ^b. This happened, according to the learned *Usher* ^c, in 422. but, according to *Alford* ^d, in 421 (S). The unhappy *Britons*, after many miseries and calamities, sent deputies anew to the emperor; who, appearing before him with their garments rent, and dust on their heads, prevailed upon him to send new forces to their relief. These, hastening into *Britain*, fell upon the barbarians, not in the least apprised of their arrival, and made a dreadful havock of them, while they were roving up and down the island in quest of booty ^e. This slaughter of the northern nations is placed by *Usher* in 426 ^f, wherein he disagrees with *Bede*, who supposes it to have happened before the year 423. in which *Honorius*
- e died ^g. The *Scots* and *Picts* being thus driven beyond the above-mentioned friths, the *Romans*, who had no ambitious view in assisting the distressed *Britons*, but were come over merely out of compassion and good nature, told them plainly, that they were to expect no further assistance from the emperor; that the troops he had now sent were ordered back to the continent, to make head against the barbarians, who extended their ravages to all parts of the empire; and that they were therefore obliged to take their last farewell of *Britain*, and intirely abandon the island. After this declaration, *Gallio* of *Ravenna*, commander of the *Roman* troops, exhorted the *Britons* to defend themselves for the future, by fighting manfully for their country, their wives, their children, and, what ought to be dearer than life itself, their liberty,

The Britons
withdraw their
obedience to
Rome.
Year after
Christ 410.

Honorius sends
them a legion.

They build a
new wall.

Another legion
sent to their
relief.

^a Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 454, 455, 465—467.
^z Bed. hist. c. 11. ^x Zos. l. vi. p. 827.
p. 1096. ^d ALFORD annal. ad ann. 421.

^g Bed. chron. p. 114.

^x Zos. l. vi. p. 827. ^y Idem ibid. p. 830.
^b GILD. excid. Britan. c. 12, 13. p. 117. ^e Uss.
^c GILD. ibid. c. 14. p. 118. ^f Uss. ubi sup.

(S) *Alford* produces a medal of the emperor *Honorius*, with this legend on the reverse, *Victoria Auggg.* and thence concludes, that the slaughter of the *Scots* and *Picts* by the legion, which *Honorius* sent over, happened in the year of the christian era 421. the twenty seventh of *Honorius's* reign. The word *Auggg.*

denotes, as he rightly observes, three emperors reigning at the same time. These were *Honorius*, *Theodosius*, and *Constantius*. Now, as *Constantius* was made emperor and died in the same year 421. the victory ascribed to the three emperors must necessarily have been gained in that year (12).

The Britons
build another
wall.

The Romans
take their last
farewell of Bri-
tain.

against an enemy no stronger than themselves, provided they would but lay aside their fears, and exert their antient courage and resolution. Not satisfied with encouraging them, that they might be the better able to withstand the attacks of the enemy, he advised them to build a wall, not of turf, but of stone, offering them the assistance of his soldiers, and his own direction in the work. Hereupon the Britons, jointly with the Romans, fell to work, and carried on their new wall with such diligence, that, tho' eight foot in breadth, and twelve in height, it was soon finished. This wall stood, says *Bede*^b, in the same place where *Severus* had built his, that is, according to the most probable opinion, as we have observed above, on the isthmus between the two friths of *Glota* and *Bodotria*. They likewise built towers at convenient distances on the east coast against the Saxons, and other barbarians, who, coming from *Germany*, made frequent descents on that side. The Roman commander, having thus secured the nation, employed the rest of the time he continued in the island, in instructing the natives in the art of war; which when he had done, leaving among them patterns of the weapons he had taught them to make, after many encouraging exhortations, he, with his Romans, took his last farewell of Britain, and telling the Britons, that they must expect their return no more, he crossed over to the continentⁱ. From this last departure of the Romans we may date the total desertion of Britain by them, and the final period of the Roman empire in this island. As to the year, in which Britain was thus finally abandoned, there is a great disagreement among chronologers, some placing the retreat of the Romans in 426. some in 435. or 437. According to *Alford*, *Gallio* returned to *Gaul* in 422. the twenty-eighth of *Honorius's* reign^k. *Bede*, in his history, speaks of the departure of the Romans as happening in 431^l. but, in his chronicle, he seems to suppose it to have happened even before the year 423. and hence *Alford* places it in 422. The Britons fought, as we have seen, for many years against the Romans, in defence of their liberty; and it was not without a great deal of bloodshed that they submitted to the yoke. But being in the end pleased with their servitude, and become, as it were, one nation with their conquerors, who had continued among them for the space of four hundred years and upwards, they were no less unwilling to part with them, than they had been at first to receive them. This appears from the last message they sent to *Aetius*; but since it happened after the Romans had intirely abandoned the island, we shall refer the further relation of it to the following section.

^b *BED.* hist. c. 12. p. 156.
ad hunc ann.

ⁱ *GILD.* c. 24. p. 118.
^l *BED.* hist. l. i. c. 12, 13. p. 14, 15.

BED. hist. c. 12. p. 156.

^k *ALFORD.* annal.

SECT. III.

The history of Britain, from its desertion by the Romans, to the invasion of the Angles and Saxons.

The Scots and
Picts break in-
to the British
territories.

THE Romans having abandoned Britain, with an intention to return no more, as we have related in the foregoing section, the Scots and Picts no sooner heard of their departure, than landing in swarms from their leather vessels on the lands of the Britons, they committed greater ravages than ever, destroying all with fire and sword. These two nations, differing somewhat in manners, but equally greedy of spoil and booty, seeing the cowardly Britons fly like sheep before them, resolved to attack the wall, which had been lately repaired, not doubting but they should become masters of it without great loss, since it was defended by such a faint-hearted enemy. At their approach, the Britons, instead of preparing for a vigorous defence, stood trembling on the battlements, till the enemy, more bold and active, pulling some of them down with long iron hooks, and driving the rest, with showers of darts and arrows, from their stations, made themselves masters of the wall. The Britons betook themselves to flight, which however could not save them; for the Scots and Picts, pursuing them close, made a dreadful havock of the fugitives, and took possession of the frontier towns, which they found deserted by the inhabitants. As the enemy met with no opposition, they over-ran the whole country, putting all to fire and sword without controul. This general havock and devastation bred a dreadful famine,

- a famine, which occasioned new mischiefs, and a kind of civil war, among the *Britons* themselves, obliged, for their support, to plunder each other, and take from their friends the little the common enemy had left them. The whole country being thus ruined, the famine became general, and raged to such a degree, that the *Britons*, who remained, were obliged to betake themselves to the woods, and there live upon what they could get by hunting^a. In this deplorable condition they continued some years. The *Britons* had already kings of their own; for *Gildas*, in his usual melancholy strain, finds fault with his countrymen for raising to the throne such only as were remarkable for their cruelty^b. Perhaps they judged them best qualified to redress the disorders, and put a stop to the robberies, that prevailed all over the island.
- b The same author adds, that those, who had raised them to the throne, caused them soon after to be murdered, not because they had found them guilty of any crime, but that they might chuse worse men in their room. If any of their princes proved more mild and humane than the rest, he was abhorred by all as a coward, and persecuted as a public enemy^c. The unhappy *Britons*, thus at variance among themselves, and at the same time pressed with famine, and pursued by a merciless enemy, had recourse once more to the *Romans* for assistance, writing to *Actius*, who was then consul the third time, and governed the western empire almost with an absolute sway. To move him to compassion, they directed the letter thus: *The groans of the Britons to the consul Actius*. And in the letter; *The barbarians*, said they, *drive us to the sea, and the sea forces us back to the barbarians, between which we have only the choice of two deaths, either to be swallowed up by the waves, or to be cruelly massacred by the enemy*. What answer they received, is uncertain; all we know is, that they could not prevail upon *Actius*, who was then in *Gaul*, to lend them the least assistance, the emperor *Valentinian III.* being then, as *Usher* thinks, under apprehension of a war with *Attila*^d, who had not yet broken into the western empire. The *Britons*, now despairing of any relief from the *Romans*, and, on the other hand, reduced to the utmost extremity by the famine, which increased daily, knew not what measures to take to free themselves from their unfortunate circumstances. Great numbers of them fled over to *Armorica*, where those *Britons*, who attended *Maximus* into *Gaul*, are supposed to have settled^e; others submitted to the *Scots* and *Picts*, purchasing a miserable sustenance with everlasting slavery. Some however, more resolute, placing their confidence in God, says *Gildas*, since they found themselves abandoned by men, betook themselves to their arms; and sallying out in parties from their woods and caves, fell upon the enemy, while they were roving up and down the country, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to retire. The *Picts* withdrew, in all likelihood, to the country about the wall, either abandoned by the *Britons*, or inhabited by such of them as had submitted to their new masters. The *Scots*, as *Usher* conjectures^f, returned to *Ireland*, whence they originally came; but *Gildas* and *Bede* only tell us, that they returned home^g. And now the *Britons*, having some respite, began anew to cultivate their lands; which, after having for some time lain fallow, produced all sorts of provisions in such plenty, as in no age had been remembered. This plenty was attended with luxury, wantonness, and all manner of vices incident to human nature; but what above all contributed to the immorality and irreligion, that prevailed all over the land, was, according to *Gildas*, the hatred of truth, and love of lyes, evil being miscalled good, and good evil, and every thing transacted directly contrary to the common welfare, and public safety. The clergy, who should have reclaimed the laity with their example, proved the ring-leaders to every vice, being, for the most part, addicted to drunkenness, envy, contention, &c. and incapable of discerning between good and evil^h. In the mean time the *Britons* were alarmed anew with a report, that the *Scots* and *Picts* were returning with a greater force than ever, being determined utterly to extirpate the natives, and plant themselves in their room from one end of the island to the other. This report occasioned a general consternation, which however was not sufficient to reclaim them from their wicked ways, says *Gildas*; and therefore they were visited with a dreadful plague, which raging with uncommon fury, swept away most of those, whom the sword and famine had spared; insomuch that the living were scarce sufficient to bury the dead. But this calamity likewise proving ineffectual, the contagion no

The Britons write mournful letters to Actius.

Their miserable condition.

They drive back their enemies.

They abandon themselves to all manner of vice.

A dreadful plague.

^a GILD. c. 15. 16. p. 118.

^b Idem. c. 19. p. 119.

^c Idem ibid.

^d Uss. p. 1104.

^e Vide hist. univers. vol. vi. p. 400.

^f Uss. p. 609, 1105.

^g GILD. p. 119. BED. chron.

p. 114.

^h GILD. c. 19. p. 119.

sooner ceased, than the enemy, returning with incredible fury, and putting all to a fire and sword, soon reduced the unhappy *Britons* to the utmost extremity. *Vortigern* was then the chief, if not the only king of *Britain*, a proud, covetous, and debauched tyrant, quite regardless of the public welfare, and no less incapable of promoting it in the field, than in the cabinet. However, being awaked by the clamours of the people, and finding it was absolutely necessary for his own preservation to repulse the enemy, he summoned a council, to deliberate with the chief men of the nation about the proper means to deliver the country from the calamities it then groaned under, and prevent the like misfortunes for the future. In this council, they all agreed, being, in a manner, infatuated, on the most pernicious expedient, that could be imagined, and what, in the end, proved the utter destruction of the nation, which was, to invite the *Saxons* into the island, a people at that time famous for their piracies and cruelty, and dreaded, even by the *Britons*, as death itself (T). The expedient being approved of, ambassadors were dispatched in all haste into *Germany*, to represent to the *Saxons* the request of the *Britons*, and offer them advantageous terms, provided they would come over to their assistance (U). The *Saxons* were highly pleased with the proposal, the more as they were foretold by their soothsayers, that they should plunder the country, to which they were called, for the space of an hundred and fifty years, and quietly possess it twice that time^b. Having therefore fitted out three long ships, called in their language *chiules*, they put to sea, under the conduct of *Hengist* and *Horfa*, the sons of *Witigisil*, great-grandson to the celebrated *Woden*, from whom all the royal families of the *Saxons* pretended to derive their pedigree^c. These, arriving at *Ebbsfleet* in the isle of *Thanet*, were received there both by the prince and people with the greatest demonstrations of joy. The isle itself was allotted them for their habitation, and a league was immediately concluded with them, in virtue of which the *Saxons* were to defend the *Britons* against all foreign enemies; and the *Britons*, on the other hand, to allow the *Saxons*, besides their place of abode, pay and maintenance. Historians have not told us, what the number was of these *Saxon* auxiliaries; but they could not be above fifteen hundred, since they all came over in three ships; and we cannot well suppose any of those ships to have carried above five hundred men. But, before we proceed farther in this history, it will be necessary to give some account of the origin, manners, government, and religion of the people, who, being called in by the *Britons* to their assistance, made themselves masters of the island, and hold it to this day. The *Saxons* were, according to the most probable opinion, a colony of the *Cimbrians*, that is, of the inhabitants of the *Cimbrian Chersonesus*, now *Jutland*; who, finding their country overstocked with people, sent out, much about the same time, three numerous bands

The Britons under Vortigern agree to invite the Saxons over.

The arrival of the Saxons.

The seats of the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes.

^a Idem ibid. Bed. hist. c. 16. p. 157.

^b GILD. c. 23. p. 119, 120.

^c Bed. ibid. c. 15. p. 157.

(T) The first *Saxon* troops are said, by most historians, to have landed in the year 449. though, by some, this event is placed a few years sooner; by others, a few years later. *Tyro Propper* supposes the *Saxons* to have been masters of the island in 444. and consequently to have landed many years before. But that writer was therein grossly mistaken, as is manifest from *Gildas*, *Bede*, and all the historians, who speak of this event. *Bede* places the arrival of the *Saxons* and *Angles* in the reign of *Marcian*, before the death of *Valentinian III.* that is, between the year 450. and 455. and seems to suppose the resolution of the *Britons* to call them in to have been taken before the reign of *Marcian*; so that, according to *Bede*, their arrival may be well placed in 450. and in that year it is accordingly, by the learned *Usher*, supposed to have happened (13).

(U) *Witichind*, a *Saxon* historian, who lived in the ninth century, in his history *de gestis Saxonum*, introduces the *British* ambassadors making the following speech before an assembly of the *Saxons*: "Illustrious *Saxons*, the fame of your victories having reached our ears, the distressed *Britons*, harassed by the continual inroads of a neighbouring enemy, send us to implore your assistance. We have a

"fertile and spacious country, which we are commanded to submit to you. We have hitherto lived under the protection of the *Roman* empire; but our ancient masters having abandoned us, we know no nation more powerful than you, and better able to protect us. We therefore recur to your valour. Forsake us not in our distress, and we shall readily submit to what terms you yourselves shall think fit to prescribe to us." It the *Britons* made such a frank surrender, and promised such an absolute subjection, as is intimated in this speech, it is strange, that neither *Bede* nor *Ethelwerd*, both *Saxons*, should take any notice of it; nay, the latter writer tells us, that the *Britons* promised to live in perpetual friendship and amity with the *Saxons*; and friendship and amity are inconsistent with absolute subjection. Besides, when the *Saxons*, designing to make themselves masters of the island, wanted a pretence to quarrel with the natives, they did not urge the promise of the *British* ambassadors, which they would certainly have done, had any such promise been made, but alleged, for a pretence, their short diet, and bad pay, as *Gildas* tells us in express terms; which plainly shews, that they came over only as mercenary soldiers.

(13) Bed. hist. c. 15. p. 157. Chron. p. 114. Usher. p. 1107.

a to seek for new settlements. To one of these bands was afterwards given the name of *Suevians*, to another that of *Franks*, and to the third the name of *Saxons*. The *Suevians* took their rout towards *Italy*, the *Franks* advanced to *Belgic Gaul*, and the *Saxons* possessed themselves of the whole country between the *Rhine* and the *Elb*; nay, by degrees extending their conquests along the coast of the *German ocean*, when the *Britons* sent to implore their assistance, they were masters not only of the present *Westphalia*, *Saxony*, *East* and *West Friseland*, but likewise of *Holland* and *Zealand*. The first place they settled in, upon their leaving the *Chersonesus*, was the present duchy of *Holstein*; which is thence called the antient seat of the *Saxons*. Between this country and the *Chersonesus*, or *Jutland*, dwelt a people, known, even in Tacitus's time, by the name of *Angles*¹. According to this account, which we have copied from *Bede*^m, the *Angles* inhabited that small province in the kingdom of *Denmark*, and duchy of *Sleswick*, which is called at this day *Angel*, and of which the city of *Flensburg* is the metropolis. *Lindebergius*, in his epistles, styles this country *Little-England*; and *Ethelwerd*, who wrote about the year 950. speaking of the antient habitation of the *Angles*; *Old Anglia*, says he, *lies between the Saxons and Gots*. The metropolis of this country is by the *Saxons* called *Sleswick*; but by the *Danes*, *Haithby*. Britain took the name of *those*, by whom it was conquered, and is therefore now called *Anglia*. The same writer adds, that *Hengist* and *Horfa* came from the country of the *Angles* into Britainⁿ. When the *Saxons* came first out of the *Chersonesus*, going in quest of new settlements, the *Angles* joined them, and, in process of time, became one nation with them. Hence they are, by most authors, comprised under the general name of *Saxons*, tho' some distinguish them by the compound name of *Anglo-Saxons*^o. Some time after the *Saxons*, *Franks* and *Suevians* had left the *Chersonesus*, the *Goths*, having driven out the *Cimbrians* that were remaining, made themselves masters of that peninsula, which was thenceforth called *Gotbland* or *Jutland*, from its new inhabitants the *Goths* or *Jutes*. These, in the old printed copies of *Bede*, are styled *Vita*; but the learned *Usher* assures us, that all the manuscript copies of that author, which he consulted, read *Juta*, and not *Vita* p. *Fabius Ethelwerd*, whom we have mentioned above, a writer of the *Saxon* blood royal, and the fourth in descent from king *Adolph* or *Ethelwolf*, calls the country *Giota*, and the people *Giota*. Great numbers of these *Giota* or *Juta*, mixing with the *Saxons* and *Angles*, came over with them into Britain, to share in their conquests. This is the most probable account of these people, after their settling in *Jutland* and *Germany*, that we have been able to gather from the several authors, who have studied this subject. Of their origin, which *Cluverius* and *Verfegan* derive from the *Germans*, but *Grotius* and *Sherringham*, with more probability, from the antient *Getæ* or *Goths*; of their various migrations before they settled in the *Cimbrian Chersonesus*, and their conquests under their several kings, especially under the celebrated *Woden*, we shall speak at length in the histories of *Sweden* and *Denmark*. As the *Saxons* were, by their piracies c on the coasts of *Gaul* and *Britain*, better known at the time of their settling in this island, the conquest of Britain is, by the antient writers, ascribed to them, and not to the *Angles* or *Jutes*; nay, Britain was, for some time, from them called *Saxony*; but, in the end, the name of *Anglia*, from the *Angles*, prevailed. The *Jutes* were less known, at least under that name, than the other two nations or tribes. *Bede* however tells us, that the province of *Kent*, the isle of *Wight*, and the country lying over-against it, now *Hampshire*, were peopled by the *Jutes*. As to the name of *Saxons*, it has occasioned a great disagreement among authors. *Becanus* and *Camden* Etymology of the name Saxons. suppose them to have been first called *Sacasons*, that is, the sons or descendants of the *Saca*, to whom, according to these writers, they owed their origin. But they are f by no antient writer styled *Sacasons*, as *Sherringham* well observes, but *Sacen* or *Saxons*. Besides none of the antients speak of colonies sent by the *Saca* out of *Asia*, where they dwelt, in the neighbourhood of the *Caspian* sea; but *Strabo*, on the contrary, tells us, that the whole nation of the *Saca* were to a man destroyed by the *Persians* q. *Isidore* derives their name from the *Latin* word *saxum*, a stone, because they were a strong and hardy nation. But they were so called many ages before the *Romans* had any knowledge of them, or they of the *Romans*. The opinion of *Lipsius*, which *Verfegan* has followed, seems to us the most probable, viz. that the name of *Saxons*

¹ Tacit. de Ger. mor. c. 40. p. 136.

^m Bed. l. i. c. 15.

ⁿ Ethelwerd. chron. l. i.

^o Vide

ALFORD. ad ann. 449.

^p Uss. de Brit. eccles. primord. p. 391.

^q Vide SHERRING. c. 11.

And of the
name Angles.

was given them by their neighbours, from their wearing a short sword, called in their tongue *saex*; and hence the arms of *Saxony*, as *Pontanus* observes¹, are to this day two daggers placed across. As to the name of *Angles*, *Saxo Grammaticus* derives it from *Angulus*, son to *Humbilus* king of the *Danes*. But how the *Angles* came to borrow their name from a son of the king of *Denmark*, he has not thought fit to acquaint us. *Widskind*, a *Saxon* writer, will have the *Angles* to be so called from a certain island in the corner or angle of the sea, which they subdued. But this, as well as all other etymologies deriving their name from the *Latin* tongue, seems to us altogether improbable, and foreign to the purpose, when we consider, that the names of other *German* nations are not *Latin*, but *German*, or *Gothic*. *Goropius* therefore derives the name of *Angles* from the *Saxon* word *angel* or *engel*, signifying a fishing-book, the *Angles*, who lived on the sea-coast, being, like the other *Saxons*, greatly addicted to piracy, and, on that account, styled *Angles* by the neighbouring nations, as if, like hooks, they caught all that was in the sea. Other derivations are brought by *Aventinus*, and other etymologists. But as we have perhaps already dwelt too long upon conjectures, we shall now give a succinct account of the manners, govern-

Their manners.

ment, and religion of the antient *Saxons*, our forefathers. The *Saxons* were, as is agreed on all hands, and appears from their conquests, one of the most warlike nations inhabiting *Germany*. They were not known to the *Romans*, by the name of *Saxons*, till the fourth century, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and the poet *Claudian*, being the first *Roman* writers, who make mention of them. The former, speaking of them, says, c they were formidable above all other enemies. And *Zosimus*, The *Saxons* are inured to the toils of war, and, for their courage and strength, reckoned the most warlike of all the *German* nations². As they were a barbarous and uncivilized people, they treated their enemies with great cruelty, especially the prisoners they took in war, sacrificing them to their gods. As to their government, the countries subject to them were, according to *Verslegan*, divided into twelve provinces, each of which was governed by a chief or head, accountable to the general assembly of the nation: By this assembly a general was chosen in time of war, who commanded with almost a sovereign power; but his authority ceased, as soon as the war was ended. Their

Their govern-
ment;

religion was the same with that of the other northern nations. Their chief gods, the *Sun*, the *Moon*, the celebrated *Woden*, his son *Thor*, his wife *Frigga* or *Fraa*, *Tuisto*, *Theutates*, *Hejus*, *Tharamis*, &c. The three last are mentioned by *Lucan* (W), as is *Tuisto* by *Tacitus*³. *Woden* was the god of war; *Thor* presided over the air, and was thought to have storms, winds, showers, and fair weather, at his disposal; *Frigga* was the goddess of pleasure. The two first days of the week were consecrated to the *Sun* and *Moon*; the third, according to some, to *Tuisto* or *Tuisco*, according to others, to *Thyja* or *Dysa*, the goddess of justice, and wife to *Thor*⁴; the fourth to *Woden*; the fifth to *Thor*; the sixth to *Fregga* or *Fraa*; and the seventh, as *Verslegan* sup-

And religion.

poses, to *Crodo*, named also *Sacter*; but the latter name, as *Sheringham* observes, is to be found in no writer before *Verslegan*⁵. The *Saxons* had, besides these, several other deities, to whom they paid great veneration, namely, the goddess *Eostre*, to whom they sacrificed in the month of *April*, which was thence by them styled *Eostur monath*, or the month of *Eostre*; and thence the word *Easter*, which the *Saxons* retained even after their conversion to the christian religion, giving it to the solemn festival, which we celebrate in commemoration of our Saviour's resurrection⁶. *Nocra* was the same among the *Saxons*, as *Neptune* among the *Romans*. *Mara* was a frightful spectre, that terrified and oppressed people in their sleep; whence the word *nightmare*⁷. *Tansana*, mentioned by *Tacitus*⁸, was worshipped by the *Saxons* as the god of lots⁹. The *Elvæ* or *Elfs*, named also *Fairies*, were honoured by them with a kind of sacrifice called *Alf-blót*¹⁰. The *Dysæ* were inferior goddesses, the messengers of the great *Woden*, whose province it was to convey the souls of such as died in battle to his abode, called *Valball*, that is, the ball of slaughter, where they were to drink

¹ PONTAN. orig. Francic. l. ii. c. 2.

² Zos. apud Camd.

³ TACIT. de mor. German.

⁴ WORMIUS, monument. Dan. l. i. c. 4.

⁵ SHERINGH. c. 14. p. 318.

⁶ BED. de ratio. temp. c. 13.

⁷ SHERINGH. ibid. p. 331, 332.

⁸ TACIT. annal. l. i.

⁹ SHERINGH. p. 333, 334.

¹⁰ WORM.

mon. Dan. l. i. c. 5.

(W) In the following verses:
Et quibus inimitis placatur sanguine dno

Tentates, horrendisque feris altaribus Hejus,
Et Tharamis Scythiis non mittitur ara Diana (14).

(14) *Lucan, Pharf. l. i.*

a with him, and their other gods, *cerevisia*, a kind of malt liquor, in the skulls of their slaughtered enemies (X). On the contrary, those who died a natural death, were, by the same *Dyæ*, conveyed to *Hela*, the goddess of hell, where they were tormented with hunger, thirst, and all kinds of evils. The *Angles* worshipped, as we read in *Tacitus*, the goddess *Hertbus*, that is, the earth, as the mother of all things^d. As to the worship the *Saxons* paid to their gods, and the sacrifices they offered to them, we refer our readers to *Wormius*, *Verstegan*, *Isaacius Pontanus*, and other *German* and *Danish* writers, it being now time to resume the thread of our history.

THE *Saxons* being arrived in *Britain*, under the conduct of *Hengist* and *Horsa*, as we have related above, and put in possession of the isle of *Thanet*, king *Vortigern* did not suffer them to continue long there without employment, but led them, soon after their arrival, against the *Scots* and *Picts*, who had made an irruption, and were advanced as far as *Stanford* in the province now called *Lincolnshire*. There a battle was fought, in which the *Scots* and *Picts* were utterly routed, and forced to save themselves by a precipitous flight, leaving the *Saxons* in possession of the spoil and booty they had taken^e. *Vortigern*, highly pleased with the conduct of the two *Saxon* brothers, rewarded them with ample possessions in *Lincolnshire*^f. We are told, that *Hengist* desired here only as much land as an ox-hide could encompass, and that, upon *Vortigern*'s granting him it, he cut the hide into small thongs, and inclosed with them a space large enough to hold a castle, which to this day is from thence called *Tbong-caster*, that is, the castle of *tbongs*^g. Be that as it will, *Hengist*, taken with the fruitfulness and wealth of the island, and at the same time observing the inhabitants to be enervated with luxury, and addicted to ease and idleness, began to entertain hopes of procuring a settlement in *Britain*. Having therefore first obtained *Vortigern*'s consent, he sent home to acquaint his countrymen with the fruitfulness of the country, and the effeminacy of the inhabitants, inviting them to share with him in his good success, of which he had not the least occasion to doubt. The *Saxons*, glad of the opportunity, readily complied with the invitation; and arriving in seventeen large ships, made up, with those they found in the island, a considerable army. With this supply came over, if *Nennius* is to be credited, *Rowena*, the daughter of *Hengist*, with whose charms the king was so taken, that, divorcing his lawful wife, he married her, after having obtained the consent of her father, who pretended to be averse to the match, by investing him with the sovereignty of *Kent*^h. Thus *Nennius*, and those who have copied from him. But no mention is made of *Rowena* in the *Saxon* annals, which rather seem to insinuate, that the *Saxons* made themselves masters of *Kent* by force of arms; for we are told there, that *Hengist* defeated the *Britons* in two pitched battles, and obliged them to abandon *Kent*, and retire to *London*. But this did not happen till the arrival of the third body of *Saxon* troops; for *Hengist*, by laying before the king, and exaggerating the dangers that threatened him, not only from the *Scots* and *Picts*, but from his discontented subjects, obtained leave to send for a new reinforcement of *Saxons*, who, coming over in forty ships, under the conduct of *Otha* and *Ebusa*, the son and nephew, or, as others will have it, the brother and nephew of *Hengist*, arrived at the *Orcades*; and having ravaged there, and all along the northern coast, the countries of the *Scots* and *Picts*, they made themselves

They defeat the
Scots and Picts

New supplies of
Saxons arrive
in Britain.

Otha and Ebusa
settle in
Northumberland.

^c SHERINGH. p. 322, 323.
^f MATT. WESTM. ad ann. 450.

^d TACIT. de mor. German.
^g Vide CAMDEN. in Coritan.

^e GILD. p. 120. BED. p. 157.
^h NENN. c. 3.

(X) Of these goddesses mention is made in an ancient *Danish* monument, whereof the following lines were thus translated by *Sheringham*:

*Fert animus finire.
Invitant me Dyæ,
Quas ex Othini aula
Othinus mihi misit.
Latus cerevisiam cum Afis
In summa sede bibam.
Vita elapsa sunt Hora.
Ridens moriar (15).*

Cicero writes, that the *Cimbrians* envied those who fell in battle; but pitied the condition of such as died a natural death (16). Hence they went joyful to battle; but bemoaned their misfortune, when seized with any distemper, looking upon that kind of death as mean and inglorious (17). *Lucan* takes notice of this, as he styles it, philosophy of the northern nations, and calls it a happy error:

*Certe populi, quos despiciat Arctus,
Felicis erroris suo, quos ille timorem
Maximus laudat urget lethi metus; inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animaque capaces
Mortis, & ignavum reditura parcere vita (18).*

(15) Vide *Sheringh. c. 14. p. 336.*
infimis. antiq.

(18) *Lucan. Phars. l. i.*

(16) *Cic. Tuscul. quæst. l. ii.*

(17) *Val. Max. l. ii. de*

masters

The Saxons begin to quarrel with the Britons.

And lay waste the whole island.

The deplorable condition of the Britons.

Vortigern deposed, and his son Vortimer raised to the throne in his room.

He fights with success against the Saxons.

masters of several places beyond the firths, and, in the end, obtained leave of the king to settle in *Northumberland*, under the specious pretence of securing the northern parts, as *Hengist* did the southern. *Hengist*, encroaching still on the king's favour, sent by degrees for more men and ships, till the countries from whence they came were almost left without inhabitants. And now their numbers being greatly increased, they began to quarrel with the natives, demanding larger allowances of corn and other provisions, and threatening, if their demands were not complied with, to break the league, and lay waste the whole country. The *Britons*, refusing them what they demanded, desired them to return home, since their numbers exceeded what they were able to maintain. This answer, however just and reasonable, provoked the *Saxons* to such a degree, that, having secretly concluded a peace with the *Scots* and *Picts*, they turned their arms against those whom they were come to defend, and over-running, without opposition, the whole island, destroyed all with fire and sword from the eastern to the western sea. The public, as well as the private buildings, were laid level with the ground; the cities pillaged and burnt; the priests slain at the altars; the bishops cruelly massacred, without the least respect to their dignity; and the people, without distinction of sex, age or condition, butchered in such multitudes, that the living were scarce sufficient to bury the dead. Some of the unhappy *Britons*, who escaped the general slaughter, took refuge among the inaccessible rocks and mountains; but great numbers of them either perished with hunger, or were forced, by the extremity of famine, to abandon their asylum, and, delivering themselves up to their merciless enemies, preserve their lives at the expence of their liberty. Some, crossing the sea, took shelter among foreign nations, settling either in *Holland*, where the ruins of *Brittenburgh*, an old castle, built, as is supposed, by them on this occasion, are still to be seen, or among their countrymen in *Armorica* (Y). But those who remained at home, suffered inexpressible calamities, living among the woods, rocks and mountains in perpetual apprehensions, and want of necessaries¹. *Nennius* tells us, that *Vortigern* was so far from being reclaimed by these calamities, that, on the contrary, adding to his other crimes that of incest, he married his own daughter, and had by her a son named *Faustus*, who led a solitary and religious life near the river *Reenus* in *Glamorganshire*. The same writer adds, and after him *Matthew of Westminster*, that the *Britons*, highly provoked at the king's wickedness, and the partiality he shewed to the *Saxons*, deposed him, and raised to the throne his son *Vortimer*, who, as he was a brave and valiant youth, undertook the defence of his distressed country; and falling upon the *Saxons* with what troops he could assemble, drove them into the isle of *Tbawet*, and there kept them closely besieged, till being reinforced with fresh supplies from *Saxony*, they opened themselves a way through the *British* forces. But *Vortimer*, not yet disheartened, fought with them four battles: the first on the banks of the *Derwent* in *Kent*, where he obtained a signal victory, and cut in pieces great numbers of the enemy; the second at a place called in the *Saxon* tongue *Episford*, and in the *British*, *Sasbengabail*, now *Aylesford* in *Kent*. In this battle fell *Horsa*, and likewise *Catigern*, the brother of *Vortigern*. Some writers will have the *Britons* to have won the day², and others the *Saxons*³; nay, *Eusebius* seems to ascribe to this victory the founding of the kingdom of *Kent*⁴. *Horsa* is supposed to have been buried at a place, called from him to this day *Horsted*; and *Catigern* near *Aylesford*, where a monument is to be seen somewhat like *Stonehenge*, called by the country people *Kith's Coty-house*, that is, *Catigern's house*⁵. The place where the third battle was fought is not mentioned; but we are told, that *Vortimer* engaged the *Saxons* the fourth time at a place called *Lapistituli*, which *Camden* and *Usher* take to be *Stonar* in the isle of *Tbawet*; but *Sommer*⁶ and *Stillingfleet*⁷, instead of *Lapis tituli*, read *Lapis populi*, that is, *Folkstone*, where, according to them, the battle was fought. In this battle the *Saxons* were routed with great slaughter, and forced back to their ships, on which they embarked, being no longer able to withstand the valour of *Vortimer*, and, abandoning the island, returned home, where they continued till the death of *Vortimer*, that is, for the space of five years, without

¹ GILD. p. 120. BED. p. 157.

² ETHEL. l. i. ad ann. 447.

³ STILLING. orig. BRIT. p. 322.

⁴ HUNTING. l. ii. MATT. WESTM. ad ann. 455.

⁵ Vide CAMD. in Cantio.

⁶ FLOR. OF WOR.

⁷ SOMM. forts and ports, p. 94.

(Y) Most of our historians suppose the *Britons* to have been settled in *Armorica* long before the arrival of the *Saxons*; but this supposition, as we shall

shew anon, is not countenanced by the authority of any ancient writer.

- a making any attempt upon *Britain*. Thus *Nennius*, and the historians who have copied from him. But of these battles no mention is made either by *Gildas* or *Bede*. The former writer only tells us, that the *Saxons* retired, which most of our historians understand of their returning home, though *Gildas* perhaps meant no more, than that, after having laid waste the island, they withdrew to the territories, that had been granted them by *Vortigern*, that is, to *Kent* and *Northumberland*: and truly it seems to us altogether incredible, that, had the *Britons* gained so many signal victories, *Gildas* would have passed them all over in silence. Our historians tell us, that *Vortimer* died about this time, after a short reign of six years; and add, that, upon his death-bed, he desired his servants to bury him near the place where the *Saxons* used to land, being persuaded, that the secret virtue of his bones would deter them from making any attempts there for the future; but they, neglecting his commands, buried him at *Lincoln*^a, or, as others will have it^c, at *London*. Some will have him to have been poisoned by his mother-in-law *Rowena*^b; others write, that he died a natural death^c. Be that as it will, *Hengist* was no sooner informed of his death, than he returned with a numerous body of *Saxons* to *Britain*; and, landing in spite of all opposition, fought several battles with the *Britons*, under the conduct of *Vortigern*, who, upon the death of his son *Vortimer*, was restored to the throne. In one of these battles, fought at a place called *Crecanford*, the *Britons* were overthrown, with the loss of four thousand men; which obliged them to abandon *Kent*, and retire to *London*^d. From this victory, most authors date the beginning of the kingdom of *Kent* under *Hengist*, who took his son *Esk* for his colleague. But *Vortigern* still maintaining the war against the *Saxons*, *Hengist* had recourse to treachery; and pretending a great desire to conclude a peace, and renew the former amity between him and the *British* king, sent ambassadors to require an interview with him. To this proposal *Vortigern*, after advising with his nobles, readily consented, and it was agreed, that they should meet at an entertainment without arms. But the treacherous *Saxon* having secretly ordered those who attended him to take their daggers, and keep them in readiness concealed under their garments, when they met, pursuant to the agreement, and the *Britons*, suspecting no treachery, began to be heated with wine, the *Saxons*, starting up at a signal given, and drawing their daggers, dispatched each of them his next man, to the number of three hundred, the flower of the nobility. *Vortigern* alone was spared; but being taken prisoner, and put in fetters, he was forced, for his ransom, to surrender to the *Saxons* those provinces, that were afterwards called *Essex*, *Suffex*, and *Middlesex*. By this means the *Saxons* got such footing in the island, that they could never afterwards be driven out. Thus *Nennius*^e and *William of Malmesbury*^f. But of these transactions no mention is made either by *Gildas* or *Bede*. *Vortigern*, being set at liberty, retired, as we are told, to a vast wilderness near the fall of the *Wye* in *Radnorshire*, where he was, some time after, consumed by lightning, with the city *Kaer Vortigern*, which he had built there for his refuge^g. Upon the retreat of *Vortigern*, *Aurelius Ambrosius*, or, as *Gildas* calls him, *Ambrosius Aurelianus*, took upon him the command of the *British* forces. He was a wise and modest man, says *Gildas*, and perhaps the only *Roman* that remained in the island, having, in the calamitous times of *Britain*, lost his parents, who had worn the purple. Thus *Gildas*^h, without explaining himself farther. He adds, that the offspring of *Aurelius* continued still in the island in his time; but had greatly degenerated from the good qualities of their ancestorsⁱ. *Bede* writes, that his parents had borne the royal name and ensigns; but had been slain^b. Neither *Gildas* nor *Bede* name his parents; which has given room to many conjectures, some maintaining him to have been the son of *Constantine*, who was chosen emperor by the *Romans* in *Britain* about the year 407^c. Of him, and his son *Constans*, who was declared *Cæsar* in 408. we have spoken at length in our *Roman* history^d. Others think he was descended from some of the *British* kings, who reigned in the island after the departure of the *Romans*; for it is manifest from *Gildas*, that the *Britons* had several kings at the same time. *Matthew of Westminster* tells us, that *Ambrosius* had fled, with his brother *Uterpendragus*, whom others call *Uther*, into *Armorica*, to avoid falling into the hands of *Vortigern*, who, it seems, had usurped his right^e; nay,

^a WESTM. ad ann. 457.^b SIGEBERT. ad ann. 437.^c WESTM. SIGEBERT. ibid. RICH. VII. SEC.^d HUNTING. l. ii.^e NENN. c. 46.^f RICH. c. 47, 48.^g MALMES. de reg. l. i. c. 1.^h Vide CAMD. in Radnor.ⁱ GILD. c. 25.^j Idem ibid.^k RICH. c. 15. p. 157.^l ALF.

ad ann. 464.

^m Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 454, 455, 465, 467.ⁿ WESTMON. ad ann. 464.

He defeats the
Saxons with
great slaughter

The Britons
routed by Hen-
gist and his son
Esk.

Ambrosius ob-
tains a signal
victory over the
Saxons.

some writers tell us, that the fear of *Ambrosius* induced *Vortigern* to call in the Saxons. *a* *Matthew of Westminster* adds, that the Britons, no longer able to bear *Vortigern*, sent for *Ambrosius* and his brother; who, complying with their invitation, landed with a considerable body of men in the island; upon which *Vortigern* retired to the mountains of that part of Britain, which is now called *Wales*; and *Ambrosius* was declared king. But the great disagreement we find among the writers after *Gildas* and *Bede*, convinces us, that we cannot depend upon any thing they have related. All we can gather from the best authors is, that the Britons, under the conduct of *Ambrosius*, took courage, and falling upon the Saxons when most of their forces were returned home, routed them with great slaughter ^f. It was perhaps in this battle that *Horfa* was slain; for of the other battles mentioned above, no notice is taken either by *b* *Gildas* or *Bede*. From this time, the war was carried on, says *Bede* ^e, sometimes favourable to the Britons, and sometimes to the Saxons, till the latter made themselves masters of the whole island. Those who have written several ages after *Bede*, give us a more particular account of the transactions of those dark times; but we will not take upon us to vouch the truth of what they relate. According to them, *Ambrosius*, after the above-mentioned victory, assembled the nobility at *York*; and having ordered the churches to be rebuilt or repaired throughout the kingdom, which had been destroyed by the Saxons, he marched from *York* to *London*, from *London* to *Winchester*, and from thence to *Salisbury* (*Z*), endeavouring every-where to restore the declining state of the church and kingdom ^a. In the mean time *Pascentius*, *Vortigern's* *c* third son, aspiring to the crown, raised a rebellion in the north; but was overcome and put to flight by *Ambrosius*, who nevertheless bestowed upon him *Bualth* in *Brecknockshire*, and *Kaer-Guortigern* in *Radnorshire*. After this, the Britons enjoyed some respite; but were, in the eighth year of *Ambrosius's* reign ⁱ, worsted in a pitched battle by *Hengist* and his son *Esk*, who took a great booty ^k. No mention is made of any other battle fought, till four years after, when other Saxons coming over, under the conduct of *Ella* and his three sons, *Cymen*, *Wlencing*, and *Cissa*, the Britons fell upon them as they were landing at a place called *Cymenshore*, that is, *Cymen's shore*. The Saxons, says *Huntington*, who were tall, strong and vigorous, gave the Britons a warm reception; and having put them to flight as they advanced in strag- *d* gling parties, they pursued them to the forest of *Andredesleige*, supposed to be the weald of *Kent*, and the woody parts of *Sussex* ^l. After this victory, the Saxons possessed themselves of all the sea-coast of *Sussex*, and continued to extend their dominions more and more till the ninth year after the arrival of *Ella*, when all the kings and princes of Britain, says *Huntington*, having united their forces, engaged *Ella* and his sons at a place called *Mercedesburne*. The victory, according to *Henry of Hunting- ton*, remained doubtful, and both armies retired with great loss ^m; but others will have the Saxons to have won the day. *Ella*, being greatly weakened by the loss he had sustained, sent for fresh supplies, says the above-mentioned writer, out of his own country. In the mean time *Hengist*, having raised and garrisoned several forts in *Kent*, marched with great expedition into the north, and, having joined there the *Scots* and *Picts*, took and fortified several towns. But *Ambrosius*, drawing together his forces, marched in quest of the enemy, and, coming up with them, gave them a total overthrow ⁿ. The following year 488. died *Hengist* king of *Kent*, and was succeeded by his son *Esk*, called also *Oisc* and *Ofric*, who reigned twenty-four years, without attempting to enlarge his dominions ^o. Some writers tell us, that *Hengist* was taken prisoner in the above-mentioned battle by *Eldol* duke of *Claudiocestria*, and beheaded by him, pursuant to the sentence which had been pronounced against him in a great council, at the instigation of *Eldadus*, brother to *Eldol*, and bishop of *Claudiocestria*, who declared, that, if the rest spared him, he would, with his own *f*

^f GILD. c. 25. BED. c. 15.

^a BED. de sex atat. in Zenon.

^b WESTMONAST. ad ann. 465.

ⁱ ALFORD. ad hunc ann.

^k ETHELW. l. i.

^l HUNTING. l. ii.

^m Idem ibid.

ⁿ Idem.

ad ann. 487.

^o Idem, l. ii.

ETHELW. ad hunc ann.

MALMESB. de reg. l. i. c. 1.

(7.) *Geoffrey of Monmouth* tells us, that, on this occasion, *Ambrosius* erected the famous monument known by the name of *Stonehenge*, in honour of the British nobles treacherously slain there, as he supposes, by *Hengist*. It is surprising, that any of our historians should have followed him, and yet *Matthew of Westminster* copies the main of his account;

and *Walter of Coventry* sets it down as a thing not to be questioned, adding two circumstances to render it the more probable, viz. that *Ambrosius* was crowned, and, not long after, buried there. *Polydore Virgil* supposes it to be the monument of *Ambrosius*; and *John of Tinnmouth* calls it *Mons Ambrosii*.

a hands, cut him in pieces^p. But this account is generally looked upon as an arrant fable (A).

In the mean time *Ella*, having received fresh supplies from *Germany*, laid siege to *Andred-chester*, supposed by *Camden* to be *Newenden* in *Kent*; by *Somner* to be *Pemsey* under the conduct of Ella, besiege Andred-cchester; or *Hastings*. On the other hand, the *Britons*, having raised a great army, advanced to the relief of the place, and, with frequent attacks, harassed the *Saxons* to such a degree, that they were obliged to abandon the siege. Hereupon the *Britons* withdrew to the woods, not caring to venture a battle; but the *Saxons* were no sooner returned to the siege, than the *Britons*, sallying out upon them anew, forced them to quit it. Thus the *Saxons* lost great numbers of their men, and made but a small progress in the siege. But *Ella* having at last divided his army into two bodies, one of which pursued without intermission the siege, while the other observed the enemy's motions, the citizens, quite spent with hunger and fatigue, could no longer withstand the efforts of the aggressors. The town was therefore taken, and by the merciless conquerors levelled with the ground, after they had put to the sword all the inhabitants, without distinction of sex or age. Such is the account *Henry of Huntington* gives us of this siege^q. Thus in the year 491. three years after the death of *Hengist*, and thirty-four after the beginning of the kingdom of *Kent*, began the second kingdom in the island, called the kingdom of the *South Saxons*, which comprised at first only *Suffex*, but was extended by *Ella* before his death, for he reigned twenty-four years, to all the provinces lying south of the *Humber*^r. News being carried into *Germany* of the good success that attended the *Saxons* in *Britain*, new adventurers flocked over daily to share with them their good fortune. Among the rest came *Cerdick*, the tenth in descent from *Woden*, with his son *Cenrick*, and as many men as he could transport in five ships. These landing at a place, which, from their leader, was called *Cerdick's-shore*, now, according to *Brompton*, *Yarmouth* in *Norfolk*, were vigorously attacked by the *Britons*, whom, after a short engagement, they put to flight. Several other battles were fought; but fortune proving ever favourable to the *Saxons*, the natives were forced to retire, and leave them in possession of the sea-coasts. About six years after, *Porta*, another *Saxon*, with his two sons *Bleda* and *Magla*, arrived at *Portsmouth*, so called, as some imagine, from him; and having defeated with great slaughter the *Britons*, who attempted to oppose his landing, and killed a young *British* prince, who commanded them, he possessed himself of the neighbouring country. But the progress made by *Cerdick* most of all alarmed the *Britons*, and therefore, seven years after the arrival of *Port*, and sixty after the first coming of the *Saxons*, *Nazaleod*, whom *Henry of Huntington* styles the greatest of the *British* kings, assembled the whole strength of *Britain* to put a stop to his conquests. On the other hand, *Cerdick*, aware of the danger that threatened him, had recourse to *Esik* king of *Kent*, to *Ella* king of the *South Saxons*, and to *Porta* and his sons, who all sent him powerful supplies. With these he advanced against the *Britons*, leading the right wing himself, and his son *Cenrick* the left. As the two armies drew near each other, *Nazaleod*, perceiving the enemy's right wing to be by far the stronger of the two, charged it with the flower of his army, and obliged *Cerdick*, after an obstinate resistance, to save himself by flight; but, as he was pursuing the fugitives with more heat than caution, *Cenrick*, falling upon his rear, renewed the battle with such vigour, that the *British* army was utterly defeated, and *Nazaleod* himself slain, with five thousand of his men^s. Who this *Nazaleod* was, is much controverted: some think it may be the *British* name of *Ambrosius*, who, as *Gildas*, informs us, fought, about this time, several battles with the *Saxons*; others will have it to be the name of his brother *Uther Pendragon*. But the story of *Uther Pendragon* is now deemed a fable by all the *British* antiquaries. *Matthew of Westminster* speaks of *Nazaleod*, whom he calls *Nathanlioth*, not as a king, but only the general of *Uther Pendragon*, by whom he was sent against the *Saxons*, who slew him, and fifteen

^p FLORIL. ad ann. 489. Sax. ad ann. 490.

^q HUNTING. l. ii.

^r BED. l. ii. c. 5.

^s HUNTING. l. ii. Chron.

^t HUNTING. ibid.

^u Idem ibid.

(A) *Hengist*, as we have observed above, withdrew from *Britain*, after his first landing there, to recruit his army, which was greatly diminished. *Cornelius Kempius*, in his history of *Frisia*, tells us,

upon what grounds we know not, that *Hengist* retired to *Holland*, and there built, on the banks of the *Rhine*, the city of *Leyden* (18).

Arthur suc-
ceeds. Natha-
leod.

thousand of his men. But the *Saxon* annals, *Esbeberd*; *Florence of Worcester*, and *Henry of Huntington*, agree in distinguishing him with the title of king; nay, the latter writer styles him the greatest of the *British* kings. *Usher* conjectures *Uiber* and *Nazaleod* to be one and the same person, the surname of *Uiber*, signifying in the *British* tongue *terrible*, having been given him on account of the great things achieved by him *. But as this is the darkest period of the whole *British* history, our best antiquaries can allege nothing but mere conjectures to clear it. It is even uncertain who succeeded *Nazaleod*. The *Welsh* annals leave an inter-regnum of about six years, and place the beginning of *Arthur's* reign in 514. or 515. The learned *Usher* conjectures him to have been the son of *Nazaleod*, called also *Uiber*. Some have doubted whether there ever was such a person (B); but the generality of our historians

not

* Vide *Uss. in primord. p. 466, 467.*

(B) The history of king *Arthur* has been so figured, and interwoven with so many absurd, ridiculous and romantic stories, that some have doubted, whether there ever was such a person as *Arthur* in the world. Among these, *Milton* alleges the following objections against *Arthur*: 1. That he is not so much as mentioned by *Gildas*, or any antient *British* historian, except *Nennius*, who lived three hundred years after him, and is allowed by all to have been a very credulous and trifling writer, and to have vented a great many fables. 2. Though *William of Malmesbury* and *Henry of Huntington* have both related his exploits, and his many victories over the *Saxons*, yet the latter took all he wrote concerning him from *Nennius*; and the former either from the same fabulous author, or from some monkish legends in the abbey of *Glassebury*; for both these writers flourished several centuries after *Arthur*, and consequently knew no more of him, than we do at this day. 3. In the pretended history of *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, such contradictions occur concerning this prince's victories, not only in *Britain*, but in *France*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, *Norway*, *Italy*, and other countries, as are sufficient to make us look upon him as a hero altogether fabulous and romantic. But these objections, however plausible in appearance, are not of weight enough to convince us, that whatever has been written of king *Arthur* is quite fabulous; for, in the first place, his not being mentioned by *Gildas* does not at all seem strange to us, since that author's design was not to write an exact history of his country, but only to give us a short account of the causes of its ruin by the *Scots*, *Picts*, and *Saxons*, of which the chief was, according to him, the great wickedness of the *Britons*, and the general corruption of manners, that prevailed among them. On this he chiefly dwells, and from this subject no exploits of the princes, who then reigned, were capable of diverting him. Besides, he only mentions those princes, whose notorious wickedness seemed to draw down upon the unhappy *Britons* divine vengeance, expatiating upon the vices to which they were addicted, without taking the least notice of their good qualities, or of the exploits, that were performed by them, or by others, tho' it is evident even from him, that the *Saxons* met with a vigorous opposition, and were often defeated by the *British* kings or commanders. As for *Nennius*, who lived about three hundred years after *Arthur's* time, allowing what is objected against him to be true, yet we cannot persuade ourselves, that the whole story of *Arthur*, and the battles he fought, were a mere invention of his. We are rather inclined to believe, that he copied, at least part of what he wrote, from other more antient authors, or perhaps from the general tradition of his countrymen at that time. It is true, the *Saxon* annals make no mention of this king, perhaps because they could not do it, without transmitting to posterity

the many overthrows he gave the *Saxon* nation. But *Rudolphus de Diceto*, one of our best and most antient *English* historians, speaking of king *Cerdick*, mentions his fighting several battles with king *Arthur*. As for *William of Malmesbury*, and *Henry of Huntington*, though neither of them perhaps knew any thing of *Arthur*, but what they learnt from *Nennius*, or the antient registers of *Glassebury*, yet, in our opinion, they deserve some credit, since we cannot persuade ourselves, that those registers consisted merely of fables. *William of Malmesbury* himself owns, that the *Britons* had vented a great many fables concerning this prince; but adds, that he was a hero more worthy to be celebrated in true history, than in romance. The many stories, feigned and related of his exploits by the *Britons* or *Welsh*, encouraged *Geoffrey of Monmouth* to write many incredible fables of his conquests; but it does not thence follow, that whatever has been related of him must be fabulous, for a genuine history may be corrupted, and yet the substance of it remain true. If we therefore distinguish truth from falsehood, and reject what favours too much of romance, we shall meet with nothing in the life of this hero unbecoming the character of a great prince. He was buried at *Glassebury* in *Somersetshire*, and his coffin was dug up in the reign of *Henry II.* with this inscription on it in Gothic characters, *Hic jacet sepulchrum inclitum rex Arturians in insula Avalonia*. We are told, that the following account of this discovery was hung up in the monastery of *Glassebury*, and was to be seen there till the dissolution of the said monastery: *On this island, which is called the island of Avalonia, near in this burying-place of saints at Glassebury, rest the renowned king Arthur, the flower of the British kings, and Guenhumara his queen, who, departing this life, were honourably interred near the old church, between two stone pyramids, where they lay many years, till the time of Henry de Soili, who was abbot of the place after the burning of the said church. This abbot, being importuned by many persons, ordered some to dig between the pyramids for the bodies of the above-mentioned king and queen. Having dug very deep, they at length discovered a great wooden coffin close shut, which they opened, and found in it the king's body, with a leaden cross, on which was the following inscription, Here lies buried the renowned king Arthur in the island Avalonia. Then they opened the queen's grave, and found her lying with her hair dishevelled, as if she had been but just buried; which however fell to ashes as soon as touched. The abbot and convent, with great joy, took thence their remains, and placed them in the greater church in a tomb, which was cut in a rock, and divided into two parts, the king's body being by itself at the head of the tomb, and the queen's in the eastern part of it. On the tomb were engraven several epigrams (19). The abbot, by whom these bodies were discovered, was not, as *Leland* supposes, *Henricus Blasenfu*, nephew to *Henry I.* but*

(19) Vide *Uss. in primord. p. 116, &c.* & *Gerald. Camb. in spec. eccles. l. ii. c. 11.*

- a not only agree, that there was such a prince, but that he made a powerful resistance against the Saxons. Some will have him to have been king of all Britain; while others confine his kingdom to Cornwall. Nennius, who lived about three hundred years after him, tells us, that he overthrew the Saxons in no fewer than twelve battles. The first of these was fought near the mouth of a certain river, called Glein, or Gleni, placed by some in Devonshire; by others in Lincolnshire: the second, third, fourth and fifth, near the river Duglas, in the country of Linvis, or Linnis. This river some suppose to be the Dug or Duc in Lincolnshire; others the Dugles near Wigan in Lancashire. The sixth battle was fought on the banks of a river called Bassas, supposed by some to run by the town of Boston in Lincolnshire; the seventh in the wood of
- b Cbelidon, called in the British language Cattoit Celidon. Matthew of Westminster gives us a very particular account of this battle; but, in our opinion, so fabulous, that it does not deserve a place in history. The eighth battle was near the castle of Suinnion; the ninth near the city of Lergis or Leogis, called in the British tongue Kaerleon; the tenth in the neighbourhood of the river Ribrot or Arderic; the eleventh on the hill Brenion, supposed to be somewhere in Somersetshire; and the twelfth on the hill of Badon. Gale thinks these battles were fought in the space of forty years, under Vortigern, Ambrosius, and others, though they have been all ascribed to Arthur. Cerdick, having sustained great losses in the many battles that were fought with the Britons, sent over to Germany for new supplies; which arriving in three ships, under
- c the conduct of Sinf and Wugar, his two nephews, landed at Cerdickshore, where they were attacked by the Britons, whom they put to flight. Henry of Huntington, who describes this battle at length, tells us, that the British forces were drawn up on the side of a hill, and likewise in a valley, which at first frightened the new-comers; but recovering themselves from their consternation, they fell with great resolution upon the Britons, and put them to flight. In this year 514. died Esk the son of Hengist, and second king of Kent, and was succeeded by his son Otta, who reigned twenty-two years; but performed nothing worthy of notice. The same year died, as we are told by Henry of Huntington, Ella, the first king of the South Saxons, having reigned twenty-four years. Cissa, his youngest son, succeeded him, the other two, who
- d came over with him, being, in all likelihood, dead before him. Cissa is supposed to have built Chichester, called in the Saxon language the city of Cissa. About this time Cerdick, after he had been twenty-four years in the island, and made himself master of a very large territory, took upon him the title of king, and founded the third kingdom in the nation, called the kingdom of the West Saxons, comprehending the counties of Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Wiltshire, Hampshire, and Berkshire, to which was afterwards added Cornwall. In subduing these countries, Cerdick, though reinforced with continual supplies from Germany, spent twenty-four years; which shews, that the Britons did not tamely part with their territories, but, being overpowered with numbers, were forced, after a long and vigorous resistance, to
- e quit them. The same year that Cerdick assumed the regal title, he fought a battle with the Britons at a place called Cerdick's-ford, supposed to be Charsford in Hampshire.

He is said to have overthrown the Saxons in twelve battles.

New supplies of Saxons arrived under Sinf and Wugar.

The third Saxon kingdom. The West Saxons.

† WESTM. ad ann. 514.

* HUNTING. ibid.

‡ RAN. HIGD. in polychron.

Henricus Soliacensis, or Henry de Soily, or Sully, who was made abbot after the burning of the church of Glasfenbury in 1184. was afterwards raised to the bishoprick of Worcester, and died in 1195. The epitaphs, which he caused to be engraved on the monuments of king Arthur and his queen, were as follows:

Hic jacet Arthurus, flos regum, gloria regni,
Quem mores, probitas, commendans laude perenni.

Arthurus jacet hic conjux tumulata secunda,
Quæ meruit caelos virtutum prole secunda.

We are told, that, in the king's body, were plainly seen the marks of ten wounds, whereof one only seemed mortal. What Giraldus Cambrensis writes of his stature, and the dimensions of his body, is unquestionably fabulous. The leaden cross was pre-

served in the treasury of the church of Glasfenbury till the dissolution of that monastery, and there seen and carefully viewed by Leland (20). His tomb was discovered in the reign of Henry II. about the year 1189. that is, six hundred years after his death. So great was the love and esteem of the Britons for this hero, that, for several ages, he was thought by many to be still alive: nay, this notion, as our historians assure us, was not intirely routed out, till his tomb was discovered. It was this perhaps that gave occasion to the many fables, that have been invented concerning Arthur's travels, and his numberless victories in foreign countries. To conclude, had this renowned hero of the British nation been less celebrated by romantic writers, no one perhaps would have questioned the truth of what has been related concerning his noble deeds by more grave historians.

(20) Leland. apud. Uff. p. 120. in assert. Arturii.

Cerdick de-
feats the Bri-
tons.

And reduces
the isle of
Wight.

The Saxons re-
ceive a total
overthrow on
Badon-hill.

The Britons en-
joy a long peace.

The fourth Sa-
xon kingdom.
The East
Saxons.

Arthur dies.

The fifth Saxon
kingdom
Northumber-
land.
Year after
Christ 547.

The account *Henry of Huntington* gives us of this battle is very advantageous to the *a* Saxons; but upon what grounds he gives it, we know not, since the *Saxon annals* only tell us, that from this time forward, the royal offspring, meaning the offspring of *Cerdick*, reigned over the *West Saxons*; which seems indeed to imply, that *Cerdick* won the day, and, by this victory, secured the crown to his posterity. No mention is made of *Cerdick* till seven years after this battle, when we find him again engaged with the *Britons* at a place called *Cerdick's-lea*, or *Cerdick's-league*, supposed to be *Cberdley* in *Buckinghamshire*^b; but whether the *Saxons* conquered, or the *Britons*, we are no-where told. All we know from the annals is, that, after this battle, *Cerdick* reduced the isle of *Wight*; a convincing proof, that the battle had proved favourable to him. He is said to have granted the isle of *Wight* to *Stuf* and *Witgar*, his two nephews, *b* who put to the sword an incredible number of the inhabitants at a place, called from the latter *Witgaraburg*, and now, by contraction, *Caresbroke*. Of these battles *Henry of Huntington* gives us very particular accounts; but as we are convinced he did not copy them from any authentic or credible authors, we forbear descending with him to particulars. But that we may not rely altogether on the *Saxon annals*, nor those authors, who have written long after the things they relate had happened, *Gildas*, a writer of unquestionable authority, who lived in those times, tells us, that a great battle was fought on *Badon-hill*, supposed to be *Banfdown* near *Bath*, in which the *Saxons* were utterly routed by the *Britons*^c. This battle is said by *Nennius*, and after him by most of our historians, to be the last of the twelve fought by king *Arthur*. There are not however wanting some, who maintain, that this battle was fought in the reign of *Ambrosius*; but, at the same time, they ascribe the victory to the valour and conduct of *Arthur*, who commanded the *Britons* as general to *Ambrosius*. In this battle the *Saxons* received such an overthrow, that, for many years, they forbore molesting the *Britons*. It was fought, according to the best *British* manuscripts, in the year 520. though some place it in 493. and others even before the year 491. Be that as it will, the *Britons*, it seems, still enjoyed the peace and tranquillity, which so signal a victory produced, when *Gildas* wrote his account of the destruction of *Britain*, that is, forty-four years after the battle was fought. This seems the most natural sense of the obscure words of *Gildas*^d, though *Bede* understood him as if he had meant, that the battle was fought forty-four years after the first coming of the *Saxons*^e; whence, in his chronicle, he places it in the reign of the emperor *Zeno*, who died in 491^f. But, notwithstanding the peace which the *Britons* enjoyed, the *Saxons*, who were continually flocking over, and making new encroachments, founded, according to the *Saxon annals*, in the year 527. a fourth kingdom, called the kingdom of the *East Saxons*, comprising *Essex*, *Middlesex*, and part of *Hertfordshire*. This kingdom was begun by *Erchenwin*, descended from one *Saxnat*. To *Erchenwin* succeeded, according to *Henry of Huntington*, his son *Sleda*, whom *William of Malmesbury* makes the first of the *East Saxon* kings, and the tenth from *Woden*. About fifteen years after the founding of the *East Saxon* kingdom, that is, near the year 542. the great king *Arthur* is supposed to have died, and to have been succeeded by his kinsman *Constantine*; but the most antient *British* chronicles leave an interregnum of near eleven years, without so much as mentioning *Constantine*. In the year 547. *Ida*, the tenth by descent from *Woden*, founded the fifth kingdom in this island, called the kingdom of *Northumberland*, as it comprised that part of the *British* provinces, that lies north of the *Humber*. *Otha* and *Ebusa* had, at the request of *Hengist*, as we have related above, been allowed by *Vortigern* to settle in those parts, under pretence of making war on the *Scots* and *Picts*, and securing the northern provinces against their incursions. This they effected; but having at the same time driven out the antient inhabitants, they seized on those countries for themselves, and held them as inferior governors and vassals to the kings of *Kent*. This moderation, says our historian *e*, descended to their posterity; so that, for the space of an hundred years, the princes of *Northumberland* continued subject to the kings of *Kent*. But this year 547. the principality was changed into a kingdom, *Ida*, a person no less famous *f* for his virtues than for his birth, assuming the title of king of *Northumberland*. This proved a powerful kingdom; for it comprehended all *Yorkshire*, *Lancashire*, *Durham*, *Cumberland*, *Westmorland*, and *Northumberland*, with part of *Scotland*, as far as *Edinburgh* frith. *Ida* was not, according to *Matthew of Westminster*, son to any of those

^b Sax. annal. ad ann. 527.

^c Gild. c. 16. p. 120.

^d Vide Uss. p. 477.

^e Bed. hist.

c. 16. p. 258.

^f Idem chron. p. 114.

^g Malmes. l. i. c. 3.

princes;

a princes, who governed *Northumberland* before it became a kingdom, but an adventurer came lately out of *Germany*, and raised to the throne, in regard of his extraordinary merit. He reigned about twelve years with great applause, and built a town, which he called, as *Bede* seems to insinuate^a, *Bebanburgh*, now *Bamborough* in *Northumberland*, from his wife *Bebba*. Upon his death, the kingdom of the *Northumbrians* was divided into two, whereof the one, lying south of the *Tine*, was called *Deira*, and the other, extending from that river to *Edinburgh* frith, *Bernicia*.

In the year 561. *Ethelbert* began to reign in *Kent*. As he was young and ambitious when he ascended the throne, he was the first who raised civil wars and disturbances amongst the *Saxons* themselves, claiming, as king of the most ancient *Saxon* kingdom, a kind of right over the rest. This claim he attempted to support by dint of arms; but being twice defeated, he, who at first was formidable, became in a short time, in a manner, contemptible; for *Keaulin*, king of the *West Saxons*, and his son *Cutba*, having pursued him into his own dominions, slew at *Wibbandun*, *Oslac* and *Cnebba*, two of his chief commanders. By means of these civil contests among the *Saxons*, but chiefly by the late victory gained on *Badon-hill*, the *Britons* lived, at least for the space of forty-four years, unmolested by their common enemy. But the peace they enjoyed proved more destructive to them than any war; for though those who had felt the calamities that had befallen their nation, acknowledged themselves, by their christian and regular lives, indebted to Heaven for their deliverance, yet the next generation, unacquainted with past evils, and only sensible of their present ease, abandoned themselves to all manner of vice and debauchery to such a degree, that the principles of truth and justice being totally subverted, scarce any footsteps of them remained either in the clergy or laity, in the people or their princes; so that they became odious, as *Gildas* informs us, to all the neighbouring nations. But how far injustice, irreligion, and immorality, prevailed amongst all ranks of men, will better appear from that writer's own words. And to begin with the kings, who then reigned in *Britain*, he thus reproves them in the epistle, which he wrote while living in *Armorica* out of their reach. *Britain*, says he, has kings, but tyrants; judges, but such as prey upon the innocent; the kings have wives, but abandon themselves to harlots; they swear oft, but perjure themselves; they wage war, but an unjust and civil war; they punish thieves, yet have the greatest near them, even at their own tables; they sit in the seat of judgment, but seldom observe the rules of right judgment; they proudly overlook the modest and harmless, but countenance the audacious, though guilty of most abominable crimes; they fill their prisons, but with men whom they have committed rather out of malice, than for any crime. He then proceeds to each king in particular, beginning with *Constantine* then reigning in *Cornwall* and *Devonshire*, whom he calls the tyrannical whelp of an impure *Damonian* lioness, and charges with the murder of two innocent youths of the blood royal, whom he assassinated in their mother's arms at the very altar, and under the cope of the holy abbot. He likewise inveighs against this prince, as one that was polluted with many adulteries, and had put away his lawful wife. In the next place, he reproaches *Aurelius Conanus* with adulteries, with parricide, and greater cruelties than the former was guilty of. He adds, that this prince, hating the peace of his country, had, for the sake of booty and prey, fomented civil wars. Where *Aurelius Conanus* reigned, is not expressed; but his condition was not, it seems, very prosperous: for *Gildas* wishes, that, being now left alone, like a tree withering in the midst of a barren forest, he may call to mind the pride and arrogance of his father and elder brothers, who came all to untimely deaths. In the third place, he applies himself to *Vortipore*, whom he calls the wicked son of a good father, and the tyrant of *Demetia* or *South Wales*. He upbraids him, though stricken in years, with adulteries, with falsehood, and cruelty in governing. In his latter days he put away his wife, and, if we mistake not the meaning of *Gildas*, was guilty of incest with his daughter. In the next place, our author comes to *Cuneglasus*, supposed by some antiquaries to have reigned in *North Wales*: him he reproves for raising civil wars, for divorcing his wife, and marrying her cousin, who had vowed perpetual chastity; he was a great enemy to the clergy, high-minded, and trusting to his riches. *Gildas* concludes with a sharp reproof of *Maelgocunus*, the greatest, and likewise the most wicked, of all the *British* princes. He had driven out or slain many other kings or tyrants, and is called by our author

Civil wars among the Saxons.

A general corruption of manners prevails among the Britons.

The wickedness of their kings.

^a Bed. l. iii. c. 6.

And of the
clergy.

the island dragon. He was tall in stature, a great warrior, and profuse in his gifts. While he was yet young, he overthrew his uncle in battle, and drove him from the throne; then, touched with remorse, he betook himself to a monastic life, which he soon forsook, as he did afterwards his wife, taking the wife of his brother's son in her room, who, to prevent her marriage being deemed null or unlawful, found means to dispatch her own husband, and *Maglocunus's* former wife. This is the substance of *Gildas's* reproof to the *British* kings, from which, all we can gather is, that there were, at this time, at least five kings in *Britain*, and all guilty of most enormous crimes; but by what means they came to the crown, what great actions they performed during their reigns, who succeeded each of them in their respective territories, &c. we are not told by any authentic writer. From the kings our author passes to the clergy, whom he sharply reproves as pastors in name, but in reality wolves, intent, on all occasions, not to feed the flock, but to pamper themselves; not called to the ministry, but seizing it as a trade; teaching the people, not by sound doctrine, but by evil example; haters of truth, broachers of lies; looking on the poor with an eye of contempt, but fawning on the rich, however wicked; great promoters of other peoples alms, but themselves ever contributing least; seldom officiating at the altar, and scarce ever with pure hearts; slightly touching the reigning vices of the age, but highly aggravating their own injuries, as done to Christ himself; seeking preferments in the church, more than Heaven; ignorant of the doctrines contained in the holy scriptures, but cunning and practised in worldly matters; bearing their heads high, but having their thoughts and affections abject and low. He likewise taxes them as gluttons, drunkards, and, above all, as guilty of the enormous sin of simony; and then addresses the laity thus: What can you expect, unhappy people, from these beasts all belly? Shall they reclaim you, who weary themselves in committing iniquity? Shall you see with their eyes, which are open only to gain? Leave them rather, lest you fall both blindfold into perdition. But are all thus? Perhaps not all, or not so grossly; but what did it avail *Eli* to be himself blameless, while he connived at the wickedness of his sons? &c. Our author, at the end of his history, gives a further account of the sad state of affairs, and general corruption of manners, in those times; and complains, that the cities and towns were not inhabited as formerly, but lay in a state of ruin and desolation; for foreign wars being ceased, civil wars broke out, which brought all things to a most deplorable condition. Such was the state of the government and religion among the *Britons* during the peace, which was produced by the victory on *Badon-hill*, and lasted till the time *Gildas* wrote, that is, for the space of about forty-four years.

The sixth
Saxon king-
dom. The
East Angles

Nor long after, that is, about the year 575. began, as is supposed, for the year is not set down in the *Saxon* annals, or any other history, the kingdom of the *East Angles*, comprising the countries we now call *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and the isle of *Ely*. It was founded by *Uffa*, the eighth from *Woden*, though there were, it seems, before him, several petty princes, who had settled in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*; but *Uffa*, more powerful than they, drove them all out, and reigned alone with such reputation, that, from him, the succeeding kings were called *Uffinga's*. *William* of *Malmesbury*, disagreeing with all other writers, supposes this kingdom to have begun before that of the *West Saxons*. And now the *Saxons*, who had been, ever since the battle on *Badon-hill*, either inactive, or engaged in civil wars and quarrels among themselves, began afresh to harass the *Britons*, and, in a few years, drove them out of all the countries they held in that part of the island, which is now known by the name of *England*; for *Cuthwulf*, the brother of *Ceaulin*, king of the *West Saxons*, having defeated the *Britons* at *Bedanford*, now *Bedford*, the head of the adjacent province, says *Henry* of *Huntington*, he took from them four towns, viz. *Liganburgh*, now *Loughborough* in *Leicestershire*, or, as others will have it, *Leighton* in *Bedfordshire*; *Eglesburg*, now *Alesbury* in *Buckinghamshire*, with *Bennington* and *Ignesham*, now *Benjon* and *Evesham* in *Oxfordshire*. *Cuthwulf* died the same year he obtained this victory. For the space of six years after, we hear of no action, as if *Ceaulin* had had no commander to place in his brother's room. But, after that time, he renewed the war, and having, with his son *Cuthwin*, engaged the *Britons* at a place in *Gloucestershire*, called *Deorbam*, he slew three of their kings, *Comail*, *Condidan*, and *Farinmailc*, and took three of their chief cities, viz. *Glewancester*, or *Gloucester*,

The Britons
overcome in se-
veral battles.

¹ HUNTING. l. ii. MALMESH. l. i.

- ^a *Cornsester*, and *Bathancester*, now *Bath*. Who these kings were, we are no-where told; but some conjecture the first to be *Cuniglasus*, and the second *Aurelius Conanus*, both mentioned by *Gildas*. We read of no other battle between the *Saxons* and *Britons*, though, in all likelihood, several skirmishes happened, till seven years after the battle of *Deorham*, when *Coakin*, and his son *Cutba*, fought against the *Britons* at a place called *Fretbanleag*. In this battle *Cutba* was slain, and the *Saxons* obliged, according to *Henry of Huntington*, to retire; but fresh succours seasonably arriving, they returned to the charge, routed the *Britons*, and took several towns^k. About this time, that is, about the year 585. according to *Henry of Huntington*, and *Mai-ibrew of Westminster*, was founded, by *Crida*, the seventh kingdom in this island, ^{The seventh Saxon king- dom. Mercia. Year after Christ 585.} called the kingdom of *Mercia*. Whence it took that name, is uncertain, some deriv- ing it from the river *Merse*, which, running between *Chefbire* and *Lancashire*, was the north-west boundary of the *Mercian* kingdom^l. Others will have it to have been so called from the *Saxon* word *meark*, signifying a limit; because most of the other kingdoms bordered upon it^m. Be that as it will, this kingdom, though the last erected, was one of the largest of the *English* *Saxon* kingdoms, and one of the last, that was conquered by the *West Saxons*. It comprehended seventeen counties, viz. *Gloucestershire*, *Herefordshire*, *Worcestershire*, *Warwickshire*, *Leicestershire*, *Rutlandshire*, *Northamptonshire*, *Lincolnshire*, *Huntingtonshire*, *Bedfordshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, *Oxfordshire*, *Staffordshire*, *Shropshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, *Derbyshire*, *Chefbire*, and part of *Hertfordshire*. The *Britons* were now confined within very narrow bounds. How- ever, before they abandoned all on this side the mountains, they once more engaged the *Saxons* at a place called *Woden's Beant* near the ditch in *Wiltshire*, which, by the neighbouring people, is called *Wansdike*, and in the *Saxon* tongue *Woden's dæc*, or the dyke of *Woden*, and, running through the middle of the country, divides it from east to west. This battle proved very bloody; but who were the generals on either side, we are no-where told. *Henry of Huntington* only writes, that the *Britons* having drawn up their army after the *Roman* manner, the *Saxons* charged them with their usual boldness. Hereupon a sharp engagement ensued, adds that writer, in which God gave the victory to the *Britons*; for the *Saxons* were routed, and almost their ^{The Britons gain a com- plete victory over the Saxons.} whole army cut offⁿ. In this battle the *Britons* were assisted, according to *William of Malmesbury*, by the *Angles*, jealous of the overgrown power of *Ceakin*, king of the *West Saxons*, whose military genius, and great exploits, had struck terror into the *Angles*, as well as the *Britons*. But, after the loss of this battle, he was driven out of his dominions, and forced to take refuge in some other kingdom; but whether in this island, or elsewhere, is not recorded in history. From this victory the *Britons* reaped but little advantage; for being daily more confined, and harassed on one side by the *Scots* and *Picts*, and on the other by the *Saxons*, they were, in the end, obliged ^{But are, in the end, obliged to retire into Wales, and other parts.} to abandon their ancient seats, and take shelter among the craggy and mountainous places in the west of the island, whither their cruel enemies could not easily pursue them. There they long continued a warlike nation, defending their liberty, and, though separated from the *Saxons* by a deep ditch, the work of *Uffa* king of the *Mercians*, making frequent incursions into the *Saxon*, or, as we may now style them, the *English* territories, where they put all to fire and sword. They had been attended with far better success, had they not been continually quarrelling among themselves; which was chiefly owing to the ambitious and restless humours of the petty princes, or rather tyrants, by whom they were governed. Some of the unhappy *Britons* took refuge, as we have said just now, in that part of the island, which the *Latins* called *Cambria*, and the *English*, after the *German* custom, *Wales*; for the *Germans*, as the learned antiquary *Humphrey Libuyd* well observes, calling the strangers that lived ^{Wales divided into six petty kingdoms.} near them on one side *Gauls* or *Walls*, gave afterwards the same appellation to all strangers; and hence, according to that writer, the *Wallons* in the *Low Countries*; and the *Wallachians* on the *Danube*, received their denominations. The *Britons*, upon their retiring into *Cambria* or *Wales*, divided that country, as we read in the same author, into six regions, *Guynedd*, *Powys*, *Debenharth*, *Reynur*, *Esfylac* or *Syllac*, and *Morganwg* or *Morgan*. Each of these regions or districts was governed by its own king till the year 843. when *Roderic the Great* became sole monarch of *Cambria* or *Wales*, which, at his death, he divided among his three sons, as we shall relate at length in a more proper place. Some of the *Britons* were driven into *Cornwall*;

^k HUNTING. *ibid.*

^l LLOYD. fol. 13.

^m CAMD. in *Cornwallis*.

ⁿ HUNTING. *ubi supra*.

others, according to the learned antiquary, whom we have quoted above, settled in a the most southern parts of *Scotland*, and in the neighbourhood of *Carlisle*, and continued there till the year 871. when they were driven out by the *Scots* and *English*, and forced to take shelter among their countrymen in that part of *Cambria* or *Wales*, which by the *Latin* writers is styled *Venedotia*, and by us *North Wales*. The *Britons* at first possessed all the countries beyond the *Dee* and the *Severn*, which two rivers, in antient times, divided *Cambria* or *Wales* from *England*, the towns, which stand on the eastern banks of these two rivers, having been most of them built to restrain the *Cambrians* or *Welsh* from breaking into *England*. But the *English*, having passed the *Severn*, by degrees seized on the country lying between that river and the *Wye*; so that all *Hertfordshire*, and that tract, which was antiently called the *Danish-wood*, b with *Gloucestershire*, and such parts of *Worcestershire* and *Shropshire*, as lie beyond the *Severn*, are still inhabited by the *English*; nay, in former times, some parts of *Flintshire* and *Denbighshire* were subject to the kings of *Mercia*; for *Uffa*, the most powerful king of that country, caused a deep ditch, with a high wall, to be carried on as a barrier between his dominions and the territories of the *Cambrians*, from the mouth of the *Dee*, a little above *Flint castle*, over steep mountains, cross deep valleys, fens and rivers, to the mouth of the *Wye*. This ditch, called by the *Welsh* to this day *Claude Uffa*, or the ditch of *Uffa*, is still to be seen in several parts; and all the towns, situated on the east side of it, have names ending in *ton* or *bam*, an evident proof, that they were inhabited by *Saxons*; nay, the inhabitants of them are by the c *Welsh* still called *Guyr y Mers*, that is, the men of *Mercia*. Thus far of the places, into which the distressed *Britons* were driven within the island. But *Gildas* tells us, that some of them, committing themselves to the mercy of the waves, sought for shelter beyond the sea; and it is the general opinion, that they fled to their countrymen in *Armorica*. That some *Britons* had settled in *Armorica*, now *Bretagne*, before this time, is past dispute, though there is a great disagreement among authors as to the precise time of their first settling there. The first mention we find of the *Britons* in *Armorica* is in the year 461. when *Manfuetus*, bishop of the *Britons*, subscribed, among the other prelates of *Gaul* and *Armorica*, to the articles established in the first council of *Tours*. It is manifest from *Sidonius Apollinaris*, that, in 469. they were d already settled on the banks of the *Loire*. About the year 470. the *Britons* in *Armorica* had a king of their own; named *Riobam*, who, at the request of the emperor *Antemius*, marched at the head of twelve thousand men against *Earic*, king of the *Visigoths*, but was defeated by that prince in the province of *Berri*. *Sidonius Apollinaris* highly commends the moderation of *Riobam*; but speaks of his men in such terms, as shew, that they were not at all mended by the calamities they had suffered at home. *Sidonius*, after he was made bishop, had often occasion to complain of them to their prince. An anonymous writer, who was a native of *Armorica*, and wrote the life of *St. Wingalof*, not long after the *Saxons* had made themselves masters of *Britain*, tells us, that the *Britons*, embarking on floats, arrived in *Armorica*, being e driven out of their native soil by the *Saxons*, a fierce and barbarous nation. He adds, that the *Britons*, being worn out with misfortunes and fatigues, continued quiet for a while, without engaging in any wars. The *Britons* are said to have passed over to, and settled in, *Armorica* at three different times, viz. in the reign of *Constantius Chlorus*, the father of *Constantine the Great*, during the usurpation of *Maximus*, and when the *Saxons* made themselves masters of the island. No antient historian makes any mention of their settling in that country, either in the reign of *Constantius* or of *Maximus*; which gives us room to question the truth of what the moderns have written on that head. All we know for certain is, that the *Britons* were settled in that part of *Gaul*, which, from them, was called *Britany*, before the *Saxons* and *Angles* made f themselves masters of the whole country now called *England*. *William of Malmesbury* writes, that the *Britons*, who went over with the tyrant *Maximus*, were, for their faithful services, rewarded with lands in *Gaul* on the shore of the ocean; but others maintain, that, before the *Saxon* invasion, no *Britons* had settled in *Gaul*; which opinion seems to us by far the most probable, since, by the antient and most credible historians, frequent mention is made of the *Britons* in *Gaul* after, and none before, the coming of the *Saxons*. The *Britons*, who settled in *Armorica*, having, by

Uffa's ditch.

Some of the distressed Britons take shelter in Armorica.

About what time they first settled in that country.

^a Concil. tom. iv.

^b SIDON. l. i. ep. 7. p. 16.

^c JORNAND. rer. Goth. c. 45. p. 678. GREG.

TOR. hist. Fraa. l. ii. c. 8. p. 182.

^d SIDON. l. iii. ep. 9. p. 73. 74.

^e Vide CAMD. & Uss.

in primord. p. 421.

a degrees, got the better of the natives, treated them much in the same manner, as ^{They make themselves masters of it.} their countrymen, whom they had left behind in the island, were treated by the Saxons; for, not to allege other testimonies, *Regalis*, bishop of *Vannes*, speaking of the unhappy condition of the *Armoricans*; *We live*, says he, *in captivity under the Britons, and bear a most grievous and heavy yoke.* The *Armoricans*, thus overpowered by the *Britons*, were blended with them under the common appellation of *Britons*, their country being called *Britannia Armorica*, and *Britannia Cismarina*, in the same manner as the *Gauls*, in other parts of *Gaul*, were blended under the common name of *Franks*, and their country called *Francia*. The *Armorican Britons* defended themselves with great bravery against the *Franks*, first under petty kings, and afterwards

b under counts and dukes, as we shall relate in a more proper place. But to return to our distressed *Britons* at home: Those who had taken refuge among the mountains beyond the *Severn*, attempted, from time to time, to recover the countries they had lost; but their efforts proved ineffectual, as did the endeavours of the *Anglo-Saxons* to extend their conquests beyond the mountains. Such of the *Britons* as submitted to, and lived among the *Saxons*, were treated by them as slaves, and employed in the most servile offices.

Thus, omitting such accounts as are generally deemed fabulous, we have related the most remarkable events, that happened in *Britain*, from the arrival of the *Saxons*, to the retreat of the *Britons* into *Cambria* or *Wales*. The venerable *Bede* takes no

c notice of what was transacted here from the battle on *Badon-hill* to the conversion of the *Saxons* in the time of pope *Gregory the Great*; which does not a little incline us to question the truth of what we read in the writers, who came after him. These had not better records or memoirs than that venerable author, but less discernment, and more credulity; which perhaps may have prompted them to relate, and even believe, such things, as did not appear to that judicious author so well attested, as to deserve a place in his history. With these however we have been forced to take up, for want of better guides, when abandoned by *Gildas* and *Bede*; but as we do not ourselves give intire credit to what they relate, we are far from exacting it of our readers. The unfortunate *Britons* being, in the manner we have related, driven

d into *Cambria*, the *Saxons*, *Angles*, and *Jutes*, remained masters of the whole country now called *England*, where they had already founded seven kingdoms, known by the name of the *heptarchy*. But of these kingdoms we shall speak at length in a more proper place, the method, which we have proposed to ourselves, obliging us to leave them at present, and hasten to the history of other more antient nations.

C H A P. XIV.

The antient state of the several northern nations, to their breaking into the Roman empire, and their several expeditions, and mutual expulsions, till the settling of the Hunns in Hungary, the Vandals, Visigoths and Sueves in Spain, the Vandals in Africa, the Franks in Gaul, the Ostrogoths in Italy.

S E C T. I.

The antient state, &c. of the Hunns, till their settling in Hungary.

*The antient
seats of the
Hunns.*

THE Hunns, a fierce and savage nation, inhabited that part of *Asiatic Sarmatia*,^a which bordered on the *Palus Mæotis*, and the *Tanais*, the antient boundary between *Europe* and *Asia*.^a Their country, as described by *Procopius*^b, lay north of mount *Caucasus*, which, extending from the *Euxine* to the *Caspian* sea, parts *Asiatic Sarmatia* from *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, lying on the isthmus between the two above-mentioned seas. In this mountain, or rather ridge of mountains, were two narrow passes leading out of *Asiatic Sarmatia* into *Iberia*, one of which was antiently called *Porta Caucasica*, but in *Procopius*'s time *Tzur*, and the other *Porta Caspia*, which however we must distinguish from the famous *Porta Caspia*, or the narrow passes in mount *Caspus*, which, at a great distance to the south of mount *Caucasus*, divided *Media* from *Parthia*. The two passes in mount *Caucasus* let the neighbouring Hunns, says *Procopius*,^b into the territories of the *Romans* and *Parthians*; whence it is manifest, that, according to *Procopius*, the antient seats of the Hunns lay north of mount *Caucasus*, and at a small distance from it. In those seats, called by *Procopius* the *Eulybian* region, dwelt the Hunns, divided into several tribes, but all comprised under the general name of *Ugri*, changed afterwards into that of *Hunni* or *Unni*. In the authors, who wrote after the year of the christian æra 376. when the Hunns first broke into *Europe*, mention is made of the *Uturgurian*, *Cuturgurian*, *Onugurian*, *Vultinzurian*, *Burugunian*, *Sabirian* or *Gabrian*, and *Nephtalite* or *Ephthalite* Hunns.^c *Procopius* tells us, that one of their kings had two sons, *Uturgur* and *Cuturgur*, who, upon their father's death, divided his territories between them; and that such of the Hunns, as were subject to *Uturgur*, were called *Uturgurian Hunns*; and those, who fell to the lot of *Cuturgur*, *Coturgurian*. Of the other denominations no notice is taken by the historians. On the south side of the *Palus Mæotis*, where it discharges itself into the *Euxine* sea by a narrow chanel, called the *Bosporus Cimmerius*, dwelt the *Uturgurian Hunns*; and north of them, towards the *Tanais*, the *Coturgurian*.^c The *Ephthalite*, as *Procopius* terms them, or *Nephtalite* Hunns, as they are styled by *Agathias*, inhabited a rich country, bordering to the north on *Persia*, and at a great distance from the *Sarmatian* or *Scythian* Hunns, with whom they had no intercourse, nor the least resemblance either in their persons or manners. They were a powerful nation, and often served against the *Romans* in the *Persian* armies; but, in the reign of the emperor *Zeno*, being provoked by *Perozes* king of *Persia* laying claim to part of their country, they defeated the *Persians* in two pitched battles, slew their king, over-ran all

*Different tribes
of Hunns.*

*The Ephthalite
or Nephtalite
Hunns.*

^a AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xxii. p. 435, 441. AGATH. l. v. p. 154.

^b Idem ibid.

^c AGATH. l. ix. p. 154. PROCOP. ibid. PAUL. WARNEFRID. miscel. l. xii. p. 383.

^d PROCOP. bell. Goth. l. iv. c. 3.

PAUL. WARNEFRID. miscel. l. xii.

- a *Persia*, and held it in subjection for the space of two years, obliging *Cabades*, the son and successor of *Perozes*, to pay them a yearly tribute. These *Hunns*, commonly called by the writers of those times the *White Hunns*, did not wander, like the others, from place to place, but, contented with their own country, which supplied them with all necessaries, they lived under a regular government, subject to one prince, and seldom made inroads, unless provoked, either into the *Persian* or *Roman* territories. They lived according to their own laws, and dealt uprightly with one another, as well as with the neighbouring people. Each of their great men used to chuse twenty or more companions, to enjoy with him his wealth, and partake of all his diversions; but, upon his decease, they were all buried with him in the same
- b grave^f. This custom favours of barbarity; but, in every other respect, the *Nephthalite* were a far more civilized nation, than the *Scythian Hunns*, who, breaking into the empire, filled most of the provinces of *Europe* with blood and slaughter. The latter were, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus*^g, a savage people, exceeding in cruelty the most barbarous nations. They begin to practise their cruelty, says *Jornandes*, upon their own children the very first day they come into the world, cutting and mangling the cheeks of their males, to prevent the growth of hair, which they must have looked upon, contrary to the sentiments of other nations, as unbecoming and unmanly. They had perhaps in this practice another view, which *Jornandes* seems to insinuate elsewhere, viz. to strike terror into the enemy with their
- c countenances thus deformed, and covered with scars^h. They had no other food but roots and raw meat, being quite unacquainted with the use of fire, and no houses at all, not even huts, but lived constantly exposed to the air in the woods, and on the mountains, where, from their infancy, they were inured to hunger, thirst, and all manner of hardships; nay, they had such an aversion to houses, which they called the sepulchres of the living, that, when they went into other countries, they could hardly be prevailed upon to come within the walls of any house, not thinking themselves safe when shut up and covered. They used even to eat and sleep on horseback, scarce ever dismounting; which, in all likelihood, induced *Zosimus* to write, that the *Hunns* could not walkⁱ. They covered their nakedness with goats skins, or the
- d skins of a sort of mice sewed together. Day and night was indifferent to them as to buying, selling, eating, and drinking. They had no law, nor any kind of religion; but complied with their inclinations, whatever they prompted them to, without the least restraint, or distinction between good and evil^k. *St. Ambrose* writes, that they were greatly addicted to gaming; which occasioned frequent murders among them^l. But this vice, as well as that of lewdness, with which he charges them, seems quite foreign to the manners of a warlike nation, inured to all sorts of hardships. In war they began the battle with great fury, and a hideous noise; but, if they met with a vigorous opposition, their fury began to abate after the first onset, and, when once put in disorder, they never rallied, but fled in the utmost confusion. They
- e were quite unacquainted with the art of besieging towns; and authors observe, that they never attacked the enemy's camp. They were a faithless nation, and thought themselves no longer bound by the most solemn treaties, than they found their advantage in observing them. Hence we often find them, upon the least prospect of obtaining more advantageous conditions, breaking into the *Roman* empire, in defiance of the most solemn oaths and engagements. Several corps of *Hunns*, after their coming into *Europe*, served in the *Roman* armies against the *Goths*, and other barbarous nations; nay, they were ready, for hire, to fight against one another, being blind to every other regard and consideration^m. Of this the emperor *Justinian* was apprised, and, by promising a large sum to the *Uturgurian Hunns*, prevailed upon
- f them to fall upon the *Cuturgurians*, and drive them quite out of the empireⁿ. The
- Their form of government.
- form of government that prevailed among them, was not, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, properly speaking, monarchical; for that author, speaking of the *Scythian Hunns*, tells us, that they had never learnt to submit to the authority of a king, but that they were headed and conducted by some of their chief men^o. These, by some historians, are honoured with the title of kings, but by others styled only

^f PROCOF. bell. Pers. l. i.^g AMMIAN. l. xxxi. c. 11.^h JORN. rer. Goth. c. 24. p. 643.ⁱ ZOS. l. iv. p. 747.^k AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 435—437—615—618. ZOS. l. iv. p. 747. ISID. x.

car. ii. p. 297. JORN. rer. Goth. c. 24. p. 643, 644. SALVIAN. l. iv. p. 89.

^l AMBROS. de Tob.

c. 1, 2. tom. ii. p. 590.

^m AMMIAN. ibid. p. 439, 440. PRISC. de legat. p. 65.ⁿ PROCOF.

bell. Goth. l. iv. c. 18, 19. AGATH. l. v. p. 155.

^o AMMIAN. ibid. p. 436.

Their kings or chiefs.

Their origin.

Their name.

They pass the Palus Mæotis. Year of Christ 376.

generals or leaders. *Jornandes* calls them constantly kings; and truly in war they seem to have been invested with the supreme command. The same author writes¹, that *Balamir*, whom elsewhere he calls *Balamber*², was king of the *Hunns*, when they first passed the *Palus Mæotis*, and subdued the *Goths*, that is, about the year 376. The name of *Uldin*, king or general of the *Hunns*, is famous in the history of the reign of *Arcadius*³. *Olimpiodorus* mentions one *Caraton*, whom he calls the first king of the *Hunns*⁴. Several of the ancestors of the famous *Attila* had, according to *Priscus* the rhetorician⁵, been honoured with the command of the *Hunns*. *Mundiu-chus*, or, as others call him, *Mundzuchus*, father to that prince, maintained, to use the expression of *Jornandes*, the antient splendor of his family⁶. He had three brothers, *Ostar*, *Roas*, who were both kings or leaders of the *Hunns*, but not of the whole nation, and *Oebarfus*, who outlived the other two, but served under *Attila*⁷. *Ostar* and *Uptar*, who made war upon the *Burgundians* in 436. as we shall relate anon, seem to have been one and the same person; but we must not confound, as some have done, *Roas*, whom *Priscus* calls *Roua*⁸, and *Tiro Prosper*, *Rugula*⁹, with *Rengas*, general of the *Hunns*, who was killed with a flash of lightning in 426. while he was making war upon *Theodosius II*¹⁰. *Roas* was the immediate predecessor of *Attila*. As to the origin of the *Hunns*, *Procopius* seems to insinuate, that they were descended from the *Albanians*, and that they removed from *Albania*, lying on the *Caspian* sea, into *Asiatic Sarmatia*, where they settled. *Jornandes*, an irreconcilable enemy to the *Hunns*, who had driven his countrymen the *Goths* from their antient habitations, gives us the following account of their original, an account intirely owing to the hatred he bore them. *Fiimer*, the son of *Gandaric the Great*, and the fifth king of the *Goths* after their going out of the peninsula *Scanzia* or *Scandinavia*, having entered the *Scythian* territories, discovered among his people a great number of witches, called in the language of his country *aliorumnae*. These he drove into the wilderness far from his army, where the unclean spirits, who haunted those wild and solitary places, being taken with their charms, kept them company, and from their conversation sprung the nation of the *Hunns*¹¹. We are almost ashamed to allow a place in our history to such a ridiculous fable, though very gravely related by *Jornandes*¹², and with no less gravity confuted by a modern writer¹³. As for the name of *Hunns*, some authors will have them to have been so called from one of their leaders named *Hunnor*; but of thus *Hunnor* no mention is made by any antient writer. They are frequently styled *Ugri* by *Procopius*, and other writers; and the word *Ugre*, in the *Sclavonic* language, signifies *aquatic*, that is, living in or near the water, a name well adapted to a nation living in wet or marshy places, and such were the antient seats of the *Hunns* bordering on the *Palus Mæotis* and the *Tanais*¹⁴. *Ptolemy*, in his *Sarmatia Europæa*, mentions a people, whom he calls *Cbuni*, dwelling in his time on the banks of the *Borysthenes*. These the *Hunns* subdued, and settled in their country; whence, from their name *Cbuni*, some derive that of *Hunni*. But, to dwell no longer on conjectures, we shall now give a succinct account of the several migrations and expeditions of the *Hunns*, from their first coming into *Europe*, to their settling in *Pannonia*, called afterwards from them *Hungary*, following therein *Anmianus Marcellinus*, the most antient author that speaks of them, at least among such as have reached our times, and other credible writers, who lived in or near those times.

THE *Hunns*, as we have observed above, dwelt on the east side of the *Palus Mæotis*, now the sea of *Zabache*, quite unacquainted with the people and countries lying on the opposite side, till a hind, pursued by some hunters, or, as we read in other authors, an ox stung by a gad-fly, having passed the marsh, some *Hunns* followed their guide to the opposite side, where they discovered a country far more agreeable than their own. Hereupon, returning to their own country, they acquainted their countrymen with what they had seen, and at the same time informed them, that what they had till then looked upon as a deep sea, was only a marsh, and might be passed without the least danger¹⁵. Encouraged with this account, and desiring to settle in a more kind soil, they passed the marsh; and entering the country of the

¹ JORNAND. ter. Goth. c. 24. p. 64. ² Idem ibid. c. 48. p. 681. ³ Vide univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 452—459. ⁴ VALES. ter. Fran. l. iii. p. 154. ⁵ PRISC. de legat. p. 48. ⁶ Idem ibid. c. 3. p. 66. ⁷ Idem ibid. PRISC. p. 69. ⁸ Idem, p. 47. ⁹ Vide SOCRAT. l. vii. c. 43. p. 387. & BUCHER. hist. Belgic. p. 588. ¹⁰ PRISC. p. 47. ¹¹ JORN. ibid. c. 24. p. 643. ¹² Idem ibid. ¹³ P. CALLIMACH. edit. cum Bonfinio, p. 854. ¹⁴ Vide LUDWIG. in vit. Justinian. & Theodoræ, p. 529. not. 704. ¹⁵ JORN. ibid. c. 24. p. 644.

- a** *Alans*, who dwelt on the banks of the *Tanais*, and were thence called *Tanaïtes*, they laid it waste far and near, made a dreadful havock of the inhabitants, and obliged such of them as were left alive, and able to bear arms, to join them. Thus reinforced, they fell upon the *Goths*, by *Ammianus* called *Greuthongi*, and by *Jornandes*, *Ostrogoths*, and spread every-where such terror among them, that *Ermenric* their king, though a warlike prince, and conqueror of many nations, laid violent hands on himself, to avoid seeing the calamities, that threatened his people, and to him seemed unavoidable^f. *Jornandes* tells us, that *Ermenric*, whom he calls *Ermanaric*, having punished with death a woman named *Saniolk*, of the nation of the *Rexolani*, for the murder of her husband, her two brothers, *Sarus* and *Ammius*, conspiring against him, gave him a dangerous wound in the side, which, with the concern he was under in seeing his country over-run by the *Hunns*, occasioned his death, in the hundred and tenth year of his age^g. He was succeeded by *Vithimir*, who, having hired a body of *Hunns*, with them and his own troops, made, for some time, a vigorous resistance; but was in the end, after many losses, slain in battle. He left behind him a son named *Vitheric* or *Videric*, whom, as he was under age, he committed to the care of *Alatheus* and *Safrax*; but these, though men of known valour and experience in war, foreseeing all their efforts would prove unsuccessful against the numerous and formidable forces of the enemy, thought it advisable to abandon the country they then held, and retire, with all their people, to the plains between the *Borysthenes* and the *Danube*; which country is now known by the name of *Podolia*. *Atbanaric*, king or chief of the *Thervingi* or *Visigoths*, being informed of what had happened to the *Ostrogoths*, resolved to stand upon his guard, and prepared for a vigorous defence on the banks of the *Danastus*, now the *Nieper*, which parted the *Greuthingi* from the *Thervingi*. But the *Hunns* falling upon him before he had the least notice of their approach, he was put to flight after having lost great numbers of his men, and obliged to take shelter among the neighbouring mountains. As the enemy, overloaded with booty, pursued him but slowly, he built a wall with incredible expedition for his own defence, extending from the *Gerasus* or the *Pruth* to the *Danube*, in the country now known by the name of *Moldavia*^h. All the *Gothic* nations being alarmed at this sudden and unexpected irruption of the *Hunns*, such of them as had the good luck to escape the dreadful havock, which those barbarians made of their people, resolved to abandon their country to an enemy, whom they were no longer able to withstand, and to save themselves within the *Roman* dominions, separated by the *Danube* from the countries over-run by the *Hunns*. Accordingly they retired from their ancient seats, and, approaching the banks of the *Danube*, dispatched ambassadors to the emperor *Valens*, begging, in a most submissive manner, to be admitted into *Thrace*. The *Romans* were struck with terror and amazement, in hearing, that such multitudes of barbarians were hovering about the banks of the *Danube*, driven out of their seats by greater barbarians than themselves. *Valens* however complied with their request, allowing them to pass the *Danube*, and enter *Thrace* in such numbers, that *Ammianus* compares them to the sparks, which, at that very time, issued out of mount *Ætna*, and to the sands of the *Libyan* shoreⁱ. Those were, for the most part, *Thervingi* or *Visigoths*, the subjects of king *Atbanaric*. As for the *Greuthongi* or *Ostrogoths*, they being likewise driven out of their country by the *Hunns*, flocked in swarms to the banks of the *Danube*, and, encouraged by the reception their countrymen had met with from *Valens*, begged to be admitted within the *Roman* dominions; but the emperor not thinking it advisable to comply with their request, after they had continued some time on the banks of the *Danube*, they passed it in spite of the *Romans*. *Atbanaric*, king of the *Thervingi*, not thinking it safe to take refuge in the territories of the *Romans*, on account of his having assisted the usurper *Procopius*, retired, with part of his people, to a place defended by inaccessible rocks, named *Caucalanda*, having driven from thence the *Sarmatians* and the *Taisali*, whose country lay west of the *Gerasus* or the *Pruth*^k. Thus the *Hunns*, in this year 376. not only settled in *Europe*, but made themselves masters of that vast country, which extends from the *Tanais* to the *Danube*, and was, before their arrival, possessed by the *Alans*, the *Goths*, and several other barbarous nations, whom they either drove out, or forced to submit to their victorious arms.

And subdue the
Alans.

They fall upon
the Ostrogoths;

And drive
them out of
their country.

Defeat the Vi-
sigoths, and
oblige them to
abandon their
country.

The Goths are
admitted into
Thrace.

The Hunns
masters of the
whole country
between the
Tanais and the
Danube.

^f AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 439, 440.
ⁱ Idem ibid.

^g JORN. rer. Goth. p. 645.

^h AMMIAN. p. 440, 441.

^k Idem ibid. JORN. c. 25. p. 646.

The Nephthalite Hunns over-ran Mesopotamia.

The Scythian Hunns invade Thrace, but are defeated by St. Icho. Year of Christ 391. They ravage the eastern provinces. Year of Christ 395.

Of the *Hunns*, who settled in *Europe*, we find no further mention made in history a till the year 388. when great numbers of them are said to have lifted themselves in the *Roman* armies, *Theodosius* I. who was then emperor, encouraging them with large sums to serve under his banner, both on account of their warlike temper, and to divert them from raising disturbances on the frontiers of the empire¹. But the *Nephthalite Hunns*, who had continued in *Asia*, and were neighbours to the *Persians*, as we have observed above, breaking into the *Roman* dominions, over-ran *Mesopotamia* in 383. and even laid siege to *Edeffa*; but were repulsed by the *Roman* garrison, and obliged by a body of troops, consisting chiefly of *Goths*, sent to the relief of the place, to abandon the enterprize, and retire^m. The *European Hunns* first passed the *Danube* in 391. and being joined by the *Goths* and other barbarians, committed dreadful b savages in *Mesia* and *Thrace*. But *Stilicho* marching against them, gave them a total overthrow, and pursuing them close, shut them up in a narrow valley, where they must have perished with hunger, or surrendered at discretion, had not *Theodosius* chosen to conclude a peace with them, following therein, says the poet *Claudian*, the pernicious counsel of the traitor *Rufinus*ⁿ. About four years after, that is, in 395. the *Hunns*, breaking unexpectedly into the eastern provinces, penetrated as far as *Antioch*, destroying all with fire and sword, and committing every-where unheard-of cruelties^o. St. *Jerom*, speaking of this irruption of the *Hunns*, All the east, says he, trembled, when the dismal news was brought, that swarms of *Hunns*, coming from the far-distant *Mæolis*, and dwelling between the frozen *Tanais* and the country of the c savage *Massagetes*, flew up and down, and filled all places with blood and slaughter. While the *Roman* armies, continues that writer, were employed in civil wars, that is, against the usurper *Eugenius*, the cruel enemy roved, without controul, where they pleased, preventing, by their speed, the report of their coming. They had no regard either to religion or dignity; no age they spared, nor were they softened by the tears of the crying infant; but put those to death, who had scarce begun to live, and who, not apprised of their danger, smiled, when in the enemy's hands, at those very weapons, that were immediately to destroy them. He adds, that the general terror and consternation spread as far as *Palestine*, upon a report, that they proposed to advance to *Jerusalem*, and plunder the holy city^p. The same author speaks of this irruption of the *Hunns* in several other places^q (A), and likewise St. *Chrysostom*^r, d *Philostorgius*^s, *Socrates*^t, and *Sozomen*^u. St. *Chrysostom* tells us in one of his homilies^v, that several christians, on that occasion, suffered martyrdom; and that others were brought to *Antioch*, to be sold there or ransomed. *Philostorgius* places this irruption of the *Hunns* after the death of *Rufinus*, and even after that of the eunuch *Eutropius*, who succeeded him in his power and employments. But he was therein certainly mistaken, since not only *Claudian*^x, but *Socrates*^y, *Sozomen*^z, and *Zosimus*^a, tell us in express terms, that *Rufinus* privately stirred up, by his emissaries, the *Hunns* to break into the empire, and likewise the *Goths*, under the conduct of the famous

¹ AMBROS. ep. xvii. p. 214. PACAT. panegy. ad Theodof. p. 270. ^m SOCRAT. l. v. c. 11. p. 270. fur 15 Novemb. p. 342. ⁿ CLAUD. de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 125, 126. ^o SOCRAT. l. vi. c. 1. p. 300. SOZ. l. viii. c. 1. p. 753. CHRYS. psal. xcvi. p. 897. ^p HIER. epitaph. Fabiol. ^q Idem. epist. iii. xxx. &c. p. 26, 200, &c. & in vit. S. Chrysost. ^r CHRYS. ubi supra. ^s PHILOSTORG. l. xi. c. 8. p. 154. ^t SOCRAT. ubi sup. ^u SOZ. ibid. ^v CHRYS. in psal. xcvi. p. 893. ^x CLAUD. in Ruf. l. ii. p. 20. ^y SOCRAT. l. vi. c. 1. p. 300. ^z SOZ. l. viii. c. 1. p. 753. ^a ZOS. l. v. p. 782.

(A) *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Zosimus*, and the poet *Claudian*, agree in this, that the *Hunns* invaded the eastern provinces at the instigation of *Rufinus*. On the other hand, it is manifest from the same authors, as well as from the code, and the *Alexandrian* chronicle, that *Rufinus* was put to death in the month of *November* 395. In the code are several laws enacted the following year, and addressed to *Caesarius*, who succeeded *Rufinus* in the office of *praefectus praetorio*. *Socrates* writes, that *Rufinus* was put to death on the twenty-seventh of *November* 395⁽¹⁾; which is confirmed both by the *Alexandrian* chronicle, placing his death after the last offices paid to the

body of *Theodosius* on the ninth of the same month⁽²⁾, and by the code, where the laws are addressed to *Rufinus* till the eleventh of *October*, and, from the thirtieth of *November*, to his successor *Caesarius* ⁽³⁾. However, St. *Jerom*, in his third epistle⁽⁴⁾, which we cannot suppose to have been written before the year 397. says, that this irruption had happened the year before, *Ecce tibi anno praeterito, &c.* But St. *Jerom* was either mistaken, or speaks in that epistle only of the ravages and devastations, which began in 395. but were continued, as appears from *Claudian* ⁽⁵⁾, in 396.

(1) SOCRAT. l. vi. c. 1. p. 300. (2) Chron. Alex. p. 710. (3) Cod. Theodof. 2. tit. 9. l. viii. p. 233. 10. tit. 6. l. i. p. 410. 16. tit. 5. l. xxvii. p. 144. (4) Hier. epist. iii. p. 26. (5) Claud. in Eutrop. l. i. p. 99.

- a** *Alaric*. What he aimed at in thus encouraging the barbarians to invade the empire, we have related elsewhere ^b, from the authors we have just now quoted. The *Hunns*, having over-run and plundered several provinces, returned home of their own accord, loaded with booty, and carrying with them an incredible number of captives. They met with no opposition, the armies, that had been sent into the west, to suppress the usurper *Eugenius*, not being yet returned; and this is what *St. Jerom* meant, or ought to have meant, in saying, that the *Hunns* broke into the empire, while the *Roman* armies were engaged in a civil war, the disturbances raised in the west by *Eugenius*, being happily appeased, and the author of them dispatched, before the irruption of those barbarians.
- b** AFTER this irruption, the *Hunns* seem to have continued quiet for the space of nine years, that is, till the year 404. when passing in great multitudes the *Danube*, they entered *Thrace*; and having over-run that province, they penetrated into *East Illyricum*, committing every-where dreadful ravages, and destroying with fire and sword what they could not carry with them ^c. A modern writer quotes a letter written this year by *Honorius*, emperor of the west, to his brother *Arcadius*, who reigned in the east, to express his concern for the ravages committed by the *Hunns* in *Thrace*, and for the ruin and loss of *Illyricum*. These calamities *Honorius* ascribes to the wrath of Heaven, justly provoked at the iniquitous proceedings of the court against the holy bishop *Chrysostom* ^d. By the loss of *Illyricum* is only meant in the above-mentioned letter the ruin of that province; for the *Hunns*, upon advice, that the imperial troops were assembling with a design to cut off their retreat, repassed the *Danube* with all the haste the immense booty they carried with them allowed ^e. The following year 405. we find great numbers of *Hunns* serving in *Stilicho's* army against *Radagaisus*, who had invaded *Italy*, as we have related at length elsewhere ^f. These *Hunns* were led by *Uldin*, one of their chiefs or kings, and to him was chiefly owing the signal victory gained by *Stilicho* in *Hetruria*; for having, with his *Hunns*, surrounded one of the three bodies, into which *Radagaisus* had divided his army, he cut them all in pieces, to the number of an hundred thousand men ^g. *Orosius* ascribes this victory not to the *Hunns*, but to a panic, which spreading all on a sudden throughout the camp, obliged *Radagaisus* to withdraw from before *Florence*, which he had invested, to the neighbouring mountains of *Fiesoli*, where most of his men perished with famine, and the rest submitted to the *Romans*. Thus the victory, says the same writer, was owing to the Lord of hosts, and not to his enemies the *Hunns* ^h. But to them it is ascribed by *St. Austin*, *Zosimus*, and *Prosper*, whose authority is of far greater weight with us, than that of *Orosius*. *Uldin* was well known to the *Romans* before this time, from the vigorous opposition he had made in the year 400. against the famous *Gainas*, commander of the *Goths* in the *Roman* service, of whom we have spoken at length in our *Roman* history ⁱ. *Gainas* was commander in chief, not only of his countrymen the *Goths*, but of all the troops of *Arcadius*. However, turning his arms against the prince who had thus raised him, he formed a design of surprising and plundering the city of *Constantinople*; but, failing in that attempt, he ravaged all *Thrace* in an hostile manner. Hereupon *Fravitus*, another *Goth* in the *Roman* service, and greatly attached to the *Roman* interest, falling upon him, cut great numbers of his men in pieces. With the rest *Gainas* marched through *Thrace* to the banks of the *Danube*, which he passed, being desirous to end his days in the ancient country of the *Goths*. But *Uldin*, king of the *Hunns*, who had driven out the *Goths*, and had been now in the quiet possession of those countries for the space of twenty-four years, alarmed at the arrival of so renowned a commander, with an army of his own nation, met him on the frontiers, and, after several conflicts, defeated and killed him in a pitched battle ^k. His body being found on the field of battle, *Uldin* caused his head to be cut off, and sent it to *Arcadius* ^l, who received it at *Constantinople* on the third of *January* of the ensuing year 401 ^m.

No prince had hitherto deserved better of the empire than *Uldin*. But two years after the signal victory obtained chiefly by his means over *Radagaisus*, he became, on what provocation we know not, an irreconcilable enemy to the *Romans*; and passing

^b Vide univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 433.

^c Soz. l. viii. c. 25. p. 793.

PHILOSTORG. l. xi. c. 8. p. 530.

^d Vide BARON. annal. ad ann. 404.

^e Soz. PHILOSTORG. ibid.

^f Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 452.

453. ^g Zos. p. 803. PROSP. chron. Aug. civ. p. 63.

^h Oros. p. 222.

ⁱ Univers. hist.

vol. vi. p. 424—447.

^j SOCRAT. p. 309. Chron. Alex. p. 712.

^k SOCRAT. ibid. Zos. l. v.

p. 798, 799.

^l PASC. p. 307. SOCRAT. Chron. Alex. ibid.

But is forced
to retire.

The Hunns, to
the number of
60,000, march
to the assistance
of the usurper
John.

They return
home.

Rougas ravages
Thrace.

He is killed
with lightning,
and his army
dispersed.
Year of Christ
425.

the *Danube*, entered *Thrace* at the head of a numerous army, consisting of *Hunns* and a *Squiri*, or *Scyri*, a northern nation, subject, in all likelihood, to the *Hunns*. As this irruption happened during the minority of *Theodosius II.* *Anthemius*, who had taken upon him the administration, did all that lay in his power to appease *Uldin*; but he confiding too much in his own strength, and insisting upon conditions, that could not be honourably granted, *Anthemius* ordered a body of *Roman* troops to march against him, at whose approach several of his officers, offended at his haughty and imperious behaviour, laid hold of that opportunity to abandon him, and side with the *Romans*. This alarmed *Uldin*, who thereupon retired with great precipitation, and repassed the *Danube*, after having lost, on his hasty march, many of his men. As for the *Squiri*, the emperor's troops coming up with them before they reached the *Danube*, they were all to a man either killed or taken. The prisoners were sold, and dispersed all over *Asia*, to prevent their ever returning to their own country. By this overthrow, and one they had received in 381. from *Theodosius the Great*, grandfather to the reigning emperor *Theodosius the younger*, that nation, once very numerous, was almost utterly extirpated. From this time the *Hunns* seem to have continued quiet till the year 425. when the emperor *Honorius* dying, and *John* his chief secretary assuming the purple, they were prevailed upon by the celebrated *Aetius*, who had sided with the usurper, to espouse his cause. As *Aetius* had been formerly given to them, on what occasion we know not, as an hostage, and was, by that means, become acquainted with their chiefs, the usurper sent him, as the most proper person, with large sums, to engage them in his cause. Accordingly, a few months after his departure, he returned at the head of sixty thousand *Hunns*. Upon his entering *Italy*, he was met by *Aspar*, one of the generals of *Theodosius*, who, upon the death of his uncle *Honorius*, had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor of the west. Hereupon a bloody battle ensued, without any considerable advantage on either side. But in the mean time *Aetius*, being informed of the death of the usurper, who had been taken and beheaded in *Ravenna* three days before the battle, submitted to *Theodosius*, and persuaded the *Hunns*, not without distributing considerable sums among them, to return home. However, *Thrace* was this very year pillaged and laid waste by some of that nation, whom *Theodoret* styles *Scythian Nomades*, that is, *Scythian* wanderers. They were led by one *Rougas* or *Roilas*, who, in a boasting manner, threatened to over-run the whole empire, and to lay siege to *Constantinople* itself, which, he bragged, he would take at the first assault, and, having plundered it, lay it in ashes. But *Theodosius*, not in the least frightened at the menaces of the barbarian, committed the event, according to his custom, says *Socrates*, to Providence, and soon obtained what he desired; for *Rougas* was killed with lightning, a plague broke out in his army, and swept off the greatest part of his men, and fire from heaven consumed most of those whom the plague had spared. This complication of misfortunes, as we may call it, struck the barbarians with such terror, that they retired of their own accord, dreading, not the arms of the *Romans*, says *Socrates*, but the power of Heaven, which had evidently espoused the cause of *Theodosius*. *Socrates* adds, that *St. Proculus*, who preached then at *Constantinople*, and was afterwards raised to the see of that city, made a sermon to the people on the dispersion of the *Hunns*, applying to them what we read in the prophet *Ezekiel* concerning *Gog* and *Magog* (B). Six years after this irruption, that is, in 432. we find the *Hunns* in possession of *Pannonia*; for *Aetius*, being that year disgraced by *Valentinian III.* or rather by his

^a SOCRAT. l. ix. c. 6. p. 806, 807.
^b PHILOSTORG. l. xii. c. 14. p. 538. PROSP. CHRON. p. 387. THEODORET. l. v. c. 36. p. 749.

* Idem ibid. SOZ. l. iv. p. 759. ZOS. l. iv. p. 759.
CASSIODOR. CHRON. ^a SOCRAT. l. vii. c. 42.
^c SOCRAT. ibid. ^d Idem ibid.

(B) *Valesius* is of opinion, that *Rougas*, leader of the *Hunns* in this irruption, and *Rouas*, the immediate predecessor of *Attila*, and his uncle, according to *Jornandes* (6), on the father's side, are one and the same person (7). But this opinion is no ways agreeable to what we read in *Socrates*, *Theodoret*, and *Priscus* the rhetorician; for the two former writers tell us, that *Rougas* lost his life in this incursion, in the manner we have related (8). On the

other hand, it is manifest from *Priscus* (9), that there was no war between the *Romans* and *Hunns* when *Rouas* died. Besides, it is certain, that *Rouas* did not die in 425. the year in which the *Hunns*, under the conduct of *Rougas*, broke into *Thrace*; for *Priscus* tells us (10), that *Plintha* and *Dionysius*, who were sent with the character of ambassadors to *Rouas*, had been consuls; and *Dionysius* was not consul till the year 429.

(6) *Jornand. rer. Goth. c. 35.*
supra. (9) *Prisc. p. 47, 48.*

(7) *Val. rer. Fran. l. iv. p. 154.*
(10) *Idem ibid.*

(8) *Socras. Theodoret. ubi*

- a mother *Placidia*, who governed during the minority of her son, is said to have retired to the court of *Roas*, king of the *Hunns* in *Pannonia*^a. *Priscus* tells us, that they settled in *Pannonia* in virtue of a treaty concluded with *Aetius*; but when, or on what occasion, this treaty was made, we are no-where informed. They were not in possession of that country in 427. for in that year *Theodosius* is said to have transplanted the *Goths* from *Pannonia*, which they had held ever since the year 377. when they first entered it, into *Thrace*, and to have reunited that province to the empire^b. On the other hand, they were masters of *Pannonia*, or at least held part of that province, in 432. for in that year *Aetius*, as we have hinted above, not thinking himself safe in the *Roman* dominions, is said to have taken refuge among the *Hunns* in *Pannonia*^c. In 437. *Valentinian III.* yielded, as we read in *Cassiodorus*^d, *East Illyricum*, which comprised *Pannonia*, to *Theodosius II.* which must be understood of the towns and fortified places, for these the *Romans* seem to have kept; and hence it is, that we find *Attila*, several years after the *Hunns* had been in possession of *Pannonia*, obliged to lay siege to *Sirmium*, the metropolis of that province^e. As the *Hunns* were chiefly indebted to *Aetius* for the lands they held in *Pannonia*, *Roas* their king not only received that able commander with the greatest demonstrations of kindness and friendship upon his being disgraced at the court of *Placidia*, and obliged to quit the *Roman* territories, but sent him back at the head of a powerful army of *Hunns*; which so terrified *Placidia*, that she restored *Aetius* to all his employments, and raised him to the rank of a patrician^f. In the year 435. a strong body of *Hunns*, marching through *Germany* into *Gaul*, joined *Aetius* against the *Burgundians*, who, having been allowed, in 413. to settle in that part of *Gaul*, which bordered on the *Rhine*, had revolted from the *Romans*, and ravaged *Belgic Gaul*. *Aetius*, having gained a complete victory over them, obliged *Gondicarius* their king to sue for peace; which he granted, but neither *Gondicarius* nor his people long enjoyed; for, in the beginning of the following year, he was cut off, with twenty thousand of his men, by the *Hunns*^g, at the instigation of *Aetius*, provoked, as some authors write^h, at their revolting anew; while others charge *Aetius* on this occasion with breach of faith, and the blackest treachery. *Socrates* writes, that the unhappy *Burgundians*, harassed with continual inroads by the *Hunns*, and no longer in a condition to make head against so powerful an enemy, only three thousand of them being left alive, had recourse to Heaven; and repairing to a city in *Gaul*, there declared their desire of embracing the christian religion. The bishop of the place enjoined them a seven days fast, during which time he instructed them in the mysteries of our holy religion, and, having afterwards administered to them the sacrament of baptism, he sent them home full of courage and confidence. In this condition they marched against the *Hunns*; and finding them destitute of a leader, *Uptar* their king dying the night before, gorged with immoderate eating and drinking, they fell upon them, cut ten thousand of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitous flight. Thenceforth the *Burgundians*, adds *Socrates*, continued steadfast in the christian religionⁱ. Notwithstanding this overthrow, the *Hunns*, either this year 436. or the following, as *Idatius* will have it^j, marched with a considerable body to the assistance of the *Romans* against the *Goths*, who had been allowed to settle in *Aquitain*, but, not satisfied with the countries allotted them, had made themselves masters of several neighbouring cities belonging to the *Romans*, and even laid siege to *Narbonne*. Against them the *Romans* called the *Hunns* to their assistance; who, being led by count *Litorius*, fell upon the *Goths*, busied in the siege, put them to flight, and entered the city, each horseman carrying with him two bushels of corn; which proved a very seasonable supply, the inhabitants being reduced to the utmost extremity^k. *Idatius* ascribes the raising of the siege to *Aetius*^l, probably because *Litorius* acted by his orders, he being commander in chief of all the armies of the western empire. The *Hunns*, who thus signalized themselves against the *Goths*, had, the year before, been employed by the *Romans* against the rebellious *Armorici*, whom they reduced. From *Armorica* they marched against the *Goths* of *Aquitain*; but, on their march, they plundered the province of *Auvergne*, though belonging to the *Romans*, whom they

The Hunns settle in Pannonia.

They join Aetius against the Burgundians.

Of whom they cut off 20,000.

Ten thousand Hunns cut off by the Burgundians.

The Hunns oblige the Goths to raise the siege of Narbonne.

^a PROSP. CHRON. PRISC. p. 37. ^b THEOPH. p. 81. MARCELLIN. CHRON. ^c PROSP. PRISC. ubi supra. ^d CASSIOD. l. xi. epist. 1. p. 17. ^e PROSP. p. 57. ^f PROSP. CHRON. IDAT. p. 20. VAL. TER. FRANC. l. v. p. 140. ^g IDAT. p. 21. SIDON. CAR. vii. p. 338. PROSP. CHRON. ^h BUCH. BELG. p. 486. ⁱ VAL. TER. FRANC. l. iii. p. 136. 131. ^j SOCRAT. l. vii. c. 30. p. 371. 372. ^k IDAT. p. 21. ^l PROSP. CHRON. VAL. TER. FRANC. l. iii. p. 140. ^m IDAT. ibid.

But are in the
end defeated by
the Goths.

served as auxiliaries ^a. *Literius*, after having gained great advantages over the *Goths*, laid siege to *Toulouse*, their capital; but was in the end overcome in a pitched battle by *Theodoric* their king, and taken prisoner, most of his *Hunns* being cut in pieces, as we have related at length elsewhere ¹. It was probably during this war between the *Romans* and *Goths* in *Caul*, which lasted four years, that *Gauferic*, king of the *Hunns*, besieged the city of *Bazas* belonging to the *Goths*; but was obliged, by a miraculous apparition, to drop the enterprize, and retire, as the reader will find related at length by *Gregory of Tours* ². About this time two chiefs of the *Hunns*, *Basic* and *Curfic*, having numerous bodies of their nation under their command, which they had, for some time, employed against the *Persians*, came to *Rome*, and entered into the service of *Valentinian III.* emperor of the west ³.

Theodosius II.
pays a yearly
pension to the
Hunns.

Rougas, king of the *Hunns*, of whom we have spoken above, had been succeeded, in 425. by *Rouas* or *Roas*, who concluded a peace with *Theodosius II.* whereof one of the conditions was, that the emperor should pay him a yearly pension of three hundred and fifty pounds weight of gold ^m. But *Rouas*, resolving, a few years after the conclusion of this peace, to subdue the *Boischi*, and other nations dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, whom *Theodosius* had taken under his protection, dispatched one *Elias* to the court of *Constantinople*, threatening to make war upon *Theodosius*, if he lent them the least assistance. Hereupon *Plintba* and *Dionysius*, two generals of no small renown, were appointed to treat with the king of the *Hunns*, and divert him, if possible, from the resolution he had taken ⁿ. In the mean time *Rouas* died, ^b

Bleda and Attila
succeed
Ro. 45.

and was succeeded by his two nephews *Bleda* and *Attila* ^o. *Bleda* alone is named by *Tyro Prosper* ^p, and the first by count *Marcellinus* ^q; whence authors conclude, that he was the elder brother. *Jornandes* thinks, that to his share fell the provinces bordering on the western empire, and to *Attila's* the more eastern ^r. But we cannot help thinking *Jornandes* therein mistaken, since not to *Bleda*, but to *Attila*, the princess *Honorina* applied, as we shall relate anon, stirring him up to make war upon her brother *Valentinian* emperor of the west. News of the death of *Rouas* reaching *Constantinople* before the departure of the ambassadors, they were ordered to treat with the two princes his successors, and impowered to conclude with them a lasting peace; but in the room of *Dionysius* was sent the quaestor *Epigenes*, a man of great experience in negotiations. This change was made at the request of *Plintba*, who could not agree with *Dionysius* ^s. The ambassadors had an interview with the two princes in the neighbourhood of *Margum*, a city on the *Danube* in *Upper Massia*, at a place where the *Margus* falls into that river, and, according to *Sanfon*, stands the present city of *Galombea* in *Servia*. The ambassadors were obliged to confer with them on horseback, the *Hunns* refusing to dismount ^t. The peace formerly concluded with *Rouas* was confirmed, but upon such conditions as evidently betrayed the deplorable situation of the empire, and an unaccountable pusillanimity in the *Romans*; for they agreed to deliver up to *Attila* and *Bleda* such *Hunns* as had taken, or should take for the future, refuge in the *Roman* dominions, and likewise to send back all the *Roman* captives, who had made their escape, or to pay eight pieces of gold for each of them. It was likewise stipulated, that instead of three hundred and fifty pounds weight of gold, the *Romans* should pay annually seven hundred; and that they should not lend the least assistance to any barbarous nation, when attacked by, or at war with, the *Hunns* ^u. In compliance with this shameful treaty, some princes of the royal blood of the *Hunns*, who had taken refuge among the *Romans*, were delivered up to *Attila* and *Bleda*, who caused them immediately to be crucified in a castle called *Carfus*, on the *Danube*, in *Thrace* ^v. Hence it is plain, that the *Hunns* had at this time some footing in *Thrace*. *Attila* and *Bleda*, being, in virtue of this treaty, at liberty to make what conquests they pleased, reduced several northern countries; inso-

Theodosius
concludes with
them a shame-
ful treaty.
Year of Christ
441.

They subdue
many northern
nations.

Among the
rest the Acat-
ziri.

much that their authority was acknowledged by all the barbarous nations from the *Danube* to the most distant coasts of the *Euxine* sea ^x. Among the rest he subdued the *Acatziri*, who dwelt on the north coast of the *Euxine* sea, and were divided into several nations, each of them having a king of their own. But the most antient among those princes had, it seems, some pre-eminence above the rest; for *Priscus*, who lived

^a SIDON. car. vii. p. 331, 338.

¹ Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 484.

² GREG. TOUR. de glor.

martyr. l. i. c. 13. p. 31—34. VAL. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 140.

³ PRISC. legat. p. 64.

^m PRISC.

p. 45. ⁿ Idem. p. 47.

^o Idem ibid.

^p PROSP. chron.

^q MARCELL. chron. ad ann.

442. ^r JORN. c. 43. p. 661.

^s PRISC. legat. p. 47.

^t Idem ibid. p. 48.

^u Idem

ibid. ^v Idem ibid.

^x Idem ibid. p. 84. JORN. rer. Goth. c. 35. p. 661.

a in those times, tells us, that the jealousy, which *Couridachus*, the eldest of the kings, conceived of the rest, gave *Attila* an opportunity of subduing them all. *Theodosius II.* in order to unite them, and induce them to renounce the friendship of *Attila*, and enter into an alliance with the empire, sent rich presents to each of them; but the person, whom the emperor employed on this occasion, not applying in the first place to *Couridachus*, that prince, thinking himself thereby highly injured, acquainted *Attila* with what had passed, inviting him at the same time to come and revenge the affront, that had been offered him. *Attila* laid hold of the opportunity; and having, without loss of time, sent a powerful army against the *Acatziri*, he soon reduced the other princes, but suffered *Couridachus* to enjoy his dominions undisturbed. Some time after, *Attila* invited him to his court; but *Couridachus*, alleging he could not bear the presence of so great a god, prudently declined complying with his invitation. The Hunn, pleased with this plea, never offered him the least violence; but gave the countries belonging to the other *Acatzirian* princes to his eldest son, named *Ellac*, appointing him king over all the nations bordering on the *Euxine* sea. The young prince, in going to take possession of his new kingdom, had the misfortune to break his right arm by a fall from his horse². *Attila*, having, with the assistance of his brother *Bleda*, brought under subjection all the northern nations, began, as his ambition knew no bounds, and his arms had been hitherto attended with wonderful success, to entertain thoughts of reducing, not only the *Goths* settled in *Thrace*, but the *Romans* themselves, and making himself master of the whole empire. With this view, having drawn together a very numerous and formidable army, without any regard to the above-mentioned treaty, he passed the *Danube*, and, entering *Thrace*, put all to fire and sword, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. At this time perhaps happened what we read in *Priscus*, viz. that, during a fair, the *Hunns* fell upon the *Romans*, killed a great many of them, and made themselves masters of a castle. The *Romans* complained of these hostilities; but the *Hunns* pretended, that the *Romans* had been the aggressors, the bishop of *Margum* having plundered, they said, their treasure; on which account they insisted upon his being delivered up to them, with all those of their nation, who had taken refuge in the *Roman* dominions. The bishop denied the charge; but the *Hunns*, who wanted only a pretence to quarrel with *Theodosius*, engaged at this time in two troublesome and expensive wars with the *Persians* and *Vandals*, without offering to prove it, entered the empire in an hostile manner³. *Vorburgus* supposes *Attila* to have been stirred up by *Genferic* king of the *Vandals*, powerfully attacked at this time by *Theodosius*⁴. Be that as it will, *Attila* and his brother *Bleda* took several towns and castles, which the *Romans* had built on the banks of the *Danube*, to awe the barbarians, and restrain them from entering the empire⁵. Among the other towns, they made themselves masters of *Viminacium*, a place of great importance on the *Danube* in *Upper Mæsia*. The *Romans*, alarmed at this sudden inundation of the *Hunns*, advised the emperor to comply with their request, and deliver up to them the bishop of *Margum*; which he no sooner understood, than he repaired to the enemy's camp, and found means to put them in possession of the city⁶. *Attila*, elated with this success, dispatched a messenger to *Theodosius*, requiring him to deliver up forthwith all the *Hunns*, who had taken refuge in the *Roman* territories, to pay him the arrears of his yearly pension, which had been stopt ever since he took up arms, and to send proper persons to settle what sums should be paid him for the future. He added, that there was no time to lose, since he could no longer restrain or moderate the ardor of his troops, thirsting after blood and spoil. *Theodosius*, though not a little terrified at these menaces, chose rather to try the chance of war, than abandon those, whom he had taken under his protection. He therefore only promised to send proper persons to *Attila*, with full powers to conclude a lasting peace⁷. *Attila*, not satisfied with this answer, pursued his ravages with more cruelty than ever, reducing several cities and strong-holds, viz. *Retiarium*, *Singidunum*, *Naissus*, and *Sirmium*, formerly the capital of all *Illyricum*⁸ (C). While *Sirmium* was besieged by the Hunns,

Attila appoints his son Ellac king over all the nations bordering on the Euxine sea.

Attila and Bleda break into the eastern empire.

And make themselves masters of several cities and strong-holds.

² *Prisc.* p. 54—63.

³ *Idem.* p. 63—69.

⁴ *Idem.* p. 33.

⁵ *Vorb. hist. Rom. German.*

p. 117. ⁶ *Procop. ædif. l. iv. c. 5. p. 79.*

⁷ *Prisc.* p. 33, 59.

⁸ *Idem.* p. 34.

⁹ *Idem.*

p. 34—49. *Theoph.* p. 88. *Marcell. chron.*

(C) *Retiarium*, a great and populous city, stood on the *Danube* in *Upper Mæsia*, in the same place, according to *Sanfon*, where *Zangona* stands, a city Vol. VII. N° 6.

in the present *Servia*. *Singidunum* and *Naissus* were both cities of *Upper Mæsia*. The former stood on the *Danube*, and the latter about five days journey distant 6 C

Hunns, the bishop of the place delivered to one *Constantius*, by nation a *Gaul*, whom *Aetius* had formerly sent to *Attila* and *Bleda*, to serve them in quality of secretary, some sacred vessels, to be employed in redeeming him, if he outlived the siege, or others, if he perished in it. These vessels *Constantius* kept for himself, and pawned them with one *Sylvanus*, who sold them to the church. Some time after, *Attila* and *Bleda* having caused *Constantius* to be crucified, upon a suspicion that he betrayed them, *Attila*, pretending, that *Sylvanus* had stolen the vessels from *Constantius*, insisted upon his being delivered up to him, though *Sylvanus* offered to pay him the full value of them ^a. The emperor was to such a degree alarmed at the progress the two brothers made in *Mæsia*, *Thrace*, and *Illyricum*, that, not thinking himself safe at *Constantinople*, he withdrew into *Asia*, and continued there till the return of the troops he had sent against *Genferic* king of the *Vandals*, to whom he was forced to grant an advantageous peace ^b. As to the issue of this war, we are left in the dark. All we know is, that a peace was concluded between *Attila* and *Theodosius*; but upon what terms, we are no-where told. During this peace, *Attila*, no longer able to bear a partner in the kingdom, caused his brother *Bleda* to be assassinated, and, upon his death, obliged the whole nation of the *Hunns* to acknowledge him for their sovereign. He was obeyed by several other nations besides the *Hunns*. *Jornandes* names among the rest the *Goths*, meaning, without all doubt, those who chose to remain in their ancient seats, the *Gepidæ*, the *Suevians*, the *Alans*, the *Heruli*, the *Sarmatians*, the *Semandrians*, the *Squiri*, the *Sattagares*, the *Rugians*, and the *Agatzirians* ^c. He was sole master of all *Scythia* and *Germany*, which no one had ever held before him ^k. *Priscus* observes, that no prince ever subdued so many countries in so short a time, his authority being acknowledged by all the states and princes from the *Rhine* to the most northern borders of the *Persian* empire, which he had once some thoughts of invading, and might, according to *Priscus*, have easily reduced, and, with that addition of strength, made himself master of the whole *Roman* empire ^l. *Priscus* says, that the *Romans* declined giving him the title of king, and only styled him general of their armies, disguising the annual tribute they paid him with the specious name of salary; so great was their vanity, when their power was at the lowest ebb! They treated in the same manner the kings of the *Goths* and *Burgundians*, who, as they ^d were less powerful, thought themselves honoured with the title of general; but *Attila* rejected it with contempt, saying, That the emperors had slaves for their generals; whereas his generals were upon a level with the emperors themselves ^m. *Jornandes* writes, that when he entered *Gaul* in 451. he was attended by a troop of kings and princes, who stood trembling before him, without daring to utter a word; but always ready, at the least sign, to execute his commands with the utmost care and submission ⁿ. They referred all their differences to *Attila*, looked upon his decisions as oracles, and in every thing submitted to him as to the king of kings. Among these kings were two, to whom *Attila* paid a particular regard, viz. *Valamir* or *Balamir*, king of the *Ostrogoths*, who had remained among the *Hunns*, a man of a frank and open temper, and an enemy to all art and dissimulation; and *Arderic*, king of the *Gepidæ*, a prince of great penetration, and inviolably attached to *Attila* ^o. As to the person of *Attila*, *Jornandes* has left us the following portrait of him: he was black, low in stature, had a broad breast, a large head, a flat nose, and small eyes ^p. He was fond of war; but depended more upon his counsel, than his sword, employing not only force and menaces, but often craft and artifice, and sometimes low wiles,

Attila causes
his brother
Bleda to be
assassinated.

His great
power.

His personal
qualities.

^a PRISC. p. 57.
p. 685—688.
c. 38. p. 667.

^b PROSP. chron. THEOPH. p. 87.
^k Idem, c. 49. p. 684.
^o Idem ibid.

MARCEL. chron. Chron. Alex. p. 730.
^l PRISC. p. 64.
^p JORN. rer. Goth. c. 35. p. 661.

^m Idem, p. 65.
ⁿ JORN.

distant from it. *Baudrand* thinks *Singidunum* stood where stands the present city of *Zenderin*, once the capital of *Serbia* (11); but *Sanfon* places it somewhat higher on the *Danube*, and nearer *Taurunum* or *Belgrade*. *Naissus* gave birth to *Constantine the Great*, as was shewn elsewhere (12). It was intirely ruined by the *Hunns*; inasmuch that in 449. it was still destitute of inhabitants, there being only some sick people in the churches and hospitals. The neighbouring plains were even then covered with

the bones of those, who had been killed in war (13). Some think *Naissus* stood where *Nissa*, a city of no small note in *Serbia*, stands; but *Sanfon* places it at some distance from the present *Nissa*. *Sirmium*, now *Sirmish*, stood in *Lower Pannonia*, and is famous in history, on account of the many laws enacted by the emperors while residing there, which have been collected by *Jacobus Gothofredus* in his typography of the cities mentioned in the *Theodosian* code. It is at present a city of *Sclavonia*.

(11) *Baudr.* p. 198.

(12) *Univ. hist.* vol. vi. p. 227.

(13) *Prisc.* p. 49.

and

a and even lies, to obtain his end ⁹. He was constantly forming new projects, and vast designs, aspiring at nothing less than the monarchy of the universe. He was so elated with his great power and success, as not to hearken to reason, however plain and evident ^r. The pride and haughtiness of his mind appeared in all his actions and motions, in his gait, eyes, and looks; infomuch that no one could behold him, without concluding, that he was sent into the world to disturb it ^s. His presence, joined to the reputation he had acquired, struck all who beheld him with such awe and terror, that very few ventured to approach him, or speak to him ^t. However, we are told, that an ambassador sent to him by *Valentinian III.* appeared quite unconcerned before a man, who made the world tremble. As the ambassador had justice on his side, he was not afraid of his wild and menacing looks; but, in spite of the rage to which he abandoned himself, answered all his complaints, without betraying the least fear, leaving him at his departure calm, and capable of reason, though he had found him quite outrageous and untractable ^u. In his time was found a sword, thought to be the sword of *Mars*, and, on that account, held in great veneration by the antient kings of *Scythia*. It had been lost for some ages, and was said to have been found in the following manner: a cow-herd, observing one of his cows wounded in the foot, followed her bloody traces to the place where she had received the wound. There he discovered the edge of a sword appearing above ground, which the cow had trod upon. The sword he immediately dug up, and carried it to the king; who knowing it to be the famous sword of the god of war, received it with inexpressible joy, as portending, that he was to extend his conquests to the most distant limits of the world ^v. *Priscus*, from whom *Jornandes* copied this account, writes, that nothing gained *Attila* so much respect and veneration among the superstitious vulgar, as the discovery of this sword in his time ^x. The same author adds, that he was so blinded with pride, as to forget he was a man, and to suffer divine honours to be paid to him ^y. He was not however without some good qualities; for to those who referred their controversies to him he administered justice, according to the strictest rules of equity. He treated his subjects with great mildness, suffering them quietly to enjoy their estates, and levying only such sums, as they could easily pay ^z. In his dominions, says *Sylvianus*, no poor were seen oppressed with tributes and taxes ^a. He was ever ready to forgive those who submitted to him; and was never known to have abandoned such as he had once taken under his protection ^b. He was so far from placing his grandeur in pomp and shew, which serve only to dazzle the eyes of the senseless multitude, that, on the contrary, he affected an air of simplicity, and contempt for state and all kind of outward magnificence. dress was proper, but plain. He could not abide any gold, precious stones, or the least ornament on his sword, or the trappings of his horse, though in great request among the princes who attended him, and those of his court ^c. *Priscus*, who attended *Maximinus*, sent by the emperor *Theodosius* in 449. to the court of *Attila* with the character of ambassador, tells us, that they found him sitting in his tent on a wooden chair ^d. The same writer followed him several days journey beyond the *Danube*, till he reached one of his most magnificent palaces, which was all of wood, and stood in a large village, and in a country where no wood or stones were to be found ^e. *Attila*, soon after his arrival, invited *Maximinus* and *Priscus* to a grand entertainment, at which the guests were all served in silver and gold; but before the king was set a dish of plain meat, of which he ate but very sparingly, and on a trencher. He drank very little, and out of a wooden cup, while the rest were regaled with great variety of liquors in cups of gold, enriched with precious stones. During the banquet, something happened, which made all the company laugh; but *Attila*, as *Priscus* observed, maintained his usual gravity amidst their mirth, without the least smile, or change of countenance ^f. He had, according to the custom of his nation, many wives ^g, or, as *Jornandes* expresses it, troops of wives ^h, by whom he had almost a numberless issue. His favourite wife was one *Crecha* or *Recha*, who resided in his capital, and by whom he had his eldest son *Ellac*, with two others. *Priscus*, who carried her some presents, found her sitting on a bed amidst the women who attended her sitting

His pride and
haughty car-
riage.

The supposed
sword of Mars
found in his
time.

His good quali-
ties.

An enemy to
pomp and shew.

His wives.

⁹ JORN. rer. Goth. c. 43. p. 674. & c. 36. p. 660, 663. ^r PRISC. p. 64. ^s JORN. c. 35. p. 661. ^t PRISC. p. 54. ^u CASSIODOR. l. i. epist. 4. p. 512. ^v JORNAN. c. 35. p. 662. ^x PRISC. p. 54. ^y Idem, p. 75. ^z Idem, p. 60. ^a SALVIAN. MASSIL. de gubern. l. v. p. 112. ^b JORN. c. 35. p. 661. ^c PRISC. p. 67. ^d Idem, p. 50. ^e Idem, p. 53. ^f JORN. c. 34. p. 660. ^g PRISC. p. 68. ^h Idem, p. 55. ⁱ JORN. c. 49. p. 604.

on the ground, and working ⁱ. The same writer mentions two other wives of *Attila* ^k.
His children. Among his children are mentioned *Ellac* his eldest son, *Dengizic*, who perished in making war upon the *Romans*, and *Hernac* or *Hernas*, the youngest of them all ^l. *Attila* had an extraordinary esteem and affection for *Ellac*, whom he raised above all his brothers, made him in his life-time king of the *Acatzirians*, and appointed him his successor after his death; but the son did not long outlive the father, being killed in a battle soon after his accession to the crown ^m. Next to *Ellac*, *Hernas* was the father's favourite, the soothsayers having foretold, that he was to outlive all his brothers, and maintain the splendor and glory of his family. The first part of this supposed prediction proved true; but as to the other, *Hernas* was so far from maintaining the glory of his family, that, declining to engage in the war, which his brother *Dengizic* undertook against the empire, he contented himself with some lands given him by the emperor *Marcian* in *Little Srythia* ⁿ. This is all we find in the ancient writers concerning the celebrated *Attila*, and his numerous issue. The modern authors add many things, and among the rest, that, while *Attila* was in *Gaul*, a holy hermit told him, That he was the scourge of God, who had put the sword of justice into his hand, to punish the vices of the christians; but would snatch it from him as soon as they were reclaimed. They add, that *Attila*, after the famous defeat he received in *Champagne*, mindful of the saying of the hermit; added to his other titles that of *flagellum Dei*, or *the scourge of God* ^o. But what we read in the modern histories of *Hungary* concerning those early times, is, for the most part, either quite groundless, or highly improbable, or evidently fabulous.

He despises and insults the Roman emperors.

BUT to resume the thread of our history: *Attila* being, by the death of his brother *Bleda*, become sole master of so many nations, all ready to follow his banners, and execute his commands, he looked upon the *Roman* emperors with such contempt, that he is said to have sent, out of mere wantonness, two *Goths*, with the character of ambassadors, the one to *Theodosius*, and the other to *Valentinian*, with this haughty and insulting message; *Attila, my master and yours, commands you to get ready a palace for his reception* ^p. What answer they returned, we are no-where told. However, we do not find, that *Attila* openly broke the peace he had concluded with *Theodosius*, as we have related above, till the year 447. It is true, he often threatened him with war, but only in order to draw from him money, corn, provisions, and whatever else he stood in need of, the *Romans*, who trembled at the very name of *Attila*, complying, like so many slaves, with all his demands, that he might have no pretence to take arms against them. The ambassadors he sent to *Constantinople* returned always loaded with presents; insomuch that when he thought any of his subjects worthy of an extraordinary reward, he used to send them, under some pretence or other, with the character of ambassadors to *Theodosius* ^q. *Attila* continued thus trampling under foot the majesty of the empire, and insulting the weakness of *Theodosius*, till the year 447. when, no longer satisfied with the annual pension paid him by the emperor, and the rich presents yearly sent him, he declared war against the empire, upon what provocation we know not, probably without any; for *Theodosius* complied with all his demands, however unjust and arrogant. *Thrace* felt the calamities of this war the first; for *Attila*, entering it at the head of a formidable army, laid it waste, says *Theophanes* ^r, from the *Euxine* sea to the streights of *Gallipoli* and *Sestos*. They ravaged, says count *Marcellinus*, almost all *Europe*, laying every-where the towns and castles in ashes ^s. They advanced as far as the castle of *Antbirc* ^t, placed by *Baudrand* ^u between *Selymbria* and *Constantinople*. *Jornandes* writes, that *Attila*, with an army of *Huns*, *Gepidæ*, *Goths*, *Alans*, &c. commanded by their respective kings, ravaged all *Illyricum*, *Thrace*, both *Dacia's*, *Mæsia*, and *Scythia* ^v. They took and plundered *Philippopolis* in *Thrace* properly so called, *Arcadiopolis* in the province of *Europe*, *Constantia*, a city mentioned only by *Theophanes*, *Marcianopolis*, the metropolis of *Lower Mæsia*, and extended their ravages to the streights of *Thermopylæ*, leading from *Thessaly* into *Achaia* ^w; so that they must have crossed *Macedon* and *Thessaly*. That they over-ran *Macedon* and *Greece*, is affirmed by a modern writer, who quotes *Procopius* ^y; but we have not been able to find that passage.

He declares war against Theodosius II. Year of Christ 447. And over-runs several provinces.

ⁱ PRISC. p. 64.

^k Idem, p. 35.

^l Idem, p. 68. JORNAND. c. 50. p. 688.

^m Idem

ibid. p. 686, 687.

ⁿ PRISC. p. 68. JORN. c. 50. p. 688.

^o OLAV. in ATIL. p. 869. BONFIN.

rer. Ungar. p. 18, &c.

^p Chron. Alex. p. 734.

^q PRISC. p. 36, 37.

^r THEOPH. p. 88.

^s MARC. chron.

^t THEOPH. ibid.

^u BAUD. p. 83.

^v JORN. rer. Goth. c. 44. p. 553.

^w THEOPH. p. 88. Chron. Alex. p. 734.

^y VONB. tom. v. p. 119.

- a Seventy towns and upwards, belonging to the eastern empire, were taken and ransacked in this irruption of the *Hunns* and other barbarous nations subject to *Attila*^a. The generals *Theodosius* employed against them were, *Aspar*, *Arcobindus*, and *Arnegisceles*, whom *Theopbanes* names *Argalijcles*^b, the chronicle of *Alexandria*, *Anargisceles*^c, and *Jornandes*, *Arnegisbles*^d. What the other two did, we are no-where told; but *Arnegisceles*, who was *magister militum* in *Mæsia* and *Thrace*, engaged *Attila* in *Lower Dacia*, or rather *Mæsia*, on the banks of the *Utiis*, which falls into the *Danube* at a small distance from a city of the same name^e. The battle proved very bloody, *Arnegisceles* having, on this occasion, distinguished himself in a most eminent manner, and killed many of the enemy with his own hand; but, falling unluckily from his horse in the heat of the engagement, he was himself killed, and his army put to the rout^f. *Jornandes* supposes, that this battle was fought in the neighbourhood of *Marcianopolis*. Another battle was fought in the *Cherjonesus*, not far from *Gallipoli*, in which no better success attended the *Romans* than in the other^g; so that *Theodosius*, finding he could no longer withstand the power of the barbarians, dispatched the patrician *Anatolius* to *Attila*, and with him *Vigilius*, who was well acquainted with the language of the *Hunns*, charging them to conclude a peace upon any terms^h. A peace was accordingly agreed to on the following conditions: That the *Romans* should pay immediately to *Attila* six thousand pounds weight of gold, and every year two thousand; that they should send back to him all his deserters, and receive none for the future; that they should deliver up the *Romans*, who, being taken in war, had made their escape without paying their ransom, or pay for each of them twelve pounds weight of gold; and finally, that the *Romans* should send no ambassadors to *Attila*, till all the deserters and fugitives were delivered up. These conditions were highly opprobrious to the *Roman* name; but the despirited *Romans* chose rather to submit to any terms, than pursue the war with an enemy, whom they despaired of ever being able to conquer. One *Scotia* was sent by *Attila* to *Constantinople*, to hasten the execution of the treatyⁱ. Count *Marcellinus* writes, that, in 448. ambassadors came from *Attila* to *Constantinople*, to demand the money, which they had refused before^j, insinuating thereby, that *Attila* had rejected the conditions, which he afterwards agreed to. Pursuant to the articles of this treaty, six thousand pounds weight of gold were immediately sent to *Attila*, with the *Hunns*, who had taken refuge in the *Roman* dominions, among whom were some princes, who had never submitted to *Attila*, and now chose rather to be killed by the *Romans*, than fall into his hands^k. The inhabitants and garrison of *Asemontium*, a castle of great strength in *Thrace*, had refused to open their gates to *Attila*, and repulsed him with great loss, when he attempted to storm the place; so that he was obliged to withdraw from before it. The barbarian, highly provoked at their gallant behaviour, which a generous enemy would have commended, after the conclusion of the peace, insisted upon their delivering up to him all the *Roman* captives, with the *Hunns*, who had taken refuge in the fortress, refusing to withdraw his troops, till such time as his demands were complied with. The inhabitants answered, That there were no *Romans* at all in the place, and only two *Hunns*; and this answer they confirmed with a solemn oath, not thinking perjury a crime, says our historian, when they could, by no other means, rescue many unhappy *Romans* from death or slavery^l. In virtue of this peace, *Attila* claimed the quiet possession of the countries he had conquered, that is, of the tract extending along the *Danube* from *Pannonia* to the city of *Noves*, placed by *Sanfon* in *Lower Mæsia*; but he afterwards relinquished this claim^m.
- Soon after the conclusion of the peace, that is, in the beginning of the year 449. *Attila* sent one *Edecon* to *Constantinople*, with the character of ambassador, attended by his chief secretary *Orestes* (D). As *Edecon* seemed to be greatly taken with the splendor

He deserts the
generals sent
against him.

The Romans
conclude a
shameful peace
with him.

^a TIR. PROSP. chron. ^b THEOPH. p. 88. ^c Chron. Alex. p. 734. ^d JORN. reg. c. 44. p. 653.
^e BAUD. p. 341. ^f JORN. reg. c. 54. p. 353. Chron. Alex. ^g PRISC. p. 34. ^h Idem ibid. &
p. 51, 53. ⁱ THEOPH. p. 88. PRISC. p. 44—53. ^j MARC. chron. ^k PRISC. p. 35. ^l Idem,
p. 35, 36. ^m Idem, p. 37.

(D) *Orestes* was by birth a *Roman*, that is, he was born a subject of the empire. As he lived in *Pannonia*, perhaps his native country, when that province was yielded to the *Hunns* in 430. he hid himself among the troops of *Attila*, who, discovering him to be a man of parts, made him his secre-

tary. His father, named *Tatnia*, bore likewise some considerable employment at the court of *Attila*. *Orestes* married the daughter of count *Romulus*, sent by *Valentinian* III. on an embassy to *Attila* in 449. and had by her a son, by *Maes* called *Romulus Augustus*, but, by all other historians, *Romulus Augustulus*.

Theodosius
attempts to get
Attila mur-
dered.

The plot is
discovered.

Attila spares
the conspirators

He reproaches
Theodosius as
a weak prince.

splendor and magnificence of the court, and desirous to continue among the *Romans*, a the eunuch *Cbrysaphus*, the emperor's chief chamberlain, thinking him thereupon capable of committing, without remorse, the blackest crimes, proposed to him the assassinating of his prince; which he undertook to do, tempted by the promises of the eunuch. To this wicked attempt the emperor not only consented, but, in order to the more effectual execution of so scandalous an undertaking, dispatched a solemn embassy to *Attila*, strictly injoining those who attended the ambassadors, especially their interpreter *Vigilius*, a bold and enterprising man, to be assisting to *Edecon* in murdering *Attila*. *Maximinus*, who, in 422. had persuaded the *Persians* to conclude a peace with the *Romans*, was at the head of this embassy; but, as he was a man of an unblemished character, the emperor did not think fit to trust him with b the secret. The ambassadors no sooner arrived at the court of *Attila*, than *Edecon*, either apprehensive of the dangers attending such a desperate attempt, or deceiving the whole time the traitors with more refined treachery, discovered the whole to his prince; who immediately caused *Vigilius* to be seized, and sent back his secretary *Orestes* to *Constantinople*, with the purse in which the money had been brought, that was to have been paid to *Edecon* after the assassination, charging him to ask *Theodosius* and *Cbrysaphus*, whether they knew it; to reproach the emperor in the severest terms with such a black piece of treachery, and to insist upon his instantly delivering up to him *Cbrysaphus*, the author and contriver of the plot^a. But the emperor, unwilling to sacrifice the eunuch his chief favourite, instead of complying with *Attila's* demand, c dispatched the patrician *Anatolius* and *Nomus* to the king of the *Hunns*, charging them to do all that lay in their power to appease him. *Anatolius*, at that time comes domesticorum, that is, captain of the guards, had negotiated a peace with *Attila* the year before. As for *Nomus*, he was one of *Cbrysaphus's* particular friends, and generous to such a degree, that no one doubted, but, with his rich presents, he would soften *Attila*. It happened accordingly; for *Attila* not only promised to live in peace and amity with *Theodosius*, but relinquished his claim to the countries on the *Roman* side of the *Danube*, pardoned *Cbrysaphus*, set *Vigilius* at liberty, sent back many *Roman* captives without ransom, and dismissed the ambassadors loaded with presents. Thus *Priscus*, who was an eye-witness of what he relates, having attended *Maximinus* to the court of *Attila*. The same author writes, that *Constantius*, secretary to *Attila*, d being sent ambassador to the court of *Constantinople*, promised to befriend the *Romans*, and do all that lay in his power to divert his master from breaking anew into the empire, provided *Theodosius* procured him some rich heiress in marriage. Hereupon the emperor promised him the daughter of *Saturninus*, whom *Eudoxia* had caused to be put to death in 444. after he had been for some years comes domesticorum, or captain of the guards. But *Zeno*, commander in chief of all the emperor's forces, without any regard to the word or honour of his prince, took her by force out of the castle, where she was kept, and gave her in marriage to a friend of his, named *Rufus*. Of this *Constantius* complained to *Attila*, and *Attila* to *Maximinus*, who was then at his court, telling him, that *Constantius* must either have the daughter of *Saturninus*, e or another of equal wealth; and that it was a shameful thing in a prince to fail of his word, charging him at the same time to tell his master from him, that he was amazed to find he had thus gone back from his word, and forfeited his honour; that, from his not punishing *Zeno*, he concluded that general to have been countenanced by him in what he had done; but if he was therein mistaken, if *Theodosius* durst not resent such insults from his own subjects, he was ready to teach them the respect, submission and obedience they owed their sovereign. *Theodosius*, piqued with this reproach, caused the estate, not of *Zeno*, whom he was afraid to provoke, but of *Saturninus*, to be confiscated, thinking to cover his weakness with this piece of injustice P.

^a PRISC. p. 39—48.

^b Idem, p. 70—72.

^c Idem, p. 69. MARC. CHRON. p. 26.

Julius. *Orestes*, leaving the *Hunns*, served in the *Roman* armies with great reputation, and was raised to the rank of a patrician, and appointed by the emperor *Nepos* general of the troops in *Gaul*; when turning his arms against the prince, who had entrusted him with them, he drove him from the

throne, and caused his son *Augustulus*, in whom ended the western empire, to be proclaimed emperor in his room (14). *Orestes* was in the end taken prisoner in *Paria*, and brought to *Odoacer*, who caused him to be put to death at *Placentia* (15).

(14) *Jorn. c.* 45 p. 673. *Sidon. l. iii. epist.* 7. p. 72. *Prisc. p.* 37. & 57. *Oros. l. p.* 67. *Evagr. l. ii. c.* 26. p. 308. (15) *Evagr. l. vii. c.* 1. p. 333. *Procop. p.* 308.

- a** THE following year 450. *Theodosius II.* died, and was succeeded by *Marcian*; which *Attila* no sooner understood, than he dispatched ambassadors to the new emperor, demanding the annual pension paid him by the deceased prince. *Marcian*, not thinking himself bound by the shameful treaty, which his predecessor had concluded with the barbarians, dismissed the ambassadors with this answer, *That Theodosius was no more; and as for himself, he had gold for his friends, and steel for his enemies.* *Attila*, provoked at this answer, began to draw together his troops, in order to break into the empire. Hereupon *Marcian*, who had found the affairs of the empire in a most deplorable condition, to gain time, sent a solemn embassy to *Attila*, at the head of which was *Apollonius*, a general of no small renown, perhaps the same person to whom *Theodoret* wrote his seventy-third and three hundred and third letter ⁴. *Attila* refused to pay him the usual pension.
- b** But the king of the *Huns*, understanding he had not brought with him the usual pension, would neither speak to him, nor see him. However, he commanded him, on pain of death, to convey to him the presents, which the emperor had sent him. To this message *Apollonius* answered, That the king needed not demand, with menaces, things which he might have when he pleased, either as presents, if he was determined to live in amity with the *Romans*, or as spoils, if, forgetful of the right of nations, he thought fit to use violence with an ambassador. Hereupon *Attila*, chusing rather to lose the presents, than declare himself a friend to the *Romans*, or offer the least violence to an ambassador, ordered him to quit his dominions, and return home ⁵.
- c** However, not thinking it adviseable at that juncture to engage in a war with *Marcian*, and, on the other hand, impatient of peace, he resolved to turn his arms against the western empire, then governed by *Valentinian III.* a weak and unwarlike prince. *Roua*, uncle to *Attila*, had concluded a peace with *Valentinian* a little before his death, that is, about the year 433. as we have related above. *Attila*, who succeeded him, had no sooner taken possession of the crown, than he was, with repeated letters and messages, pressed by *Justa Grata Honoria*, *Valentinian's* own sister, to break the peace, and invade the western empire. *Honoria* had been honoured with the title of *Augusta* to divert her from marrying, there being, at that time, no man in the whole empire, whose rank answered her high station; for it was thought proper, that she should continue unmarried, as the sisters of *Theodosius II.* had done. But celibacy had been their choice; whereas *Honoria* had no inclination to lead a single life, but was forced to it, and closely watched by *Valentinian's* orders, or rather by her mother *Placidia's* ⁶. The young princess therefore, no longer able to bear this restraint, dispatched privately one of her eunuchs to *Attila*, pressing him to enter *Italy* at the head of a powerful army, and marry her; nay, she sent him, either at this time or afterwards, a ring, as a pledge of her fidelity ⁷. She was then about sixteen or seventeen, being born before her brother *Valentinian* in 417. or 418. *Attila*, who had then just begun to reign, not caring to engage in this enterprize, *Honoria* suffered herself to be debauched by one of her own domestics, named *Eugenius*. *Placidia* no sooner perceived her with child, than she caused her to be shut up in a private house, and soon after sent her to *Theodosius* at *Constantinople* ⁸. This happened in 434. three years before *Valentinian* married the daughter of *Theodosius* ⁹. *Valesius* writes, that *Valentinian* caused *Eugenius* to be put to death, which is highly probable, but, we may venture to say, not affirmed by any of the ancients. The same author maintains, that *Honoria* was not sent to *Constantinople*, and, what is surprising, quotes *Jornandes*, who says in express terms she was ¹⁰. *Honoria* continued pressing *Attila* to make war upon her brother; but he, it seems, not giving ear to her solicitations, prayers, and intreaties, lived in peace with *Valentinian* till the year 449. We have several proofs of a good understanding and friendly correspondence between him and *Aetius*, commander in chief of *Valentinian's* armies; for that general sent to *Attila* and *Bleda* a *Gaul*, by name *Constantius*, to serve them in quality of secretary; but he being suspected of treachery, and thereupon put to death, *Aetius* sent them for the same office another of the same name, but by birth an *Italian* ¹¹. After the year 444. *Attila* sent as a present to *Aetius* a famous mimic and buffoon, named *Zercon*, who was a native of *Mauritania*, and strangely deformed ¹². About the year 448. some misunderstanding arose between *Attila* and *Valentinian*, on account of the sacred vessels, of which we have spoken above. To convince *Attila* of the injustice of his claim, were

⁴ THEODORET. ep. 73. p. 942.⁵ PRISC. p. 72, 73.⁶ JORN. rég. c. 44. p. 673. CANGE.

Byzant. sam. p. 67, 73.

⁷ JORN. ibid. p. 653.⁸ PRISC. p. 40.⁹ JORN. rer. Goth. p. 653.¹⁰ MARCEL. chron.¹¹ JORN. ubi sup.¹² PRISC. p. 50, 57, 69.¹³ Idem. p. 53. SUID. p. 1122.

Attila seeks a
pretence to
make war on
Valentinian.

He claims Ho-
noria as his
wife, and, with
her, half the
western empire.

He deceives the
Romans with
a pretended
peace.

sent to his court count *Romulus*, *Promotus* governor of *Noricum*, and *Romanus*, who ^a had a command in the army. *Romulus* was a native of *Petavium* in *Noricum*, a man of great address, and experience in negotiations, and father-in-law to *Orestes*, at that time *Attila's* chief secretary ^b. An anonymous writer, published by *Valesius* with the works of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, tells us, that *Orestes* attended *Attila* into *Italy* ^c. If what that author writes be true, *Attila* must have made an irruption into *Italy*, which no other historian has taken notice of, it being certain *Orestes* had left the service of *Attila* before that, which we shall speak of anon, and which is the only one known to the writers, who have reached our times (E). The ambassadors from *Valentinian* met, at the court of *Attila*, *Maximinus*, sent thither by *Theodosius* ; but, tho' they had evidently justice on their side, the only answer they could get from *Attila* was, that ^b he must have the vessels, or *Sylvanus* must be delivered up to him, otherwise he was resolved to declare war. However, he paid the ambassadors great respect, and entertained them at his table with those of *Theodosius* ^d. He was, without all doubt, himself well apprised of the injustice of his demand ; but, being determined to make war, wanted a pretence to begin it. He had received in 448. and entertained at his court, one *Eudoxus*, by profession a physician, a man of great address, but of a restless temper, who, being accused of stirring up the *Bagaudæ* to take arms against the empire, had made his escape, and found a sanctuary amongst the *Hunns* ^e. But as the emperor, dreading above all things a war with *Attila*, took no notice of his thus protecting a traitor and fugitive, recourse was had to a new claim, which the king of ^c the *Hunns* was very sure would produce a war. We have observed above, that *Honorina*, the emperor's sister, had maintained a private correspondence with *Attila*, and even sent him a ring. *Attila* therefore dispatched a solemn embassy to *Valentinian*, demanding his sister *Honorina*, whom he pretended to be his wife, and, with her, half the western empire, as belonging of right to her. The ambassadors brought with them the ring, which she had sent him, to convince the emperor of their marriage ^f ; and at the same time complained, in their master's name, of the ill usage she met with ; adding, that he was both able and resolved to revenge it. *Valentinian* answered, That his sister was already married ; and that, among the *Romans*, women had no right to the crown, nor to any part of the empire ^g. Of this marriage no ^d mention is made by any other writer, nor indeed of *Honorina*, since the year 434. when she was sent to *Constantinople*. She was probably, upon the death of *Theodosius*, sent back to her brother *Valentinian*, and received from him some harsh treatment ; perhaps he obliged her to marry a person she disliked. Be that as it will, *Valentinian*, having dismissed the ambassadors with the answer related above, thought it advisable to send a solemn embassy to *Attila*, in order to convince him, if possible, of the injustice of his claim. The persons chosen for this purpose were *Cassiodorus*, father to the writer of that name, the emperor's chief secretary, and *Carpilio*, the son of *Aetius*. *Cassiodorus*, who was a man of great eloquence, address, and experience in negotiations, confuted so evidently and fully all the frivolous pretences alleged by ^e *Attila* to justify his breaking with *Valentinian*, that, in the end, he seemed inclined to renew the peace, which it was no ways his interest to grant, says *Cassiodorus* ^h, to so rich an empire, ready to become his prey. A peace was accordingly concluded, to the great surprize of *Valentinian*, and the ambassadors themselves, by whom it was negotiated. It was however but a sham peace, the better to deceive the unwary *Romans*, and fall upon them unawares. It was likewise with this view, that he sent soon after ambassadors to *Valentinian*, with a very friendly, in appearance, and obliging letter, assuring him, that he had no reason to be alarmed at his warlike preparations, since they were designed against *Theodoric*, king of the *Visigoths* in *Langue-* ^f *doc* (F) ; that, as to the *Romans*, he should ever look upon them as his friends, pro-
vided

^b Idem, p. 37, 57, 68.
^{PROSP.} *chron.*

^c Anonym. p. 477.
^f *PRISC.* p. 40.

^g Idem *ibid.*

^d *PRISC.* p. 56, 57, 63, 64, 66.

^e *TIRO*

^h *CASSIODOR.* l. i. *epist.* 4. p. 5, 6.

(E) Some authors think, that *Jornandes* mentions this irruption among the other transactions of the year 434. in the following words: *Cumque veniente Attila totum suum nequirit explere* (16). But these words may equally import, that *Honorina*, of whom *Jornandes* speaks in that passage, could not prevail

upon *Attila* to come and marry her; and that she could not marry him, though he was come.

(F) *Genferic*, king of the *Vandals*, having sent for the daughter of *Theodoric*, and married her to *Hermeric* his eldest son, treated her soon after with his usual cruelty, causing her nose to be cut off, upon

a vided they did not espouse the cause of his enemy ⁱ. At the same time he wrote to *Theodoric*, putting him in mind of the cruel war the *Romans* had made upon him about ten years, and pressing him to renounce their alliance ^k. Thus, joining craft to force, he endeavoured to set the *Goths* and *Romans* at variance, the more easily to crush them both ^l.

DURING these negotiations, he assembled one of the most powerful and formidable armies we find mentioned in history. He had, as we have observed above, people of many different nations among his troops, and a great number of kings at his devotion. Among the kings the most powerful were, *Ardaric* king of the *Gepidæ*, and *Valamir* king of the *Ostrogoths* ^m. His army consisted of the following nations, viz.

b Hunns, *Gepidæ*, *Ostrogoths*, *Rugians*, *Gelonians*, *Squiri*, *Burgundians*, *Bellonotes*, *Neurians*, *Basternæ*, *Turingians*, *Bructerians*, *Franks* dwelling on the *Neckar*, *Marcomans*, *Suevians*, *Quadians*, *Heruli*, *Turcilingians*, and, in short, of all the northern barbarians, to the number of five, or, as others write, seven hundred thousand men ⁿ. With this formidable host he set out from *Scythia* in the depth of winter, and, bending his march through *Germany*, never halted till he reached the banks of the *Rhine*. There the *Franks*, who still dwelt in great numbers on the other side of that river, attempted to stop him; but they were, at that time, unluckily divided among themselves, the whole nation being rent into two factions or parties, by the two sons of *Clodion* quarrelling about the succession to their father's dominions. The elder brother had implored the assistance of the *Hunns*; and the younger, probably *Merouée*, was supported by *Atius*, who had, in a manner, adopted him for his son ^o. Being thus disunited, they were easily overcome; and on this occasion probably happened what we read in *Fredigaire*, viz. that *Childeric*, the son of *Merouée*, was taken prisoner by the *Hunns*, with his mother, and carried into captivity, but rescued out of their hands by the courage and fidelity of a *Frank*, named *Wiomaud* ^p. We are nowhere told what *Attila* did, after his victory over the *Franks*, in favour of *Clodion's* eldest son, whose cause he had espoused. The king of the *Hunns*, having now no enemy to oppose him (for the *Romans*, giving credit to his deceitful protestations, looked upon him as a friend) caused whole forests to be cut down, in order to build

d boats, with which the *Rhine* in a short time was covered ^q. He passed that river without opposition in the beginning, as is supposed, of the year 451 ^r, giving out, that his design was to make war upon the *Visigoths*; that he was determined to live in friendship with the *Romans*; and that he only wanted to cross *Gaul*, and pass the *Loire* at *Orleans*, in order to fall upon his enemies the *Goths* in *Guyenne* and *Languedoc* ^s. Being therefore looked upon as a friend by the credulous and unwary *Romans*, several cities opened their gates to him; but his men behaving in the cities, that had received them, more like enemies than friends, the other towns refused to admit them ^t. Hereupon *Attila*, pulling off the mask, besieged, took by storm, and plundered, many places in *Gaul* ^u. The cities that suffered most on this occasion, were *Tongres* ^w (G),

He enters Gaul at the head of a numerous and formidable army Year of Christ 451.

He takes and destroys several cities.

ⁱ JORN. rer. Goth. c. 36. p. 662, 663. p. 40. JORN. c. 38. p. 666, 667.

^k Idem ibid. p. 661.

^l Idem ibid. ^m PRISC.

ⁿ JORN. c. 38. p. 666, 667. ^o JORN. ibid. SIDON. car. vii. p. 54. Hist. miscel. p. 444.

^p PRISC. p. 40. VALES. rer. Franc. l. iv. p. 158. ^q DU CHESNE hist. Franc. script. tom. ii. p. 726.

^r SID. car. vii. p. 521. ^s BUCH. Belg. p. 511. ^t PROSP. DU CHESNE tom. ii. p. 521. ^u PROSP. IDAT. p. 28. ^v IDAT. ibid. ^w COINTIL annal. eccl. Franc. ad ann. 451. ALLIENODOR. chron. p. 62.

a groundless suspicion, that she designed to poison him, and sending her back thus dishonoured to her father. As he did not doubt but *Theodoric* would resent this affront, he resolved to be before-hand with him; and therefore sent ambassadors, with rich presents, to court the friendship of *Attila*, and persuade him to fall upon *Theodoric*. Hence *Attila*, to deceive the *Romans*, gave out, that the warlike preparations, which were carrying on throughout his dominions, were designed against *Theodoric* (17). This storm, it seems, began to be apprehended in 449. for, in that year, St. *Leo* desired to be excused from assisting at the council of *Ephesus*, alleging the uncertain and wavering state of affairs (18).

(G) *Gregory of Tours* writes, that, when it was first heard in *Gaul*, that *Attila's* design was to pass

through that country, the holy bishop of *Tongres*, named *Aravacus* or *Arvacus*, went to visit the holy places at *Rome*, where, with fervent prayers, and many tears, he begged Heaven to avert the calamities, that threatened his flock, and all *Gaul*. But St. *Peter*, appearing to him, told him, that the Almighty had, in his justice, immutably decreed, that the *Hunns* should come into *Gaul*, and ravage the whole country; but as for him, he should not live to see the miseries of his distressed flock. With this answer he returned to *Tongres*, and thence repaired to *Mastricht*, where he died soon after (19). The credulity of this excellent writer is the effect of his great piety, which often gets the better of his good sense and understanding.

(17) Idem ibid. c. 36. p. 662. Franc. l. ii. c. 56. p. 275, 276.

(18) *Leo*, epist. xxvii. c. 433. p. 491, 498.

(19) *Greg. Tur. hist.*

He lays siege to
Orleans.

Aetius is joined
by the Vili-
goths, and
several other
nations.

Attila takes
Orleans.

Treves, formerly the metropolis of *Gaul*, which had been four times pillaged before ^a the year 440. and was now laid in ashes by the *Huns* ^x, *Strasbourg*, *Spire*, *Worms*, *Mentz*, *Andernach*, and most of the towns in that neighbourhood ^y. *Attila*, advancing thence into the country, and dividing his numerous army into several bodies, took, pillaged, and laid in ashes, many other cities, and among the rest *Aarras* ^z, *Besançon*, *Toul*, and *Langres* ^a. The barbarians attacked the town of *Laon*; but were repulsed with great slaughter ^b. At *Mentz* they arrived the night preceding the solemnity of *Easter*, which, in 451. fell on the eighth of *April*; and having soon forced the gates, and entered the city sword in hand, they made a dreadful havock of the inhabitants, massacred the priests at the altars, and set fire to the place, which soon reduced all the private and public buildings to ashes ^c, sparing only the chapel of *St. Stephen*, if *Gregory of Tours* is to be credited, where some reliques of that saint were lodged ^d. *Attila*, thus putting all to fire and sword, arrived at length before *Orleans*, which he immediately invested, the inhabitants refusing to admit him into the city. In the mean time *Aetius*, arriving from *Italy* at *Arles*, took care to encourage, by frequent messengers, the inhabitants and garrison of *Orleans* to make a vigorous defence, assuring them, that, in a short time, he would march to their assistance. He had brought with him but a small number of troops, not doubting but the *Visigoths* would join the *Romans* in opposing the furious torrent, which threatened both nations alike; but finding the *Visigoths* resolved to wait for the enemy in their own country, he used all kinds of arguments, in order to persuade ^e them to change that resolution, sending to them for that purpose *Avitus*, who was raised to the imperial dignity a few years after ^e. The epitomizer of *Idatius*, supposed to have lived in the time of *Charlemagne* ^f, tells us, that, on this occasion, the holy bishop of *Orleans*, *St. Agnan*, was likewise sent by *Aetius* to *Theodoric* king of the *Visigoths* ^g. Be that as it will, *Theodoric* yielded at length to the reasons alleged by the deputies of *Aetius*, which the reader will find in *Jornandes* ^h, promising to join the *Romans* with all his forces against the common enemy. This change of measures in the king was highly acceptable both to the nobility and his people, who received the news of it with loud acclamations of joy, occasioned by the eager desire they had to try their strength with the *Hunns* ⁱ (H). In the mean time *Aetius* assembled what troops he could in *Gaul*, which were reinforced by the powerful succours brought him by *Theodoric*, who commanded them in person, attended by his eldest and second sons, *Thorismund* and *Theodoric* ^k. Besides the *Visigoths*, the following nations are mentioned among the troops, that composed the army of *Aetius*, viz. the *Franks*, under the conduct of their king *Merouée*, the *Sarmatians*, *Burgundians*, *Saxons*, *Armoricans*, the *Lisians*, dwelling on the banks of the *Lis* in *Flanders* ^l, the *Reverins* or *Ripuarins*, inhabiting the banks of the *Rhine* towards *Cologne*, the *Ibrians*, by *Valesius* called *Brions* and *Breons*, and placed by him in *Vindelicia*, now *Suabia* and *Bavaria* ^m, and several other nations of *Celtic Gaul* and *Germany*, whom the *Romans* had formerly commanded as their subjects, but were now glad to reckon among ^e their auxiliaries and allies ⁿ. Thus *Aetius* assembled an army not much inferior in number, according to *Prosper*, to that of *Attila* ^o.

WHILE *Aetius* was thus busied in assembling his troops, *Attila* pursued the siege of *Orleans* with great fury, battering the walls night and day with an incredible number of warlike engines, till at length he became master of the place. *Valesius* is of opinion, that the holy bishop *Agnan* caused the gates to be opened, lest the city should be taken by assault, and plundered ^p. And *Gregory of Tours* seems to insinuate, that it was not taken by storm; for he writes, that the enemy entered the place, when the

^x DU CHESNE, p. 694. ^y BUCH. p. 512. ^z ALCUIN. apud Bolland. p. 797. ^a ALEX. chron. p. 67. ^b RUINERT. hist. Vand. persecut. p. 408. ^c IDAT. DU CHESNE, tom i. p. 694. ^d GREG. TUR. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 6. p. 276. ^e SID. car. vii. p. 341. PROSP. chron. ^f CANIS. tom. ii. p. 640. ^g Idem, p. 645. ^h JORNAND. rer. Goth. c. 26. p. 663. ⁱ SID. p. 341. PROSP. chron. JORN. ibid. p. 636. ^k JORN. p. 664. ^l VALES. p. 161. ^m Idem rer. Franc. p. 171. & notit. Gal. p. 259, 260. ⁿ JORN. ibid. p. 664. GREG. TUR. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 7. p. 277. ^o PROSP. chron. ^p VALES. rer. Franc. l. vi. p. 160.

(H) The epitomizer of *Idatius*, who often adds to his author something of his own, tells us, that *Aetius* offered half *Gaul* to *Theodoric*, on condition he joined him against the *Hunns*; and that, having by this means engaged him to side with the *Romans*, he made the same offer to *Attila*, provided he made war upon *Theodoric* (20). But this seems to us altogether incredible.

(20) CANIS. tom. ii. p. 645.

- a walls were shaken with the battering-rams, and ready to fall, no breach being then made, according to that writer. On the other hand, the word *irruptio*, used by *Apollinaris Sidonius*, and signifying a violent breaking or rushing in, imports, that the town was taken by storm. Be that as it will, the *Hunns* were scarce entered, when *Actius* and *Theodoric*, arriving with all their forces, fell unexpectedly upon them, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged them to retire with much precipitation out of the town. Many of them threw themselves into the *Loire*, and perished there; a plain proof, that they had passed that river, and invested the town on the south side; which has been denied by some modern writers. *Theopha-*
nes mentions this defeat of *Attila* near the *Loire* and the city of *Orleans*. As for the
b epitomizer of *Idatius*, he evidently confounds this encounter with the great battle of *Chalons*. For this success, *Actius* is by *Apollinaris Sidonius* styled the deliverer of the *Loire*. He is supposed to have gained it on the fourteenth of *June*, that day being marked in an ancient martyrology of *Orleans* as a day of general thanksgiving, for the happy deliverance of the city out of the hands of its cruel enemies. *Attila*, being obliged to abandon *Orleans*, retired with his army towards the *Rhine*; and having passed *Troyes*, he halted in the plains of *Chalons* (1), chusing that place as most advantageous for his *Hunns*, who were all horse, to engage in; for he was well apprised, that *Actius*, who followed him close, would come up with him before he could repass the *Rhine*. The Roman general, being informed by his scouts, that *Attila* was

But is driven
out with great
slaughter by
Actius and
Theodoric.

¶ Vide DU CHESNE, p. 476.

¶ SID. l. viii. ep. 11. p. 246.

¶ Vide DU CHESNE ubi supra.

¶ THEOPH. p. 90.

¶ CANIS. tom. ii. p. 645.

¶ SID. l. vii. ep. 12. p. 199.

¶ Vide FRANC.

LE MAIRE, antiq. d'Orléans, p. 178.

(1) This memorable battle was fought in the plains of *Mauriac*, say some, in the plains of *Catalaunum* or *Chalons*, say others (21); but, to reconcile them, we are only to suppose the same plain to have been known by these two different names; a very natural supposition, and founded on the authority of *Jornandes*, who tells us in express terms, that the *Catalaunici* were also called the *Mauriaci* fields; *Convenitur in campos Catalaunicos*, says he, *qui & Mauriaci nominantur* (22). However, *Valesius* distinguishes these two plains; and, to reconcile the authors, supposes two battles to have been fought, the one, not decisive, in the plains of *Mauriac*, that is, near *Meri* on the *Seine*, in the diocese of *Troyes*, and the other, which proved decisive, in the neighbourhood of *Catalaunum* or *Chalons* (23). But those who speak of the battle fought in the plains of *Mauriac*, suppose it to have been decisive, and to have put an end to the war, in the same manner as those do, who describe the battle of *Chalons*. As for the name of *Mauriac*, *Valesius* supposes *Meri* upon the *Seine*, in the diocese of *Troyes*, to have been antiently so called, and quotes *Fredegaire* in favour of this supposition (24). But *Blundel* takes the small village of *Heiz le Maun* on the river *Delir*, in the diocese of *Chalons*, to be the antient *Mauriac*. *Papirius Masson* places the *Mauriac* fields about three leagues from *Chalons*, near a place called *Noire Dame de l'Épine*, or *Our Lady of the Thorn* (25). He is therein followed by *Cointius* (26), and by *Sanfon*, in his maps of the dioceses of *Chalons* and *Rheims*. As for those, who will have this battle to have been fought beyond *Orleans* at *Mauriac* in *Auvergne*, or in the neighbourhood of *Toulouse*, in a district held at that time, as they suppose, by the *Catalaunians* or *Catalans* of *Spain*, though they agree perhaps therein with *Olaus*, a modern writer, of no authority in himself, they disagree with *Gregory of Tours*, and all those who write, that *Actius* delivered *Orleans*, namely, with *Apollinaris Sidonius*, whom we may call an unquestionable and eye-witness. That author tells us in express terms, that *Attila* took *Orleans* by storm; but was driven out by *Actius*, before he had time to plunder it, and obliged to re-

turn back, directing his march towards the *Rhine*. He did not therefore, according to that writer, penetrate so far into *Gaul* as *Auvergne* or *Languedoc*; and consequently the battle could not be fought at *Mauriac* in *Auvergne*, or near *Toulouse* in *Languedoc*. *Jornandes* writes, that *Thorismond*, upon the death of his father, who was killed in the *Catalaunici* fields, entered *Toulouse* vested with royal majesty; *Thoris-mundo ergo, patre mortuo in campis Catalaunicis, ubi & pugnaverat, regia majestate subreptus Tolosam ingreditur* (27). From these words some conclude the battle to have been fought in the neighbourhood of *Toulouse*. But *Jornandes* does not say, that *Thorismond* made his entry into *Toulouse* the same day his father was killed, or the day following; nay, he confines it to no certain time, but evidently supposes it not to have happened immediately after the battle; for he tells us, that, after the battle, *Actius* advised *Thorismond* to return home, *ut ad sedes proprias remearet*. The battle therefore was not fought in the territories of the *Goths*, but at a considerable distance from *Toulouse*. The young prince, following the advice of *Actius*, returned to *Gaul*; *redit ad Gallias*, says *Jornandes*, who, by *Gaul*, could only mean *Celtic Gaul*, called also *Gallia Lugdunensis*; so that *Thorismond*, in marching to the field of battle, had crossed *Celtic*, and entered *Belgic Gaul*, the latter of which belongs the diocese of *Chalons*. Hence *Scaliger* thinks those writers, who will have *Attila* to have been defeated near *Toulouse*, to be guilty of a mistake altogether childish, how able soever they may be in other respects. The plains of *Chalons*, where the two armies engaged, were, according to *Jornandes* (28), one hundred leagues in length, and seventy in breadth; but that author allows only fifteen hundred paces to each league. His allowing that extent to the plains of *Chalons*, gives us room to believe, that he comprised, under that name, all the champain country, whence the province was afterwards called *Champagne*, a name by which it was well known so early as the sixth century (29). On the same plain of *Chalons* was fought, in 273, a great battle between the emperor *Aurelian* and the usurper *Tetricus*.

(21) Du Chesne, tom. i. p. 276. Canis. antiquæ lect. tom. ii. p. 625.

(22) Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 46.

p. 664. (23) Val. notis. Gall. p. 324.

(24) Idem ibid.

(25) Du Chesne, p. 105.

(26) Coint.

tom. i. p. 75.

(27) Jorn. c. 41. p. 670.

(28) Idem ibid. p. 664.

(29) Du Chesne, p. 105.

A bloody encounter between the Franks and Gepidæ.

waiting for him in those vast plains, resolved, notwithstanding the enemy's advantageous situation, to advance, and put the whole to the issue of a battle. As he arrived late at night in the plains where *Attila* was encamped, the *Gepidæ*, who served under *Attila*, and the *Franks*, who followed *Aetius*, meeting in the dark, engaged with such fury, that, on both sides, above fifteen thousand men were left dead upon the spot^a. We are told, that *Attila*, desirous to know before-hand the issue of the approaching battle, consulted his aruspices, who, after having narrowly examined the entrails of the beasts offered in sacrifice, and, according to their custom, scraped their bones, returned the following answer: That the event would not prove favourable to him; but, on the enemy's side, their chief man would fall in the engagement. This answer greatly encouraged *Attila*, who did not in the least doubt, but by the chief man was meant *Aetius*, whose death he was glad to purchase at any rate, since he looked upon that great commander as the only person in the whole empire capable of defeating his vast designs^b. He therefore resolved to give battle, but not to engage till the day was far spent, that night coming on, might prevent the *Romans* from pursuing the victory^c. He placed himself in the centre, with the flower of his army around him, as if his chief care had been, says *Jornandes*^d, to preserve himself, and not to conquer. In the wings were posted the *Ostrogoths*, the *Gepidæ*, and the other nations, that followed his banner^e. On the other hand, *Aetius* placed the *Romans*, whom he commanded himself, in the left wing, the *Visigoths*, under the command of *Theodoric* and his son *Thorismund*, in the right, and the *Alans*, with their king *Saugiban* (K), and probably the *Franks*, and other auxiliaries, with their respective leaders, in the centre. Thus were those spacious plains quite covered with infinite numbers of combatants, the flower of innumerable nations, ready, says *Jornandes*, to destroy each other, without any private pique or quarrel, but merely in compliance with the ambition of one man, which, in them, supplied the room of the most mortal hatred, and irreconcilable enmity. What pity, continues our historian, that, by the passion and folly of one man, should perish, in a few hours, what nature has produced in many years^f! Between the two armies was an eminence of an easy ascent, which both parties strove to seize; but *Aetius* and *Thorismund*, having possessed themselves of it the first, repulsed without much ado the *Hunns*, who attempted to dislodge them. This advantage, gained by the *Romans* in the very beginning of the engagement, raised their courage, and greatly damped the ardour of the enemy; which *Attila* observing, strove to re-animate his men by a speech, which the reader will find in *Jornandes*^g, who made it for him. The battle began about four in the afternoon, and is by all writers reckoned one of the most bloody and obstinate engagements mentioned in history. A small brook, that crossed the plain, swelled, says *Jornandes*^h, to a torrent, by the great quantity of blood that was shed. *Aetius* pressed the *Hunns* on his side; and *Thorismund* never ceased harassing them from the eminence he had seized. The *Goths*, leaving the *Alans* behind, charged the enemy with no less vigour than the *Romans* had done. *Theodoric*, notwithstanding his great age, flew from rank to rank, encouraging his men; but falling unluckily from his horse, he was, according to some, trod to death by his own men. Others write, that he was killed with a dart by a *Goth*, named *Andagus*, who fought under *Attila*, and was descended from the *Amali*, that is, from the royal family of the *Goths*ⁱ. The *Goths*, though no longer animated by the presence of their king, pressed the *Hunns* so

The battle of Châlons.

Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, killed.

^a JORN. c. 41. p. 671. ^b Idem, c. 37. p. 665. BUCH. Belg. p. 515. VAL. p. 162. ^c JORN. ibid. ^d Idem, p. 666. ^e Idem, p. 667. ^f Idem, p. 664. ^g Idem, c. 39. p. 367, 368. ^h Idem, c. 40. p. 668. ⁱ Idem ibid. & c. 50. p. 688.

(K) *Valesius* takes *Saugiban* to be the same person with *Sambida*, chief of the *Alans*, on whom *Aetius* bestowed, about the year 440. as *Tiro Prosper* informs us, some lands, that lay uncultivated in the *Valentinois* (30). Others will have him to be the successor of *Ecaric*, chief of another body of *Alans*, whom *Aetius* placed on the banks of the *Loire* in 447. at a small distance from *Armorica*, in order to awe the *Armoricans*, and put a stop to their incursions (31). *Saugiban* was in *Orleans* when

Attila entered *Gaul*, having obtained leave to reside there; but, as the barbarians drew near that city, he was ordered to quit it, upon a report, that he designed to deliver it up to them (32). All these *Alans* had entered *Gaul* in 406. In the battle *Aetius*, distrusting *Saugiban*, placed him in the centre, that, being surrounded by the *Romans* and *Visigoths*, he might have no opportunity, says *Jornandes* (33), of putting in execution the design of which he was suspected.

(30) *Val. rer. Franc. l. iv. p. 272.*
p. 665. Val. rer. Franc. p. 272.

(31) *Buch. Belg. p. 512.*
(32) *Jorn. c. 36. p. 664.*

(32) *Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 37.*

warmly,

- a warmly, that *Attila*, no longer able to withstand them, retired in the end, with those who surrounded him, to his camp, which he barricaded with all the carts and waggons of his army. It being night before the battle was ended, *Thorismond*, coming down from his eminence to rejoin his own people, found himself entangled among the carts and waggons of the enemy, who fell upon him with great fury. On this occasion he received a wound on the head, and was thrown from his horse; but other *Goths* flying to his assistance, he was rescued from the danger, and brought back to his camp. As for *Actius*, he continued the engagement, till night coming on, the enemy withdrew to their camp, when he likewise retired, not daring to pursue them, as not knowing whether the *Goths* were conquerors, or conquered. The
- b new day discovered a dreadful sight, those vast plains almost quite covered with dead bodies; but *Attila*, who, they expected, would renew the engagement at break of day, kept close in his camp, and was resolved, as the *Romans* were afterwards informed, to burn himself alive, if they had forced it, rather than suffer himself to be taken prisoner. He caused a great noise to be made in his camp, and the trumpets every-where to sound, as if he were upon the point of sallying out, and falling upon the *Romans*; but did not however stir from his entrenchments. Hence the *Romans* concluded, that he was conquered, and that his loss was great. However, not thinking it advisable to attack him in his camp, as he had but a small quantity of provisions, they resolved to keep him closely blocked up^h. He declines a second engagement.
- c In the mean time the *Goths*, missing their king, sought him on all sides, and at last found him among the dead. His body was carried, in the sight of the *Hunns*, with the greatest solemnity, and all possible marks of honour, from the field of battle to the camp, where the last duties were paid him, in the midst of which his son *Thorismond* was proclaimed king, and, in that quality, he ended the ceremonyⁱ. Such is the account the antients give us of this famous action, in which near three hundred thousand men were killed, according to *Idatius*, on both sides, and two hundred and fifty-two thousand, according to the *Amsterdam* edition of *Jornandes* in 1655. including those who fell the night before the battle in the encounter between the *Franks* and the *Gepidæ*. Both armies suffered extremely, and the *Romans* challenged the
- d victory for no other reason, but because *Attila* kept in his camp the next day, and withdrew afterwards to his own country, without daring to venture a second engagement^k. *Cassiodorus*, and *Theodoric* king of *Italy*, own, that, in this action, *Actius* had the chief command; but ascribe the victory to the courage and bravery of the *Goths*^l. *Victor Tunniensis* extols the courage of the *Goths*, without so much as mentioning *Actius*; and *Gregory of Tours* will have the success of that day to be owing to the prayers of *St. Agnan* bishop of *Orleans*^m. As to the account of this battle given by the continuator of *Idatius*ⁿ, *Valesius* looks upon it as altogether fabulous. *Thorismond*, greatly affected with the death of his father, resolved to revenge it on the *Hunns*, and, at the head of his *Goths*, attack them in their camp; but having first
- e consulted *Actius*, whose known wisdom, and long experience, gave great weight to his counsels, that general advised him to return home without delay, and take possession of his father's dominions, lest his brothers, seizing on the deceased king's treasures, should raise disturbances in his absence, and give rise to a civil war. This advice *Actius* gave with a political view, fearing, that if the *Hunns* were utterly extirpated, the *Goths*, no longer awed by so formidable a power, might prove a no less troublesome enemy to the empire, than those barbarians. However, *Thorismond*, not suspecting in the least the zeal and sincerity of *Actius*, readily embraced his advice, and returned home^o. Thus, giving way to groundless suspicions, we often let slip the most favourable opportunities, being wholly taken up in guarding against imaginary evils. The continuator of *Idatius* tells us, that *Actius*, going in the night to the enemy's camp, assured *Attila*, that the *Roman* army had been reinforced with a very considerable number of *Visigoths*, in order to oblige him to retire with more haste, and even to purchase with money a safe retreat. By a like artifice he persuaded *Thorismond*, according to the same writer, to retire, and pay him a considerable sum. He adds, that *Thorismond*, finding afterwards he had been imposed upon by *Actius*, sent to challenge the promise he had made him, which was to yield to him half *Gaul*, if he drove out *Attila*; but *Actius*, in lieu of the promised dominions, only sent him
- The number of the slain.
- Actius persuades Thorismond to return home with his Goths.

^a Idem, p. 670. ⁱ Idem, c. 41. p. 672. ^k PROSP. chron. BUCH. Belg. p. 515. ^l CASSIOD. chron. & l. iii. epist. 1. p. 401. ^m DU CHESNE, p. 277. ⁿ CANIS. tom. ii. p. 645. ^o JORN.

rer. Goth. c. 41. p. 671. DU CHESNE, tom. i. p. 177.

And likewise
Merouée with
his Franks.

a golden dish, weighing five hundred pounds, and enriched with precious stones ^v. But to such accounts we can give no credit, upon the bare testimony of a writer, whose authority is of no great weight with us. *Tborismond* was no sooner gone, than *Aetius*, by the same artifice, persuaded *Merouée*, king of the *Franks*, whose brother aspired at the crown, to withdraw his troops, and return home. Thus he got for himself the spoils that were left in the field of battle ^q.

WHEN *Attila* was first told, that the *Visigoths* were retired, he imagined it to be only a feint, in order to surprise him, and therefore kept for some time close in his camp; but being afterwards informed of the truth, he returned courage, says *Jornandes* ^r, and began to hope for victory. However, he made no attempt, but retired quietly to the *Rhine*, with a small number of troops, says *Gregory of Tours* ^s; and truly his army must have been greatly weakened, since he did not offer to attack *Aetius* even after the departure of the *Goths* and *Franks*. *Valesius* concludes from hence, that the army he led into *Gaul*, did not consist, as *Jornandes* seems to insinuate ^t, of five hundred thousand men ^u. *Jornandes* perhaps only meant, that his troops amounted to that number, and not that he marched them all into *Gaul*. He had, no doubt, left a considerable number of his forces in the countries he had conquered, to awe the people, and garrison his forts and strong-holds. Besides, it is certain, that this very year 451. a body of *Hunns* broke into *Illyricum*, and ravaged that province; but were in the end driven out by *Ardaburius*, who was thereupon appointed by *Marcian* emperor of the east, commander in chief of all his forces ^w. The anonymous author of the *Altissiodorensian* chronology tells us, that *Aetius*, after the engagement, returned to *Italy*, leaving *Attila* to commit what ravages he pleased in *Gaul* ^x. This seems highly improbable, the more as that writer supposes the city of *Mentz* to have been destroyed on this occasion; whereas all other authors speak of the ruin of that city as happening before the siege of *Orleans*. Such was the issue of *Attila's* expedition into *Gaul*, so much spoken of by the writers of those times. The ravages he committed there were, no doubt, very great; but posterity has not a little increased them, charging *Attila* and his *Hunns* with all the devastations, that were afterwards committed by the *Franks*, the *Alemans*, and other barbarous nations ^y. It was a long time before the towns he had ruined were rebuilt, or repeopled; nay, so great was the consternation of the inhabitants, that *Lusus*, the famous bishop of *Troyes*, returning to his see, after he had attended *Attila* to the banks of the *Rhine*, found the city quite abandoned, though *Attila*, out of regard to him, had spared it; inasmuch that he was obliged to retire to a mountain, named *Latisco*, about fifteen leagues from *Troyes*, where he endeavoured to persuade his people, who had taken refuge there, to return to their antient habitations; but, not being able to remove their fears, after he had continued two years among them, he left them, and retired to *Mascon* ^z. *Aetius* pursued *Attila* as far as the *Rhine*; but never offered to attack him, thinking it, as most authors conjecture, impolitic to weaken him too much, lest he should no longer be in a condition to awe the *Franks* and *Goths*, and divert them from raising disturbances in the empire.

Attila invades
Italy. Year of
Christ 452.

Attila, rather enraged than disheartened at the disappointment he had met with, and the loss he had sustained in *Gaul*, resolved to make an irruption into *Italy*, where he hoped to find more booty, and less opposition, there being no *Goths*, *Franks*, *Alans*, or *Burgundians* there to oppose him. Pursuant to this resolution, having reinforced his army with powerful supplies sent him out of *Scythia*, he left *Pannonia*; and finding the passes of the *Alps* unguarded, as no hostilities were expected on that side, he entered *Italy* in the latter end of the year 451. as *Jornandes* and *Idatius* seem to insinuate ^a, or, what is more probable, in the beginning of the following year 452. It is impossible to express the terror and consternation, which so sudden and unexpected an irruption occasioned, even in the most distant provinces. *Aetius*, who had opposed the barbarians so vigorously in *Gaul*, betrayed, on this occasion, no less fear than the rest; nay, he was at first for retiring with the emperor out of *Italy*, and taking refuge in *Gaul*; but shame getting the better of his fear, he continued in *Italy*, and began to assemble the forces, that were dispersed up and down the provinces. In the mean time frequent councils were held at court, in the senate,

^p CANIS. p. 645, 646. ^q DU CHESNE, p. 277. ^r JORN. c. 41. p. 671, 672. ^s DU CHESNE, p. 277. ^t JORN. c. 36. p. 665. ^u VAL. rer. Franc. p. 165. ^w CONCIL. tom. iv. p. 76. ^x ALTISS. chronol. p. 60. ^y Vide NIC. SERAR. res Mogunt. l. i. c. 7. p. 27. ^z SURIUS, p. 347. ^a JORN. rer. Goth. c. 42. p. 672.

- a and in the assemblies of the *Roman* people; but the only expedient that occurred, was to send ambassadors to *Attila*, and try whether they could, by offering him most advantageous terms, induce him to conclude a peace, and retire. In the meantime he ravaged, without restraint or controul, the *Italian* provinces, and took by storm several cities^b. He met with no opposition till he came to *Aquileia*, the metropolis of the province called *Venetia*. As that city was well fortified, and defended by the flower of the *Roman* troops, all his efforts against it proved, for a long time, unsuccessful; inasmuch that his men began to mutiny, and declare, they would abandon the siege^c. But *Attila*, having one day observed some storks carrying their young ones out of the city into the fields, as he was then deliberating with himself, whether he should raise or pursue the siege, took this for a lucky omen; and turning to his men, *Behold*, he said, *those birds abandoning a city, which they know, by a natural instinct, is near ruin*. The soldiers, believing their king well skilled in auspices, were so animated with this observation, that, doubling their efforts, they made an incredible number of warlike engines, with which they continued battering the city night and day, and at length took it by storm, plundered it for several days, and laid it in ashes, not one house being left standing, nor one person alive, that fell into their hands^d. Encouraged with this success, without much-ado, they made themselves masters of the other cities of that province, viz. *Trevigio*, *Verona*, *Mantua*, *Cremona*, *Brescia*, and *Bergamo*, which they plundered with the utmost cruelty, putting all to fire and sword, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. It is commonly said and believed, that, on this occasion, the inhabitants of the province of *Venetia*, to avoid the cruelty of the *Huns*, retired to the islands on their coast, and there laid the foundation of a city, which, borrowing its name from the province, was called *Venetia*, and is known to us by the name of *Venice*^e (L). From the province of *Venetia*, *Attila* advanced into *Liguria*, where he took and plundered *Milan*, the metropolis of that province, and the usual seat of the emperors of the west. He laid in ashes the city of *Pavia*, and several other places in that neighbourhood, raging every-where with such cruelty, as can hardly be expressed or conceived^f (M). He was prompted, by his thirst of booty, to march to *Rome*, and plunder that metropolis of the western empire; and the *Romans* expected daily to see him at the gates of their city, which, it seems, they were not in a condition to defend against so powerful an enemy; for *Leo the Great* writes, that Heaven, by granting them peace, had saved *Rome*, and delivered the *Roman* people from slaughter and bondage^g. However, *Attila*, though he had publicly declared his resolution of marching to *Rome*, was afterwards diverted from putting it in execution by his own men, says *Jornandes*, mindful of the untimely end of *Alaric*, who died soon after he had plundered that metropolis, and dreading the same fate might overtake their leader^h. But this motive surely could be of no great weight with *Attila*. His army was greatly weakened for want of provisions; a contagious distemper raged amongst his troops to such a degree, that Heaven seemed to fight against him; *Marcian*, emperor of the east, had sent a chosen body of troops to the assistance of *Valentinian*, which, under the conduct of *Aetius*, had gained some advantages over the *Huns*; such of that nation as had remained at home, were at the same time greatly harassed by the forces, which *Marcian* had sent against them.

WHILE *Attila*, thus embarrassed, was in suspense whether or no he should pursue his march to *Rome*, ambassadors arrived from *Valentinian*, with proposals for an agreement. The sending of ambassadors was the only expedient, as we have hinted above,

^b Idem ibid. ^c Idem ibid. ^d Idem ibid. Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 4. p. 188. THEOPH. p. 92. GREG. TUR. hist. Franc. l. ii. p. 277. ^e Por. de imp. c. 28. p. 69, 71. ^f JORN. ibid. p. 673. ^g Leo, serm. lxxxii. c. 1. p. 3400. ^h JORN. ibid. sup.

(L) *Cassiodorus* speaking of the *Venetians*, as he styles them, about fifty years after, says, that they inhabited the islands of the *Adriatic*; that they had no other fence against the waves but hurdles, no other food but fish, no wealth besides their boats, and no merchandize but salt, which they exchanged for other provisions. They were employed, in the time of *Cassiodorus*, in carrying from *Istria* to *Ravenna* the corn and oil, which that province was

obliged to furnish (34); so that they were then subject to the *Goths*.

(M) We are told, that *Attila*, seeing at *Milan* some pictures, representing the *Roman* emperors sitting on thrones of gold, and the *Scythians*, that is, the *Goths* or *Huns*, prostrate at their feet, caused himself to be painted sitting on a throne, and the *Roman* emperors carrying on their shoulders sacks filled with gold, which they emptied at his feet (35).

(34) *Cassiodor. l. xii. ep. 24. p. 199. Val. rer. Franc. l. iv. p. 169.*

(35) *Jorn. ibid. p. 673.*

Attila concludes a truce with Valentinian.

He retires out of Italy.

He returns into Gaul.

Where he is defeated by the Visigoths.

His death.

that occurred to the prince, and his council, to deliver *Italy* from the cruel ravages ^a of the barbarians. At the head of this embassy was the celebrated *Leo*, bishop of *Rome*, a person famed for his eminent piety and learning. His colleagues were *Albigenus* or *Avienus*, who had been consul in 450. and *Trigecius*, formerly prefect ¹. They found *Attila* on the banks of the *Menzo*, not far from *Mantua*, and were received by him with uncommon demonstrations of kindness and esteem. He concluded with them, soon after their arrival, a kind of treaty, which, it seems, was but a truce; for he threatened to return to *Italy*, and commit there greater ravages than ever, unless the princess *Honorio* was sent him, with the share of the imperial treasures that was due to her ^k. One of the articles of this treaty was, that an annual pension should be paid to *Attila*, the emperor being glad to redeem the empire at any ^b rate from the calamities it suffered ^l. The treaty was no sooner signed, than *Attila* commanded his men to forbear all hostilities; and soon after leaving *Italy*, he retired, with all his troops, beyond the *Danube* ^m. This peace, or rather truce, was probably concluded in the beginning of *July*; for *Leo* was still at *Rome* on the tenth of *June*, as appears from one of his letters to *Theodorus* of *Frejus* bearing that date ⁿ.

As *Attila* was incapable of living himself, or suffering others to live, in peace, he was no sooner returned to his own country, than he began to threaten the eastern empire with an invasion, if *Marcian* did not send him, without delay, the tribute, which his predecessor *Theodosius* the younger had agreed to pay him yearly ^o. But this was only a feint, says *Jornandes*, to conceal his real design, which was to return ^c into *Gaul*, and there make war upon the *Visigoths*. Pursuant to this design, having left *Pannonia*, and crossed *Rbatia*, he followed the course of the *Rhone*, entered the country now known by the name of *Dauphiny*, and there fell unexpectedly upon the *Alans*, who had been allowed by *Aetius*, as we have hinted above, to settle in the *Valentinois*. But *Thorismond*, king of the *Visigoths*, whose dominions were parted from those of the *Alans* only by the *Rhone*, being well apprised, that *Attila*, in reducing the *Alans*, had no other view but to open himself a way into his territories, joined his neighbours with all his forces, and, meeting *Attila*, gave him a total overthrow; which obliged him to return with shame and disgrace into his own country ^p. *Jornandes* and *Sigebert* are the only writers, who mention this second irruption of the ^d *Hunns* into *Gaul*; and *Valesius*, not without reason, questions the truth of what they write ^q. Perhaps *Thorismond* made war upon the *Alans*, who, finding themselves attacked by so powerful an enemy, called in a body of *Hunns* to their assistance; but were defeated, together with their allies, by the king of the *Visigoths*; for *Gregory of Tours* tells us, that *Thorismond* subdued the *Alans* ^r. As for *Jornandes*, we have shewn, in several places of the *Roman* history, that he was far from being well acquainted with the affairs of the *Visigoths*. We find no farther mention of *Attila* in the ancient historians, till the time of his death, which happened, according to *Idatius*, immediately after he was returned from *Italy* ^s. Count *Marcellinus* places it in 454. but *Prosper*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Victor Tunniensis*, in 453. or 452. *Jornandes* gives us the following account of his death, which he copied from *Priscus*: *Attila*, not satisfied with the many wives he had already, married a young woman of extraordinary beauty, named *Ildico*. On the day of the nuptials, which were celebrated with the utmost magnificence, the king, transported with joy, drank to excess, contrary to his custom; and being overcome with sleep, retired with his bride, and slept with his face upwards. In that posture he was seized with an *hemorrhagia*, or flux of blood, to which he was subject. As the blood had not a free course through the usual passages, it fell into his throat, and stifled him ^t. The next day, his officers, not seeing him appear, began to apprehend, that some misfortune had happened to him. Having therefore long waited for him in vain, they called him with great ^f noise, and, not hearing him stir nor answer, they at length forced the doors of his apartment, when they found him dead, without any marks of violence, and his bride sitting by him bathed in tears, and covering her face with her veil. At this sight they cut part of their hair, according to the custom of their nation, and tore their faces, to bewail so great a warrior, not with tears, like women, but, like men, with blood ^u. To this account *Priscus* adds a very remarkable circumstance, which he

¹ Idem ibid. LEO, rom. ii. p. 309.

^a Idem, p. 673.

ⁿ LEO, idem. lxxxii. p. 340. & epist. lxxxiii. p. 606.

c. 43. p. 674.

^p Idem, p. 674, 675.

rer. Franc. l. ii. c. 7. p. 371.

^k JORN. p. 673. PROSP. chron.

^l VAL. rer. Franc. l. iv. p. 171.

^m JORN. c. 49. p. 683, 684.

^o IDAT. p. 29.

¹ JORN. c. 49. p. 685.

² PRISC. p. 40. JORN.

³ GREG. TUR.

⁴ Idem ibid.

- a will not allow us to call into question, viz. that the very night *Attila* died, the emperor *Marcian* being very uneasy and restless in reflecting on the menaces and great power of that warlike prince, his bow was shewn him broken in many pieces; which was revealing to him the death of an enemy, whom he so much dreaded, and at the same time informing him, that the vast empire he had founded in the north would be soon divided, and, as it were, broken in pieces. Count *Marcellinus* writes, that the tyrant of *Europe* underwent the fate of *Holophernes*, being killed, as he was, by a woman*. But *Cassiodorus*† and *Theophanes*‡ agree in their account of his death with *Jornandes*. Thus, he was justly punished, says *Jornandes**, with a dishonourable and ignominious death, for the cruel and unnatural murder of his brother, and the streams of blood, which his unbounded ambition had prompted him to shed.
- b His body was conveyed with great solemnity from the place where he died to the fields, and there laid under a silk tent, which some horsemen, chosen out of the whole nation of the *Hunns*, often riding round, sung, in a doleful strain, the noble achievements of their king. This mournful ceremony was succeeded by a joyful one, a great banquet on the deceased prince's tomb, which lasted till the night was far spent, when his body was secretly interred, being inclosed in three coffins, the first of gold, the second of silver, and the third of iron. The latter was to signify, that he had subdued many nations with his sword; and the two former, that he had obliged the *Roman* emperors to share their treasures with him. In the same grave
- c with him were buried the arms and rich spoils, which he had taken in war from other princes, and great commanders. In the end, all those were put to death, who had been employed about his grave, lest their avarice should, some time or other, prompt them to plunder it^b. This is all we find in the antients concerning *Attila* the renowned king of the *Hunns*. We might have added many things from the chronicles of *Hungary*, from *Callimachus*, and *Olabus*, who have written the life of that prince, and filled whole books with his exploits; but as their accounts are not vouched by the antients, and their authority is of no weight in itself, we have not thought any thing they relate worthy of notice. With *Attila* ended the empire, which he had, with so much blood and treasure, founded in the north; for a civil war being kindled
- d upon his death among his numerous issue, the several nations he had subdued laid hold of that opportunity to shake off the yoke, and recover their antient liberty. Thus the *Hunns* ceased to be the terror of both empires, and, for several ages, performed nothing, which historians have thought worthy of mention.
- Attila* had by his last will, as we read in *Jornandes**, appointed *Ellac*, his eldest son, to succeed him, and to rule over his other children, as well as over the many nations he had conquered. *Ellac* was, it seems, a man of great boldness, intrepidity, and experience in war, and consequently capable of maintaining, and even extending the conquests of his father; but as he had an incredible number of brothers, and they all jointly insisted upon an equal division of their father's dominions, a bloody
- e war was kindled, which involved in the utmost confusion, not only the northern provinces, but both *Pannonia*'s, and the other countries on the *Danube*, where the *Romans* had allowed them to settle. But while they all strove to be sovereigns, they all lost the sovereignty for which they strove; for *Ardaric*, king of the *Gepidæ*, hearing that they proposed to divide among them by lot the nations, which their father had conquered, and not able to bear, that powerful kings, and warlike people, should be thus treated like the meanest slaves, openly declared, that he would not obey the sons of *Attila*, but rescue himself and his people from the yoke they so shamefully groaned under. His example was followed by several other nations, that hastened to join him. *Ellac*, leaving for the present his brothers, marched against
- f him at the head of all his forces. Hereupon a battle ensued on the banks of the *Notad* in *Pannonia*, in which the *Hunns* were utterly routed, and thirty thousand of them killed on the spot, with their king *Ellac*, who is said on that occasion to have performed wonders, and to have behaved like a true son of the great *Attila*^d. The *Hunns* were so disheartened with this overthrow, and the general revolt of the nations they had conquered, that, being pressed by the *Gepidæ*, they retired to the country, which they had taken from the *Goths* in 376. towards the *Euxine* sea and the mouths of the *Danube*, and the *Gepidæ* remained masters of all ancient *Dacia*, lying north of that river, which the *Hunns* had possessed ever since their first irruption into *Europe*.

* MARC. chron. c. 35. p. 661.

† CASSIODOR. chron. b Idem ibid. p. 684.

‡ THEOPH. chronograph. p. 92, 93. c Idem ibid. p. 686.

* JORN.

* Idem ibid.

He is succeeded by Ellac. Year after Christ 453.

Civil wars between him and his brothers.

Ellac and his army cut off by the Gepidæ.

The *Gepidæ* begged the friendship of the *Romans*, and a small annual pension to support them; which was readily granted, and continued to be paid even in the time of the emperor *Justinian* ^a. Several other nations, thus delivered from the yoke of the *Hunns*, begged and obtained leave of *Marcian*, or his successor *Leo*, to settle in the *Roman* territories. Among these mention is made of the *Squiri*, *Salagairæ*, and *Alans*, who, under the conduct of *Candax*, their king or leader, settled in *Lesser Scythia* and *Lower Mæsia*. To the *Rugians*, *Sarmatians*, and *Cemendrians*, lands were granted in *Illyricum*, near a place called the *Castle of Mars*. To the *Ostrogoths* *Marcian* granted all *Pannonia*, from *Sirmium*, now *Sirmish* in *Slavonia*, to *Vindobona*, at present *Vienna* in *Austria*. Even *Ernac*, *Attila*'s youngest son, and with him several *Hunns*, submitted to the *Romans*, who granted them lands on the most distant borders of *Lesser Scythia*, in *Dacia*, and amongst the *Sarmatians* in *Illyricum* ^b. The other sons of *Attila*, uniting their forces, attempted to drive the *Goths* out of *Pannonia*, and recover that province; but *Valemir*, king of the *Goths*, meeting them with only a handful of men, says *Jornandes*, put them to flight, and pursued them with such slaughter, that few of them escaped ^c. About eight years after, while the *Goths* were engaged in a war with the *Salagæ*, *Dinzio*, one of *Attila*'s sons, and styled by *Jornandes* king of the *Hunns*, having assembled what forces he could, entered the territories of the *Goths*, putting all to fire and sword, and laid siege to *Bajana*, thought to be the present city of *Posëga*, the metropolis of a country bearing the same name, and lying between the *Save* and the *Draw* ^k. This the *Goths* no sooner understood, than, leaving the *Salagæ*, they marched against the *Hunns*, and drove them out with such slaughter, that they never after offered to molest them ^l.

They are utterly routed by the Goths.

THE *Hunns*, thus weakened by their intestine wars, and the great losses they had sustained in the two above-mentioned irruptions, continued quiet till the year 466, when passing the *Danube* in the depth of winter on the ice, they broke into *Dacia*, under the conduct of one *Hormidac*, and committed dreadful ravages in that province, putting all to fire and sword. But *Anthemius*, who was afterwards emperor, marching against them with another general, whom our author does not name, gained several advantages over them, and at last defeated them in a pitched battle, during which the other general went over to the enemy; but his men, probably the cavalry, ^d for *Anthemius* was general of the foot, not following him, *Anthemius*, without betraying the least fear or surprize, continued the engagement, and in the end gained a complete victory. However, he suffered the *Hunns* to retire unmolested, upon their putting to death the general who had gone over to them ^m. The *Hunns* were no sooner returned to their own country, than the children of *Attila* sent deputies to *Leo*, then emperor of the east, to propose a peace, and beg he would appoint a market to be held on the *Danube*, to which the *Hunns* might freely resort, and trade with the *Romans*. To this *Leo* would by no means consent; which *Dengizic*, one of the sons of *Attila*, by *Jornandes* ⁿ called *Dinzio*, and by others *Dinziric* ^o, resented to such a degree, that he was for continuing the war. But his brother *Hernac*, who, as we said above, had been allowed by the emperor *Marcian* to settle in *Lesser Scythia*, and was then engaged in other wars, declared he would by no means enter into this ^p. *Dengizic* however, persisting in his first resolution, drew together a considerable army, and encamped on the banks of the *Danube*. *Arnagastus*, who, at that time, guarded the banks of that river on the side of *Thrace*, sent immediately an officer to the *Hunns*, to inquire upon what provocation they had taken arms. *Dengizic* answered, That he had taken arms with a design to make war upon *Leo*, unless he granted to him and his men lands and money. To this *Arnagastus* replied by the emperor's orders, That *Leo* would readily grant both to such as were willing to submit to him, and serve him in his wars. But *Dengizic*, not satisfied with this answer, began hostilities, and continued the war, of which we know no particulars, till he was killed by *Arnagastus*, styled, on that occasion, general of *Thrace* ^q. His head was sent to *Constantinople* in 468. or 469. and carried into the city with great pomp, while the people were beholding the sports of the circus, which they left for a sight to them far more agreeable. It was borne through the chief streets of the city on the point of a spear, and left for some days exposed to public view ^r.

And by the Romans.

They break into Dacia. Year after Christ 466.

Dengizic, one of Attila's sons, killed.

^a Idem ibid. & p. 687.

^b Idem, p. 688.

^c Idem, c. 52, 53. p. 690.

^k BAUDR. p. 106.

^d JORN. p. 691.

^m SID. p. 110. & car. ii. p. 296—298.

ⁿ JORN. c. 55. p. 691.

^o Chron.

Alex. ^p PRISC. p. 44. JORN. p. 688.

^q PRISC. ibid. Chron. Alex. p. 744.

^r MARC. chron.

Chron. Alex. ibid.

- a** THE Huns, disheartened with the losses they sustained in this war, and the death of their leader, continued, it seems, quiet for the space of near sixty years, without molesting either the Romans, or their neighbours; for we find no mention made of them from this time to the year 526. the first of the emperor Justinian's reign, when two of their kings, *Styrax* and *Glonas*, stirred up by *Cabades* king of *Persia*, then at war with the Romans, broke into the empire at the head of two powerful armies; but *Boarex*, the widow of *Balach* king of the *Sabirite Huns*, a woman of a warlike genius, and manly temper, espousing the cause of the Romans against the Persians, led to the assistance of the emperor an army an hundred thousand strong; and, meeting the two kings, gave them battle, cut most of their men in pieces, and took *Styrax* himself Boarex, queen of the Huns, fights for the Romans. Year after Christ 526.
- b** prisoner, and sent him in chains to *Constantinople*. It is a great pity, that neither *Theopbanes*, nor the author of the miscellaneous history, have named this brave Amazon, this warlike heroine, who deserved so well of the empire. The same year *Gordas*, king of the Huns dwelling near the *Bosporus Cimmerius*, came in person to *Constantinople*, to court the friendship of *Justinian*, and conclude an alliance with that prince; which he did accordingly. As he had an opportunity, during his stay at *Constantinople*, of seeing the ceremonies of the christian religion, he was so taken with them, that he desired to be instructed in the mysteries of our holy faith, and, in the end, with great solemnity, received the sacrament of baptism in the presence of the emperor, who was his sponsor. Upon his departure, *Justinian* loaded him with rich presents, committing to him the defence of the borders of the empire on that side, especially of the city of *Bosporus*. *Gordas*, returning home, ordered the idols to be broken, and their temples demolished, throughout his dominions; which enraged the superstitious populace to such a degree, that, revolting from their prince, they seized him, put him to death, and raised his brother, named *Mugaris*, to the throne in his room. *Mugaris* was no sooner proclaimed king, than he marched, with all his forces, against the city of *Bosporus*, and, having surprised it, put all the Romans he found there to the sword. The emperor, being acquainted with what had happened, and greatly grieved for the death of his friend and ally, dispatched one *John*, who had been consul, at the head of a numerous army of *Scythians*, to recover the place, and take vengeance of the rebels; but, at his approach, they abandoned the city, and fled with such precipitation, that the Roman general could never come up with them. We should more readily give credit to these remarkable events, were they vouched either by *Procopius* or *Agathias*; but the silence of these two writers makes us question the truth of what the others relate. But the irruption, which happened in 539. the thirteenth of the emperor *Justinian's* reign, is attested by *Procopius*. The Huns, according to that writer, passing the *Danube* that year in great multitudes, laid waste *Thrace*, *Greece*, *Illyricum*, and all the provinces from the *Ionian* sea to the very suburbs of *Constantinople*; nay, having crossed the *Hellepont*, they extended their ravages to *Asia*, where they committed unheard-of cruelties; and thence crossing again into the *Chersonesus*, they returned home, loaded with an immense booty. In this irruption they took thirty-two castles in *Illyricum*, destroyed *Cassandria*, and carried with them unmolested an hundred and twenty thousand captives. Being thus become anew formidable to the empire, *Justinian*, to keep them quiet, allowed them some lands in *Thrace*, and agreed to pay them an annual pension, upon their promising to serve, when wanted, in the Roman armies. These were the *Cuturgurian Huns*. As for the *Uturgurians*, who had joined them in this irruption, they retired, with their booty, to their own country bordering on the *Euxine* sea; but, finding that too narrow for them, they drove out the *Goths*, by *Procopius* called *Detraxitæ*, who had settled in the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*, and possessed themselves of their country. As they were at a great distance from the empire, they turned their arms against their neighbours the *Sarmatians*, endeavouring to enlarge their bounds on that side, without giving any further molestation to the Romans. But the *Cuturgurians*, notwithstanding the pension paid them yearly by the emperor, made several inroads into the neighbouring provinces, behaving like declared enemies, says *Procopius*, while they pretended to be friends and allies. Hereupon the emperor wrote to the *Uturgurians*, complaining to them of their countrymen, and offering to pay to them the pension, which he allowed the *Cuturgurians*, provided they put a stop to the ravages of the latter, and engaged to make war upon them as often as they broke Justinian stirs up the Uturgurian against the Cuturgurian Huns.

¹ THEOPH. p. 249. Auctor miscel. l. xvi. p. 461.

² PROCOPIUS. bell. Pers. c. 4.

³ THEOPH. ibid. Miscel. ibid. p. 407.

The Cuturgurians Hunns break anew into Thrace; but are put to flight by Belisarius.

And by Germanus.

The emperor stirs up the Uturgurian Hunns against them.

into the empire. The *Uturgurians*, encouraged with this offer, passing the *Tanais*, beyond which many of them dwelt, hastened with long marches into the *Roman* territories, and, falling unexpectedly upon the *Cuturgurians* while busied in plundering the provinces lying on the *Danube*, defeated them with great slaughter, obliged them to quit their booty, and drove them quite out of the empire *. However, a few years after, that is, in 558. the *Cuturgurian Hunns*, taking advantage of the frost, passed the *Danube*, and, after having laid waste great part of *Myfia* and *Thrace*, divided their numerous forces into two bodies, one of them taking their rout towards *Greece*, and the other marching for the *Thracian Chersonesus*. The latter, under the conduct of one of their chiefs, named *Zamarga*, having passed the long wall, came, without meeting with the least opposition, within an hundred and fifty furlongs of *Constantinople*, and laid waste the whole country round it. *Belisarius*, though weakened with old age to such a degree, that he was scarce able to hold, or brandish a sword, marching out against them with a handful of men, fell upon them unawares, put them to flight, and delivered both the emperor and the city from the dangers that threatened them; but that brave commander being disgraced upon his return to *Constantinople*, as we have related elsewhere †, the barbarians, who were hastening back to their own country, no sooner heard, that he was no more to be employed against them, than they returned before the royal city, committing dreadful ravages in all the countries through which they passed. But one *Germanus*, a youth of great expectation, putting himself at the head of the imperial troops, fell unexpectedly upon them, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitous flight. The victory had proved complete, had not young *Germanus*, by exposing his person more than a prudent general would have done, received a dangerous wound, which prevented him from pursuing the fugitives. Soon after, that party, which had taken their rout towards *Greece*, finding the streights of *Thermopylae* guarded by the natives, returned to *Thrace*, and there joined *Zamarga*, who, being thus reinforced, threatened to renew his ravages, and to put to death all the prisoners he had taken, unless a sufficient sum was sent forthwith to redeem them. *Justinian*, not caring to provoke the barbarians, and at the same time pitying the condition of the unhappy captives, sent a considerable sum to *Zamarga*; who no sooner received it, than he set the prisoners at liberty, and, putting a stop to all hostilities and depredations, returned beyond the *Danube*. In the mean time the emperor privately dispatched ambassadors to *Sandilicubus*, king of the *Uturgurian Hunns*, to whom he paid an annual pension, acquainting him with the late inroads of the *Cuturgurians*, to whom, he said, he had paid the sum that was due to him, and was resolved to do so for the future, unless he shewed himself, by a speedy revenge, worthy of his friendship. Upon this message, *Sandilicubus*, highly incensed against the *Cuturgurians*, broke into their territories at the head of a powerful army, and, falling upon *Zamarga* as he was returning from *Thrace*, cut great numbers of his men in pieces, and obliged him to quit the rich booty, with which his army was loaded. This gave rise to a bloody war between the two nations, which lasted many years, says *Agathias* ‡, from whom we have borrowed this whole account, and ended at last in the ruin of both; for, being greatly weakened by their civil wars, they became a prey, says that writer, to other nations, insomuch that they lost their very name, and were blended with the nations they served. But the utter destruction of that people, continues our historian, happened afterwards, as shall be related by us, according to the order of time. With these words he closes the fifth book of his history, the last of those that have reached us; so that for a further account of the affairs of the *Hunns*, we must have recourse to more modern writers. Among these, *Venantius Fortunatus* tells us, that in 560. a great body of *Hunns*, probably driven out of their own country by the neighbouring nations, took their rout through *Germany*, with a design to pass the *Rhine*, as *Attila* had formerly done, and settle in *Gaul*. In that country then reigned the four sons of *Clotharius*, viz. *Cherebert* at *Paris*; *Chilperic* at *Soissons*; *Guntram* at *Orleans*; and *Sigebert* at *Mentz*. The latter was no sooner informed of the motions of the *Hunns*, than, passing the *Rhine* at the head of a powerful army, he resolved to meet them in *Thuringia*, which then belonged to him, and there give them battle. Accordingly the two armies met, and engaged on the banks of the *Elbe* with incredible fury. The victory was

* Idem bell. Goth. l. iv. c. 4. JOAN. ANTIOCH. apud Aleman. p. 52. AGATH. l. v. p. 155. † Hist. univers. vol. vi. p. 529. ‡ AGATH. l. v. p. 155.

- a long doubtful; but in the end *Sigebert*, who was a warlike prince, gained a complete victory over the barbarians, of whom he killed many thousands, and obliged the rest to return through by-ways into *Pannonia*.^a They are defeated by Sigebert, king of the Franks. Year after Christ 560. The Hunns masters of Dacia, Mœcia, and both Pannonia's.
- No farther mention is made of the *Hunns* by any credible historian, till the reign of *Charles the Great*, in whose time they were masters of *Dacia*, now *Transylvania* and *Valachia*; of *Upper Masia*, now *Servia*; and of the two *Pannonia*'s, viz. the *Upper*, containing the present provinces of *Carniola*, *Carinthia*, and the greater part of *Austria*, and the *Lower*, comprising *Bosnia*, *Sclavonia*, and that part of *Hungary* that lies beyond the *Danube*. In the year 776. while *Charles* was in *Saxony*, two princes of the *Hunns*, *Caganus* and *Jugunus*, sent ambassadors to him, desiring his friendship and alliance. *Charles* received them with extraordinary marks of honour, and readily complied with their request. However, they entered, not long after, into an alliance with *Tassilo* duke of *Bavaria*, who, revolting from *Charles*, raised great disturbances in *Germany*. This *Charles* wisely dissembled, till he had utterly reduced *Bavaria*, when a misunderstanding arising between him and them about the borders of their respective territories, he resolved to lay hold of that opportunity to be revenged on them for their sending under-hand succours to *Tassilo*. Accordingly he ordered levies to be made throughout his dominions, and having by that means assembled a very numerous army, he divided it into two bodies, whereof one he committed to the conduct of count *Theodoric*, and *Magnifrid* his chamberlain, with orders
- b to break into *Dacia*, while he himself, with the other, entered *Pannonia* by the way of *Bavaria*. The two armies laid waste the territories of the *Hunns* far and near, burnt their villages, and took several of their strong-holds, to which they had fled, not being able to keep the field against so powerful an enemy. Thus he continued ravaging the country, putting all to fire and sword, for the space of eight years, till that warlike nation was intirely subdued, and almost utterly extirpated. In one of these expeditions, *Henry* duke of *Forum Julii*, now *Friuli*, took the royal palace of the *Hunns*, called *Rbing*, in which he found an immense booty, great part whereof was, by *Charles*'s orders, sent to *Rome*, as a present to that see, or, as they term it, to *St. Peter*.^a The intire reduction of the *Hunns* happened, according to the best
- c chronologers, in the year of the christian æra 794. Some authors write, that, by this long war, the whole race of the antient *Hunns* was cut off; and that the country was afterwards peopled by the neighbouring nations, to whom the present *Hungarians* owe their origin. Of this opinion was the celebrated *Aeneas Sylvius*, raised afterwards to the see of *Rome*. But the *Hungarian* writers maintain their nation to be descended from the antient *Hunns*, who, they say, were subdued, but not utterly extirpated, by the *Franks*. To confirm this, *Bonfinius* tells us, that, in his time, a nation was, by some merchants, discovered on the banks of the *Tanais*, speaking the same language with that of the present *Hungarians*; and that *Matthias*, then king of *Hungary*, being assured by persons of credit, whom he himself had sent into those parts, that the
- d report of the merchants was true, dispatched ambassadors to the chiefs of that nation, intreating them to send a numerous colony into *Hungary*, at that time but thinly inhabited, by reason of the long war, in which great numbers of the natives had perished. The prince's request, says our author, has not yet been, but will be, we hope, one time or other, complied with.^b Others write, that, upon the death of *Attila*, the *Hunns* were quite driven out of *Pannonia*, and never returned till the year 744. when, under the conduct of one *Hungar*, a word signifying in their language *courageous* or *valiant*, they entered *Pannonia* anew, and settled in the antient seats of their forefathers, after having driven out those, who, coming from the neighbouring countries, had seized them, and held them for some ages. From *Hungar* they were
- e called *Hungarians*, and the country no longer *Pannonia*, but *Hungary*. Thus *Ranzanus*^c; but what he writes evidently contradicts all the antient historians, who, as we have seen in the course of this history, speak frequently of the irruptions of the *Hunns*, of their passing the *Danube*, and laying waste the *Roman* provinces, long after the death of *Attila* and his children. Besides, the inhabitants of *Pannonia* are, by the writers of those times, constantly styled *Hunns*, and no mention is made of any other nation dwelling in that country. As for the name of *Hungari*, most writers will have it to be compounded of *Hunni* and *Avares*, two names of one and the same nation.^d They are intirely reduced by Charles the Great. Year after Christ 794. Whether the present Hungarians are descended from the antient Hunns.

^a VENANTIUS FORTUNAT. l. vii. l. iii. p. 39.

^b AIMOINUS. l. iv. c. 86.

^c BONFIN. rer. Ungar. dec. i.

^d P. RANZAN. c. 6. p. 218.

^e Vide VALES. rer. Franc. l. ix. p. 153.

But, on this subject, nothing can be offered, but what is founded on mere conjecture. And this is all we have been able to gather from the antients concerning the origin, migrations, government, manners, and wars, of the *Hunns*. As for the modern writers of the history of *Hungary*, their accounts of those ancient times are, for the most part, evidently fabulous, quite groundless, or altogether improbable. We have therefore all along confined ourselves to the antient and original writers, who lived in or near the times, in which the things they relate were transacted, not thinking any thing related by the moderns, and not vouched by them, worthy of a place in our history.

S E C T. II.

The antient state and history of the Goths, till the settling of the Visigoths in Spain, and the Ostrogoths in Italy.

Scandinavia
the country of
the Goths.

THE *Goths*, a warlike nation, and, above all others, famous in the Roman history, came originally, according to *Jornandes*^a, out of *Scandinavia*, a country rightly styled by him *officina gentium*, and *vagina nationum*, on account of the incredible multitudes of people, that, issuing from thence in swarms, over-ran and stocked with inhabitants other as well distant as neighbouring countries. *Scandinavia*, comprising the present *Sweden*, *Norway*, *Lapland*, and *Finnmark*, was, by the antients, thought to be an island^b; but is now well known to be a peninsula. It is by *Pliny* called *Scandinavia*^c, or, as *Vossius*^d, and after him *Gronovius*, will have it, *Scandinovia*; by *Xenophon* *Lampsacenus*, *Baltia*^e; by *Timæus*, *Basilea*; and by *Pytheas*, sometimes *Basilea*, and sometimes *Abalus*^f. The writers of the middle ages style it *Scanza*, *Scanzia*, *Scantia*, and *Scandia*; which names, as well as that of *Scandinavia*, some derive from the German or Gothic word *Scanzen*, signifying castles; for the first inhabitants, say they, turned the high and steep rocks, with which the country abounds, into castles; and hence came the word *Scandinavia*, that is, a country filled with castles &c. Others will have the names *Scandinavia*, *Scanzia*, &c. to come from the word *Seckanten*, importing the sea-coast or shore^g. As for the Greek word *Baltia*, it signifies a breaking in of the sea. What we call the *Baltic*, was known to *Tacitus* by the name of the *Suevian* sea; and to *Mela* and *Pliny* by that of the *Codan* gulf. The bay into which the *Vistula*, now the *Weissel*, empties itself, is called by *Ptolemy* the *Venedic* bay, no doubt from the neighbouring *Venedi*, the antient inhabitants of *Livonia*, *Lithuania*, and part of *Poland*. In antient times the *Vistula* was the boundary on the east between *Germany* and *Sarmatia*. In *Scandinavia* *Tacitus* places two different nations, the *Suiones* and the *Sittones*, of whom the former inhabited the present *Sweden*, and the latter *Norway*; for they were separated, according to *Tacitus*, by mount *Sevo*, now *Scagen*; which mountain, or rather ridge of mountains, parts *Norway* from *Sweden*. The *Suiones* were divided, according to *Ptolemy*, into the following tribes, viz. the *Chedini*, *Phavoni*, *Phirasi*, *Dauciones*, *Hilleviones*, *Scritofinni* or *Scritobani*, mentioned also by *Prosopius*ⁱ, and the *Gutæ*. But these were either Gothic nations, or had settled in the country after the *Goths* were masters of it, it being certain, that, long before *Tacitus*'s time, *Scandinavia* was inhabited by the *Goths*, tho' not yet known to the *Romans* by that name; nay, the learned *Grotius*, and after him *Sheringham*, and most of the northern writers, maintain with arguments, which have not yet been confuted, that the *Cimbrians*, *Getes*, and *Goths*, were one and the same nation; that *Scandinavia* was first peopled by them; and that from thence they sent colonies into the islands in the *Baltic*, the *Chersonesus*, and the adjacent places, yet destitute of inhabitants. The islands were called by them with one common name *Wesallabeedb*, signifying, in the Gothic language, land surrounded on all sides with water; but the *Romans*, after they became acquainted with the *Goths* under the name of *Cimbrians*, called them the *Cimbrian* islands; which appellation they gave likewise to the *Chersonesus*, now *Jutland*^k. The

Nations placed
there by Tacitus
and Ptolemy.

Scandinavia
first peopled by
the Goths, and
likewise the
islands in the
Baltic, &c.

^a JORN. rer. Get. p. 83.

^b PLIN. l. iv. c. 13.

^c Idem ibid.

^d VOSS. in c. 3. l. vi.

POMP. MEL.

^e PLIN. ibid.

^f Idem, l. xxvii. c. 11.

^g GROT. in præfat. ad script. Goth.

p. 13, & seq.

^h PRÆTOR. in orbe Goth. l. i. c. 4. p. 34.

ⁱ PROCOPI. rer. Goth. l. xi. c. 95.

^k Vide GROT. proleg. in hist. Goth. & SHERINGH. de Ang. gent. orig. c. 7. p. 143.

- a time when the *Goths* first settled in *Scandinavia*, and the time when they first peopled with their colonies the islands, the *Cbersonesus*, and the neighbouring places, are equally uncertain, though the *Gothic* annals suppose the latter to have happened under the conduct of king *Eric*, whom they make contemporary with *Saruch*, the great grandfather of *Abraham*. But it is not at all probable, as *Sheringham* well observes, that *Scandinavia*, a country of no small extent, should, in the time of *Saruch*, who died soon after the confusion of languages, abound with people, so as to send colonies into other countries¹. Of this migration of the *Gotes* or *Goths* from *Scandinavia* into the above-mentioned places, under the conduct of king *Eric*, mention is made in all the ancient *Gothic* chronicles, and it is moreover vouched by the *Danish*, as well as the *Swedish* writers, who agree all in this, though they disagree, as it generally happens between neighbouring and rival nations, in most other points. The *Danes* ingenuously confess, and confess it they must, unless they give the lye to their own chronicles, that their country was first peopled by the *Goths* of *Scandinavia*; that to them they owe their origin, and that *Dan*, the son of *Humelus*, king of the *Goths*, from whom their country was called *Dania*, and they *Dani*, was the founder of their kingdom^m. This is agreeable to what we read in *Jornandes* and *Freculphus*, who tell us, that the *Danes* were the descendants of the *Ostrogoths* dwelling in *Scanzia*ⁿ. The peopling of the islands in the *Baltic* sea, of the *Cbersonesus*, and the adjacent places on the continent, is called, by the northern writers, the first migration of the *Goths* or *Getes*.

c THE second migration is related by *Jornandes*, and supposed to have happened several ages after the first, when the above-mentioned countries being overstocked with people, *Berig*, at that time king of the *Goths*, went out with a fleet in quest of new settlements, and landing in the country of the *Ulmerugians*, now *Pomerania*, drove out the ancient inhabitants, and divided their lands amongst his followers. He fell next upon the *Vandals*, whose country bordered on that of the *Ulmerugians*, overcame them, but instead of forcing them, as he had done the *Ulmerugians*, from their ancient seats, he only obliged them, probably because they were of *Gothic* extraction, to share their possessions with the new-comers^o. They send a colony into Germany

d THE *Goths*, who had settled in *Pomerania*, and the adjacent parts of *Germany*, being greatly increased, insomuch that the country could no longer maintain them, they went out in great numbers under *Filimer*, surnamed *the Great*, their fifth prince after their leaving *Scandinavia*, and, taking their rout eastward, entered *Scythia*, advanced to the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, and, driving out the *Cimmerians*, settled in the neighbourhood of the *Mæotic* lake. Thence, in process of time, they sent numerous colonies into *Thrace*, *Dacia*, and *Mæsia*, and lastly into the countries bordering on the *Euxine* sea, forcing every-where the ancient inhabitants to abandon their native seats. Thus *Jornandes* p, and *Ablavius*, a celebrated writer among the *Goths*, who flourished long before him. In the neighbourhood of the *Mæotic* lake, they had *Filimer* for their

e king, a warlike prince; in *Thrace*, *Mæsia* and *Dacia*, *Xamolxis*, a great philosopher; and in the countries on the *Euxine* sea, princes of the illustrious families of the *Balthi* and the *Amali*, the *Visigoths* being subject to the former, and the *Ostrogoths* to the latter^q. In all these countries they were one and the same people, though subject to different princes, and known by different names. Thus, in *Cimmeria*, *Sarmatia*, *Scythia*, they were called *Cimmerians*, *Sarmatians*, *Scythians*; in *Thrace*, *Dacia*, and *Mæsia*, *Thracians*, *Dacians*, and *Mæsiens*; and in the neighbourhood of the *Ister* and the *Pontus*, *Istrians* and *Pontics*. As for the appellations of *Westrogoths*, softened by the *Latins* into that of *Visigoths*, and *Ostrogoths*, they were distinguished by these names, as *Grotius* shews from *Jornandes*, before they left *Scandinavia*, being called *Westro-* And into Scythia, Thrace, Mædia, &c.

f *goths* and *Ostrogoths*, or *Western* and *Eastern Goths*, from their situation there to the east and west, the former inhabiting that part of *Scandinavia*, which borders on *Denmark*, and the latter the more eastern parts, lying on the *Baltic*^r. What *Jornandes* writes of the various migrations and settlements of the *Goths*, is intirely agreeable to what we read in the ancient *Greek* and *Latin* authors concerning the various migrations and settlements of the *Getes*^s. And truly that the *Goths* and *Getes* were one and the same people, is supposed by all the writers, who flourished in or near the times, in which both empires were over-run by them. These authors, without all doubt Ostrogoths and Visigoths.

¹ Idem ibid. p. 146, 147.

^m Vide *SHERINGH.* ibid. p. 145, 146.

ⁿ *FRECULPH.* tom. i. l. ii.

c. 26. ^o *JORN. rer. Got.* l. iv.

^p Idem ibid. c. 4, & 5.

^q Idem ibid.

^r *GAOR.* in

proleg. &c.

^s Vide *SHERINGH.* c. 8. p. 156, 157.

The Goths and
Getes one and
the same nation

They inhabited
the same coun-
try.

Agreed in
manners, laws,
&c.

And spoke the
same language.

well acquainted with their origin, call them sometimes *Goths*, sometimes *Getes*, and a sometimes *Scythians*; nay, several writers, namely *Orosius*^c, who flourished in the reign of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, when the *Goths* broke into *Italy*, under the conduct of the famous *Alaric*, *St. Jerom*^u, *St. Austin*^w, *Synesius*^x, *Photius*^y, *Capitolinus*^z, *Vopiscus*^a, *Spartian*^b, tell us in express terms, that the *Getes* and *Goths* were one and the same nation; and that they had been long known to the *Romans*, and likewise to the *Greeks*, by the former name, but not by the latter, till their breaking into the empire. That this opinion was not, as some modern authors have been pleased to call it, a vulgar error, may be plainly proved; for, in the first place, it is evident from all the antients, that the *Getes* inhabited that part of *Scythia*, which is by *Ptolemy* called *Asiatic Sarmatia*, and comprises the *Taurica Chersonesus*, with the countries b lying between the *Tanais*, the *Mæotic* lake, and the *Euxine* sea. On the other hand, it is no less evident from all the writers, who speak of the *Goths*, that, from those very countries, they broke into the empire. Since therefore the *Goths* dwelt in the countries, where all the antients place the *Getes*, we cannot help concluding from thence, that they were one and the same people, though known by different names. *Ptolemy*, who lived in the time of the emperor *Antoninus*, mentions no *Goths* in *Scythia*, *Thrace*, *Mæsia*, or *Pannonia*; and nevertheless, scarce was half a century passed, when the *Goths*, coming in swarms from those very countries, over-ran great part of the empire. These *Goths* therefore, if we will not allow them to have dropt all on a sudden from the clouds, must have been the very people, who are by *Ptolemy* c called *Getes*, *Pontics*, *Istrians*, *Trapezites*, *Gelonians*, and *Sauromatæ*, and were soon after known to the *Romans* by the common name of *Goths*. Were all those nations utterly destroyed, and their seats seized, by the *Goths*? Of this general slaughter no mention is made by any historian; and we cannot persuade ourselves, that, if it happened, the writers of those times, who speak of the *Goths*, would have passed over in silence such a memorable event. *Cluverius*, who will have the *Getes* and *Goths* to be two different nations, believes, or at least would make us believe, that they dwelt together in the same countries. But is it at all probable, that two nations, obeying different princes, should live peaceably together in the same country, in the same cities, and within the same walls? How came the *Getes* to be so early d known to the *Romans*, and the *Goths*, living among them, utterly unknown till their breaking into the empire? It seems to us a paradox, that the *Romans*, who were constantly at war with those nations, and had both colonies and garrisons among them, should be well acquainted with the *Getes*, and utterly unacquainted with the *Goths*, a warlike and numerous nation, inhabiting the same countries. Besides, *Mela* tells us in express terms, that *Thrace*, the banks of the *Tanais*, *Sarmatia*, and the countries lying east of the *Mæotic* lake, were inhabited by one and the same people, though known by different names^e; and *Strabo*, that the *Istrians*, *Dacians*, *Mæsiens*, and *Thracians*, spoke the same language, and consequently were the same people^d. To these we may add *Procopius*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, of whom the former e writes, that there were several nations of the *Goths*, some being called by the antients *Sauromatæ*, others *Melanclæni*, and some *Getes*; but that these nations differed only in name^e; and the latter, speaking of the *Goths*, says, that they inhabited *Thrace*, *Mæsia*, and *Dacia*, and were sprung from the fierce nations, that dwelt before in those countries, that is, from the *Getes*^f. That the *Getes* and *Goths* were one people, and not two different nations living in the same country, as *Cluverius* would have it, may be further confirmed by the great conformity of their laws, manners, and institutions; for, if we compare the accounts, which the antients give us of the manners of the *Getes*, we shall find them intirely agreeable to those of the more modern writers describing the customs and manners of the *Goths*^g. Their language was likewise f the same, the *Gothic* being spoken by the *Getes* and *Massagetes* in *Scythia*, *Thrace*, *Pontus*, &c. as *Grotius*^h, and after him *Sheringham*ⁱ, have shewn; nay, *Busbequius* assures us, that, in his time, the *Gothic* language was still spoken, though with some variation in the dialect, by the *Tartars* of *Precop*^k; and *Josaphat Barbarus*, a noble-

^c OROS. l. vii. c. 4. p. 29.

^u Hier. de fide, l. ii. c. 4. & tradit. Hebr. in Gen. civit. Dei, l. xx. c. 10.

^w AUG. de in Mximo.

^x SYNES. orat. de regno.

^y PHOT. in epit. Philoſtor.

^z CAPITOL.

^a VOPISC. in Prob.

^b SPART. in Catac.

^c MEL. de sit. orb. l. ii. c. 2.

^d STRAB. l. i. c. 20.

^e PROCOP. Vandal. l. i.

^f AMMIAN. l. xxvii.

^g Vide SHERING. c. 10.

^h GROTI. in prælat. ad Procop.

ⁱ SHERING. c. 11. p. 198.

^k BUSBEQ. epist. ix. p. 244. 245

- a man of *Venice*, who lived among them, that they not only speak the ancient *Gothic* language, but call themselves *Goths*, and their country *Gotbia*¹. *Scaliger* adds, that the christian *Tartars* of *Procop* still have the scripture written with the same characters, that were invented by *Wulphilas*, the first bishop of the *Goths*; and that they read it in the very language they spoke in the time of *Ovid*^m. This is agreeable to what we read in *Lucian* and *Procopius*, of whom the former tells us, that the language of the *Alans*, who were, without all doubt, a *Gothic* nation, was common to all the *Scythians*; and the latter, that the *Sauromatae* and the *Melanclani*, by most writers called *Getes*, were *Gothic* nations, and spoke the language of the *Goths*ⁿ. Of the ancient language of the *Getes* only the names of a few kings have reached us, and these
- b *Boxhornius* shews to be all *Gothic*.

THE *Goths*, being in process of time greatly increased in *Scythia*, resolved to seek new settlements; and accordingly, taking their rout eastward, and travelling through several countries, they returned at length into *Germany*. Their leader, in this migration, was the celebrated *Woden*, called also *Voden*, *Oden*, *Othen*, *Godan*, and *Guodan*. Of this *Woden* many strange and wonderful things are related in the *Sueo-Gothic* chronicles. He was king of the *Asgardians*, whom the northern writers will have to be the same people with the *Asfurgians*, mentioned by *Strabo* and *Ptolemy*. They were called *Asfurgians* from the city of *Asfurgia*, placed by *Strabo* near the *Bosporus Cimmerius*^p; and in the same place stood, according to the northern writers, the city of

The migration of the Goths under Woden.

- c *Asgardia*: and truly that these were but two different names of one and the same city, is highly probable, the word *gard* signifying, in the *Gothic* language, the same thing as *purgos* in the *Greek*, viz. a *fortress* or *castle*. *Asfurgia* was the metropolis of a province, which *Strabo* calls *Asia*; and *Woden*, and his followers, are styled by the ancient *Gothic* writers *Asæ*, *Asiani*, and *Asiotæ*. The kings of *Asfurgia* were masters of all that part of *Scythia*, that lay west of mount *Imaus*, and was by the *Latins* called *Scythia intra Imaum*, or *Scythia within mount Imaus*. In this large tract of ground are placed by *Ptolemy* three different nations, the *Aufones*, the *Syebi*, and the *Iotæ*; but they are all blended by *Strabo* under the common name of *Asfurgians*. Of this *Asfurgia* or *Asgardia*, *Woden* was king, who, committing the government of the
- d kingdom to his two brothers, *Ve* and *Velir*, went out, with incredible multitudes of his people, in quest of new settlements, foreseeing by his magic, say some ancient chronicles, in which art he excelled all men, that he, and his posterity, should reign for many ages in the northern parts of the world. He first entered *Riisland*, and having, with great success and expedition, obliged the inhabitants to submit, he appointed his son *Bo* to reign over them. *Riisland*, called by the *Latins* *Roxalania* and *Russia*, extended from the mouth of the *Vistula* to the *Palus Maotis*, the banks of the *Tanais*, and the *Riphaean* mountains, and comprised *Prussia*, *Livonia*, and great part of *Muscovy*. From *Riisland* he went by sea into the north parts of *Germany*, and, landing in *Saxony*, he reduced that country, and divided it amongst his children,
- e appointing *Vegdegg* king of *East Saxony*, *Begdegg* of *Westphalia*, and *Sigg* of *Franconia*. *Johannes Martinus*, *Wittekindus*, *Cranzius*, and all the *Saxon* writers, assure us, that, time out of mind, a tradition has universally obtained among the *Saxons*, that their ancestors came first by sea into those countries. From *Saxony*, *Woden* passed into *Reidogotbland*, now *Jutland*, which he likewise subdued, and gave to his son *Skiold*, from whom descended the kings of *Denmark*, thence called *Skioldungar*, that is, the posterity of *Skiold*. Leaving *Jutland*, after he had settled his son there, he advanced into *Suitbiad*, now *Sweden*, where he was kindly received by *Gylfus* or *Gylvo*, king of the country, and, being allowed to settle there with his followers, he built the city of *Sigtunum*, where he reigned to his death, and became so famous, that his name
- f reached all countries, and he was, by the northern nations, ranked among the gods, and worshipped with divine honours. He is supposed to have brought with him out of *Asia* the *Runic* characters, and to have taught the northern nations the art of poetry; whence he is styled the father of the *Scaldi* or *Scaldri*, who were their poets, and described in verse the exploits of the great men of their nation, as the *Bards* did those of the *Gauls* and *Britons*. They were called *Scaldi* or *Scaldri*, according to *Loccenius*^q, from the sound *skal*, often heard in their verses and poems. The dialect, in which they wrote, was called *Asamal*, that is, the *Asiatic dialect*, because brought by *Woden* out of *Asia*. As for the *Runic* letters, the *Goths* used them in all their

Woden king of Asgardia.

He reduces Roxalania.

Saxony.

And Jutland.

Settles in Sweden.

¹ GROT. in præfat. ad Procop.

^m SCALIG. ifigog. l. iii. p. 138.

ⁿ PROCOPI. hist. Vand. l. i.

^p BOXHORN. hist. univers. ad ann. 201.

^q STRAB. l. xi.

^r LOCCENI. antiq. Suegoth. c. 15.

The Runic
characters.

spells and enchantments, to which they were greatly addicted; whence, after embracing the christian religion, out of a blind and indiscreet zeal, they destroyed several antient monuments, and burnt a great number of books, because written with those characters. At length, in the year 1001. the *Runic* characters were quite laid aside in *Sweden*, and the *Roman* letters taken in their room, the *Swedes* being persuaded thereunto by the pope, and by *Sigfrid*, a *British* bishop^r. In *Spain* they were forbidden in 1136. by *Alphonso* king of *Castile* and *Navar*, and condemned by the council of *Toledo* in 1115^s. They were called *Runic* letters, according to some, from the *Gothic* word *Ryn* or *Ren*, signifying a furrow; according to others, from *Ryne*, signifying art, especially that of magic^t. One *Pimbul*, *Fimbultyr*, or *Fimbultibular*, is supposed to have invented these characters^u. *Wulphilas*, the first bishop of the *Goths*, invented other characters, which he made use of in translating the scripture into the *Gothic* tongue. But to return to *Woden*:

Woden.

THAT the *Goths*, under his conduct, came out of *Scythia* into the north parts of *Germany*, is a received opinion among the northern writers, and confirmed by an immemorial tradition, by all the antient chronicles of those countries, and by a great many monuments and inscriptions in *Runic* characters, some of which are still to be seen in *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and the neighbouring islands: and truly that there were such migrations, can hardly be questioned, since we find the same names common to the inhabitants of *Scandia*, and *Asiatic Scythia*, and likewise the same language, as *Grotius*, and after him *Sheringham*, has shewn^w; nay, the antient language of the *Goths* is spoken at this very day by the *Tartars* of *Precop*, as we have observed above; so that, upon the whole, we may conclude the *Scandian Goths* and the *Asiatic Scythians* to have had one and the same original. As to *Woden*, there was, without all doubt, a famous hero of this name, who became wonderfully revered by all the northern nations; but we will not take upon us to vouch the strange things that are related of him in the *Sueogothic* and *Sacogothic* chronicles. Some writers suppose the migration of the *Scythian Goths* into the north parts of *Germany*, under the conduct of *Woden*, to have happened about twenty-four years before the birth of Christ; for at that time, say they, *Pompey* laid waste *Syria*, and great part of *Asia*; and it is not improbable, that the *Scythians*, flying from him, went out in quest of new settlements. But *Skjold*, who was by his father *Wouen* appointed king of *Reidogotbland*, or *Juland*, as we have related above, lived, according to the *Danish* chronology, about a thousand years before *Pompey*; so that, according to this account, *Woden* must have been more antient than *Homer*. On the other hand, how can this be reconciled with the genealogies of our *Saxon* kings, the founders of the heptarchy, who all derived their pedigree from *Woden*? *Hengist*, the first that came into *Britain*, did not arrive in this island till the year 449. of the christian æra, and nevertheless he is said to have been the *abnepos* or great-grandchild of *Woden*, as *Cerdic*, the founder of the kingdom of the *West-Saxons*, the tenth by descent from him. To reconcile these seeming contradictions, some authors are of opinion, and their opinion does not at all seem to us improbable, that several persons or great men bore the name of *Woden*, and what was done by all, was ascribed to one, in the same manner as it happened among the *Greeks* with respect to *Hercules*. Be that as it will, the descendants of the *Scythians*, or *Asiatic Goths*, who, under the conduct of *Woden*, settled in the north parts of *Germany*, were first known to the *Romans* by the name of *Cimbrians*, derived, according to the opinion, which seems to us the best grounded, from the *Gothic* word *Kimber*, signifying valiant. The *Cimbrians* held antiently the islands in the *Baltic* sea, the *Cbersonesus*, and the neighbouring countries, and by degrees extended their conquests along the *German* ocean to both the mouths of the *Rhine*. The inland countries in that tract were likewise inhabited by them; but, in the different countries where they dwelt, they were distinguished by different names, some of them being called *Saxons*, others *Suevians*; some *Angles*, *Sicambrians*, *Jutes*, &c. but, by the *Romans*, they were all blended under the common name of *Cimbrians*, till the *Saxons*, placed by *Ptolemy* in the north part of the *Cbersonesus*, became known to them by their conquests, and then the name of *Cimbrians* was quite laid aside, and that of *Saxons* used by the *Latin* writers in its room, which they gave likewise to the nations the *Saxons* had subdued, calling *Saxony* that part of *Germany*, which lies between the *Rhine* and the *Elbe*, and had been reduced by them. Thus far of the migrations of

The Cimbri-
ans descended
from the Asi-
atic Goths.

And likewise
the Saxons.

^r Idem ibid. c. 14.

^s Wormius lit. Run. c. 28.
ibid. c. 20. & SHERINGH. c. 13. p. 286. & c. 8. p. 172.

^t Idem ibid. c. 1.

^u Vide Worm.

^w SHERINGH. ubi sup. c. 11. p. 198.

- a the *Goths* out of *Scandinavia* into the neighbouring islands and continent, thence into *Germany*, from *Germany* into *Asia*, and from *Asia* back again into *Germany*. These migrations the northern writers endeavour to make out against *Verstegan* and *Cluverius*, who will have *Denmark*, *Norway*, and *Sweden*, not to have been inhabited, till *Germany* so abounded with people, that they were obliged to remove into those countries, which they had not chosen to settle in at first, on account of the greater cold, and barrenness of the soil. To confute this opinion, which derives the origin of the *Goths* from *Germany*, the above-mentioned writers, especially *Grotius*, who outshines all the rest, prove *Scythia* to have been peopled before any other of the northern countries had inhabitants. The antients indeed went farther; for they supposed, as appears from the epitomizer of *Tragus Pompeius*¹, that all the other parts of the world continued quite destitute of inhabitants, till *Scythia*, no longer able to support such multitudes, sent out numerous colonies to people them. To maintain this, would perhaps be overshooting the mark; but that *Scythia* was peopled before any of the northern countries, is highly probable, since, of all the northern countries, it lay the nearest to *Babylon*, and the only way to them by land was through *Scythia*. Several eminent writers, and among the rest *Lutber*, *Goropius Becanus*, and sir *Walter Raleigh*, are of opinion, that the ark, on the subsiding of the waters, rested on the *Imaon* mountains in *Scythia*; others say on the *Gordizean* mountains, at a small distance from *Scythia*, and consequently that *Scythia* must have been peopled, when the other northern countries still continued uninhabited. Now, as the way was much shorter from *Scythia* into *Scandinavia*, than into *Germany*, and lay in a direct line, it is more natural to suppose, that those, who were seeking places to settle in, went strait into *Scandinavia*, than by much longer and round-about ways through *Sarmatia* into *Germany*; nay, as *Sarmatia* and *Scandinavia* were near *Scythia*, and the ways leading to them not obstructed, it would not be absurd to suppose them to have been overstocked with people, while not only *Germany*, but all the other countries of *Europe*, were quite destitute of inhabitants, as being separated from *Asia* by the *Mediterranean* sea, the *Bosporus Cimmerius*, and the *Palus Mæotis*, unsurmountable obstructions, till the art of navigation was found out, which happened many ages after the confusion of languages. Then, and not till then, the inhabitants of *Scandinavia* passed into the neighbouring islands and places lying over-against them on the continent, till that period uninhabited. From thence, in process of time, they sent colonies into *Germany*, who, driving out the antient inhabitants, settled in their country, as we have related above. To prove the migrations of the *Goths* out of *Scandinavia* into the islands in the *Baltic* sea, the *Chersonesus*, and the adjacent places in *Germany*, several antient monuments and inscriptions in *Runic* characters on stones and rocks, are alleged by the northern writers, namely by *Zeilerus*², *Bureus*³, *Suaningius*⁴, and *Wormius*⁵, in whose times many of them were still extant, mentioning their leaving *Scandinavia*, and their settling in the places we have spoken of above, with the names of some of their leaders. Besides these antient monuments and inscriptions, the northern writers endeavour to make it appear by other arguments, that the *Goths* came originally out of *Scandinavia* into *Germany*, and not out of *Germany* into *Scandinavia*, as *Verstegan* would have it. Their arguments are, 1. That the *Scandian* *Goths* were not subject to the *Germans*; but, on the contrary, the first inhabitants of the *Chersonesus*, and the adjacent places, to the *Scandian* *Goths*; which proves them to have been a colony. 2. It is hardly credible, say they, that the *Germans* should chuse to settle in *Norway* and *Sweden*, when they might have settled in a far more friendly climate, and fruitful soil, by only crossing the *Rhine* on one side, or the *Danube* on the other. They add, that no mention is made in history of any colonies sent out of *Germany* into *Scandinavia*; whereas we read of many coming out of *Scandinavia* to settle in *Germany*. Among these are reckoned by *Freculphus*⁶ the *Franks*, by *Grotius* the *Vandals* and *Lombards*⁷, and by *Lazius* and *Rhabanus Maurus*⁸ the *Marcomanns*. 3. Polygamy was not allowed among the *Germans*, as appears from *Tacitus*⁹; whereas those among the *Goths*, who had but four or five wives, were thought to live in a state of celibacy. It is therefore far more probable, that the *Goths* should increase so as to people other countries with their colonies, than the *Germans*; and accordingly

Scandinavia
peopled before
Germany.

The islands in
the *Baltic*, the
Chersonesus,
&c. peopled by
Scandian
Goths.

¹ JUSTIN. l. ii. ² ZEIL. in descript. Sueciz. ³ BUR. in orb. Arctoi descript. ⁴ SUAN. in chronol. Danica, ad ann. mund. 2264. ⁵ WORM. in Gothlandicis, l. v. ⁶ FRECU. l. ii. c. 17. ⁷ GRO. in proleg. in Procop. ⁸ VIDE GOLDAST. Alan. antiq. tom. ii. part. 1. ⁹ TACIT. de morib. German.

all the antients speak of the *Goths* issuing in swarms out of *Scandinavia*, which is therefore styled by *Jornandes*, as we have observed above, *officina gentium*, and *vagina nationum*. We may further add, that all the other *Gothic* nations owned themselves descended from those of *Scandinavia*, as we find attested by *Ablavius*, an ancient *Gothic* writer, by *Roderichus Toletanus*, and by *Jornandes*. These are the arguments urged by the northern writers against *Verstegan* and *Cluverius*, whose opinion, deriving the origin of the *Goths* from *Germany*, seemed so absurd to *Grotius*, that he could scarce forbear reviling those, who maintained it, especially *Cluverius*, whom he taxes with introducing new opinions, in defiance to the most authentic writers, and supporting, without the least regard to truth, what he thought would be best relished by his countrymen. Thus far of the origin of the *Goths* from the best antient as well as modern writers.

The customs,
laws, and man-
ners of the
Goths.

As for the manners of the *Goths*, they were famous for their hospitality and kindness to strangers, even before they embraced the christian religion; nay, from their being eminently good, they were called by the neighbouring nations *Goths*, that name being, according to *Grotius*, and most other writers, derived from the German word *Goten*, signifying good. They encouraged, says *Dion*, the study of philosophy, above all other barbarous or foreign nations, and often chose their kings from among their philosophers. Polygamy was not only allowed, but countenanced among them, every one being valued and respected, according to the number of their wives. By so many wives they had an incredible number of children, of whom they kept but one at home, sending out the rest, when come to man's estate, in quest of new settlements; and hence those swarms of people, that over-ran so many countries. With them adultery was a capital crime, and irremissibly punished with death. This severity, and likewise polygamy, prevailed among them, when they were known to the *Greeks* and *Romans* only by the name of *Getes*, as appears from the poet *Menander*, who was himself a *Gete*, and from *Horace*, who bestows great encomiums on the virtue and chastity of their women. As for their laws, they do not fall much short of those of the antient *Romans*, as will appear when we come to speak of the *Alaric* code, and the laws of the *Visigoths* in *Spain*, and the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*. Their government was monarchical; for, as we have observed above out of *Jornandes*, in the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*, they had *Filimer* for king; in *Dacia*, *Mesias*, and *Thrace*, *Xamolxes*; and in that part of *Scythia*, which bordered on the *Euxine* sea, princes sprung from the illustrious families of the *Amali* and the *Baltbi*. Of the latter *Jornandes* gives us the following series, viz. *Gaptus*, *Hulmul*, *Auges*, *Amalus*, *Isarna*, *Ostrogotha*, *Cniva*, *Araric*, *Auric*, *Giberic*, *Hermaneric*. To these princes were subject both the *Visigoths* and *Ostrogoths*. The former inhabited the country lying between the *Borysthenes* and the *Tanais*, and were afterwards allowed by the *Roman* emperors to settle in *Pannonia*, *Thrace*, and *Illyricum*. The latter dwelt between the *Danube* and the *Borysthenes*, and, in the reign of *Honorius*, after having over-run *Italy*, settled in *Gaul*, as we shall relate anon. Upon the death of *Hermaneric*, the *Visigoths* were driven out of their native country by the *Hunns*, and were admitted by the emperor *Valens* within the *Roman* dominions. *Theodosius* allowed them lands in *Thrace*, whence, in the reign of *Honorius*, they broke into *Italy*, under the conduct of the celebrated *Alaric*, who took and plundered *Rome*. *Alaric* was succeeded by *Ataulphus*, who founded the kingdom of the *Visigoths* in *Gaul*, and *Ataulphus* by the following princes of the family of the *Baltbi*, viz. *Sigeric* or *Rigeric*, *Walila*, *Theodoric*, *Thorismund*, *Theodoric II.* *Theodoric III.* *Euric*, *Alaric*, *Gesaleich*, *Amalaric*, *Theudis*, *Theudiselus*, *Athanauld*, *Linva*, *Leunigild*, *Ermenigild*, *Ricared*, *Linva II.* *Witteric*, *Gundemar*, *Sisebatus*, *Reccared*, *Suintila*, *Reccimir*, *Sisenand*, *Cindila*, *Tulga*, *Chindasuintus*, *Reccesuintus*, *Wamba*, *Ernigius*, *Egica*, *Witiza*, and *Roderic*. Most of these princes were not only masters of *Narbonne* and *Aquitain*, but likewise of *Spain*, which they held till they were driven out of both, and their nation almost utterly extirpated, by the *Arabs*, as we shall relate at length in a more proper place.

Kings of the
Visigoths in
Gaul and
Spain.

THE *Visigoths*, being driven out of their own country by the *Hunns*, as we have related above, the *Ostrogoths* continued, after their departure, in the same seats, but subject to the *Hunns*, who nevertheless allowed them to be governed by their own

g Grot. in proleg. ad Procop. ibid. & WALSHINGHAM, in hypodig. Neustr. l. vii.

h Idem ibid.

i ADAM. BREMEN. in Sueogoth.

k Idem

l ADAM. BREMEN. ibid.

m MENAND. apud Strab.

n HORAT. l. iii. od. 24.

- a kings of the house of the *Amali*. These were *Winitbar*, *Hunnimund*, *Thorismund*, *Wandalar*, nephew to *Hermanaric* by his brother, and the three sons of *Wandalar*, viz. *Walimir*, *Theodimir*, and *Widimir*, who were all subject to *Attila*; but, upon that prince's death, they were allowed by the *Romans* to settle in *Pannonia* and *Mæsia*. *Theodemir* was succeeded by his son *Theodoric*, who, having overcome *Odoacer*, made himself master of *Italy*, and was acknowledged king of that country. His successors in that kingdom were, *Atbalaric*, *Theodotus*, *Visiges*, *Ildebald*, *Eraric*, *Totila*, and *Teia*, the last king of the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*°. As to the religion of the *Goths*, The religion of the Goths. it seems to have been the same with that of the ancient inhabitants of *Scandinavia* and *Saxony*, of which we have spoken above†, and shall speak more at length in
- b the history of the northern kingdoms. *Apollinaris Sidonius* describes their dress thus: They are shod, says he, with high shoes made of hair, and reaching up to their ankles; their knees, thighs and legs are without any covering; their garments of various colours, scarce reaching to the knee; their sleeves only cover the tops of their arms; they wear green cassocks, with a red border; their belts hang on their shoulders; their ears are covered with twisted locks; they use hooked lances, and missile hatchets‡.
- As to the ancient history of the *Goths*, *Jornandes*, supposing them to be one and the same people with the *Scythians*, *Getes*, *Sarmatians*, and *Sauromatae*, ascribes to them all the exploits, that are said by the Greek and Latin writers to have been performed by those nations, especially by the *Scythians*. But of that warlike nation, and their migrations into *Europe*, under the names of *Cimmerians*, *Celts*, *Gauls*, &c. we have spoken elsewhere, and therefore shall confine ourselves here to the history of the *Goths*, from the time they became generally known by that appellation. The first Roman writer, that mentions the *Goths*, is *Spartian*, who, in the life of *Caracalla*, tells us, that he overcame in some encounters the *Getes*, who, says he, were the same people with the *Goths*°. The same author writes elsewhere†, that *Maximin*, afterwards emperor, upon the death of *Caracalla*, quitted the service, and, retiring into *Thrace*, kept up from thence a friendly correspondence with the *Goths*. His father, named *Micca* or *Micca*, was by nation a *Goth*, and his mother *Ababa* or *Abala* an
- d *Alan*°. Hence *Vorborgus* concludes the *Goths* to have been masters of the countries bordering on *Thrace* before *Maximin* was born, that is, before the year 177°. *Caracalla* was the first Roman emperor that quarrelled with the *Goths*, and the advantages he gained over them were, it seems, very inconsiderable; for, according to *Spartian*°, he overcame them only in a few skirmishes. This must have happened about the year 215. the fifth of *Caracalla*'s reign; for about that time he marched from *Germany* into *Dacia*°, and the *Goths* held then, according to *Grotius*‡, part of that province. The *Romans* began very early to dread the power of that warlike nation; for even in the reign of *Alexander*, which began in 222. considerable sums were annually sent them from *Rome* to keep them quiet, and prevent them from disturbing the
- e peace of the empire. Thus *Petrus* the patrician, who adds, that the *Carpi*, dwelling in *Sarmatia* towards the present *Poland*, demanded the same sums, that were paid yearly to the *Goths*; but their request was rejected by *Menophilus*, whom that writer styles duke of *Mæsia*, that is, general of the troops quartered in that province°. The *Goths*, notwithstanding the large sums sent them yearly by the Roman emperors, hearing of the death of the emperor *Maximin*, who was of *Gotbic* extraction, as we have hinted above, and had been murdered by his own soldiers, resolved to revenge it; and accordingly, breaking into *Mæsia*, laid waste that province, and utterly destroyed the city of *Istria* or *Istropolis*, on the most southern mouth of the *Danube*°. *Balbinus*, who, with *Maximus*, had succeeded *Maximinus*, resolved to march against
- f them, but was in the mean time murdered, with his colleague, by the mutinous soldiery; so that the *Goths*, loaded with booty, retired beyond the *Danube* unmolested°. Not long after, they made themselves masters of *Thrace*; but were driven from thence beyond the *Danube* by the emperor *Gordian* about the year 242. the fifth of that prince's reign°. But *Gordian* dying, and *Philip*, who succeeded him, refusing

Caracalla the first Roman emperor that quarrels with the Goths. Year after Christ 215.

The Goths receive an annual pension from the Romans.

They ravage Mæsia. Year after Christ 238.

° Vide JORN. c. 30. AGATH. l. i. & GROT. proleg. in hist. Goth. ° Univers. hist. p. 442.
 † APOLL. SIDON. l. i. ep. 7. p. 29. † SPART. in Caracal. p. 89. ° Idem in Maximin. p. 139.
 ‡ JORN. rer. Goth. c. 15. p. 631. ‡ VORBORG. hist. Rom. Germanic. p. 419. ° SPART. ubi supra.
 * ONUPH. p. 252. CUSP. p. 371. DIO, l. lxxiii. lxxix. p. 838, 910. † GROT. rer. Goth. p. 19, 41. † PET. PATRIC. legat. excerpt. p. 24. † CAPITOL. in vit. Maximin. p. 171.
 BAUDR. p. 392. † CAPITOL. ibid. † Gord. vit. p. 162. ONUPH. p. 259.

Ostrogotha
ravages
Thrace and
Mœsia.
Year after
Christ 445.

He overcomes
the Gepidæ.

Cniva, first de-
feated by the
Romans, gains
great advan-
tages over
them.

Defeats and
kills the empe-
ror Decius,
and his son.
Year after
Christ 250.

to pay them their annual pension, they passed the *Danube*, and, entering *Thrace*, committed dreadful ravages in that province, as well as in *Mæsia*. *Philip* dispatched against them the senator *Decius*, who was afterwards emperor; but he, not thinking it adviseable to engage them, returned to *Rome*, after having discharged with disgrace the troops, that had suffered them to pass the *Danube*. These went over in a body to the enemy, commanded at that time by their king *Ostrogotha*, the grandson of *Amalus*, who received them kindly, and, being thus reinforced, laid siege to *Marcianopolis*, the capital of *Mæsia*; but, not being able to reduce it, he abandoned the undertaking for a large sum sent him by the inhabitants, who were glad thus to compound with him, and redeem themselves from the calamities attending long sieges. *Ostrogotha* was scarce returned to his own country, when *Fastida*, king of the *Gepidæ*, elated with the success, that had attended his arms against the *Burgundians*, whom he had almost utterly destroyed, sent him the following haughty message, viz. That the *Gepidæ* being streightened for want room, he must either allow them lands, or prepare for war. *Ostrogotha* answered, That he should be sorry to engage in a war with the *Gepidæ* his kinsmen (for they were a *Gothic* nation); but was determined to part with no lands. Hereupon both nations took the field, and a bloody battle ensued, in which the *Gepidæ* were defeated with great slaughter; but *Ostrogotha*, contenting himself with the victory, suffered the *Gepidæ* to retire, and live in their own country unmolested.

Ostrogotha was succeeded by *Cniva*, who, breaking into *Mæsia*, was defeated, with the loss of thirty thousand men, by *Decius*, the eldest son of the emperor of that name, whom, in the end, he overcame, and, having cut his whole army in pieces, obliged the young prince to save himself by flight into the neighbouring provinces. Having now no enemy to oppose him, he made himself master of *Philippopolis* on the *Hebrus*, put the inhabitants, to the number of one hundred thousand souls, says *Ammianus*, to the sword, ravaged *Thrace*, and laid waste great part of *Macedon*. Hereupon the emperor *Decius*, setting out from *Rome*, hastened into *Pannonia*; and, putting himself at the head of his army, he overcame the *Goths* in several engagements, and drove them out of the *Roman* dominions. But they returned soon after with a numerous army, headed by their king *Cniva*; which obliged *Decius* to take the field a second time, when he was attended, at first, with the same good success, as he had been in their former irruption; for he reduced them to such streights, that they offered to set at liberty all the prisoners they had taken, and relinquish their booty, provided he would suffer them to retire unmolested. But the emperor, who had sent *Trebonianus Gallus*, with a strong detachment, to cut off their retreat, thinking he had it now in his power to rid the empire of so troublesome an enemy, instead of hearkening to their proposals, marched with all his forces against them. The *Goths*, knowing that all lay at stake, received him with great intrepidity, and, fighting like men in despair, gained a complete victory. In the battle fell first *Decius*, the emperor's eldest son, and then the emperor himself, upon whose death the *Goths* made a dreadful havock of the disheartened army. We only touch upon these events here, having related them at length elsewhere. *Decius* being killed, *Gallus* was by the soldiery proclaimed emperor in his room; but he, instead of revenging the death of the late emperor, and the overthrow of the army, concluded a peace with the *Goths*, suffering them to retire unmolested with all their booty, and the prisoners they had taken at *Philippopolis*, and elsewhere; nay, he engaged to pay them yearly a considerable sum, provided they continued quiet in their own country. However, three years after, that is, in 253. they entered the *Roman* territories in an hostile manner, probably because their pension was not paid them. But *Æmilianus*, who commanded the troops in *Pannonia*, marching against them, put them to flight, and drove them quite out of the empire, though his soldiers, at first, betrayed great unwillingness to engage so formidable an enemy. This *Zonaras* relates in a manner, which we do not well comprehend; for he supposes the *Goths*, who were overcome and put to flight by *Æmilian*, to have lived in friendship and amity with the *Romans*. In 256. the *Goths*, with the *Carpi*, the *Barani*, and the *Burgundians*, all nations dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, made a new inroad into the empire, laying waste,

^e JORN. REC. Goth. p. 433—436.

^d AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 446.

^e JORN. ibid. c. 18. p. 636.

637. ^f Zos. l. i. p. 644.

^g JORN. ibid. c. 18. p. 637. ^h ZONAR. p. 231. ⁱ AUR. VICT. in DEC.

Zos. l. i. p. 644.

^k Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 169. 170.

^l JORN. c. 19. p. 638. ^m Zos. l. i.

p. 644. ⁿ ZONAR. p. 232.

^o Zos. p. 645.

^p ZONAR. p. 232.

- a according to *Zosimus* ^m, all *Illyricum*, and *Italy* itself, without meeting with the least opposition. But this we can hardly believe, since no other writer takes notice of any ravages committed by them in *Italy*. They continued all this year in *Illyricum*, laying the country waste far and wide; but the following year *Aurelian*, afterwards emperor, being sent to succeed *Ulpus Crinitus* in the command of the troops in *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, drove them out of those provinces, took a great number of them prisoners, and, pursuing them beyond the *Danube*, laid waste their country, and returned to *Thrace* loaded with booty ⁿ. After this, they continued quiet till the year 262. *The Goths lay waste Thrace and Macedon.* the ninth of the emperor *Gallienus*, when, breaking unexpectedly into *Thrace*, they made themselves masters of that province, and from thence over-ran all *Macedon*,
- b and laid siege to *Thessalonica*; but, not being able to reduce it, they attempted to enter *Acbaia*, when *Macrianus*, who had assumed the title of *Augustus*, arriving in *Greece* on his march into *Italy*, fell upon them unexpectedly, and obliged them to save themselves by flight into their own country ^o. At the same time another party of the *Goths*, having crossed the *Hellepont* under the conduct of one *Rajpa*, committed dreadful ravages in *Asia*, plundered several cities, and even the famous temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus* ^p. *Jornandes* tells us, that, in this irruption, they destroyed the city of *Chalcedon*, which, though afterwards rebuilt, says he, by one *Cornelius Avitus*, and enriched by the neighbourhood of *Constantinople*, yet, for the space of three hundred years and upwards, shewed the dreadful marks of its former ruin ^q. On their
- c return, they laid in ashes the poor remains of antient *Troy*; and, having repassed the *Hellepont*, they made an attempt upon *Anquialum* in *Thrace*; but, having spent some days in vain before that place, they abandoned the enterprize, and, after having ravaged *Thrace*, returned home, carrying with them an immense booty ^r. The following year 263. they made a new irruption into *Asia*, but were soon driven out by the *Roman* troops quartered there ^s. Two years after, that is, in 265. they made themselves masters of all *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*, extending from that river to the *Carpathian* mountains, which had been reduced by *Trajan* to a *Roman* province, and joined to *Mæsia* by a bridge, the most magnificent and wonderful of all that emperor's works ^t. Encouraged with this success, the following year, having built an
- d incredible number of vessels, they embarked on the *Euxine* sea, and, landing at *Heraclea* in *Pontus*, over-ran *Asia Minor*, *Lydia*, and *Bithynia*, made themselves masters of *Nicomedia*, plundered the *Greek* cities in those countries, and laid waste the provinces of *Phrygia* and *Troas* ^u. In *Bithynia* they met with some opposition; for we are told, that a battle was fought there; and, from what happened afterwards, it appears, that the *Goths* carried the day; for on one side the *Romans*, dissatisfied with the conduct of *Gallienus*, were for setting up another emperor; and on the other the *Goths*, pursuing their ravages, advanced as far as *Galatia* and *Cappadocia*, laying waste, without restraint, the countries through which they passed ^v. *Eutropius*, and after him *St. Jerom* ^x, and *Orosius* ^y, mention the ravages committed by the *Goths* in
- e *Pontus* and *Asia*; and *Philostorgius* names several cities ruined by them in *Galatia* and *Cappadocia* ^z. We learn from *St. Basil*, that *Dionysius*, who was raised to the see of *Rome* in 259. and died in 270. wrote a consolatory letter to the church of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, sending at the same time considerable sums to redeem the christian captives ^a, among whom were many holy ecclesiastics, who could not be ransomed, says *Philostorgius* ^b, because they were destined by Heaven to convert their conquerors. In the mean time the brave *Odenatus*, of whom we have spoken at length in our *Roman* history ^c, pitying the miserable condition, to which *Asia* was reduced by the *Goths*, hastened to the relief of that province. But the *Goths*, unwilling to engage
- f so renowned a commander, reimbarqued at *Heraclea*, and, by the *Euxine* sea, returned home with an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives ^d. Many of them however were drowned, being attacked on their return by the *Roman* fleet ^e. The following year, they embarked anew on the *Euxine* sea, and, landing at the mouth of the *Danube*, laid waste great part of *Mæsia*; but were defeated by the troops and generals who guarded *Byzantium*. However, they advanced as far as

^m Zos. l. i. p. 646, 647.ⁿ Aurel. vit. p. 213.^o Gallien. vit. p. 177. ZONAR. p. 233.

SYNCELL. p. 381.

^p Gallien. vit. p. 177, 178. JORN. rer. Goth. c. 20. p. 619.^q Idem ibid.^r Gallien. vit. p. 177, 178.

JORN. rer. Goth. c. 20. p. 619.

^s Gallien. vit. p. 178.^t Aur.

VICT. EUTROP. OROS. l. vii. c. 12. p. 214. Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 14.

^u Gallien. vit. p. 179.^v Idem ibid.^x Hier. chron.^y OROS. l. vii. c. 22. p. 214.^z Philostorg. l. ii. c. 5.

p. 270, 271.

^a Basil. ep. ccxx. p. 233.^b Philostorg. p. 471.^c Univers. hist. vol. vi.

p. 177, 178, 180, 182, &c.

^d Gallien. vit. p. 180. SYNCELL. p. 381.^e SYNCELL. p. 382.*Illyricum*;

They invade
the empire with
a formidable
fleet and army.
Year after
Christ 209.

Illyricum; but being informed there, that the *Heruli* had received a dreadful overthrow in *Greece*, they began to retire, when *Marcian* and *Claudius*, whom *Gallienus* had sent against them, pursuing them close, cut great numbers of them in pieces^f; nay, *Claudius* was for cutting off their retreat, as might have been easily done, and putting them all to the sword; but *Marcian* thought it more adviseable to suffer them to retire^e. To be revenged on *Claudius*, they no sooner heard, that he was raised to the empire, than, stirring up all the northern nations against him, they assembled on the banks of the *Tyras*, now the *Niester*, and there built, says *Zosimus*^b, six thousand ships; but *Pollio*, who makes the most of this war, writes, that their vessels amounted only to two thousandⁱ, and he is therein followed by *Ammianus* *Marcellinus*^k. Having employed the whole year 268. in making the necessary preparations, they embarked, to the number of three hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, and, landing in *Lesser Scythia*, laid siege, at the same time, to the city of *Tomi* in that province, and to *Marcianopolis* in *Mæsia*; but being, in several attacks, repulsed at both places, they re-embarked on the *Euxine* sea, and entered the streights of the *Bosporus*, where, by the rapidity of the current, and the great number of their ships running foul of one another, they suffered a great loss both of men and vessels, and besides, they met with a vigorous opposition from the inhabitants of *Byzantium*^l. Making therefore what haste they could out of the streights, they attacked the city of *Cyzicus* on the *Propontis*; but, not being able to reduce it, they abandoned the enterprize, and, entering the *Ægean* sea, they refitted their shattered vessels at mount *Athos* in *Macedon*, and then laid siege to *Cassandria* and *Thessalonica*, two cities in the same province. But, when they were upon the point of making themselves masters of both, news was brought them, that *Claudius* approached at the head of a powerful army^m. That prince, upon the first news of their breaking into the empire, had dispatched his brother *Quintillus* against them, but, under him, committed the chief command of the army to *Aurelian*, afterwards emperor, whom he had, on that occasion, appointed general of all the troops in *Thrace*, *Illyricum*, and the other frontier provinces; but, when he was informed of the number of the enemy's forces, he resolved to head the army in personⁿ. *Zonaras* writes, that while they were deliberating at *Rome*, whether the emperor should march against the *Goths*, or against *Tetricus*, who had usurped the empire in *Gaul*, and was then besieging *Autun*, *Claudius* told them, That the war with *Tetricus* was his; but that with the *Goths* was the war of the *Roman* people, whose interest he preferred to his own^o. However, he could not set out so soon as he wished, it being no easy matter, as the empire had been quite exhausted by his predecessor *Gallienus*, to make the necessary preparations for an expedition of such importance, and to draw together an army fit to be commanded by him^p. The *Goths* therefore, abandoning the siege of *Thessalonica* upon the first report of his approach, advanced into the country lying on the river *Axius*, plundered *Pelagonia*, and committed great ravages in the neighbourhood of *Doberus* in *Pæonia*, where they were vigorously attacked by the *Dalmatian* horse, who signalized themselves on this occasion, and killed near three thousand of the enemy^q. The rest took their rout to *Upper Mæsia*, and were met by *Claudius* in the neighbourhood of *Naissus*, whom they immediately engaged^r. The victory continued long doubtful; nay, the *Romans* at first gave ground; but, returning through certain narrow passes to the charge, they fell unexpectedly upon the *Goths*, who, after a long and obstinate resistance, were in the end put to flight, and utterly routed^s. Such of them as had the good luck to make their escape, returned towards *Macedon*, covering their rear with their waggons; but they found no fence against the famine that raged amongst them, and daily carried off great numbers of men and horses. The *Roman* cavalry, attacking them in front, cut off many thousands of them, and, by guarding the passes of *Macedon*, obliged them to shut themselves up on mount *Hæmus*, where they passed the winter in the greatest hardships imaginable^t.

Their army is
utterly routed
by Claudius.

Their fleet ravages
Thessaly
and Achaia,
&c.

As for their fleet, one part of it, separating from the rest, ravaged *Thessaly* and *Achaia*, and took a great many prisoners in the open country, says *Zosimus*^u, not

^f Gallien. vit. p. 181. Claud. vit. p. 208. Zos. p. 652. ^g Claud. vit. ibid. ^h Zos. p. 652.
ⁱ Claud. vit. p. 204. ^k AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 415. ^l Claud. vit. p. 205. Zos. l. i. p. 652.
^m Zos. p. 653. AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 445. ⁿ Idem. p. 214. ^o ZONAR. p. 239. ^p Claud.
vit. p. 204. ^q Zos. l. i. p. 653. ^r Idem ibid. Claud. vit. p. 205. ^s Idem ibid. Zos.
p. 654. ^t Zos. ibid. Claud. vit. p. 205. SYNCER. p. 384. ^u Zos. p. 653.

being

- a being able to reduce one single city. However, *Zonaras* tells us, that they made themselves masters of *Athens*; and that having laid together in one heap all the books they found there, with a design to set fire to them, they would have deprived the world of that unvaluable treasure, had not one among them, more discerning than the rest, told his companions, that, while the *Greeks* amused themselves with those books, they neglected the art of war, and were easily overcome. The same author adds, that *Cleodemus*, a native of *Athens*, having assembled some troops and vessels, attacked them by sea, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to save themselves by flight into other countries. From *Athens* they sailed to the islands of *Crete*, *Rhodes*, and *Cyprus*; but no-where performed any thing worth mentioning.
- b nay, they lost great numbers of their men by the plague, that raged among them. They returned therefore to winter in *Macedon*, where the contagious distemper completed their ruin. Those who had taken refuge on mount *Hemus*, as we have related above, were, before the end of winter, reduced by the plague and famine to a very small number; so that *Claudius* might have saved himself the trouble of attacking them. However, that prince, bent upon their utter destruction, marched against them early in the spring, and, having shut them up on all sides, in different skirmishes, put several thousands of them to the sword. Nevertheless the infantry having one day attacked them without the cavalry, which was employed elsewhere, the *Romans*, after having behaved some time with great gallantry, turned their backs, and fled. On this occasion, the loss on the side of the *Romans* was very considerable, and had been much greater, had not the cavalry come seasonably to their relief. *Pollio* perhaps speaks of this encounter, where he owns the *Romans* to have lost in an attack near two thousand men. But these were, as that writer tells us, *Roman* soldiers, who, after having put the enemy to flight, were busied in plundering their baggage; and *Claudius*, according to him, was not yet arrived in the camp: whereas *Zosimus* writes, that the infantry attacked the enemy by the emperor's orders; but he may therein be mistaken. However that be, the *Romans*, not in the least disheartened with this loss, continued harassing the *Goths* without intermission, and streightening them daily more and more. As the plague at the same time made a dreadful havock among them, they were in the end obliged to submit, and beg quarter; which was granted them. Some of them were incorporated among the *Roman* troops; to others lands were given to cultivate; and a small number of them found means to make their escape. We have inserted elsewhere two letters relating to this war, written by the emperor himself, the one to the senate, while he was upon the point of engaging the enemy, the other, after the battle, to *Junius Bressus*, governor of *Illyricum*. As the army was composed of divers northern nations, and followed by a great number of women, servants, and children, all the provinces of the empire were filled with captives, among whom were several kings, and women of distinction. The emperor caused some of their waggon to be burnt, and gave the rest, with a great number of slaves, to the public. For this victory, *Claudius* took the surname of *Gothicus*; in the second year of his reign, that is, before the twenty-fourth of March of the present year 270. but soon after died, at *Sirwinum* of the plague, which had contributed so much to his victory over the *Goths*. He was succeeded by his brother *Quintillus*, during whose short reign the *Goths*, who had made their escape from mount *Hemus*, plundered the city of *Anquialum* in *Thrace*, and made an attempt upon *Nicopolis* in *Lower Macedonia*; but were driven out of that province by the *Roman* troops quartered there. *Themistius* speaks of their taking both *Anquialum* and *Nicopolis*; but this must have happened in some other irruption. The same year 270. the *Goths*, notwithstanding the losses they had sustained, broke anew into the empire, and, entering *Pannonia*, laid waste that province; which *Aurelian*, who had been just raised to the empire, no sooner understood, than he left *Rome*, and, putting himself at the head of the army, marched against them. As the enemy did not retire at his approach, a battle ensued, which lasted till night coming on parted the two armies, without the least advantage on either side. However, the *Goths*, not caring to renew the combat, repassed the *Danube* in the dead of

But is destroyed
by the plague.

The land-forces
submit, and are
made prisoners.

They plunder
the city of An-
quialum.

Make new in-
roads into the
empire; but
are driven out
by Aurelian.

^a *ZONAR.* p. 239. ^b *Idem* *ibid.* ^c *AMMIAN.* l. xxxi. p. 445. *Claud.* vii. p. 206. *Zos.* l. i. p. 1634. ^d *Zos.* *ibid.* ^e *Claud.* vii. p. 206. ^f *Ibid.* p. 204, 206. ^g *Univ.* *hist.* *vol.* vi. p. 287. ^h *Claud.* vii. p. 205. *SYNCEL.* p. 384. *ZONAR.* p. 239. *PAN.* ix. p. 191. *DEXIF.* *legat.* p. 10. ⁱ *Goltz.* p. 118. ^j *Claud.* vii. p. 206. ^k *AMMIAN.* l. xxxi. p. 445.

the night, and sent ambassadors the next morning to sue for peace^b; which was readily granted them, the *Alemans* being at that time in arms, and ready to invade *Italy*; which they did accordingly, as we have related elsewhere^c. But this peace was not of long duration; for two years after, that is, in 272. *Aurelian*, on his march into the east against the celebrated *Zenobia*, found them ravaging *Thrace*, and drove them out of that province; nay, he even passed the *Danube*, and having engaged *Cannabaud*, a *Gotbic* prince, slew him, and five thousand of his men^d. It was perhaps on this occasion, that the emperor took a chariot drawn by four stags, which he afterwards made use of in his triumphal entry into *Rome*; for he is said to have taken it from a *Gotbic* prince^e. Among the prisoners were ten women, who had fought in the habit of men, and a great many more were found among the dead. The emperor, in a letter to *Gallonius Avitus*, governor of *Thrace*, mentions some *Gotbic* women of distinction, whom he had sent to *Perinthus* to be kept there, and entertained in a manner suitable to their rank^f. Among these was a woman of the blood royal, named *Hunila*, whom the emperor gave in marriage to *Bonofus*, one of his generals, who, in the reign of *Probus*, usurped the sovereignty, as we have related elsewhere^g. Two years after, the *Gotbs* settled in *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*, abandoned by *Aurelian*, who was well apprised, that he could not maintain it, without an immense charge, in the midst of so many barbarous nations^h. The following year 275. they entered, in separate and numerous bodies, *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, and *Cilicia*, pretending to have been invited by *Aurelian*, who died some months before, to serve as auxiliaries against the *Persians*; but *Tacitus*, who had succeeded that prince, not thinking it advisable to trust them, endeavoured, by fair means, and even by offering them considerable sums, to induce them to return home. His offers were accepted by some; but others refusing to retire upon any terms, the emperor, and his brother *Florianus*, fell upon them, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and drove the rest quite out of the empireⁱ. Of this victory mention is made on one of *Tacitus*'s medals^j; and from an antient inscription may be gathered, that he took the surname of *Gotbicus*^k. In 278. the second of the reign of *Probus*, they broke into *Thrace*, and advanced as far as *Illyricum*, laying waste the country with fire and sword; but they no sooner heard, that the emperor was marching against them, and had already entered *Rhatia*, than they withdrew, leaving their booty behind them. From *Rhatia* the emperor pursued his march into *Illyricum*, and thence into *Thrace*, where he was met by deputies from all the *Gotbic* nations, either suing for peace, says *Vopiscus*^l, or submitting to his power. No further mention is made of the *Gotbs* till the year 289. the fifth of *Dioclesian*'s reign, who is said to have gained a complete victory over the *Sarmatians*, that is, the *Gotbs*; nay, *Eumenes* writes, that the whole nation of the *Sarmatians* was cut off, and the province of *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*, which they had seized, re-united to the empire^m. For this victory *Dioclesian* assumed the surname of *Sarmaticus*, as appears from several antient coins and inscriptionsⁿ. But that the advantages he gained over the *Gotbs* were greatly exaggerated by *Eumenes*, is manifest from another panegyrist^o, who, in a speech he pronounced two years after in the presence of the emperor, takes notice of the victories lately gained by the *Gotbs* over the *Burgundians* dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, whom they had overcome, and were then bent upon utterly extirpating the whole nation; which it would be no easy matter for them to effectuate, the *Burgundians* being powerfully supported by the *Alans* and *Thervingians*. He adds, that another *Gotbic* nation, assisted by the *Taisala*, made war upon the *Vandals* and *Gepids*. The *Gotbs* therefore were still a powerful nation, and had not been, as *Eumenes* boasts, utterly extirpated by *Dioclesian*; nay the panegyrist, whom we have quoted above, ascribes their not disturbing the peace of the empire to their being engaged in wars with other barbarous nations, and not to any awe they stood in of *Dioclesian*.

From the year 289. the fifth of *Dioclesian*'s reign, to the year 321. the fifteenth of *Constantine*'s, the *Gotbs* gave no disturbance to the empire, being engaged, as we have observed above, in wars with the neighbouring nations. But all we know of these wars is, that they not only overcame the *Burgundians*, but likewise the *Vandals*,

They settle in
Dacia. Year
after Christ
274.

They conclude a
peace with
Probus.
They are de-
feated by Dio-
clesian.
Year after
Christ 289.

They overcome
the Burgun-
dians and Van-
dals.

^b Zos. l. i. p. 654, 655. ^c Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 188. ^d Aur. vit. p. 216. ^e Ibid. p. 220. ^f Bonof. vit. p. 247. ^g Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 202. ^h Aur. vit. p. 222. ⁱ ZONAR. p. 240. ^j Zos. l. i. p. 662. ^k Prob. vit. p. 228. ^l BIRAO. p. 410. ^m GRUTER. p. 192. ⁿ Prob. vit. p. 239. ^o Paneg. xi. p. 132, 133. ^p Paneg. viii. p. 105, 107. ^q NORD. de Dioclesi. c. 4. p. 23. BIRAO. p. 426. ^r MAMERT. paneg. xi. p. 136, 137.

- a with their king *Visumar*, a prince of great renown, and descended from the *Ardingi*, the most illustrious family of that nation. The *Vandals* were, it seems, quite driven out; for we are told, that they begged and obtained *Pannonia* of the emperor *Constantine* ¹. The *Goths* were no sooner disengaged from other wars, than they broke into the empire; but they were overcome by *Constantine* in several battles fought at *Campana* in *Pannonia*, and at *Marga* and *Bonnonia* in *Upper Mæsia* ². *Zosimus* speaks of a city besieged by *Raufimodes* king of the *Sarmatians*, and relieved by *Constantine*, who, having defeated the enemy, and put them to flight, pursued them ^{But are overcome by Constantine.} across the *Danube*, and forced them to a second battle, in which great numbers of them were slain, and among the rest the king himself. Such as escaped the general slaughter, submitted to *Constantine*, who returned from this expedition with an incredible number of captives ³. Notwithstanding this defeat, the following year the *Goths* broke anew into the empire, while the emperor was busied in making a port at *Thessalonica*, and, over-running *Thrace* and *Mæsia*, ravaged both provinces, and took a great many prisoners ⁴. It was on occasion of this irruption, that *Constantine* enacted the two laws, dated the twenty-eighth of *April* 323. whereof the one commands those to be burnt alive, who shall lend the least assistance to the barbarians, or receive any part of their booty; the other forbids the tribunes of the cohorts, and the other subalterns, to suffer the soldiers to be absent from the camp and their colours, on pain of death, in time of war; and of banishment, and confiscation of their estates, in time of peace ⁵. *Constantine* marched against the *Goths* with incredible expedition, and, falling upon them, gave them a total overthrow, and pursued them with great slaughter into the dominions of *Licinius*; which that prince highly resenting, a war was kindled between him and *Constantine*, of which we have spoken at length elsewhere ⁶. Some writers are of opinion, that the victory gained at this time over the *Goths* gave rise to the *Gotbic* sports, which began, according to *Bucherius's* kalendar, on the fourth, and ended on the ninth, of *February*. The *Goths*, thus overcome, sued for peace; which was granted them, upon their setting at liberty all the prisoners they had taken ⁷; nay *Constantine* entered, it seems, into an alliance with them; for they assisted him against *Licinius* with a body of forty thousand men, ^{They assist Constantine against Licinius.} who were distinguished by the name of *fœderati*, or allies ⁸. These are, without all doubt, the *Goths*, who, as we read in an anonymous writer published by *Valesius* ⁹, fought at the battle of *Chalcedon*, under the conduct of one of their princes named *Alaquæa*. Notwithstanding the peace and alliance they had made with *Constantine*, they began about eight years after, that is, in 332. to make new inroads into the empire. *Zosimus* writes, that the *Taisala*, a *Gotbic* nation, having broken into the *Roman* territories with five hundred horse, *Constantine*, who was then in *Mæsia*, suffered them to lay waste the country to the very gates of his camp; and that, instead of putting his troops in battle-array to oppose them, he betook himself to a precipitous flight, after having lost great part of his army ¹⁰. *Zosimus* is the only author, ^{They make new inroads into the empire.} who relates this event, altogether incredible. *Socrates* tells us, that the *Goths* and *Sarmatians* over-ran some provinces, but were overcome and driven out by *Constantine* ¹¹. The same year, a war breaking out between the *Goths* and *Sarmatians*, the latter had recourse to *Constantine*, who, glad of the opportunity that offered to humble that fierce nation, fell upon them while they were busied in plundering the territories of the *Sarmatians*, and gained a memorable victory over them on the twentieth of *April*. Near an hundred thousand of the enemy were either cut in pieces, or perished after the battle with hunger and cold; which obliged *Araric* their king to sue for peace, and deliver hostages to the emperor, among whom was his own son ¹². This victory is ascribed by some to *Constantine Caesar*, and the emperor *Julian* tells us, that ^{But receive a dreadful overthrow. Year after Christ 332.} one of *Constantine's* sons awed the *Goths* with his victories ¹³. But *Eutropius* ¹⁴ and *Eusebius* ¹⁵ tell us in express terms, that the *Goths* were overcome by *Constantine* in a great battle; nay *Eusebius* writes, that *Constantine*, scorning to pay tribute to the barbarians, as other emperors had done, marched against them, while they were engaged in a war with the *Sarmatians*, and, having subdued the whole nation, obliged, what by dint of arms, what by treaties, the innumerable tribes, into which they

¹ JORN. rer. Vandal. l. i. p. 474.

AMMIAN. anonym. p. 474.

AMMIAN. per Val. subjunct.

² ZOS. l. ii. p. 680. OPTAT. c. 23.

³ Cod. Theod. l. vii. tit. 2. leg. 5. p. 272.

⁴ Idem ibid.

⁵ ZOS. l. ii. p. 687.

⁶ JUL. OCTAT. l. p. 16.

⁷ Idem ibid.

⁸ AMMIAN. p. 474.

⁹ Idem ibid.

¹⁰ JORN. rer. Goth. c. 21. p. 640.

¹¹ SOCRA. l. i. c. 14. p. 48.

¹² ANONYM.

¹³ ANONYM.

¹⁴ EUSEB. vit. Const. l. iv. p. 529.

were divided, to obey his commands^o. *Sozomen* and *Socrates* write, that the victory ^a he gained over them was so evidently miraculous, that the *Goths*, acknowledging the power of the God adored by *Constantine*, great numbers of them embraced the christian religion, which had been first preached among them about the year 270 P (A). *Jornandes* takes no notice of the victory gained over the *Goths* by *Constantine*; but only tells us, that they supplied his army with a body of forty thousand men, which was kept always complete⁴. *Eutropius* writes, that *Constantine*, having granted a peace to the *Goths*, left among them a great opinion of his humanity and good nature⁵; and *Eusebius*, that he even preferred to great dignities and employments the most illustrious among them⁶. In the time of *Themistius* was still to be seen at *Constantinople*, behind the hall where the senate used to assemble, a statue, which ^b *Constantine* had caused to be erected in honour of the father of *Atbaneric* king of the *Goths*; but this was done, says our author, to soften and gain over that barbarian⁷.

They served in
the Roman
army.

THE *Goths* not only continued quiet, but served the *Romans* with great fidelity, during the remaining part of *Constantine's* reign, and in the reigns of *Constans*, *Julian*, *Jovian*, and *Valentinian I*⁸. But in 364. the first of *Valens*, they broke into *Thrace*, and laid waste that province⁹. The emperor, who was yet scarce well-seated on his throne, instead of employing his troops against them, sent them a considerable sum; which they no sooner received, than they forbore all hostilities, and returned home¹. The following year 365. while the emperor was in *Bithynia*, news was brought him, that the *Goths* were ready to break anew into *Thrace*. Hereupon *Valens* dispatched a ^c body of troops to reinforce those, that, under the command of count *Julian*, were posted on the banks of the *Danube*; which prevented their passing that river². In the mean time *Procopius* having revolted, and assumed the title of emperor, the *Goths*, espousing his cause, sent a body of three thousand men to his assistance; but *Procopius* being defeated, taken, and put to death, before their arrival, they continued in the territories of the empire, committing great ravages in *Thrace* and *Mæsia*. *Valens* dispatched a strong detachment against them, who, having cut off their retreat, obliged them to lay down their arms, and yield themselves prisoners³. *Hermanaric*

They assist the
usurper Proco-
pius.

^o Idem *ibid.* l. i. c. 8. p. 409. ⁴ *Soz.* l. i. c. 8. p. 411. ⁵ *Socrat.* l. i. c. 24. p. 48. ⁶ *Jorn.* rer. Goth. c. 21. p. 640. ⁷ *Eutrop.* p. 388. ⁸ *Euseb.* vit. *Constant.* l. iv. c. 7. p. 330. ⁹ *Themist.* orat. xv. p. 191. ¹ *Liban.* orat. xii. p. 309. ² *Ammian.* l. xxvi. p. 315. ³ *Them.* orat. viii. p. 119. ⁴ *Ammian.* p. 322. ⁵ *Zos.* l. iv. p. 740. *Ammian.* l. xxvi. p. 315. *Eunap.* excerpt. p. 18.

(A) The *Goths*, says *Sozomen* (1), and the other barbarous nations dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, had embraced the christian religion long before *Constantine* was sole master of the empire, providence having made use of the very ravages they committed under *Gallienus* and his successors, to convert them to the true faith; for, having crossed over from *Thrace* into *Asia*, and there taken an incredible number of captives, and amongst the rest several holy ecclesiastics, who, by only invoking the name of *Jesus*, cured their sick, and delivered such among them as were possessed with the devil, they began to hearken to their doctrine; and observing, on the other hand, that their lives were quite blameless, many of them resolved to follow the example, that was set them by such wonderful men, and to acknowledge the God, whom they adored. Accordingly they took them for their teachers, hearkened with respect to their instructions, received the sacrament of baptism, built churches, and there celebrated, like other christians, the holy mysteries of our religion. Having embraced our faith, they divested themselves of their former fierceness, and led thenceforth more regular lives. Thus *Sozomen*, and what he writes is confirmed by *Philostorgius*, who, speaking of the ravages they committed in *Asia*, *Gallia*, and *Cappadocia*, under *Valerian* and *Gallienus* in 266. tells us, that they carried back with them, among the many other captives, the successors of *Wulphilas*, who, about the latter end of the fourth

century, was revered by them as their prophet (2). This gives some light to what we read in *St Basil*, viz. that from *Cappadocia* were brought to the *Goths* the first seeds of the christian religion (3). *St Cyril of Jerusalem* in 347. names the *Goths* and *Sarmatians* among the nations, that had bishops, priests, deacons, monks, virgins, and even martyrs (4); for the whole nation did not at once embrace the christian religion; nay, after it was preached among them, they had some pagan kings, who persecuted the christians (5). *Sozomen* writes, that the barbarians, who inhabited *Gaul*, and the banks of the *Rhine*, down to the ocean, embraced the christian religion by the same means, and at the same time, as those who dwelt on the *Danube* (6). However, we find no footsteps of christianity among the *Franks*, whom *Sozomen* seems chiefly to hint at, till the reign of *Clovis*, which began about the year 468. *Eusebius*, who began, according to *St Basil* (7), the conversion of the *Goths*, and the other illustrious captives, fulfilled in a literal sense what we read in the prophet *Isaiah*: And the people shall take them, and bring them to their place, and the house of Israel shall possess them in the land of the Lord for servants and handmaids; and they shall take them captives whose captives they were, and they shall rule over their oppressors (8). To them may be likewise applied the words of *Tobit*, In the land of my captivity do I praise him, and declare his might and majesty to a sinful nation (9).

(1) *Soz.* l. ii. c. 6. p. 451. (2) *Philost.* l. ii. c. 9. p. 470, 471. (3) *Basil.* epist. cccxxxviii. p. 330. (4) *Cyrril.* *Hierosol.* cor. xvi. p. 86. (5) *Idem*, cor. x. p. 92. (6) *Soz.* l. ii. c. 6. p. 450. (7) *Basil.* *ibid.* (8) *Isa.* c. iv. ver. 2. (9) *Tobit.* c. xiii. ver. 6.

- a was then king of the *Goths*, of those at least, who by *Ammianus* are styled *Greuthungi*, and by *Jornandes*, *Ostrogoths*; but the above-mentioned body of troops had been sent to the assistance of *Procopius* by *Atbanaric*, whom *Ammianus* calls sometimes one of the most powerful men among the *Goths*^a, and sometimes the judge of the *Thervingian Goths*^b, that is, according to *Jornandes*, of the *Visigoths*^c. He was a man of great courage, and yet his courage, says *Themistius*^d, fell short of his penetration, eloquence, and address. He no sooner received the news of the captivity of his men, than he dispatched ambassadors to *Valens*, requiring they might be set at liberty, since they had been sent by a friend and ally of the *Romans* to the assistance of a *Roman* emperor. At the same time the letters were produced, which he had received from *Procopius*. On the other hand, *Valens* sent *Victor*, general of the horse, to complain of *Atbanaric*, for assisting a rebel against his lawful sovereign. The *Goths* answered, that they had looked upon *Procopius* as the kinsman of *Constantine*; and that it was not their business to examine whether he was, or was not, a lawful prince; and therefore, if they were deceived therein, the emperor ought to excuse them^e. But *Valens* could not be prevailed upon to set the captive *Goths* at liberty, being bent, as he was then engaged in no other wars, upon humbling that powerful nation^f. With this view, great preparations were made throughout the empire; which occasioned no small consternation among the people, who, as they had a mighty opinion of the valour of the *Goths*, dreaded the issue of this war^g. At the same time, in the dismantling of *Chalcedon*, certain verses were found engraved on a stone, which doubled their fears; for they seemed antient, and foretold a dreadful inundation of barbarians in *Thrace*^h. The emperor himself seems to have been under no small apprehension of this war; for *Theodoret* tells us, that, before he set out on so dangerous an expedition, in order to render Heaven propitious to his undertaking, he received the sacrament of baptismⁱ. The *Goths*, on the other hand, finding the emperor bent upon war, began to draw together their forces, with a design to attack him the first; which *Valens* no sooner understood, than he ordered his troops to take the field, though in the depth of winter, and soon after came in person to head them. Upon his arrival, he sent strong detachments to guard the banks of the *Danube*, and encamped, with the rest of the army, in the neighbourhood of *Marcianopolis*, the metropolis of *Lower Mœsia*^k. *Ammianus*^l and *Zosimus*^m tell us, that early in the spring he left *Marcianopolis*, and, having passed the *Danube* on a bridge of boats, he ravaged the enemy's country far and near, without meeting with the least opposition, the *Goths* having retired at his approach to the neighbouring mountains. In the beginning of the autumn he led back his army to the *Roman* dominionsⁿ, and passed the winter at *Marcianopolis*, whence, as soon as the season was fit for action, he marched to the banks of the *Danube*, with a design to cross that river, and pursue the ravages he had begun the year before; but the *Danube* continuing swelled beyond measure the whole summer, he was obliged to remain encamped in the same place, till the latter end of autumn, when he returned to *Marcianopolis*, and there took up his winter-quarters^o.

THE following year 369. the emperor marched into *Lesser Scythia*, and, having passed the *Danube* at *Noviodunum*, advanced far into the enemy's country, destroying all with fire and sword. The *Goths*, not daring to keep the field, lay concealed in the woods and morasses, whence they frequently sallied out upon the *Romans*. Against them the emperor employed not the soldiers, but the servants of the army, and those who attended the baggage, promising them a certain sum for each head they should bring. Hereupon, avarice supplying the place of courage, they resolutely entered the woods and marshes, and, hunting the *Goths* like wild beasts, put great numbers of them to the sword in their very asylums; which struck them with such terror, that they sent ambassadors to sue for peace^p. Thus *Zosimus*; but *Ammianus* writes, that *Valens*, having attacked and overcome in several encounters the *Greuthungi*, a warlike nation of the *Goths*, dwelling at a considerable distance from the *Danube*, at last gave a total overthrow to *Atbanaric*, who, at the head of a numerous army, had

He defeats
Atbanaric.

^a AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 440.

^b Idem, l. xxvii. p. 341.

^c JORN. rer. Goth. c. 23. p. 643.

^d THEMIST. p. 136.

^e AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 349. EUNAP. p. 18. ZOS. p. 74^e.

^f ZOS. p. 740.

EUNAP. ibid. AMMIAN. p. 338.

^g AMMIAN. l. xxvi. p. 320. JORN. c. 9. p. 642, 643.

^h EUNAP.

excerpt. p. 18, 19.

ⁱ THEODOR. l. iv. c. 11. p. 674.

^k EUNAP. c. 5. p. 86.

PHILOSTOR. l. ix.

c. 8. p. 125.

^l AMMIAN. p. 340.

^m ZOS. p. 741.

ⁿ Idem ibid.

^o AMMIAN. l. xxvii.

p. 341. ^p ZOS. l. iv. p. 741.

The Goths sue
for peace, and
obtain it.
Year after
Christ 369.

Hermanaric,
a great con-
queror.

The Goths are
either driven
out by, or forced
to submit to,
the Hunns.
Year after
Christ 376.

Admitted by
Valens into
Thrace.

A bloody war
between them
and the Ro-
mans.
Having sub-
mitted to The-
odosius, they
receive lands in
Thrace.
Year after
Christ 382.

ventured to engage him ^a. After this victory, *Valens* returned to *Marcianopolis*, with a design to winter there, and renew the war early in the spring. But in the mean time the *Goths* earnestly suing, by repeated embassies, for peace, he was at last prevailed upon by the senate of *Constantinople* to hearken to their proposals¹. What induced the senate to become mediators in behalf of a nation by them so much dreaded, and now reduced to the utmost distress, we are no-where told. *Valens*, after returning a favourable answer to the ambassadors, approached the *Danube*, and appointed *Victor* and *Arintheus* to treat with the *Goths*. After some conferences, a peace was concluded highly honourable for the *Romans*; for, in virtue of this treaty, the *Goths* were not, for the future, to pass the *Danube*, or set foot on the *Roman* territories, on any account whatsoever, barring that of trade, which was now confined to two cities on the *Danube*; whereas they had been formerly allowed to carry it on with what cities of the empire they pleased. They were not to expect or claim the pensions which had been paid them annually by other emperors; but *Valens* consented to continue *Atbanaric's* pension to him. This peace was ratified and signed by *Valens* and *Atbanaric*, who met for that purpose in boats in the middle of the *Danube*, the latter absolutely refusing to pass that river, by reason his father had obliged him, as he pretended, solemnly to swear never to tread on *Roman* ground². *Valens*, having thus concluded a peace with the *Goths*, ordered the forts on the *Danube* to be repaired, and some new ones to be built, and then, leaving strong garrisons in them, as if he distrusted the barbarians, he returned to *Marcianopolis*, and from thence to *Constantinople*. At this time *Hermanaric* was king of the *Goths*, as we have hinted above: he was descended from the noble family of the *Amali*, and had signalized himself in several wars; insomuch that he was compared to *Alexander the Great*. *Jornandes* names the many northern nations he subdued; but he might as well have spared himself that trouble, most of them being utterly unknown³. Among the rest he mentions the *Heruli* dwelling near the *Palus Mæotis*; the *Venedi* on the *German* ocean; and the *Astii* on the borders of the present *Prussia* and *Poland*; nay, *Ablavius*, as quoted by *Jornandes*⁴, assures us, that *Hermanaric* was obeyed by all the nations both of *Scythia* and *Germany*. However, not thinking himself in a condition to withstand the *Hunns*, who, passing the *Palus Mæotis* in 376. over-ran his country, he chose rather to lay violent hands on himself, than to behold the calamities that threatened his people⁵. He was succeeded by *Vitimir*, who, attempting to make head against the *Hunns*, was killed in a battle. His son *Vitberic*, driven out by the *Hunns*, retired with his people to the present *Podolia*, lying between the *Nieper* and the *Danube*. *Atbanaric*, king or chief of the *Thervingi* or *Visigoths*, alarmed at this sudden irruption of the *Hunns*, encamped, with all the forces he could assemble, on the banks of the *Danastus* or *Niester*, in order to dispute with the enemy the passage of that river, parting the country of the *Thervingi* from that of the *Greuthongi* or *Ostrogoths*. But the *Hunns*, falling upon him when least expected, obliged him to abandon his country, and take refuge in the present *Moldavia*, where he fortified himself with a wall from the *Pruth* to the *Danube*⁶.

A general consternation being now spread among the *Goths*, such of them as had the good luck to escape the dreadful havock, which the *Hunns* made of their nation, either submitted to them, or fled for refuge to the *Roman* dominions. Two hundred thousand of them were admitted by *Valens* into *Thrace*, upon their promising to live peaceably there, and to serve, when wanted, in the *Roman* armies. But, being justly provoked at the cruel treatment they met with from the *Roman* officers, who were to supply them with provisions, they had scarce entered *Thrace*, when they began to mutiny, and plunder the country. This gave rise to a long and bloody war between them and the *Romans*, the particulars whereof we have related at length in our *Roman* history⁷, to which we refer the reader. At length they submitted to *Theodosius I.* in the year 382. and were allowed by him to settle in *Thrace* and *Mæsia*; which two provinces were almost quite dispeopled by the frequent incursions of the neighbouring barbarians, and the late destructive war⁸. The emperor exempted them from all the tributes and taxes, that were paid by the other subjects of the empire. Great numbers of them entered into the *Roman* service, but formed a sepa-

^a AMMIAN. p. 341.

^b THEMIST. ORAT. x. p. 133.

^c Idem, p. 135. AMMIAN. p. 341, 342.

^d Idem ibid. THEMIST. p. 133. ZOS. p. 742.

^e JORN. rer. Goth. c. 23. p. 643.

^f Idem

ibid. * AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 439.

^g Idem, p. 440.

^h Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 380.

381, 382, 387, 388, 392—394. ⁱ THEMIST. ORAT. xvi. p. 199.

- a rate body, and were commanded by officers of their own nation; which proved the source of many evils: but as they were well acquainted with the avarice, injustice, and cruelty of the *Roman* officers, they refused to put themselves into their power, and insisted upon their continuing united, in order to secure themselves against such insults, as they had reason to apprehend, when dispersed among the *Roman* troops. *Zosimus* does not forget to blame the conduct of *Theodosius*, and his want of foresight, in suffering them to continue united, not only in the army, but in the countries that were allotted them^b; and *Synefius* thinks it was highly impolitic to suffer them to settle upon any terms within the *Roman* dominions; for speaking to *Arcadius*, The *Goths*, says he, after having been punished by the arms of *Theodosius* for the evils they
- b had brought upon the empire, were forced, with their wives and children, to implore the clemency of that prince, who, as he was naturally generous and merciful, suffered himself to be overcome by the prayers of those, whom he had overcome with his arms. He granted them all the rights and privileges of *Roman* citizens, and distributed lands among them; which was encouraging all the other barbarians to demand, and even to exact, the same favour; and hence flowed the many evils, under which the empire has long groaned^c. Thus *Synefius*. But *Themistius*, who lived in those very times, in a speech, which he pronounced before the emperor himself, told him, that he had learnt by experience how dangerous a thing it was to reduce the *Goths* to despair^d. And truly, as the *Hunns* had seized on their country, the emperor must
- c either have allowed them settlements within the *Roman* dominions, or cut them all off; which it was highly dangerous for him to attempt, the *Goths* not being yet weakened to such a degree, as not to be able to make a stand, and even endanger the empire. Besides, people were wanting to inhabit and cultivate *Thrace*, where the lands had long lain fallow and uncultivated. Hence *Zosimus* himself, tho' no great friend to *Theodosius*, owns, that, partly by his victories, and partly by his treaties, he put a stop to the evils, that had almost overwhelmed the empire; that under him trade began to revive, and likewise agriculture, the husbandman cultivating his lands, and attending his flocks, without the least apprehension of seeing himself bereft by the barbarians of the fruits of his labour^e. What chiefly induced the *Goths* to lay
- d down their arms, and submit to *Theodosius*, was, if *Orosius* is to be credited, that prince's generous behaviour to *Athanasius*, who being, by a faction at home, driven out of the country, which he had kept, in spite of the *Hunns*, beyond the *Danube*, came to *Constantinople*, notwithstanding his pretended oath never to tread on *Roman* ground. The emperor went out to meet him, received him with great marks of friendship, and attended him into the city, which he entered on the eleventh of *January* 381^f; but died soon after, viz. on the twenty-fifth of the same month (B). The emperor caused him to be buried after the *Roman* manner, with such pomp and solemnity, that the *Goths*, who had attended him in his flight, out of gratitude to the emperor, who had thus honoured the memory of their deceased prince, took
- e upon them to guard the banks of the *Danube*, and prevented the *Romans* from being attacked on that side^g; nay the *Goths*, who had, for several years, maintained a war with the *Romans* in the very heart of the empire, were so taken with the generosity and good nature of *Theodosius*, that they renounced all further thoughts of war, and submitted to the laws of the empire. Thus *Orosius*^h, and likewise *Idatius*, and count *Marcellinus*ⁱ. Soon after the submission of the *Goths*, a soldier of that nation having committed some disorder at *Constantinople*, the populace fell upon him, and,

Athanasius takes refuge with Theodosius, and dies at Constantinople.

^b Zos. p. 758. ^c SYNEF. ad reg. ad Arcad. ^d THEMIST. orat. xvi. p. 211. ^e Zos. p. 759. ^f Idem ibid. AMMIAN. p. 214. SOCRAT. p. 267. THEMIST. orat. xv. p. 190, 191. MARCEL. IDAT. chron. ^g AMMIAN. p. 342. Zos. p. 759. OROS. l. vii. c. 34. p. 220. ^h Idem ibid. ⁱ IDAT. MARCEL. chron.

(B) *Prosper* writes, that *Athanasius* was killed (10); but he was therein certainly mistaken; for *Ammianus*, who lived in those times, and count *Marcellinus*, tell us in express terms, that he died a natural death (11); and *Zosimus*, with all the other writers, only that he died, which must be understood of a natural death; for, had it been violent, they would have expressed themselves in a different manner, *Zosimus* especially, a declared enemy to *Theodosius*,

would not have let slip this opportunity of upbraiding that prince with treachery and perfidiousness, had he only suspected him to have been any-ways accessory to the death of *Athanasius*, who had put himself under his protection. The manner he speaks of this death plainly shews, that no one entertained the least suspicion of any violence. Hence *De Pontac* thinks we ought to read in *St. Prosper*, *occidit*, instead of *occiditur*.

(10) *Prosper*. p. 765.

(11) *Ammian*. l. xxvii. p. 342.

having

having murdered him, threw his body into the sea. The emperor, fearing the *Goths* might, upon this provocation, fly to arms, and renew the war, resented his death to such a degree, that he deprived the people of the bread, which, by his orders, was daily distributed among them. The emperor however was appeased after a few hours, and the order he had given revoked ^l.

^{The Ostrogoths break into the empire.} ^{But are defeated by Theodosius. Year after Christ 386.} THE *Goths*, who were allowed by *Theodosius* to settle in *Thrace*, were, for the most part, *Thervingians*, or *Visigoths*. As for the *Greuthungians*, or *Ostrogoths*, they continued in their antient seats, but subject to the *Hunns*, who, as we have hinted above, suffered them to be governed by their own kings. However, great numbers of them, not able to brook that subjection, in the year 386. broke into the empire under the conduct of *Odotheus*, whom *Claudian* honours with the title of king ^b. Their design was to settle, as their countrymen the *Visigoths* had done, in some of the *Roman* provinces; but *Theodosius*, fearing the empire might be thus over-run by the barbarians, marched against them in person, with his son *Arcadius*, gave them a total overthrow, and returned, with an incredible number of captives, to *Constantinople*, which he entered in triumph on the twelfth of *October* of the present year ^m. This victory is likewise mentioned by count *Marcellinus*, who tells us, that *Theodosius* delivered *Thrace* from the barbarians, who had invaded that province; and that he afterwards returned, with his son, in triumph to *Constantinople* ⁿ. *Claudian* too speaks of a victory gained in the fourth consulship of *Honorius*, that is, in the present year 386. over the *Greuthungians*, and their king *Odotheus* ^o. This is, without all doubt, the victory, which *Zosimus* describes in two places; but, to rob *Theodosius* of the glory that was due to him, he would make us believe, that it was intirely owing to *Promotus*, who commanded in *Thrace*, in quality of general of the foot ^p. According to that writer's account, *Odotheus* having assembled an incredible number of barbarians, among whom were several nations never before heard of, *Promotus* fell upon them, as they were attempting to pass the *Danube*, and, having utterly defeated them, invited *Theodosius*, who was encamped at a small distance, to come and see the great number of prisoners, and the immense booty, he had taken ^q. This, according to *Zosimus*, is all the share *Theodosius* had in that victory. But all other authors suppose the emperor to have commanded his troops in person; nay *Claudian* ^d tells us, that he engaged *Odotheus* himself, who was killed in the battle. The far greater part of this numerous army being either cut in pieces, taken prisoners, or drowned in the *Danube*, the emperor ordered *Majoranus*, who commanded under him, to cross the *Danube*, and lay waste the enemy's country; which he did accordingly, without meeting with the least opposition ^r. *Theodosius* ordered all the prisoners to be set at liberty, and even made them rich presents, in order to entice them into his service, says *Zosimus*, and employ them against *Maximus*, of whom we have spoken at length elsewhere ^u.

^{The Goths stirred up by Rufinus to invade the empire.} THE *Goths* continued quiet from this time to the year 395. the first of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, when they were stirred up by the famous *Rufinus* to invade the empire. ^e *Rufinus* governed with an absolute sway in the east under *Arcadius*; and *Stilicho*, with the same arbitrary sway, ruled in the west under *Honorius*; but as the latter pretended to have been appointed by *Theodosius* guardian to both his children, he was preparing to march into the east to dispossess his rival of the authority he had usurped. *Rufinus* therefore, to divert this storm, resolved to set all in a flame, and involve the whole empire in the utmost confusion. With this view, he privately stirred up the *Hunns*, who advanced as far as *Antioch*, destroying all with fire and sword, as we have related above. At the same time he encouraged the celebrated *Alaric* to put himself at the head of his countrymen the *Visigoths*, and to break into *Greece*. *Alaric* was descended from the family of the *Balthi*, the most illustrious of the *Gothic* nation, after that of the *Amali*. He passed the *Danube* in 376. with his countrymen driven out of their own country by the *Hunns*, and served, with great reputation, in the war between the *Romans* and *Goths*, which lasted from that time to the year 382. when they all submitted to *Theodosius*, and were allowed to settle in *Thrace*, upon condition of their serving, when wanted, in the *Roman* armies. Pursuant to this agreement, they attended *Theodosius* in his expedition against the usurper *Eugenius*; on which occasion

^l LIBAN. ORAT. XIV. XV. p. 394. 410.

^m MARC. CHRON. p. 6.

ⁿ p. 759.

^o CLAUD. IBID.

^p vol. v. p. 397—412.

^q CLAUD. ubi supra.

^r SIDON. CAR. v. p. 310.

^s ZOS. p. 764.

^t CLAUD. CONF. HONOR. IV. p. 55.

^u ZOS. l. IV. p. 759. & 760—764.

^v IDAT. p. 61.

^w Idem.

^x Univers. hist.

- a *Alaric* commanded a body of his countrymen. As *Theodosius* had preferred him to no higher rank, he was highly dissatisfied, and even threatened to revolt. *Rufinus* therefore, finding him thus disposed, encouraged him by his emissaries, and even by privately conveying to him considerable sums, to assemble as many barbarians as he could, and with them lay waste the *Roman* provinces, assuring him, that he might penetrate as far as *Greece*, without the least opposition ^w. *Alaric*, thus animated, assembled a numerous army, consisting chiefly of his countrymen, among whom served a body of *Hunns*, who, that winter, had passed the *Danube* on the ice, and, entering *Pannonia*, laid waste that province, as he did afterwards *Macedon* and *Thessaly*. When he drew near the famous streights of *Thermopylae*, *Gerontius*, one of *Rufinus's* creatures, who guarded them, withdrew, pursuant to the orders he had received from his patron, and opened a free passage for the barbarians into *Greece*, where they raged with incredible fury, rifling the temples, pillaging the cities, and committing such ravages and devastations, as were felt by the unhappy inhabitants for many years after, *Antiochus*, at that time proconsul of *Achaia*, and another of *Rufinus's* creatures, never offering to oppose them ^z. Thus was the whole country between *Dalmatia*, the *Adriatic* gulf, and the *Euxine* sea, laid waste, and the city of *Constantinople* itself, in a manner, besieged, parties of the barbarians advancing, with great boldness, to the very gates of that metropolis. *Rufinus*, attired after the *Gothic* manner, went out, as he said, to treat with them, and was received by the barbarians with extraordinary marks of esteem; which confirmed the suspicion most people entertained of his treachery ^y. News of these ravages were no sooner brought to *Stilicho*, than he resolved to march to the relief of *Greece*; in which undertaking he embarked the more readily, as he hoped it would afford him an opportunity of ruining his rival *Rufinus*, and getting the whole power of both empires into his own hands. Leaving therefore *Gaul*, where he then was, he set forward with all the western troops, and those likewise of the east, that had been left in the west after the defeat of *Exuperius*. He passed, with incredible expedition, the *Julian Alps*, crossed *Dalmatia*, and, entering *Thessaly*, was but at a small distance from the enemy's army, when an officer arrived in the camp, with a peremptory order from *Arcadius* to send him forthwith the oriental troops, and return with the rest into the west. This order *Rufinus* had procured, concluding that, if the barbarians were overcome and repressed, the storm would fall upon his own head. However, *Stilicho*, not daring to disobey it, sent back the troops belonging to the eastern empire, under the conduct of one *Gainas*, by nation a *Goth*, and his intimate friend, and returned with the rest to *Italy*, leaving the *Goths* to pursue their ravages without controul ^x. *Zosimus* writes, that they spared the city of *Athens*, defended, says he, by *Minerva* and *Achilles*, whose power *Alaric* dreaded, and therefore entered the city as a friend, and would not suffer his men to commit any ravages in *Attica*. But *St. Jerom*, who wrote at that very time, tells us, that the *Athenians*, and all the other *Greeks*, submitted to the barbarians ^a. *Claudian* names the *Athenians* among those, who were carried into captivity ^b; and *Eunapius* ascribes to the ravages committed by *Alaric* the intire suppression of the ceremonies, religion and sacrifices of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, which had continued at *Athens* till that time ^c. Thus the remains of idolatry, which the christian princes had never been able to abolish with their laws, were at length utterly extirpated by *Alaric* and his *Goths*. During these ravages, several philosophers, overzealous for the worship of their gods, were either put to the sword by the *Goths*, or died of grief in seeing their mysteries despised, their gods trod under foot, and their altars pulled down. Among the former were *Proterus*, *Hilarius*, and *Priscus*, a celebrated magician, who had been one of the emperor *Julian's* chief favourites ^d. Thus the *Goths* continued in *Greece*, and the other *Roman* provinces, all the year 395. and part of 396. destroying all with fire and sword, and sending into their own country an incredible number of captives, with the whole wealth of the ravaged provinces.

As *Arcadius*, to whom these provinces belonged, seemed intirely to neglect them, *Stilicho*, pitying the condition to which they were reduced, set out anew with the western troops to relieve them. He embarked on the *Adriatic* sea, and, landing in *Peloponnesus*, cut off great numbers of the barbarians in several encounters, and obliged

^w CLAUD. in Ruf. l. ii. p. 21. JORNAN. rer. Goth. c. 29. p. 651. SOCRAT. l. vii. c. 10. p. 346. ZOS. p. 783. MAR. ad ann. 395. ^x CLAUD. ubi sup. ZOS. ibid. PHILOSTOR. p. 254. OROS. l. vii. p. 221.

^y CLAUD. ibid. p. 21, 22. ^z ZOS. p. 781. CLAUD. ibid. p. 24. SOZ. l. viii. p. 754.

^a HIER. ep. iii. p. 26. ^b CLAUD. ibid. ^c EUNAP. c. 5. p. 74, 75. ^d Idem, c. 6. p. 93, 94.

the rest to take refuge on a mountain in *Arcadia*, named *Pholoe*, at a small distance ^a from *Pisa*. But, after he had shut them up on all sides, and even turned the course of a river, that supplied them with water, he suffered them, by his misconduct, says *Zosimus*, to escape, to withdraw out of *Peloponnesus* unmolested, and to ravage *Epirus* in their retreat ^c. After this, he returned to *Italy*, suffering his soldiers to destroy and carry off whatever had escaped the avarice and fury of the *Goths* ^f. *Orosius* thinks that *Stilicho's* design was to deliver *Greece*, without destroying the barbarians, whom he might, some time or other, have occasion to employ; and therefore he often overcame them, often shut them up on all sides, but always suffered them in the end to escape ^e. But the poet *Claudian* tells us, that *Stilicho* would have put *Alaric* and all his men to the sword, as he had already killed great numbers of them on the mountains of *Arcadia*, had not *Arcadius* taken them under his protection, and ordered *Stilicho* to withdraw his troops out of *Greece*, a province belonging to the eastern empire ^b. *Arcadius* had, without all doubt, been induced to conclude a peace with the barbarians by the eunuch *Eutropius*, who had succeeded *Rufinus*, not only in his power and employments, but in his cruelty, avarice, and other detestable qualities. He was no less jealous of *Stilicho's* great power, than his predecessor had been; and therefore, to rob him of the glory of delivering the empire, and triumphing over the barbarians, he persuaded the emperor to conclude a peace with them, and order *Stilicho*, to whom he must otherwise have been highly indebted, to leave the barbarians, and return with his forces into the west. Soon after, *Alaric* was appointed, no ^c doubt in virtue of this treaty, commander of the troops in *East Illyricum*, which comprised *Greece*, and the other provinces he had laid waste ¹. *Claudian* complains, and indeed with a great deal of reason, that the barbarian, who, in defiance to the most sacred ties, had turned his arms against the empire, should be preferred and enriched, and the person, to whom the empire owed its safety, stripped of all his honours, and reduced to poverty ²; for *Stilicho*, though he immediately retired with his troops out of *Greece*, pursuant to the orders of *Arcadius*, yet that prince caused him to be declared a public enemy by the senate of *Constantinople*, and the lands he had in the east to be seized and confiscated ¹. It was, without all doubt, after *Alaric* had been raised to this dignity, and not during the war, that, coming to *Athens* with a small attend- ^d ance, he was received by the inhabitants, as we read in *Zosimus* ^m, with all possible marks of honour.

Alaric preferred by Arcadius.

And Stilicho declared a public enemy.

ABOUT three years after, new disturbances were raised in the east by two *Goths*, subjects of the empire, and in the *Roman* service, viz. *Gainas* and *Tribigild*. The former had, under *Theodosius*, the chief command of all the *Goths* and other barbarians in the *Roman* armies, to which post he had been raised, by degrees, from a common soldier. He reconducted, as we have hinted above, the eastern army to *Arcadius*, and, on that occasion, caused *Rufinus* to be cut in pieces by the soldiery, in the manner we have related elsewhere ⁿ. For this eminent piece of service, he was preferred by *Eutropius*, who succeeded *Rufinus* in all his employments, to the post of ^e general of the *Roman* horse and foot; but, not yet satisfied, he resolved to dispatch *Eutropius*, as he had done *Rufinus*, hoping, if he was once removed, to succeed him in his power and authority. With this view he persuaded *Tribigild* to revolt, who, at the head of a numerous body of his countrymen under his command at *Nicolia* in *Phrygia*, over-ran that province, and likewise *Pisidia*, pillaging the cities, and putting to the sword such of the inhabitants as fell into his hands. *Eutropius* dispatched a body of troops against him, under the conduct of one *Leo*, who was greatly attached to his interest; but, as he was a person in every respect unfit for that command, *Tribigild*, falling unexpectedly upon him, cut most of his men in pieces. *Leo* himself, attempting to make his escape, perished among the marshes. At length *Gainas*, ^f who pretended to be highly provoked against *Tribigild*, on account of his revolt, was sent against him; but he, keeping the whole time a private correspondence with the rebels, instead of opposing them, encouraged them to rage with greater fury than ever, magnifying, in all the letters he wrote to the emperor, the conduct of *Tribigild*, his exploits, and the number of his troops, and suggesting, that the only means to save the empire from imminent ruin, was to comply with his demands, the chief of which was, that *Eutropius*, the author of the present calamities, should be delivered

Tribigild revolts at the instigation of Gainas. Year after Christ 399.

Defeats the troops sent against him.

^a Zos. p. 784, 785.

^c Idem ibid.

^e Oros. l. vii. c. 37. p. 221.

^b CLAUD. in Eutrop.

l. ii. p. 113.

¹ Idem ibid.

² Idem ibid.

¹ Idem, p. 130.

^m Zos. p. 784.

ⁿ Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 434.

- a up into his hands. A report being spread at the same time, that the king of *Persia* was preparing to invade *Syria*, the emperor, to put an end to the domestic disturbances, resolved at last to sacrifice the minister to the welfare of the state; and accordingly, having sent for him, caused him to be stripped of the consular ensigns, and discharged him. He was afterwards banished to the island of *Cyprus*; but *Gainas* having caused several charges to be brought against him, he was conducted from thence under a strong guard to *Pantycium*, between *Chalcedon* and *Nicomedia*, and there tried, condemned, and beheaded^o. We only hint at these events here, having related them at length elsewhere^p. *Eutropius* being thus dispatched, *Gainas*, joining *Tribigild* with all the forces under his command, laid waste several provinces, and, approaching *Constantinople*, obliged the emperor to come to an agreement with him, upon terms highly dishonourable to the imperial dignity^q. Soon after, he formed a design of plundering the city of *Constantinople*, and enriching himself, and his *Goths*, with the spoils of that wealthy metropolis; but, failing in his attempt, he pulled off the mask, and, making open war upon the empire, ravaged the neighbouring country, and thence marched into the *Chersonesus*, with a design to cross over into *Asia*. But being attacked in his passage by *Fravitus*, who was likewise a *Goth*, but greatly attached to the *Roman* interest, he was obliged to return to the coast whence he had sailed. From the *Chersonesus* he marched back to *Thrace*, and was there, according to *Socrates*^r, and *Sozomen*^s, cut in pieces, with all his men, by the *Romans*, who pursued him. *Zosimus* writes, that, being desirous to end his days in the ancient country of the *Goths*, he passed the *Danube*, but was met on the frontiers by *Uldin* king of the *Hunns*, then masters of those countries, and, after a sharp dispute, cut in pieces, with all his men^t. As for *Tribigild*, all we know of him is, that he perished in *Thrace*, before *Gainas* passed the *Danube*^u; but, in what manner, we are no-where told.

The emperor, at his request, discharges Eutropius, who is put to death.

Gainas openly revolts, and forces the emperor to comply with his demands.

Gainas opposed by Fravitus.

His death.

- DURING the above-mentioned disturbances raised by the *Goths* in the east, the western provinces were alarmed with a sudden irruption of the same barbarians, under the conduct of *Alaric*. *Arcadius*, as we have related above, entered into a treaty with him, and appointed him commander in chief of all the *Roman* forces quartered in *East Illyricum*. The *Goths*, who were subject to the empire, created him, according to *Jornandes*^v, about the same time, their chief and general, with the title of king of the *Visigoths*. He was, in this very year 400. when he first broke into *Italy*, general of the *Illyrian* troops; whence some have thought he made that irruption by order of *Arcadius*, and as his general; for *Arcadius* never well agreed with his brother *Honorius*. But it is not at all probable, that *Arcadius* should chuse to make war upon his brother, while most of his forces were employed against *Tribigild* and *Gainas*. What *Jornandes* writes seems to us far more probable, viz. that the *Goths*, despising both *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, and discontented because they had not sent them the usual presents, resolved to make war on the empire, in order to enrich themselves with the spoils of so many wealthy provinces; and with this view it was that they chose *Alaric* for their chief, and even gave him the title of king^x. However that be, it is certain, that, in the year 400. the *Goths*, under the conduct of *Alaric*, entered *Italy*, and committed there dreadful ravages, laying the country waste far and near, and carrying off with them an incredible number of captives, as we have related elsewhere^y. Two years after, *Alaric* entered *Italy* anew, and ravaged, without controul, the provinces of *Venetia* and *Liguria*, there being then no army in *Italy* to oppose him. The emperor *Honorius*, who then resided at *Milan*, not thinking himself safe there, retired to *Ravenna*; which thenceforth became the usual place of his residence. In the mean time *Stilicho*, having assembled what forces he could, marched against the enemy, whom he found encamped at *Pollentia* on the *Tanaro* in *Piedmont*. There the two armies engaged; but, as to the issue of the battle, there is a great disagreement among authors, as we have observed in our *Roman* history^z. The wife of *Alaric*, with his children and daughters-in-law, fell into the hands of the *Romans*; which he no sooner understood, than he sent deputies to *Stilicho* to sue for peace; which was readily granted him, and the captives sent back, upon condition

Alaric breaks into Italy.

He enters Italy anew. Year after Christ 400.

^o Zos. l. v. p. 797. CLAUDIAN. in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 110. PHILOSTORG. l. xi. c. 6. p. 529. CHRYS. rom. iii. p. 671—673. ^p Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 442—445. ^q Vide Univers. hist. ibid. p. 445. ^r SOCRAT. p. 303. ^s Soz. p. 763. ^t Zos. p. 798, 799. ^u PHILOSTORG. l. xi. c. 8. p. 531. ^v JORN. rer. Goth. c. 29. p. 650. & reg. c. 43. p. 653. ^x JORN. rer. Goth. p. 651. ^y Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 448. ^z Ibid. p. 450.

But is driven
out by Stilicho.

of his marching forthwith out of *Italy*. Pursuant to this agreement, he repassed the *Po*; but, having plundered the country in his retreat, *Stilicho* detached a strong body of barbarians against him, by whom he was defeated, and obliged to take refuge among the mountains, where they kept him blocked up, till most of his men forsaking him, and joining the *Romans*, he privately withdrew in the night-time, and returned through by-ways into *Thrace*^a. Three years after, *Radagaisus* invaded *Italy* with an army of two hundred thousand *Goths*, and other barbarians dwelling beyond the *Danube* and the *Rhine*, who were then all blended under the common name of *Goths*; but this numerous army was defeated and cut in pieces, and *Radagaisus* himself taken prisoner by *Stilicho*, with the assistance of a body of *Hunns* and *Goths*, who served the *Romans* as auxiliaries, under the conduct of *Uldin* and *Sarus*^b. Of this invasion we have given a particular and distinct account in our *Roman* history, to which we refer the reader^c.

Alaric advances
into Noricum.

He besieges
Rome.

Which is re-
deemed with an
immense sum.
Year after
Christ 408.

THIS storm was scarce blown over, when another was raised by *Stilicho*, who, in order to kindle a war between *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, persuaded the latter, that not only *West Illyricum*, but the whole province, belonged to the western empire; nay, he even prevailed upon the weak prince to appoint *Alaric* general of all the *Roman* troops in *West Illyricum*, in order to recover, with them and his own *Goths*, that part of the province, which he pretended to be unjustly withheld from him by his brother *Arcadius*. *Stilicho*, in thus setting the two brothers at variance, had nothing less in view than the raising of himself to the empire; for, while the *Goths* invaded the eastern empire, his countrymen the *Vandals*, and their allies, were to break into the western provinces, and there second his treacherous and wicked design^d. At the same time that he acquainted *Alaric* with his promotion, he caused a considerable sum to be transmitted to him, to defray the charges of the war; which he no sooner received, than leaving *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia*, where lands had been granted to him and his *Goths*, he entered *Epirus*, then belonging to the eastern empire, and there waited for orders from *Stilicho* to begin hostilities. But while that general was upon the point of setting out from *Ravenna* to join him with the *Roman* forces, he was stopped by letters from *Arcadius*, acquainting him with the revolt of *Constantine* in *Britain*, and, by a false report, with the death of *Alaric*^e. Hereupon *Alaric*, after having long continued inactive in *Epirus*, left at length that country, and, bending his march towards *Italy*, arrived at *Æmona*, now *Lanbach*, between *Upper Pannonia* and *Noricum*. Thence he continued his rout, and, passing the river *Aquila*, and the streights of the mountains that bound *Pannonia* on that side, where a handful of men might have stopped his whole army, he entered *Noricum*^f. From thence he dispatched a messenger to *Arcadius*, demanding a sum of money for the time he had spent in *Epirus*, and the trouble of marching his troops into *Noricum*. Upon this demand the senate being assembled, (for *Honorius* was then at *Rome*) *Stilicho* pleaded so warmly in his favour, that it was agreed four thousand pounds weight of gold should be sent him^g. But the emperor putting off from time to time the payment of this sum, *Alaric* entered *Italy*, and, marching strait to *Rome*, laid siege to that metropolis, and, in a short time, reduced it to such streights, that the unhappy inhabitants, afflicted both with the plague and famine, were obliged to redeem themselves with an immense sum; which *Alaric* no sooner received, than he raised the siege, and retired with his army into *Heitruvia*^h. But soon after, he returned anew before *Rome*, the emperor shewing great backwardness to execute the articles of the treaty between *Alaric* and the *Romans*, which he himself had ratified. On this occasion, the *Romans*, after a few days siege, opened their gates to *Alaric*, who entered the city attended by a small guard, obliged the *Romans* to renounce their allegiance to *Honorius*, and acknowledge *Attalus*, then prefect of *Rome*, for emperor. But *Honorius* having, in the mean time, declared, that he was ready to comply with the terms proposed by the *Goths*, *Alaric* deposed *Attalus*, and, leaving *Rome*, approached *Ravenna*, where the emperor then was, in order to put the last hand to the treaty of accommodation. But the emperor refusing to comply with the terms proposed to him, *Alaric* departed in a great rage from the neighbourhood of *Ravenna*, and, return-

^a Oros. l. vii. c. 37. p. 221. CLAUD. p. 160, 161. & consul. Honor. vi. p. 178—183. JORN. rer. Goth. c. 30. p. 653. ^b Zos. p. 803. Oros. ibid. ^c Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 452, 453. ^d Zos. l. v. p. 802. Soz. p. 793. PHOT. c. 80. p. 180. ^e Soz. ibid. Zos. p. 802, 803. ^f Soz. Zos. ibid. PHILOSTORG. xii. c. 2. p. 532. RUTIL. l. ii. p. 141. ^g Zos. p. 805, 806. ^h Soz. p. 808. Zos. p. 817. SOCR. p. 88. Univers. hist. ibid. p. 457, 458.

- a ing before *Rome*, took and plundered that wealthy metropolis, as we have related at length elsewhere¹. From *Rome* *Alaric* marched into *Campania*, and, having ravaged that and the neighbouring provinces of *Lucania*, *Samnium*, *Apulia* and *Calabria*, he approached the streights of *Sicily* with a design to pass over into that island, and thence into *Africa*; but he was seized in the neighbourhood of *Rhegium* with a fit of sickness, which carried him off in a few days. The Goths chose *Ataulphus*, whose sister the deceased prince had married, king in his room; for to *Alaric*, as we have observed above, the Goths had given the title of king of the *Visigoths*. *Ataulphus*, leaving *Italy* after he had quite drained it of its wealth, marched into *Gaul*, and there reduced the cities of *Narbonne* and *Toulouse*^k. Soon after, he married with great solemnity *Placidia*, the sister of *Honorius*, who had been taken with many other captives at *Rome*, and treated, both by *Alaric* and him, with all the respect due to her rank and sex. After this marriage, *Ataulphus* seemed mighty desirous of concluding a peace with *Honorius*, and turning his arms against the *Alans*, *Vandals*, *Suevians*, *Burgundians*, *Franks*, and other barbarous nations, that had broken into *Gaul*; but all the measures that were taken by him, and his wife *Placidia*, to bring about an accommodation, being defeated by *Constantius*, and his party, who bore a great sway at court, the war was renewed, and *Ataulphus* in the end obliged to retire with his Goths into *Spain*, where he was soon after murdered in the manner we have related in our *Roman history*^l. Before his death he charged his brother, not named by any historian, to send back *Placidia* to the *Romans*, and live in friendship with them; but the Goths, instead of his brother, chose for their king *Sigeric*, or *Sergeric*, brother to *Sarus*, whom *Ataulphus* had put to death. *Sigeric* was no sooner proclaimed king of the *Visigoths*, than, to revenge the death of his brother, he caused the six children *Ataulphus* had by a former wife to be inhumanly murdered^m. He seemed inclined to live in peace and amity with the *Romans*, and desirous of being employed by them in driving out the *Vandals*, *Alans*, and *Suevians*, who had entered *Spain* in 409. and in the space of two years reduced almost the whole country, and divided it among them; but he was assassinated by his own people the seventh day after his election, perhaps on account of his cruelty to the children of his predecessor *Ataulphus*ⁿ. In his room was chosen *Vallia*, after he had caused all those to be assassinated, who stood in competition with him for the crown^o. As the chief provinces of *Spain* were already possessed by the *Vandals*, *Alans*, and *Suevians*, he resolved to pass over into *Africa*, and attempt the reduction of that country, which still continued subject to the *Romans*; but the fleet he was sending thither being shipwrecked, and a great number of Goths on board of it drowned, he not only concluded a peace, but entered into an alliance, with the *Romans*, upon the following terms; viz. that *Placidia*, whom the emperor had promised to *Constantius*, should be sent back; that the Goths should make war upon the barbarians, who had settled in *Spain*, restoring to the *Romans* the places and territories they should recover out of their hands; that, on the other hand, the *Romans* should reward the Goths with lands within the empire, and send them forthwith six hundred thousand measures of corn. Pursuant to this agreement, the promised corn was immediately sent to the Goths, who were then in the utmost distress; and they no sooner received it, than *Vallia* sent back *Placidia* to her brother, and began to make the necessary preparations for the intended war with the barbarians in *Spain*^p. *Jornandes* writes, that *Constantius* advanced at the head of a powerful army to the frontiers of *Spain*, with a design to make war upon *Vallia*, in case he refused to send him *Placidia*, who had been promised to him in marriage; that *Vallia* came to meet him, on the *Pyrenean* mountains, with an army no ways inferior to his; and that the above-mentioned peace and alliance was there concluded^q. But *Jornandes* is so little acquainted with the history of those times, even that of his own nation, that we cannot give intire credit to any thing he writes.

An alliance being thus concluded between the *Romans* and the Goths in *Catalonia*, in 416. *Vallia*, without loss of time, fell first on the *Vandals*, called *Silingians*, who had settled in *Betica* or *Andalusia*, and having, in several successful encounters, cut off great numbers of them, he obliged the rest to abandon their country, and take

Alaric takes and plunders Rome. Year after Christ 410.

Ataulphus, his successor, invades Gaul.

Being driven out of Gaul, he retires to Spain, where he is murdered. Year after Christ 415.

Sigeric his successor murdered.

Vallia concludes a peace with the Romans.

His successful war with the Silingians and Alans in Spain.

¹ Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 464. ^k Oros. l. ii. c. 19. p. 164. ^l Socr. l. vii. c. 10. p. 347. ^m Philostorg. l. xii. c. 3. p. 534. ⁿ Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 470. ^o Jorn. p. 655. ^p Phot. p. 188. ^q Oros. p. 224. ^r Soz. l. ix. c. 9. p. 811. ^s Oros. Phot. ibid. ^t Oros. p. 224. ^u Oros. ibid. ^v Philostorg. l. xii. c. 4. p. 534. ^w Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 32. p. 656.

He is allowed
to settle in A-
quitain.
Year after
Christ 418.

refuge among the *Alans* in *Celtiberia*, now the kingdom of *Arragon*. Against these a he marched next, and made such a dreadful havock of that nation, that their king *Ala* being killed, the few who remained, instead of chusing him a successor, fled for protection to *Gonderic*, king of the *Vandals*, who had settled in *Galicia*, and submitted to him. To reward these eminent services of *Vallia* and his *Goths*, *Honorius* bestowed on them *Aquitania Secunda*, comprising the present archbishoprick of *Bordeaux*, and some neighbouring cities, that is, the whole tract from *Toulouse* to the sea; to which was added, soon after, *Novempopulania*, or *Aquitania Tertia*, that is, the provinces of *Auch* and *Gascony*. *Vallia*, on the other hand, yielded to the *Romans*, not only the country he had taken from the *Vandals* and *Alans*, but likewise *Catalonia*, which the *Goths* had held ever since their entering *Spain*, under the b conduct of *Ataulphus* their second king. *Vallia* fixed his residence at *Toulouse*, which by that means became, and continued to be, for the space of eighty-eight years, the metropolis of the kingdom of the *Visigoths*. *Vallia* died soon after he had brought his *Goths* back into *Gaul*, that is, in the year 418. according to the chronicle of *Idatius*, having reigned only three years. He left behind him one daughter, married to a *Suevian*, by whom she had the famous *Ricimer*, of whom we have made frequent mention in our *Roman* history.

Theodoric first
makes war, and
then concludes
a peace, with
the Romans.

Vallia was succeeded by *Theodoric*, who, breaking the alliance which his predecessor had concluded with the *Romans*, made himself master of several places in *Gaul* belonging to them, and even laid siege to *Arles*; but, at the approach of *Actius*, c he abandoned the enterprize, and returned to *Toulouse*. He made peace soon after with the *Romans*; for *Sidonius* tells us, that after the siege of *Arles*, which the *Goths* had attempted in vain to reduce, several *Gauls* were delivered up to them as hostages, and among the rest one *Theodorus*, who was nearly related to *Avitus*, afterwards emperor: he adds, that *Avitus* went to visit his kinsman at the court of *Theodoric*; on which occasion he rejected the great offers, with which *Theodoric* endeavoured to entice him into his service. After this, the *Goths* continued quiet in the countries, that had been allotted them in *Gaul*, for the space of ten years, that is, to the year 436, when the *Romans* being engaged in a war with the *Burgundians*, *Theodoric* laid hold of that opportunity to enlarge his dominions. Having, d therefore made himself master of several cities, he laid siege in the end to *Narbonne*. But the *Romans* having in the mean time concluded a peace with the *Burgundians*, count *Litorius* hastened to the relief of the place at the head of a body of auxiliary *Hunns*, and, falling upon the *Goths*, put them to flight, and entered the city, each horseman carrying with him two bushels of corn; which proved a seasonable relief to the inhabitants, reduced, by the long siege, to the utmost extremity. *Idatius* ascribes the raising of the siege to *Actius*; probably, because *Litorius* commanded under him, and acted by his orders. The *Romans* pursued the war against the *Goths* with great vigour, and equal success. In 438. a battle was fought, in which *Actius*, who commanded the *Roman* forces, cut eight thousand of them in pieces. The following year, *Litorius*, who commanded the auxiliary *Hunns*, gained great advantages over them, and even laid siege to *Toulouse*, their capital. *Theo-*

Who besiege
Toulouse.

doric, who was in the place, sent several bishops to *Litorius*, hoping, by their mediation, to prevail upon the *Roman* general to accept the advantageous terms, which he offered; but *Litorius*, who thought the *Goths* reduced to the last extremity, openly declaring, that he would hearken to no proposals, *Theodoric* marched out at the head of his men, and offered him battle; which he not declining, as a more prudent commander would have done, both armies engaged with the utmost fury. Victory continued a long time doubtful, the loss being equal on both sides; but *Litorius* having in the end advanced too far at the head of his *Hunns*, in whose f valour he chiefly confided, the *Goths*, making a last effort, cut most of them in pieces, put the rest to flight, and, having surrounded *Litorius*, who had received a dangerous wound, took him alive, and carried him, with his hands tied behind his back, into the city, which he had hoped to enter that very day in triumph. *Theodoric* caused him to be exposed for some time to the insults and outrages of the populace and children, and then to be thrown into the public prison; where, after he had undergone inexpressible hardships, he was by the king's orders put to

The Romans
defeated, and
the siege raised
by Theodoric.

^a IDAT. chron. SID. car. ii. p. 300.

^b VALES. l. iii. p. 115.

^c IDAT. chron. p. 15.

^d SIDON.

chron. ^e Univers. hist. vol. v. p. 503, 508, 511.

^f PROSP. chron.

^g SID. car. vii. p. 337.

^h PROSP. chron. VALES. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 136.

ⁱ IDAT. p. 21.

^j PROSP. chron.

death.

^a death^b. After this victory the Goths might have extended their conquests to the Rhone; and this resolution they had taken, according to *Sidonius*, *Aetius*, who at that time had neither men nor money^c, being no-ways in a condition to oppose them. However, *Theodoric*, at the request of *Avitus*, then prefect of Gaul, and by him had in great esteem, readily hearkened to the proposals that were made to him, and concluded a peace with the Romans on the same terms he had offered them before the battle^d.

*Who concludes
a peace with
the Romans.*

SOME years after, that is, in 453. *Theodoric*, entering into an alliance with the Romans, assisted them powerfully against the *Hunns*, who had entered Gaul, and, heading his own troops in person, distinguished himself in the famous battle of *Chalons*; but, falling unluckily from his horse, he was, according to some, trod to death by his own people, who did not know him; according to others, killed by a Goth, named *Andagus*, who served under *Attila*, and was descended from the royal family of the *Amali*^e. He was succeeded by his son *Thorismund*, who had fought under his father, and had been wounded in the same battle. The young prince was for revenging the death of his father on the *Hunns*, and attacking *Attila* in his camp; but *Aetius*, fearing the *Hunns*, whom he considered as a check upon the Goths and *Franks*, might be thus intirely cut off, craftily advised him to return home, lest his brothers should raise disturbances during his absence, and, seizing on the royal treasures, give rise to a civil war. *Thorismund* followed his advice, and, re-

*He is killed in
the battle of
Chalons.*

turning with his troops to *Toulouse*, was there received as king with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable^f. Being soon after apprised of the deceitful advice given him by *Aetius*, he broke the alliance he had made with the Romans, and laid siege to *Arles*; but was prevailed upon by *Ferreolus*, prefect of Gaul, to drop that enterprize, and retire^g. *Sidonius* writes, that *Ferreolus* did more by an entertainment, than *Aetius* could have done with an army; that by his obliging manner, and agreeable conversation, he gained *Thorismund*, and saved *Arles*^h. The same year *Thorismund* had a favourable opportunity of revenging, on the *Hunns*, the death of his father; for *Attila* having invaded Gaul anew, with a design to make war upon the *Alans*, next neighbours to the *Visigoths*, and, by reducing them, get footing in Gaul, *Thorismund* joined the *Alans* with all his forces, engaged *Attila*, and, having gained a complete victory over him, obliged him to return with shame and disgrace into his own countryⁱ. *Gregory of Tours* writes, that he overcame and subdued the *Alemanns* and the *Alans*^k. It appears from *Sidonius*, that his dominions

*Thorismund
his successor
breaks with the
Romans.*

Defeats Attila.

*Extends his
dominions.*

extended to the Rhone^l: that writer styles him the haughty and untractable king of *Gothia*^m; for in his whole conduct he betrayed great pride and arrogance, was incapable of living himself, or suffering others to live, in peace, and seemed to delight in nothing but wars and slaughter. On the other hand, his brothers *Theodoric*, *Frederic*, *Turic*, or rather *Euric*, *Rotemer*, and *Himnaris*, were inclined to peace; which occasioned daily quarrels between them and the king. At length, his brothers, especially *Theodoric* and *Frederic*, finding they could by no other means divert him from engaging in new wars, resolved to dispatch him. Being therefore one day let blood on account of some slight indisposition, while his vein was still open, one of his officers, named *Ascaleru*, having first removed privately his arms, cried out aloud, that assassins were coming in to murder the king, and at the same time threw himself upon him with several others. *Thorismund*, missing his weapons, with the only arm he had free, laid hold of a foot-stool, and with it dispatched some of the conspirators; but was in the end overpowered and slainⁿ. This *Idatius* supposes to have happened in 452. He is murder-

*ed.
Year after
Christ 453.*

and he is followed therein by *Isidore*, who will have *Thorismund* to have reigned only one year; but *Prosper* places the death of that prince in 453. and the year must have been near ended, since *Thorismund* was then, according to *Jornandes*^o, in the third year of his reign.

Thorismund was succeeded by his brother *Theodoric*, a prince, according to *Sidonius*^p, whom he honoured with his intimacy, of uncommon parts, and great accomplishments, but in point of religion a mere hypocrite. The same writer calls him elsewhere a martial prince, who even surpassed his illustrious parent, the glory of the

Theodoric II.

^b GREG. TOUR. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 47. p. 81. SALVIAN. gub. l. vii. p. 164. IDAT. p. 18. SID. D. 341.

^c SID. car. vii. p. 341. ^d PROSP. IDAT. chron. ^e Vide BUCH. hist. Belg. c. 37—40. ^f JORN. rer. Goth. c. 41. p. 671. ^g ISIDOR. chron. p. 718. PROSP. p. 54. ^h SID. l. vii. epist. 12. p. 200.

ⁱ JORN. ibid. c. 43. p. 674—676. ^k GREG. TUR. rer. Franc. l. ii. c. 7. p. 277. ^l SID. l. vii. epist. 22. p. 199. ^m Idem ibid. ⁿ JORN. rer. Goth. c. 36. p. 664, 665. ^o Idem ibid. p. 675.

^p SID. ep. vii. p. 2—6.

A friend to the Gothic nation, and the support of the *Roman* empire not able to maintain itself with-
Romans. out the assistance of the barbarians, whom the *Romans* had so often overcome ^a.

He was, it seems, a man of some learning, and well versed in the *Latin* poets ^r. In the beginning of his reign he not only concluded a peace, but entered into an alliance, with the *Romans*, sending his brother *Frederic* with a chosen body of troops into *Spain*, to make war upon the *Bagaudeæ*, who, driving out the *Romans*, had seized on great part of *Hispania Tarraconensis*. *Frederic* recovered several places out of their hands, which he restored to the *Romans* ^t. However, in the year 455. the emperor *Maximus* apprehending, that *Theodoric* designed to break with the empire, sent *Avitus*, who was greatly esteemed and respected by the *Goths*, to the court of *Toulouse*, to divert that storm. *Avitus* was received by the king with ^b the greatest marks of friendship and esteem, and the peace between the two nations confirmed. But in the mean time *Maximus* dying, *Theodoric* pressed *Avitus* to assume the sovereignty, promising to assist him to the utmost of his power. *Avitus*, encouraged with this promise, suffered himself to be proclaimed emperor by the *Goths* at *Toulouse*, on the tenth of *July*; and was, on the eighth of *August*, acknowledged and proclaimed anew at *Arles* by the *Roman* soldiery, and all the persons of distinction in *Gaul*. *Theodoric* went immediately, attended by his brothers, to *Arles*, to congratulate the new prince on his accession to the empire, and was received by him as one to whom he was chiefly indebted for the dignity he enjoyed ^u. The following year, the *Suevians*, taking advantage of the confusion which the assassination ^c of *Valentinian III.* and *Maximus* had bred in the empire, over-ran and pillaged the province of *Cartagena*, with a design to drive the *Romans* quite out of *Spain*. Hereupon *Avitus* dispatched count *Fronto* to *Requiarius* their king, putting him in mind of the treaties concluded between him and the *Romans*: *Theodoric* likewise interposed his good offices, conjuring *Requiarius*, who had married his sister, not to disturb the public tranquillity; and at the same time acquainting him with the engagements which he had entered into with *Avitus* ^v. What answer *Requiarius* returned to the ambassadors our historian does not tell us; but he had no sooner dismissed them, than, assembling his forces, he entered the province of *Tarraco*, which then belonged to the *Romans*, and there committed unheard-of ravages, ^d without any regard to the faith of treaties, or the laws of justice. Upon this, *Theodoric* sent him a second embassy, to which he answered, with great haughtiness, that he did not understand, why the king of the *Goths* should concern himself with his affairs; that if he found fault with his conduct, he would soon give him an account of it at *Toulouse*. *Theodoric*, piqued at this answer, began to prepare for war; but in the mean time *Requiarius*, entering anew the province of *Tarraco*, laid it waste far and near, carrying with him into *Galicia* a great number of captives ^w. Soon after, *Theodoric*, having concluded a peace with all his neighbours, left his own dominions, and, with the consent and approbation of *Avitus*, entered *Spain* at the head of a numerous army, consisting of *Goths* and *Burgundians*; the latter, ^e whom he had called to his assistance, being commanded by their king *Hilperic* or *Chilperic*. *Requiarius* met him about twelve miles from *Astorga* on the *Urbicus*, now the *Orbegua*: hereupon a battle ensued, in which the *Suevians* were utterly defeated, and their king, who was dangerously wounded, obliged to fly for shelter to the most distant corner of *Galicia* ^x. This battle was fought on the fifth of *October*, and *Theodoric*, pursuing the fugitives, entered *Braga* on a *Sunday*, the twenty-eighth of the same month, and gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers, who abstained from slaughter, and spared the sacred virgins, but committed all other disorders ^y. *Requiarius* had retired to a place called *Portucal*, thought to be the present city of *Porto* on the *Dauno*; and from thence attempted to make his escape by sea; but, ^f being driven back by a storm, he was taken and delivered up to *Theodoric*, who kept him under close confinement till *December*, and then ordered him to be put to death ^z. The *Suevians*, disheartened by the captivity of their king, and destitute of a leader, were most of them either taken prisoners, or put to the sword; tho' *Theodoric* had strictly enjoined his men to spare all, who laid down their arms, and submitted ^{aa}. Thus was the power of the *Suevians* reduced by the *Goths* to the lowest ebb. Some authors think, that *Avitus*, who owned himself indebted to

Causes Avitus to be proclaimed emperor at Toulouse.

Makes war upon the Suevians in Spain.

Takes their king prisoner, and puts him to death.

Recovers several provinces from the Suevians.

^a Idem, car. xxiii. p. 400.
 IDAT. chron. BUCH. Belg. p. 523.

^r Idem, car. vii. p. 346.
 * JORN. c. 44. p. 675.

^t IDAT. p. 30.
 w Idem p. 656.

^u SID. p. 349.
 x Idem p. 676.

^v IDAT. p. 33.

^w JORN. p. 676.

IDAT. p. 34.

* JORN. IDAT. ibid.

^a *Theodoric* for the imperial dignity, had yielded to him all the countries in *Spain* he should recover out of the hands of the *Suevians*: others are of opinion, that *Avitus* being in the mean time deposed, *Theodoric* thought he might retain for himself the countries he had conquered in the name of that prince. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the king of the *Visigoths*, appropriating to himself the countries he had taken from the *Suevians*, appointed one *Aquiulpbus* to govern them. *Aquiulpbus*, ^{which he retains.} or, as others call him, *Acliulpbus*, was not a Goth, as *Jornandes* takes care to tell us, but born in the country of the *Warni*, who are thought to have passed about this time from *Lower Saxony* into *Frisia* and *Holland*^b. He therefore, without any regard to the most sacred ties, abandoned the *Goths*, and, retiring into *Galicia*, endeavoured

^b to persuade the *Suevians* dwelling there to acknowledge him for their king^c; but a powerful army being sent against him by *Theodoric*, he was overcome in battle, taken and beheaded^d. Thus *Jornandes*; but *Idatius* only says, that he died in the month of *June* of the following year 456. at *Porto*^e. The *Suevians*, who, refusing to submit to *Theodoric*, had retired into *Galicia*, upon the news of the death of their king, chose one of their own nation, named *Maldra*, in his room.

THE following year 457. *Theodoric*, having almost intirely reduced the *Suevians* in *Galicia*, passed from thence into *Lusitania*, and there, after having laid in ashes several cities and villages, besieged and took *Merida* the metropolis of that province; but was, as we are told, deterred from plundering it by some prodigies that happened. He continued at *Merida* till *Easter*, which this year 457. fell on the thirty-first of *March*, when receiving some disagreeable tidings from *Gaul*, not specified in history, he returned in great haste to *Toulouse*. However, he left in *Spain* a body of troops, composed of different nations, with orders to reduce the *Suevians* in *Galicia*, who had not yet submitted to the *Goths*. These forces, being on their march admitted as friends into the city of *Astorga* held by the *Romans*, or rather by some banditti, who called themselves *Romans*, fell unexpectedly upon the inhabitants, put great numbers of them to the sword, set fire to the city after they had plundered it, and, having ravaged the neighbouring country, pursued their march, carrying with them an immense booty, and a great many captives,

^c among whom were several ecclesiastics, and two bishops. We are told, that they had express orders from *Theodoric* to act in this manner^e. The city of *Palentia* met with the same treatment; but the castle of *Coviac*, about thirty miles from *Astorga*, making a vigorous resistance, the *Goths*, after several unsuccessful attempts, in which they lost great numbers of their men, abandoned the enterprize, and returned to *Gaul*^f. In their room *Theodoric* sent another army into *Spain*, commanded by one *Cyrila*; but we read of no other exploits performed by them, besides the ravaging the province of *Betica*, now *Andalusia*^g. *Idatius* writes, that ambassadors were sent at this time by the *Goths* and *Vandals* to the *Suevians*; but he does not tell us, what was the subject of their embassy^h. Perhaps the *Goths* and

^d *Vandals* had entered into an alliance with the emperor *Majorianus*, and were endeavouring to draw the *Suevians* into the same league; but they did not therein succeed; for the following year *Theodoric* recalled *Cyrila*, and sent another general, named *Sunieric*, in his room, with orders to pursue the war with the *Suevians*ⁱ, who nevertheless ravaged the province of *Lusitania* under the conduct of *Maldra* their king, and *Galicia* under that of his son *Remismund*, whom *Jornandes* calls *Richmund*^m. *Theodoric*, tho' thus engaged in war with the *Suevians*, broke at the same time, upon what provocation we know not, with the *Romans*, and, taking unexpectedly the field, made himself master of several cities in *Gaul* belonging to them. But *Majorianus*, who was then at *Arles*, marching against him with

^e what troops he could assemble, defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him ^{Is defeated by Majorianus!} to sue for peace, which was readily granted him, upon his promising to assist the *Romans* against the *Suevians* and *Vandals*ⁿ. But *Majorianus* dying soon after, *Theodoric* thought himself no longer obliged to maintain the peace he had concluded with him; and therefore made himself master of several places in *Gaul* belonging to the *Romans*, and among the rest of *Narbonne*, which was betrayed to him by one *Agrippina*. From *Narbonne* he marched to *Arles*, which he invested, but was obliged to raise the siege by *Egidius* a native of *Gaul*, whom *Severus*, the successor

^b BUCH. p. 515.^c JORN. ibid.^d Idem, p. 677.^e IDAT. p. 37.^f IDAT. p. 35.^g Idem, p. 36.^h CUSPINIAN. p. 451.ⁱ Idem ibid.^j IDAT. p. 36.^k Idem, p. 37.^l CUSP. p. 451. IDAT. p. 38. JORN. p. 679.^m Idem ibid.ⁿ CUSP. p. 451.

of *Majorianus*, had appointed commander in chief of the *Roman* forces there^a. The following year 463. *Ægidius* gained a signal victory over the *Goths* in the neighbourhood of *Orleans*. In this battle great numbers of the *Goths* were slain, and, among the rest, *Frederic*, the king's brother, who commanded in chief^b. The *Goths* being overcome and dispersed, *Ægidius* laid siege to *Chinon* in *Touraine*; but the vigorous resistance he met with obliged him to drop the enterprize, and retire^c. The *Goths* were attended with better success in *Spain* than in *Gaul*; for *Idatius* speaks of them as now masters of the whole country, except part of *Galicia*, which was still held by the *Suevians*; and the provinces of *Tarraco* and *Cartagena*, which belonged to the *Romans*, and were governed by a duke; for in 465. a *Roman*, named *Vincentius*, resided at *Tarraco* with that title^d. The provinces subject to the *Goths* were governed by the generals *Sunieric* and *Nepotianus*, the former a *Goth*, and the latter a native of *Languedoc*, which was subject to the *Goths*.

In the year 464. died *Ægidius*, and upon his death the *Goths*, says *Idatius*^e, made themselves masters of the far greater part of *Gaul*. But he is therein certainly mistaken; for *Berri*, *Sens*, and *Auvergne*, still belonged to the *Romans* in 472^f; *Syagrius* the son of *Ægidius* held *Soissons*, and its territory^g; *Childeoric* king of the *Burgundians* reduced the city of *Paris* after a siege, according to some, of five, according to others, of ten years^h. The *Franks* were masters of the countries bordering on the *Rhine*, the *Saxons* of *Nantes* and *Bayeux*, and the *Britons* driven out by the *Angles* of *Vennes* and *Trequier*ⁱ. The following year 465. *Theodoric*, more bent on making acquisitions in *Gaul* than in *Spain*, came to an agreement with *Remismund* king of the *Suevians*; but before he could put his vast designs in execution, he was taken off by the same crime that had raised him to the throne, being murdered by his brother *Euric*, after he had reigned thirteen years^j. *Jordanes*, ever favourable to the *Goths*, only writes, that the joy *Euric* had betrayed on this occasion induced some to imagine, that he had been accessory to the death of his brother^k. *Euric*, called also *Eoric*, *Evarix*, and *Euthoric*, had no sooner ascended the throne, than he dispatched ambassadors to *Leo* emperor of the east, to *Remismund* king of the *Suevians*, and to *Genferic* king of the *Vandals*. *Remismund* no sooner heard the ambassadors than he sent others to *Euric*, to the emperor, and to the king of the *Vandals*^l; but, what was the subject of so many embassies, our historian has not thought fit to acquaint us. All we know is, that the ambassadors, sent by *Euric* to the king of the *Vandals*, hearing that the *Romans* were making great preparations to attack that people, returned in great haste to *Toulouse*; and that *Remismund*, upon the departure of *Euric's* ambassadors, recalled, and assembled into one body, the troops he had sent out in small parties to ravage the country^m. These people were perhaps negotiating an alliance among themselves against the common enemy the *Romans*. Be that as it will, *Euric* this very year 466. committed great ravages in *Lusitania*, and, having reduced the cities of *Pampelona* and *Saragoja*, made himself master of *Upper Spain*ⁿ. The following year, *Remismund*, having entered *Lusitania*, took *Coimbra*, made himself master of several other places, and ravaged the country, committing every-where unheard of cruelties. Hereupon the natives, recurring not to the *Romans*, which shews that their power in *Spain* was now reduced to a very low ebb, but to the *Visigoths*, sent a solemn embassy, at the head of which was one *Opilio*, to implore the protection of *Euric*, who readily interposed his good offices, but, it seems, to no effect; for *Remismund*, upon the departure of the ambassadors sent to him by *Euric*, plundered the city of *Coimbra*, destroyed several houses, with part of the walls, and carried such of the inhabitants, as had not the good luck to make their escape, into captivity^o. *Idatius* adds, that the ambassadors sent by the *Lusitanians* reported, upon their return, that several prodigies had happened in *Gaul*, and, among the rest, that a fountain of blood had sprung up in the midst of *Toulouse*, and flowed a whole day^p. *Euric* having made himself master of *Pampelona* and *Casaraugusta*, or *Saragoja*, as we have related above, *Tarraco* with its territory was the only place held now in *Spain* by the *Romans*; and that city *Euric* besieged in 468. the second

The Goths
masters of the
greater part of
Spain.

Theodoric
murdered.

Euric.
Year after
Christ 466.

Takes Pampelona and Saragoja.

^a PRISC. p. 42. IDAT. p. 41. CUSP. p. 452. ^b IDAT. ibid. ^c GREG. TUR. c. 22. p. 387, 388.
^d CONCIL. ROM. IV. p. 1062. IDAT. p. 41. ^e Idem, p. 43. ^f GREG. TUR. p. 282. ^g Idem,
p. 285. SID. EP. VIII. p. 260. ^h BOLLAND. 3. JANUAR. p. 140. ⁱ VAL. TER. FRANC. p. 236, 237.
SID. CP. VII. p. 16. ^j IDAT. ISIDOR. MARC. CHRON. ^k JORN. c. 44. p. 677. ^l IDAT. p. 44.
45. ^m Idem ibid. ⁿ Idem, CHRON. p. 719. ^o IDAT. p. 45. ^p Idem ibid. & p. 46.

a of the emperor *Antemius's* reign, and having, after a long siege, reduced it; levelled it with the ground. Thus were the *Romans* driven quite out of *Spain*; and a period put to their empire there, after they had been at least seven hundred years masters of that country. All those provinces, except *Galicia*, and part of *Lusitania*, which were subject to the *Suevians*, acknowledged *Euric* for their king, who, residing at *Toulouse*, governed them by his lieutenants. Drives the Romans quite out of Spain.

Euric, not satisfied with the conquests he had made in *Spain*, resolved to extend his dominions likewise in *Gaul*. With this view he began to draw together his forces, and make other military preparations; which the emperor *Antemius* no sooner understood, than he wrote to *Riotbam* king of the *Britons*, who had settled on the *Loire*, pressing him to join the *Romans* against the common enemy; for the *Britons* were greatly attached to the *Roman* interest. *Riotbam* readily comply'd with the emperor's request, and, having assembled a body of twelve thousand men, marched at the head of them to *Bourges*, and from thence to *Bourgeols* on the *Indre*, in the province of *Berri*; but being there met by *Euric*, he was overcome by the *Goths* with great loss, and obliged to abandon that province, and take refuge among the *Burgundians* the friends and allies of the *Romans*. *Gregory of Tours* writes, that, after the defeat of the *Britons*, one *Paul*, whom he distinguishes with the title of count, having assembled a body of troops, consisting of *Romans* and *Franks*, made war upon the *Goths*, and gained considerable advantages over them. Defeats the Britons.

c *Sidonius* tells us, that the *Goths* overcame the *Franks*, and afterwards entered into an alliance with them. He writes elsewhere, that *Euric* gave his daughter in marriage to *Sigimer* a barbarian prince, whom *Valesius* conjectures to have been by nation a *Frank*. The war between the *Romans* and *Goths* continued all this and the following year 471. but the authors, who speak of that war without descending to particulars, only tell us, that the *Goths* gained great advantages over the *Romans*, and in the end made themselves masters of the provinces of *Berri* and *Gevaudan*, the inhabitants, who were greatly oppressed by the *Roman* officers, especially by *Seronatus*, governor of *Gaul*, chusing rather to live under the *Goths* than the *Romans*, or, as *Salvianus* expresses it, chusing rather to live free, under

d the appearance of slavery, than be treated like slaves under the appearance of liberty. In 473. a peace was concluded; but *Antemius* being murdered the same year by *Ricimer*, and *Olybrius* proclaimed emperor in his room, as we have related in our *Roman* history, *Euric*, taking advantage of the weak and distracted state of the empire, renewed the war, hoping to drive the *Romans* quite out of *Gaul*, as he had done five years before out of *Spain*. *Auvergne* was the only province they still held in *Aquitania Prima*, lying between the ocean, the *Rhone*, and the *Loire*; and into this province *Euric* broke at the head of a powerful army in the beginning of the year 474. but met with a vigorous resistance from the inhabitants, who, without the assistance of any regular troops, gained some considerable

e advantages over the enemy. But in the end they laid siege to *Clermont*, and continued before that place, without being able to reduce it, till the rigour of the season obliged them to retire. As they seemed resolved to renew the siege early in the spring, *Nepos*, who had succeeded *Olybrius* in the empire, thinking he could better secure by treaty, than by arms, what he still possessed in *Gaul*, dispatched the questor *Licinianus* with the character of ambassador to *Euric*, in order to enter into a negotiation with that prince. *Euric* received him in a very obliging manner, and several conferences were held, at which some bishops of *Provence* were allowed to assist; viz. *Leontius* bishop of *Arles*, *Faustus* of *Riez*, *Greus* of *Marseilles*, and *Basilus* of *Aix*. To *Basilus*, *Sidonius*, then bishop of *Clermont*, wrote a letter, recommending to him the interest of the *Catholic* religion, and begging he would take care, that by the treaty the *Catholics* should be allowed to ordain bishops for the vacant churches in the countries subject to the *Goths*. For the *Goths* held the doctrine of *Arius*, and *Euric*, a professed enemy to the *Catholics*, would not allow them to appoint new bishops in the room of those who died; insomuch that nine

Makes himself master of Berri and Gevaudan.

Besieges Clermont in vain.

^a JORN. rer. Goth. c. 45. p. 678. GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 18. p. 182.

l. viii. ep. 3. p. 215.

¹ Idem, l. iv. ep. 20. p. 251.

^b GREG. TUR. ibid.

^c SID.

² SID. l. iii. ep. 1, 4. p. 63, 68. & l. vii. ep. 5. p. 180.

^d VALES. rer. FRANC. p. 219, 220.

³ SID. l. iii. ep. 1, 4. p. 63, 68. & l. vii. ep. 5. p. 180.

^e OROS. l. vii. c. 28. ISIDOR. chron. SID.

l. ii. ep. 1. p. 33. & ep. 13. p. 143.

^f SALVIAN. l. v. de gub. Dei.

^g SID. l. vii. ep. 6. p. 183.

^h Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 511.

ⁱ SID. l. vi. ep. 6. p. 162.

^j SID. l. vii. ep. 6, 7. p. 184.

186.

episcopal sees were at that time vacant *. A report being spread, which proved a afterwards true, that a treaty was upon the point of being concluded between the Romans and Goths, in virtue of which *Auvergne* was to be delivered up to the Goths. *Sidonius*, who was bishop of *Clermont* in that province, and a zealous defender of the orthodox faith, wrote a letter to *Grecus* bishop of *Marseilles*, conjuring him not to agree to so shameful an article, and assuring him, that the inhabitants were ready to undergo the greatest hardships, rather than submit to the Goths, who, mindful of the vigorous resistance they had often met with from them, would treat them more like criminals than slaves. He concludes by earnestly begging, that if the country was to be yielded to the Goths, the inhabitants might be allowed to retire, and some place allotted to them within the bounds of the empire †. However, b the treaty was concluded, and *Auvergne* delivered up to *Euric*, tho' he would not by any means consent to the ordaining of catholic bishops for the vacant churches within his dominions ‡.

Anvergne
yielded to him
by treaty.
Year after
Christ 475.

FIVE years after, that is, in 480. the few places in *Gaul*, that were still held by the Romans, having submitted to *Odoacer*, who, after putting to death *Orestes*, and deposing his son *Augustulus* the last emperor of the west, had assumed the title of king of *Italy*, that prince yielded them to the Goths, whose dominions, by that addition, extended from the *Loire* to the *Alps* §. However, the cities of *Arles* and *Marseilles* held out, it seems, some time against the Goths *. We leave *Bucherius* to inquire why *Odoacer* abandoned these countries, and, in abandoning them, chose c rather to bestow them on the Goths, than the *Burgundians*, the friends and allies of the empire †. That writer supposes the *Burgundians*, jealous of the too great power of the Goths, to have made war upon them; and that this is the year of which *Jornandes* speaks, where he tells us, that a war was kindled between two nations in *Gaul* ‡; for he speaks soon after of the war between the *Burgundians* and Goths. The *Burgundians*, sprung originally from the *Vandals*, had entered *Gaul* in 406. with the *Vandals* and *Alans*, and having some years after made themselves masters of the country, now known by the name of *Alsace*, they were allowed to settle there as friends and allies of the Roman people. They were removed from thence in 431. by *Aetius* to the present duchy of *Savoy*. In 456. d they seized on part of *Spain*, and made themselves masters of the city of *Lyons*, and in 478. reduced the whole province called *Lugdunensis Prima*. *Jornandes* writes, that in the present year 482. the Goths gained great advantages over them *. However, it appears from the acts of the council of *Agde* held in 526. and of the council of *Epaune* in 527. that no fewer than twenty-eight cities or dioceses belonged to the *Burgundians*, in which number were *Lyons*, *Vienne*, *Besançon*, and *Embrun* †; so that the Goths were not, as *Jornandes* supposes them to have been, masters of all the south part of *Gaul* ‡. *Euric*, having thus made himself master of the best part of *Gaul*, that is, of the whole tract between the *Rhone* and the *Loire*, and of all *Spain*, except a small corner of *Galicia*, and part of *Lusitania* held by the *Suevians*, e was still bent on making new conquests, and reducing the remaining part both of *Spain* and *Gaul*, when death put an end to his vast designs. He died at *Arles* in 484. the nineteenth year of his reign †, after the eleventh and before the end of *September* ‡. He had made himself way to the throne by the murder of his brother, and governed his subjects with a rod of iron §. He passed the greater part of his life in the field, was constantly quarrelling with his neighbours, and never pleased, but when he had an opportunity of staining his hands in the blood of his enemies &. He was a prince of great penetration, formidable in war, and attended with success in most of his undertakings †; whence he was dreaded by all nations, and his friendship courted by the neighbouring as well as the distant people ‡. *Sidonius*, f speaking in 476. of the court of this prince then at *Bourdeaux*, describes the Saxons, the Franks, the *Heruli*, the *Burgundians*, and even the Romans and Persians, falling down before him in the posture of suppliants, and conquered people †. Upon this *Bucherius* makes a long descant ‡, to which we refer the reader. *Apollinaris Sidonius* makes several excellent reflections on the success that attended *Euric* in most

The Goths
masters of all
the countries
held by the
Romans in
Gaul.
Year after
Christ 480.

Euric dies.
Year after
Christ 484.

His character.

* Sid. l. iv. ep. 15. p. 109.

† Idem, l. vii. ep. 7. p. 185.

‡ JORN. rer. Goth. c. 45. p. 675.

§ Procop. bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 12. p. 341.

¶ JORN. rer. Goth. c. 47. p. 680.

‡ BUCHER. p. 566.

¶ JORN. p. 681.

¶ Idem ibid.

¶ Notit. Gall. per ADRIAN. VALES. p. 105.

¶ JORN. p. 680.

¶ ISID. chron. JORN. rer. Goth. c. 47. p. 680.

LABB. chron.

¶ CONCIL. tom. iv. p. 1394.

¶ ENNOD.

in vit. Epiph. p. 385.

¶ Idem, p. 384.

¶ Sid. l. vii. ep. 5. p. 183. & l. viii. ep. 3. p. 215.

ENNOD. ibid. p. 385.

¶ Idem ibid.

¶ Sid. l. viii. ep. 9. p. 229, 230.

¶ BUCH. p. 552, 562.

- a of his undertakings^m, though he was not only separated from, but an irreconcilable enemy to, the catholic church, being a zealous *Arian*, and firmly persuaded, says *Sidonius*, that the success of his arms was owing to the purity of his faith. His aversion to the catholic church was so great, that he could not even endure the name of catholicⁿ. *Gregory of Tours* writes, that having raised a persecution against the catholics, he caused their churches to be shut up, and either banished, imprisoned, or put to death, their bishops, their clergy, and all who dared to oppose or impugn the *Arian* impiety^o. But if that writer had no other voucher for that persecution but *Sidonius*, whom he quotes, his account is greatly exaggerated; for *Sidonius* only says, that *Euric* banished two bishops, and would not suffer any to be named to the vacant sees^p. Most churches, continues *Sidonius*, in the countries held by the *Goths* are without pastors, and the bishopricks end there with the lives of the bishops. Of these vacant bishopricks he names nine, viz. *Bordeaux*, *Pereguex*, *Rhodes*, *Limoges*, *Mande*, *Eause*, *Bazas*, *Cominges*, and *Auch*. He adds, that the vacancy of the sees was attended with the ruin of religion, since it was the province of the bishops to provide the churches with inferior ministers, and bring back to the fold the sheep gone astray; that christianity was almost extinct in those dioceses; that the churches were ready to fall both in the towns and villages; that some of them were shut up by the thorns and briars that grew in the entry, and others lay open only for the sheep, that came to graze at the very foot of the holy altar. If such was the state of affairs in 474.
- when *Sidonius* wrote, we leave the reader to judge to what a deplorable condition they must have been reduced before the end of *Euric's* reign, which lasted ten years longer; for that prince never suffered the vacant sees to be filled. The two bishops he banished in 474. were *Crocus*, supposed to have been bishop of *Nismes*, and *Simplicius*, whose see is quite unknown^q. *Euric* was the first who gave written laws to the *Goths*, governed, till his reign, by customs only^r. The laws he published were called the *Theodorian* laws; which appellation has occasioned great disputes among authors. *Baronius* supposes them to have been so called, because the two *Theodorics*, predecessors of *Euric*, were the authors of them^s. But *Isidore* tells us in express terms, that *Euric* was the first who gave written laws to the *Goths*. *Cujacius* will have them to have been called *Theodorian* laws from *Theodoric* the *Ostrogoth* king of *Italy*^t, not reflecting, that they are styled *Theodorian* by *Apollinaris Sidonius*, who died, as is plain from *Gregory of Tours*^u, before *Theodoric* was master of *Italy*. Besides, it is certain, that *Theodoric* king of *Italy* paid the greatest respect to the *Roman* laws, and governed by them. *Sirmund* and *Alteferra* are of opinion, that they were, by *paronomasia*, called *Theodorianæ*, in opposition to the *Theodosianæ*; but this *paronomasia*, says the learned *Savaron*^v, would have been but very insipid, had not *Evaric*, the author of these laws, been likewise called *Theodoric*; and that this was his true name, is plainly shewn, both by him, and by *Grotius* in his *nomenclature*. As for the name of *Evaric* or *Euric*, which *Grotius* explains by *legibus pollens*, it was given him on account of the laws he published. These laws were by *Euric* obtruded upon the people of *Gaul* and *Spain*, who had been long accustomed to the *Roman* laws; but *Alaric*, his son and successor, restored the *Roman* laws to their former splendor, causing them to be observed throughout his dominions, as we shall see in the reign of that prince, where we shall have occasion to speak of the *Alaric* code. The person *Euric* chiefly employed in compiling his laws was *Leo*, his prime minister, and one of the most learned men, and best civilians, of his time^w (C). Some *Spanish* writers tell us, that,

^m Sid. l. vii. ep. 6. p. 182, 183. ⁿ Idem ibid. ^o Greg. Tur. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 25. p. 284.
^p Sid. ep. vi. p. 184. ^q Idem ibid. p. 484. ^r Isidor. chron. ^s Baron. annal. tom. v. ann. 468.
^t Ciron. obs. jur. can. l. v. c. 1. ^u Greg. Tur. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 23. ^v Savar. in l. ii. Sid. ep. 1. ^w Sid. l. viii. ep. 13. p. 215.

(C) *Leo* was, according to *Sidonius*, a man of uncommon parts, the best civilian of his time, and well versed in every branch of literature (2). Hence he was highly esteemed by *Euric*, and raised to the first honours in his court. By him were penned all the letters that prince wrote to foreign kings and states (3). His advice was of such weight with

Euric, that he suffered himself to be intirely guided by him in affairs of the greatest importance (4). He was descended from *Cornelius Fronto*, who was preceptor to the emperor *M. Aurelius*, and one of the greatest orators of antiquity (5). He professed the catholic faith in the court of an *Arian* prince, and led a life without blemish or reproach (6). Si-

(2) Sid. l. iv. ep. 22. p. 119. & l. viii. ep. 3. p. 215. (3) Sid. car. xxi. p. 412. (4) Idem, l. iv. ep. 22 p. 119. (5) Idem, l. iii. ep. 3. p. 215. (6) Idem ibid. p. 216.

that, besides *Leo*, he employed seventy bishops, among whom was one *Severus*,^a bishop of *Barcelona*, whom he afterwards put to death, with a country-man named *Emeterius*, on account of their zeal for the catholic faith. But what these authors write is founded on an antient tradition, which *Bollandus* thinks quite groundless¹. *Euric* married one *Ragnabild* or *Ragnabild*, the daughter of a king, for whose use in bathing *Evodius* caused a silver vessel to be made, on which were engraved some verses composed by *Sidonius*². By her he had a son named *Alaric*, by whom he was succeeded, and a daughter, who was married to a barbarian prince named *Sigismer*³. From the description which *Sidonius*, who saw that prince, gives of him, *Valerius* concludes him to have been by nation a *Frank*; and that *Euric* gave him his daughter in marriage, hoping, by that means, to gain the nation of the *Franks*, which began to be very powerful in *Gaul*. But by that very nation the son he had by her was killed in battle, and a period put to the kingdom of the *Visigoths* in *Gaul*, who, being driven from thence, fixed their royal seat at *Toledo* in *Spain*. But, as in *Euric's* reign they firmly established their dominion in the latter of these countries, we shall, in compliance with our plan, leave them for the present, and reserving for modern history an account of their affairs from the time they settled in *Spain* to the loss of that country to the *Arabs*, return to the *Ostrogoths*, who, as we have observed above, upon the departure of their countrymen the *Visigoths* admitted by *Valens*, in 376. into the empire, continued in their antient seats, but subject to the *Hunns*, who nevertheless allowed them to be governed by their own kings of the illustrious family of the *Amali*.

The history of
the Ostrogoths.
Their kings.

THE *Ostrogoths*, as we have related above, upon the death of *Ermenric* or *Hermanric* their king, chose *Vithimir*, by some called *Winitbar*, in his room. The new king gained at first some small advantages over the *Hunns*, but was in the end overcome, and killed in battle by *Balamir* or *Balamber*, king of the *Hunns*⁴. His son *Vitimeric* withdrew, attended by great numbers of his subjects, into the plains between the *Borysthenes* and the *Danube*, that is, into the present *Podolia*. Of him no further mention is made in history. He was succeeded by *Hunimund*, the son of *Ermenric*, who submitted to the *Hunns*, and is said to have made war upon, and gained a signal victory over, the *Suevians*. His son *Thorismund* reigned next, who defeated with a great slaughter the *Gepidæ*; but was soon after killed in the flower of his age by a fall from his horse. The *Goths* so lamented the loss of this prince, that, for the space of forty years, they chose no king in his room. After so long an inter-regnum, *Wandalar*, son to the brother of *Ermenric*, was raised to the throne; but of him no further mention is made in history. He was succeeded by his three sons *Valemir*, *Theodimir*, and *Vidimir*, who reigned jointly, and attended *Attila* in most of his expeditions. Upon that prince's death, several nations, by him formerly subdued, revolting from his children, begged and obtained leave from *Marcian*, then emperor, to settle in the *Roman* territories, almost quite dispeopled by the frequent incursions of the *Hunns*, and other barbarians. Among these mention is made of the *Squiri*,⁵ *Satagairæ*, and *Alans*, who settled in *Lesser Scythia*, and *Lower Mæsia*. To the *Rugians*, *Sarmatians*, and *Cemandrians*, lands were granted in *Illyricum*, near a place called the *Castle of Mars*. To the *Ostrogoths* *Marcian* granted all *Pannonia*, from *Sirmium*, now *Sirmish*, in *Sclavonia*, to *Vindobona*, now *Vienna* in *Austria*⁶. The *Goths*, as well as the other barbarians, acknowledged the authority of the *Constantinopolitan* emperors, and were subjects of the empire; but at the same time governed by their own princes, to whom the emperors agreed to pay an annual pension, upon their promising to guard the frontiers of the empire, and serve, when wanted, in the *Roman*

They are allowed to settle
in Pannonia.
Year after
Christ 453.

¹ BOLLAND. 8 Mar. p. 244, 245.
² JORN. rer. Goth. p. 644.

³ SID. l. iv. ep. 8. p. 97, 98.

⁴ Idem, ep. 20. p. 115.

⁵ Idem, c. 48. p. 683. PHOT. l. i. c. 242. p. 1041. THEOPH. p. 112.

donius, in sending him the life of *Apollonius Tyanæus*, bestows great encomiums upon him, and returns him thanks for the many favours he had received at his hands (7). *Leo* had advised him to apply himself to the writing of history; and *Sidonius* exhorts him to undertake that task himself, telling him, that no one was better qualified for it (8).

St. Gregory of Tours tells us, that *Alaric* the son of *Euric* having once complained in the presence of *Leo*, that a fine view from his palace was obstructed by the church of *Narbonne*, he advised him to lower the church; which was done accordingly. *Gregory of Tours* adds, that *Leo* paid dear for this advice, having soon after intirely lost his eye-sight (9).

(7) Idem, l. viii. ep. 3. p. 214—216.
de glor. marty. c. 92. p. 208, 209.

(8) Idem, l. iv. ep. 22. p. 118, 120.

(9) Greg. Tur.

- a armies^c. *Pannonia* being granted to the *Ostrogoths*, the three brothers divided that country among them, *Valemir* settling in the eastern part of it, *Theodimir* in the western, and *Vidimir* between the other two^d. They were scarce warm in their new seats, when the sons of *Attila*, pursuing them even into *Pannonia*, fell upon *Valemir* in the neighbourhood of *Sirmium*; but that prince, with a handful of men, over-
They gain two victories over the Huns.threw them with great slaughter, and obliged them to take refuge in that part of *Scythia*, which bordered on the *Danube*^e. About eight years after, the *Goths* being engaged in a war with the *Sataga*, *Dintzio*, one of *Attila*'s sons, laying hold of that opportunity, entered *Pannonia* at the head of a considerable army; and, having ravaged the country, laid siege to *Bassiana*, thought to be the present city of *Pofega*,
They ravage Illyricum.which gives name to a county in *Hungary* between the *Save* and the *Draw*. But the *Goths*, leaving the *Sataga*, marched with all their forces against the *Huns*, who readily engaged them, but received such an overthrow, that they ever after stood in awe of the *Goths*, and never offered to molest them^f. In the year 455. the emperor *Leo* refusing, under several pretences, to pay to the *Ostrogoths* their usual pension, they entered *Illyricum*, and there committed dreadful ravages; but *Anthemius*, son-
They conclude a peace with Leo, and send him Theodoric as a hostage.in-law to the emperor *Marcian*, having assembled the troops quartered in that province, obliged them to retire with no small loss^g. Soon after, *Leo* sent deputies to *Valemir*, to upbraid him with his late conduct, and renew the ancient treaties^h. The treaties were accordingly renewed, and the peace re-established, upon the emperor's promising to pay to the *Goths* what was due to them to that time, and for the future three hundred pounds weight of gold a year. On the other hand, *Valemir* sent to *Constantinople* by way of hostage the famous *Theodoric*, afterwards king of *Italy*, but then only eight years oldⁱ. *Males* the historian, and *Damascus*, who wrote the life of *Isidore*, and was contemporary with *Theodoric* himself, suppose him to have been the son of *Valemir*^k. But *Jornandes*, who lived some time after, but was perhaps better acquainted with the history of the *Ostrogoths*, being himself one of that nation, assures us, that *Theodoric* was the son of *Theodimir* by a concubine named *Erelieva*, and consequently only nephew to *Valemir*^l. *Leo* received him with the greatest marks of esteem and affection, maintained him for the space of ten years at his court,
They defeat the Squiri.d in a manner suitable to his rank, and took care to have him instructed by the best masters in every branch of polite literature^m.
- In the year 466. the tenth of *Leo*'s reign, a war breaking out between the *Goths* in *Pannonia* and the *Squiri*, whom the emperor *Marcian* had allowed to settle in *Lesser Scythia* and *Lower Mesia*, both nations had recourse to *Leo*, whose subjects they were, imploring his assistance. *Aspar*, *Leo*'s chief favourite, was for aiding neither, but suffering them to destroy each other. However, the emperor wrote to the governor of *Illyricum*, injoining him to march with all the troops under his command to the assistance of the *Squiri*, who nevertheless were utterly defeated, and
Valemir slain.most of them cut in pieces either in the fight or the pursuit. But the *Goths* lost on
Theodimir and Vidimir defeat the Squiri, Suevians, Alemans, &c.this occasion *Valemir* their king, who, falling from his horse as he was riding full-speed through the ranks to animate his men, was surrounded, and, with many wounds, dispatched by the enemyⁿ. Such of the *Squiri* as escaped the general slaughter, had recourse to the *Sarmatians*, the *Rugians*, and the *Gepidæ*, who, readily joining them, renewed the war, and, entering the territories of the *Goths*, laid them waste far and near. Hereupon the *Goths*, putting themselves under the conduct of the two remaining brothers *Theodimir* and *Vidimir*, took the field, and, engaging the enemy on the banks of the *Danube*, cut ten thousand of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to retire with great precipitation beyond that river, which *Theodimir* passed soon after on the ice, and, having laid waste the enemy's country, returned loaded with booty
Idem.f into *Pannonia*^o. In this war *Theodimir* not only defeated the *Sarmatians*, *Rugians*,
Idem.and *Gepidæ*, but gained a signal victory over the *Suevians* and *Alemans*, who had joined the above-mentioned nations^p. Upon his return, he received with great joy his son *Theodoric*, whom *Leo* had sent back loaded with rich presents, after having kept him at his court as a hostage for the space of ten years^q. He was scarce returned, when news was brought, that *Babai*, king of the *Sarmatians*, having defeated a Ro-

^c JORN. c. 57. p. 696.
 ibid. p. 691.

^d Idem, c. 50—52. p. 688, 689.

^e Idem ibid. p. 690.

^f Idem

^g JORN. PRISC. ibid.

^h Idem, p. 690. SIDA. CAR. in p. 296. PRISC. p. 74.

ⁱ PRISC. p. 74, 75.

^j JORN. PRISC. ibid.

^k PHOT. c. 78. p. 172.

^l JORN. rer. Goth. c. 52. p. 689.

^m Idem,

ⁿ c. 55. p. 693, 694. THEOPH. p. 612.

^o PRISC. p. 44.

^p JORN. c. 50. p. 687. & c. 53. p. 691, 692.

^q JORN. ibid.

^r Idem, c. 53. p. 693.

^s Idem ibid.

Theodoric
overcomes and
kills the king
of the Sarmatians.

man general named *Camandus*, had made himself master of *Singidunum* in *Upper Mæsia*.^a Hereupon *Theodoric*, having assembled, without his father's knowledge, a small body of troops, passed the *Danube*, and, entering the *Sarmatian* territories, fell upon *Babai*, put him, and most of his men, to the sword, and, on his return home, retook *Singidunum*; but did not restore it to the *Romans*¹.

Part of the
Ostrogoths
join the Vili-
goths in Gaul.

In the year 473. during the short reign of *Glycerius*, the *Goths* in *Pannonia*, without the least provocation, says *Jornandes*, and only because they were incapable of living in peace, resolved to make war on the empire. Pursuant to this resolution, the two brothers *Theodomir* and *Videmir* met, when it fell to the lot (for they cast lots) of the latter to invade *Italy*, where *Glycerius* then acted as emperor, and to that of *Theodomir* to attack the eastern empire, governed at that time by *Leo I.* *Videmir* immediately set out on his march; but had scarce entered *Italy*, when he died, leaving the command of his troops to his son, who bore the same name. *Jornandes* adds, that the young prince being prevailed upon by the rich presents, which *Glycerius* sent him, to retire out of *Italy*, he marched into *Gaul*, and, joining the *Visigoths*, settled there, assisted them in the conquest of that country, and in the reduction of *Spain*, becoming one people with them². As for *Theodomir*, he entered *Illyricum*, and, having made himself master of *Naissus*, he divided his army into several small bodies, under the command of his son *Theodoric*, and other generals, who reduced, without any considerable opposition, the cities of *Ulprana*, *Leraclea*, and *Larissa*. Having afterwards re-united their forces, and left a strong garrison in *Naissus*, they laid siege to *Theffalonica*.³ But *Clarianus*, governor of the place, prevailed upon *Theodomir*, with rich presents, to abandon the enterprize, and retire. Soon after a peace was concluded between the *Romans* and the *Goths*, during which *Theodomir* died, and was succeeded by his son *Theodoric*, called *Amalus*, being descended from the *Amali*, the most illustrious family among the *Goths*. The emperor *Zeno*, overjoyed at the news of the young prince's accession to the crown, immediately invited him to court, received him with the greatest marks of friendship and esteem, raised him to the rank of a patrician, and even adopted him, if *Jornandes* is to be credited, for his son⁴. *Theodoric* was scarce returned to *Pannonia*, when

Theodomir
dies, and is suc-
ceeded by his
son Theodoric.
Year after
Christ 476.

Theodoric de-
clares for the
emperor Zeno
against Basilif-
cus.

He is aban-
doned by Zeno.

news was brought him, that *Basiliscus*, of whom we have made frequent mention in our *Roman* history⁵, revolting from *Zeno*, had been proclaimed and acknowledged emperor by the senate of *Constantinople*. The usurper was chiefly supported by a *Goth* in the *Roman* service, named likewise *Theodoric*, who had been raised to the first posts in the army, and the command of his countrymen, who, following the example of their leader, had all declared for *Basiliscus*. However, king *Theodoric*, espousing the cause of *Zeno*, marched against them; but as his troops were far inferior in number to those of the enemy, *Zeno* assured him, that he should be joined at the straits of mount *Hæmus* by the general of *Thrace*, with ten thousand foot, and two thousand horse; and that, after passing the mountains, he should find twenty thousand horse on the banks of the *Hebrus* ready to join him; but at neither place did he find any troops, and the guides, who had been sent him by the *Romans*, leaving the known roads, and beaten ways, led him through deserts, where his men suffered greatly for want of provisions, and over steep mountains, till they brought his army, quite spent with such long and fatiguing marches, in sight of the enemy, encamped in a most advantageous post. But though they might, with great ease, have cut the king and his whole army in pieces, yet *Theodoric* their leader sent only some persons to upbraid the king with making war on his countrymen in favour of the *Romans*, who had thus betrayed him with fair promises, and only sought to set *Goths* against *Goths*, that they might have the cruel satisfaction of seeing them destroy each other. These remonstrances occasioned a mutiny in the king's army, who, finding himself reduced to the alternative of being abandoned by his own men, or coming to an agreement with *Theodoric*, chose the latter. The two generals conferred, having a river between them, and, in the end, agreed not to make war upon each other. They both dispatched ambassadors to *Constantinople*, *Theodoric* to demand the arrears that were due to him and his army, and the king to acquaint the emperor with the treaty he had made, and at the same time to let him know, that, unless provisions were sent to the army, it was not in his power to restrain his men from plundering

^a *JORN.* p. 694.
ibid. p. 696.

^b *Idem*, rer. Goth. c. 56. p. 694, 695. & reg. c. 47. p. 654, 655.
^c *Idem* *ibid.*

^d *Idem* *ibid.*
^e *Univ. hist.* vol. vi. p. 509, 513—515.

- a *Thrace* *. What answer *Zeno* returned to the former, we are no-where told ; but to the latter he made a long apology for not sending, as he had promised, the *Roman* troops to join him. But the author of *Zeno's* life, though not a little biassed in favour of that prince, cannot help owning, that he was therein greatly to blame †. The emperor did all that lay in his power to persuade the king to break the treaty he had lately concluded with *Theodoric*, sending to him for that purpose two solemn embassies, and promising not only to reward him with large sums, and great revenues, if he should defeat the rebels, but to give him in marriage *Juliana*, the daughter of *Olybrius*, and grand-daughter of *Valentinian III.* But the king could not, by any offers, be prevailed upon to make the least breach in the treaty with *Theodoric* ; which
- b obliged the emperor to conclude a peace with him upon the following terms, highly dishonourable to the imperial dignity ; viz. that *Theodoric* should have the command of the emperor's guards ; that he should retain all the honours conferred upon him by the usurper *Basiliſcus* ; that his estate, which had been confiscated, should be restored to him ; and lastly, that he should be appointed commander in chief of the *Roman* cavalry, which post was then held by king *Theodoric*, but, in virtue of this treaty, taken from him, and bestowed on the other ‡.

- In the mean time king *Theodoric*, who was still with his army among the mountains of *Thrace*, not receiving from the *Romans* either money or provisions to support them, He breaks with *Zeno*, and ravages *Thrace* and *Macedon*.
 c provoked at the emperor's conduct, laid waste the most fertile places of *Thrace*, destroying with fire and sword what he could not carry off. The emperor sent several generals to oppose him ; but though he lost, as we are told, a great many men in skirmishes, yet the loss on the side of the *Romans* must have been far more considerable, since, in the end, all the emperor's generals declined the command of the army in *Thrace* §. From *Thrace* *Theodoric* marched into *Macedon*, and, having pillaged the open country, made himself master of *Stopi* on the river *Axius*. From thence he marched into the neighbourhood of *Theſſalonica* ; which threw the inhabitants into such consternation, that, thinking themselves abandoned by the emperor, they pulled down and broke in pieces all his statues, and were ready to fall upon
 d their governor, named *John* ; but, in the end, contented themselves with taking from him the keys of the city, and delivering them to the bishop ¶. *Theodoric*, without making the least attempt on *Theſſalonica*, led his army from thence to *Heraclea*, where he was met by ambassadors from *Zeno*, with proposals for an accommodation ; which he being willing to conclude, sent others to *Constantinople*, and, in the mean time, ordered his men to forbear all hostilities. The person employed by *Zeno* to treat with *Theodoric* was the patrician *Adamancus*, who, as appears from some laws, had been governor of *Constantinople*, and was, on this occasion, honoured with the consular ornaments, but not with the consulship. During the negotiations, *Theodoric* found means of making himself master of *Duras* on the *Adriatic* sea, that he might
 e have some place of strength to retire to, in case the negotiations should not have the desired effect. Hereupon the conferences were broken off, *Adamancus* declaring, Which are rejected by *Zeno*. that he could not treat with the *Goths*, till they had restored the city of *Duras* to the empire. *Theodoric* could not, by any means, be prevailed upon to part with that important place during the winter ; but promised to abandon it early in the spring, to march against the other *Theodoric*, who had raised new disturbances in the empire, and, that the emperor might not question the sincerity of his intentions, to deliver up to him his mother and sisters as hostages. He likewise offered, with the emperor's approbation, to march into *Italy*, and restore *Nepos*, who was nearly related to the empress *Verina*, *Zeno's* mother-in-law, and had been lately driven from the throne
 f by *Glycerius*. To these proposals *Adamancus* answered, That he had no power to grant him any terms, till *Duras* was restored † ; but that he would write to the emperor, and acquaint him with his answer. The *Romans*, in the mean time, became more intractable, being elated with some advantages they gained at that very time over the *Goths*. *Theodoric* had marched before with a strong detachment to surprise *Duras*, while the main body, with the baggage, followed by slow marches, under the conduct of his brother *Theudimund*. This *Sabinianus*, general of *Illyricum*, and at that time the best commander in the whole empire, no sooner understood, than he ordered all the troops quartered in that province to assemble at *Lychnidus* in

* MALES. p. 83—96.

† Idem, p. 83, 84.

‡ Idem, p. 78.

§ Idem, p. 79.

¶ Idem,

p. 95. † Idem, p. 84.

VOL. VII. N^o 7.

Most of Theodoric's army cut in pieces by the Romans. Tear after Christ 479.

Macedon, and, marching from thence with incredible expedition, overtook the Goths, as they were descending from the mountains of *Candavia*, between *Lychmidus* and *Duras*. *Theudimund*, and his mother, who followed the army, had just time to pass a torrent, and cause the bridge to be broken down, by which means they saved themselves, but stopped the march of the army; so that the *Romans*, falling upon them, cut most of them in pieces, took five thousand prisoners, two thousand waggons, and an immense booty^d. *Zeno*, elated with this victory, and not doubting but he should either take *Theodoric* himself prisoner, or oblige him to submit to what terms he pleased, wrote to *Sabinianus*, and to *Gento*, a Goth of great reputation in the Roman service, to pursue the war, and not suffer *Theodoric*, with the troops he had with him, to retire, but to keep him shut up on all sides, ordering at the same time *Adamancus* to break off the conferences, and return to *Constantinople*^e. But of this war all we know is, that the following year 480. *Theodoric* ravaged Greece, and that *Sabinianus*, as count *Marcellinus* writes, put, in the end, a stop to his ravages, more by address than by dint of arms^f; which plainly shews, that the *Romans* had not been attended with the success they expected.

Theodoric grows powerful, and ravages Macedon and Thessaly; but is appeased by the emperor.

No further mention is made of *Theodoric* till the year 482. when, *Sabinianus* being dead, he ravaged without controul both *Macedons*, with *Thessaly*, and even took and plundered *Larissa*, the metropolis of the latter province^g; insomuch that the emperor, to appease him, was at length obliged to yield to him part of *Lower Mæsia* and *Lower Dacia*, to give him the command of the troops of the household, and to name him consul for the ensuing year 484. which was the greatest honour he could confer upon him. Hereupon *Theodoric*, disbanding his troops, set out for *Constantinople* with a small retinue, and, being received there by the emperor with the greatest marks of kindness and esteem, discharged the following year the office of consul^h. During his consulship, *Leontius*, a native of *Chalcis* in *Syria*, and commander of the troops in that province, revolting, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. Against him *Zeno* dispatched *Illus*, captain of his guards; but he, instead of opposing *Leontius*, joined him, and both together defeated and took prisoner *Longinus*, the emperor's brother, who, at the head of a considerable army, had ventured to engage them in the neighbourhood of *Antioch*; which city, after his defeat, submitted to the usurper. *Zeno*, upon the news of the defeat and captivity of his brother, dispatched one *John*, an officer of great valour, and experience in war, into *Syria*, and prevailed upon *Theodoric* to join him with a numerous army of Goths. These two commanders, meeting *Leontius* and *Illus* in the neighbourhood of *Seleucia*, gave them a total overthrow, and obliged them to fly for refuge to the strong castle of *Papyra* in *Cilicia*ⁱ. *Evagrius*, and others, ascribe this victory to the *Valamerians*, that is, the Goths; for so we find them styled by several writers, from their king *Valemer*^k. As the rebels were no more in a condition to give the least apprehension or uneasiness, *Theodoric*, leaving part of his forces with the other commander to pursue the war, returned with the rest to *Constantinople*; but finding that *Zeno* began to mistrust him, and even to seek under-hand his destruction, he withdrew from court, and retired into *Thrace*, the emperor having, some time before, appointed him general of the troops quartered in that country. Thus *Evagrius*^l. But *Marcellinus*, accusing *Theodoric* of ingratitude towards his benefactor *Zeno*, tells us, that, not satisfied with the innumerable favours he had received at the emperor's hands, he retired from court, and began to seek some plausible pretence of making war on the empire^m. *Jornandes*, ever favourable to that prince, but not well acquainted with his history, supposes him to have retired into *Pannonia*, chusing rather to live in poverty amongst his Goths, than in affluence among the *Romans*ⁿ. Be that as it will, it is certain, that, soon after his leaving *Constantinople*, he fell upon the *Bulgarians*, who, under the conduct of their king or leader named *Libertem*, had broken into *Thrace*, and gained a complete victory over them, *Libertem* himself being dangerously wounded, and most of his men cut in pieces^o. The following year 486. *Theodoric* spent in raising forces, and in 487. broke into *Thrace* at the head of a powerful army, putting all to fire and sword. Upon what provocation he thus turned his arms against the empire, we are no-where told; but, without all doubt, the same motives that,

He defeats the usurper Leontius.

He falls out with Zeno, and retires from Constantinople.

He defeats the Bulgarians.

He ravages Thrace.

^d Idem, p. 85. ^e Idem ibid. ^f MARCEL. chron. ^g Idem ibid. ad ann. 482. ^h MARCEL. chron. THEOPH. p. 222. JORN. rer. Goth. c. 57. p. 686. MAD. p. 84. ⁱ THEOPH. p. 111, 118. EVAGR. l. iii. c. 35. p. 366. ^k EVAGR. ibid. ^l Idem, l. iii. c. 27. p. 356. ^m MARCEL. ad ann. 485. ⁿ JORN. c. 57. p. 696. ^o ENNOD. p. 292, 296.

■ some time before, had induced him to withdraw from court, prompted him now to act as an enemy. Having ravaged *Thrace*, he approached *Constantinople*, and encamped in the neighbourhood of *Melantiades*, a city placed by *Sanfon* about fifteen miles west of *Constantinople*, with a design, as was believed, of laying siege to the imperial city. But, while the inhabitants were under the utmost consternation, *Theodoric*, decamping all on a sudden, marched back to *Novæ* in *Mæsia*, whence he was come ^p. Some writers ascribe his sudden retreat to the regard he had for that metropolis; others to a private treaty between him and *Zeno*, who, putting him in mind of the kindness he had ever shewn him, and of the many honours he had heaped upon him, and representing to him at the same time the danger to which he exposed himself in making war on the empire, persuaded him to conclude a peace with the *Romans*, and turn his arms against *Odoacer*, who, having put *Orestes* to death, and deposed his son *Augustulus*, had taken upon him the title of king of *Italy* ^q. The *Romans* afterwards pretended, that *Zeno* had sent *Theodoric* to conquer *Italy*, not for himself, but for the emperor of the east, to whom of right it belonged ^r. On the other hand, the *Goths* maintained, that *Zeno* had yielded *Italy* to *Theodoric* and his posterity. Of this opinion was not only *Jornandes* ^s, by nation a *Goth*, but *Procopius*, a *Roman* writer ^t, who tells us, that *Zeno* encouraged *Theodoric* to conquer *Italy*, which he was to keep for himself. *Ammianus* writes, that, in virtue of this treaty with *Zeno*, *Theodoric* was to hold *Italy* during his life; but that, upon his death, it was to be re-united to the empire ^u. Be that as it will, it is certain, that *Theodoric* received with joy the proposal made him by the emperor of driving *Odoacer* out of *Italy*, and returned, as we have hinted above, to *Novæ* in *Mæsia*, in order to make the necessary preparations for that expedition.

Is advised by
Zeno to turn
his arms
against Odoacer.

THE following year 488. *Theodoric*, having assembled, says *Ennodius* ^v, an infinite number of people, carrying with them on waggons their wives, children, and all their effects, set out from *Novæ*, bending his march towards *Italy*. His mother, and sister named *Amasrides*, attended him in this expedition ^w. Several *Romans* of great distinction flocked to him from all parts to serve as volunteers in this war, and among the rest *Artemidorus*, who was nearly related to, and in great favour with, the emperor; but joyfully abandoned his country, and the grandeur he lived in at *Constantinople*, to share with *Theodoric* in his good and bad fortune, who afterwards created him a patrician, and made him governor of *Rome* ^x. On the other hand, a great many *Goths* declined following *Theodoric* into *Italy*, and, settling on the sea-coast in *Thrace*, formed there a separate nation, which lived in amity with the *Romans*, and is highly commended by *Procopius* ^y. From *Novæ* in *Mæsia* *Theodoric* marched strait to the *Adriatic* sea; but, for want of ships, was obliged to go round, and traverse the several nations dwelling on the coast. This march he performed in the depth of winter, a violent plague and famine, says *Ennodius* ^z, raging the whole time in his army, and carrying off great numbers of his people. He found the *Gepidæ* encamped on the banks of a certain river, with a design to oppose his passage; but *Theodoric*, passing it at the head of a choice body of men, charged them so briskly, that they immediately betook themselves to a precipitous flight. At another place he was met by the *Sarmatians*, whom he likewise overcame, and put to flight ^a. Thus, after a long and fatiguing march, he entered at length *Italy*, and, advancing to the river *Sontius*, now *Bonno*, in the neighbourhood of *Aquileia*, halted there, in order to rest his men, being informed, that *Odoacer* was in full march to meet him with a very numerous army, consisting of various nations, commanded by their respective kings or chiefs ^b. Soon after, *Odoacer* appeared, and was met by *Theodoric* with his men in battle-array. Hereupon an engagement ensued, in which *Odoacer* was, after a faint resistance, put to flight, and great numbers of his men cut in pieces. *Theodoric* pursued the fugitives, and, on the 28th of *August* 489, entered their camp, though defended by a river, and a great many works ^c. *Odoacer* retired to the plains of *Verona*, and encamped there at a small distance from the city. But *Theodoric*, pursuing him close, forced him to a second engagement, when he met with a far more

He sets out for
Italy. Year
after Christ
488.

He defeats the
Gepidæ and
the Sarmatians
on his march.

He puts Odoacer
to flight.

^p PROCOPIUS. bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 6. p. 461. MARCELL. THEOPH. p. 113. ^q JORN. p. 697. EVAGR. l. ii. c. 27. p. 356. ^r MAL. p. 84. ^s PROCOPIUS. bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 6. p. 402. ^t JORN. c. 57. p. 696, 697. ^u PROCOPIUS. p. 655. ^v AMMIAN. p. 479. ^w ENNOD. vit. Theodor. p. 298. ^x PROCOPIUS. ædific. c. 7. p. 63. ^y Idem ibid. p. 303. ^z CASSIODOR. l. i. epist. 43. ^a ENNOD. vit. Theod. p. 299. ^b Idem, p. 301. ^c JORN. p. 697. ENNOD. ibid. ^d Idem ibid. THEOPH. p. 361.

And makes
himself master
of Milan and
Pavia.

He is obliged to
shut himself up
in Pavia.

He receives a
powerful supply
from the Visi-
goths.

He besieges
Odoacer in
Ravenna.
Year after
Christ 490.

He reduces all
Italy.

vigorous opposition than in the former, for great numbers were killed on both sides; a but, in the end, *Odoacer* was again put to flight, and obliged to shut himself up in *Ravenna*; so that *Theodoric*, having now no enemy in the field to oppose him, made himself master of several important places, and among the rest of *Milan* and *Pavia* ¹. At the same time *Tufa*, commander in chief of *Odoacer's* forces, came over to *Theodoric*, with most of the troops under his command, and was immediately by him dispatched, with one of his own officers, in pursuit of *Odoacer* to *Ravenna*. *Odoacer* had left that city, and was advanced as far as *Faenza*, in which place he was closely besieged by *Tufa*; but that treacherous commander, declaring for his former master, joined him anew with all his troops, delivering up to him at the same time several officers, who had been appointed by *Theodoric* to command under him, and were, b by *Odoacer's* orders, sent in irons to *Ravenna* ². *Ennodius* writes, that *Theodoric* did not send against *Odoacer* all the troops that came over to him with *Tufa*, but placed several detachments of them, together with his own forces, in the towns that had submitted to him. He adds, that, when *Theodoric* was informed of *Tufa's* treachery, he caused them all, by a private order, to be cut in pieces, lest they should follow the example of their general ³. About the same time *Frideric*, the son of *Lava* king of the *Rugians*, who had joined *Theodoric* with a considerable body of his countrymen, fled over to *Odoacer*; who, being thus reinforced, left *Faenza*, and advanced as far as *Milan*; which city he is supposed to have taken, since he is said to have recovered all *Liguria* ⁴. *Theodoric* in the mean time, finding himself abandoned both c by *Tufa* and *Frideric*, kept himself shut up in *Pavia*, a place in those days of great strength, while *Odoacer*, without controul, ravaged the country that had submitted to him, and besieged him at last in *Pavia*, where the *Goths*, who had brought along with them their families, and all their effects, were greatly frightened for want of room. But Heaven, says *Ennodius* ⁵, openly declared in favour of *Theodoric*, the enemy's men quarrelling daily among themselves, and every thing contributing to their ruin. However, *Theodoric*, fearing he should in the end be overpowered with numbers, had recourse to *Alaric* king of the *Visigoths*, who had settled in *Gaul*. As the *Visigoths* and *Ostrogoths* were originally one and the same nation, and the *Visigoths* had received among them, about sixteen years before, a great number of *Ostrogoths*, d under the conduct of their king *Vidimir*, cousin-german to *Theodoric*, they readily granted him the desired supplies; which he no sooner received, than leaving *Pavia*, he marched to the river *Addua*, where the enemy lay encamped, engaged them the third time, and gave them a total overthrow. *Odoacer* took refuge anew in *Ravenna*; but left numerous garrisons in all the strong places ⁶. In this battle, which was fought on the eleventh of *August*, *Odoacer* lost several officers of distinction, and among the rest *Pierius*, his comes domesticorum, or captain of the guards ⁷. *Theodoric*, after the battle, marched in pursuit of *Odoacer*, and, approaching *Ravenna*, encamped at a place called *Pinaia*, about three miles from the city. On the other hand, *Odoacer*, with many new works, fortified himself in the town, and, with frequent sallies, e especially in the night, greatly harassed the *Goths*. The siege lasted three years, during which time great numbers were killed on both sides in the frequent sallies and attacks. Authors speak in particular of a sally made, according to some, on the tenth, according to others, on the fifteenth of *July* 491. in which *Odoacer* commanded in person, and, at the head of the *Heruli*, entered the camp of *Theodoric* at *Pinaia*, and made a dreadful havock of his men; but he was, after a long and sharp dispute, obliged to retire. The *Goths* pursued him to the very gates of the city, killing many of his men, and among the rest *Libila* or *Levila*, who commanded the *Heruli* under the king, and had eminently distinguished himself on that occasion ⁸. After this, *Theodoric*, leaving part of his army before *Ravenna*, marched with the f rest against the strong-holds, in which *Odoacer* had left garrisons, and was everywhere received with great joy, except at *Cesena* in *Romagna*, where he met with some opposition ⁹. Thus he made himself master of *Italy* ¹⁰, not at once, but by degrees; for he laid siege to *Ravenna* in 490. and pope *Gelasius*, who was raised to the see of *Rome* in 492. speaking of *Odoacer*, still gives him the title of king of

¹ AMMIAN. anonym. p. 479. JORN. p. 697. ENNOD. p. 303, 304. ² ENNOD. vit. Epiph. p. 300. CASSIODOR. l. ii. ep. 16. p. 32. ³ ENNOD. panegy. Theodor. p. 306. ⁴ Idem de Lurent. p. 465. ⁵ Idem vit. Epiph. p. 397. ⁶ AMMIAN. anonym. p. 470. CASSIODOR. p. 68. PROCOPIUS. bell. Goth. p. 309. ⁷ AMMIAN. anonym. p. 479. ⁸ JORN. c. 57. p. 697. ONITH. p. 17. ENNOD. pan. Theodor. p. 306. ⁹ ENNOD. ibid. p. 309. ¹⁰ JORN. ibid.

- a *Italy*. The sally we have spoken of above was made on the tenth or fifteenth of July, and Theodoric was, on the thirty-first of the following August, at Pavia, and returned to the siege of Ravenna on the twenty-ninth of August 492, pitching his camp at a place called the *Little Palace*. He was then master of Italy, no one place remaining to Odoacer, except Ravenna, in which he had been shut up three years with his foreign, and some Roman troops, now reduced to great straits by the enemy without, and the famine within, wheat being sold at six pieces of gold a bushel. On the other hand, the Goths were quite worn out with the fatigues of a three years siege; so that both parties being willing to put an end to the war, Odoacer sent John bishop of Ravenna to Theodoric, with proposals for an accommodation. This prelate died in 494. and there is still extant the original act of a donation made to him in January 491. Jornandes writes, that Odoacer only begged his life; which Theodoric bound himself by a solemn oath to grant him. Procopius tells us, that they agreed to live together on equal terms in Ravenna; which expression we do not well comprehend, it being altogether incredible, that Theodoric, who was already master of all Italy, and had reduced Odoacer to the last extremity, should suffer him to reign jointly, and have an equal share of power, with himself. The agreement was concluded on the twenty-seventh of February, Odoacer delivering up his son named Thelan to Theodoric as an hostage, who thereupon entered Ravenna in triumph by the Fleetgate on the fifth of March. Theodoric did not long stand to the agreement he had made; for having, a few days after, invited Odoacer to a banquet, unmindful of his oath, he dispatched him with his own hand, according to some, in the palace, according to others, in a grove of laurels adjoining perhaps to the palace. Some authors pretend, that Odoacer had formed a design upon the life of Theodoric, which he being acquainted with, resolved to be before-hand with him. But the dead are always found guilty. Jornandes, though himself a Goth, seems to insinuate, that Odoacer was murdered upon a bare suspicion, and that, as was then believed, quite groundless. All his servants and relations were massacred at the same time, except his brother Aemulphus, and a few more, who, having had the good luck to make their escape, retired beyond the Danube. Theodoric had sent, some months before, Faustus Niger, a leading man in the senate of Rome, to obtain of the emperor Zeno the ensigns of royalty. But Odoacer having submitted before the return of the ambassador, Theodoric, without waiting for the emperor's permission, caused himself to be proclaimed by his Goths king of Italy. However, he dispatched soon after Festus or Faustus, his *magister officiorum*, and Irenaeus, both distinguished with the title of *illustrious*, to Constantinople, to excuse the liberty he had taken. The ambassadors were received in a very obliging manner by Anastasius, the successor of Zeno, who readily confirmed the peace, which his predecessor had made with Theodoric, approved of what he had done, and sent him the ensigns of royalty. Hence it is manifest, that Theodoric himself owned he held the kingdom of Italy of the emperors of the east, by whom he suffered even the Roman consuls to be named. There is still extant a letter from Theodoric to Anastasius, concerning one Felix, who was consul in 511. wherein he acquaints the emperor, that he had named Felix for the consulship, and at the same time intreats him to confirm, by his suffrage, that dignity to so deserving a person.
- Theodoric, now master of all Italy, began to make the necessary preparations for reducing the island of Sicily, which refused to acknowledge him; but the inhabitants were persuaded by Cassiodore to submit to their new lord without bloodshed. After this, Theodoric, sheathing his sword, endeavoured, in the first place, to establish himself in his new kingdom, by alliances with the neighbouring princes. With this view, he sent Festus to Constantinople, to confirm the peace he had made with Anastasius, marrying at the same time Andesfeda, the daughter of Clodoneus king of the Franks, and bestowing his own two daughters, whom he had by a concubine, on Alaric king of the Visigoths in Gaul, and on Sigismund, the son of Gundobald king of the Burgundians. Having thus secured his new kingdom, he made it his chief study

The besieged reduced to great straits.

Odoacer submitted, and is put to death by Theodoric. Ear after Christ 493.

Theodoric proclaimed by the Goths, and acknowledged by the emperor, king of Italy.

Sicily submits to him.

He secures his new kingdom by alliances.

1 Concil. tom. iv. p. 1208. 2 JORN. p. 698. PROCOP. p. 309. 3 Anonym. p. 480. 4 UGH. tom. ii. p. 333. MARIL. it. Ital. p. 201. 5 JORN. p. 698. 6 PROCOP. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 1. p. 310. 7 Idem ibid. p. 310. ONUPH. p. 57. Anonym. p. 488. 8 PROCOP. Anonym. ibid. 9 Vide VALES. rer. Franc. p. 344. 10 JORN. de reg. c. 47. p. 655. 11 Anonym. ibid. ISIDOR. chron. p. 721. 12 Anonym. p. 408. 13 Concil. tom. iv. p. 1181. 14 PROCOP. l. ii. c. 6. p. 402. 15 Idem ibid. 16 CASSIODOR. l. ii. ep. 1.

He retains the
Roman laws.

And the same
magistrates.

to govern it with salutary laws, following therein the advice of *Cassiodore*, a man of a great learning and integrity, whom he had created a patrician, and raised to the dignities of count, of consul, and even to that of *præfectus prætorio*. He first placed all his *Goths* in the castles and strong-holds, with their officers who were to command them in time of war, and govern them in time of peace. The *Roman* laws he retained, and commanded them to be inviolably observed, and to have the same force, which they had had under the emperors of the west ^a. In the first five books of *Cassiodore*, consisting of the letters and edicts of *Theodoric*, nothing is so much recommended to the judges and magistrates as the due observance of, and respect for, the *Roman* laws. In these books are quoted many constitutions of the *Theodosian* code, and many *novellæ* of *Theodosius*, *Valentinian*, and *Majorianus* ^b, *Theodoric* declaring, that he did not intend to introduce any new laws into *Italy*, the *Roman* laws, by which it had been so long governed, being the most equitable that could be enacted; nay, so great was the respect he bore to the *Roman* laws, that he ordered them to be observed, not only by the *Romans*, but likewise by the *Goths*, who lived among the *Romans*. To his *Goths* he left some of their own laws, or rather customs; but, in all matters of moment, such as successions, testaments, adoptions, contracts, penalties, crimes, and in whatever belonged to public or private property, the *Roman* laws were common to all. All law-suits and disputes between a *Roman* and a *Goth*, or a *Goth* and a *Roman*, were to be decided by the *Roman* laws, as appears from one of *Theodoric's* rescripts to *Januarius*, president of *Samnium* ^c. But when the dispute arose between a *Goth* and *Goth*, they were to have recourse to their own judge, who decided it according to *Theodoric's* own edicts, which did not much differ from the *Roman* laws, and were given to those, who were sent into the provinces as judges of the *Goths* ^d. *Theodoric* not only retained the same laws, but the same form of government, the same distribution of provinces, the same magistrates and dignities. As the emperors had, before his time, translated the imperial seat from *Rome* to *Ravenna*, to be near at hand, and ready to put a stop to the irruptions of the barbarians, who, on that side, broke into *Italy*, he likewise chose that city for the usual place of his residence, governing from thence the provinces by the same magistrates, that had presided over them in the times of the emperors, viz. by the *consulares*, the *correctores*, and the *præsides*. But, besides these, he sent, according to the custom of the *Goths*, to each city inferior judges, distinguished with the title of *counts*, who were to administer justice, and decide all controversies and disputes: and herein the policy of the *Goths* far excelled, as *Grotius* observes, that of the *Romans*; for, in the *Roman* times, a whole province was governed by a *consularis*, a *corrector*, or a *præfes*, who resided in the chief city, and to whom recourse was to be had at a great charge from the most remote parts; but *Theodoric*, besides the *consularis*, the *corrector*, or the *præfes*, appointed, not only in the principal cities, but in each small town and village, inferior magistrates of known integrity, who were to administer justice, and, by that means, save those who had law-suits the trouble and expence of recurring to the governor of the whole province ^e, no appeals to distant tribunals being allowed, but in matters of the greatest importance, or in case of manifest injustice ^f. Thus *Italy*, from the dominion of the *Romans*, came under that of the *Goths*, almost without perceiving the change. But of the eminent virtues of *Theodoric*, of his glorious reign, and the reigns of the *Gothic* kings of *Italy* his successors, to the expulsion of the *Goths* by *Narses*, we shall, pursuant to our plan, speak at length in a more proper place, and, in the mean time, proceed to the history of other ancient nations.

^a CASSIODOR. l. iii. c. 43. & l. i. c. 27.

apud CASSIODOR.

CASSIODOR. l. vi. c. 7.

^b CASSIODOR. l. ii. var. ep. 23, & l. vii. c. 2.

^c GROT. *ibid.*

^d Vide GROT. in proleg. c. 3.

^e Edict. Theodor.

^f GROT. in proleg. hist. Goth.

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VOL. VII. PART II.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξίρχεσθαι μὴ κατανόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὐρήσεις ἀκόπως, ὥσπερ ἑτέροι συνῆζαν
ἐγκοπῶς.
Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.



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M. DCC. XLIV.

S E C T. III.

The ancient state of the Vandals, till their settling in Spain and Africa,

- ^a **T**HE Vandals were originally a Gothic nation; for Procopius, who could not be a stranger to their descent, being well acquainted with Gelomir their king, and the other Vandals, who were brought prisoners to Constantinople in the reign of Justinian, tells us in express terms, that the Goths and Vandals were one and the same people, distinguished in names, but agreeing in original and manners^o. He adds, that they spoke the Gothic language, as did likewise the Gepids, Lombards, Burgundians, and Alans. They were called Vandals from the Gothic word *Vandelen*, which signifies *to wander*, because they often changed their seats, wandering from one country to another^p. They are supposed to have come originally out of Scandinavia with the other Goths, under the conduct of king Eric, of whom we have spoken in the foregoing section, and to have settled in the countries now known by the names of Mecklenburg and Brandenburg. Several ages after, another colony of the Goths, leaving Scandinavia under the conduct of king Berig, settled in Pomerania, after having driven out the Rugians, by Jornandes called Ulmerugians. At the same time Berig subdued the Vandals inhabiting the above-mentioned countries; but, instead of driving them from their ancient seats, he only obliged them, as they were a Gothic nation, to share their territories with the new-comers^q. In the reign of Augustus, part of the Vandals, streightened in their own country for want of room, settled on the banks of the Rhine; but were driven from thence by Tiberius and Drusus, and obliged to return home. As their country was overstocked with people, great numbers of them soon left it anew, and, taking their rout eastward, entered the country lying between the Bosphorus Cimmericus and the Tanais, inhabited at that time by the Scythians, whom they drove out, and, seizing on their country, took the name of the ancient inhabitants, calling themselves Scythians. Some of these, several ages after, that is, in the reign of Mauritius, which began in 586, settled in Dalmatia and Illyricum, which from them were called Slavonia^r. Others seated themselves in the eastern parts of Dacia beyond the Danube, which province comprehended the present countries of Transylvania, Moldavia, Wallachia, and the eastern parts of Upper Hungary. From those who remained in Germany, the present Poles and Bohemians are said by most writers to derive their origin^s. But the Vandals who, under Godegisilus their king, broke into Gaul, and afterwards settled in Spain and Africa, came, according to Procopius^t, from Dacia, and the neighbourhood of the Palus Maeotis. As the Vandals were a Gothic nation, the same customs, manners, religion, form of government, &c. obtained among them as among the Goths. They had, without doubt, their own kings long before they were known to the Romans; but Godegisilus, under whose conduct they entered Gaul in 406, is the first of their princes, whom we find mentioned in history. He was succeeded by Gunderic, who, in 409, from Gaul passed into Spain, and settled in Galicia. Genferic reigned next, who, abandoning Spain in 428, passed with his Vandals over into Africa, which the Vandals held under the following kings, Hunneric, Gundamund, Thrasamund, Genferic II. and Gelimer, till the year 533. when an end was put to their dominion by Belisarius, and Africa reunited to the empire. Salvianus, speaking of the Vandals, says, that they were excelled by all the other barbarous nations both in power and courage; but nevertheless made themselves masters of the best and most fertile provinces of the empire, Providence so disposing to convince the world, that their conquests were not owing to their valour, but to the Lord of hosts, who made use of so weak and contemptible an enemy to punish the sins of the Romans^u. They embraced the christian religion at the same time that the Goths were converted, but held, like the other Gothic nations, the tenets of Arius, and were irreconcilable enemies to the catholic church. Salvian however extols their continence and chastity^v.

^o Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 2.^p Vide MATTH. PRÆTOR. in orbe Goth.^q JORN. rer. Goth.^r Vide OLAVUM RUNBECK. Atlantica, part. i. c. 24. & JOANN. MARIAN. l. vi. c. 1.^s MATTH.

PRÆTOR. in orbe Goth. l. iii. c. 1. & 2.

^t Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3.^u SALVIAN. l. vii.^v Idem, p. 160, 166.

As to their irruptions into the empire, for we know nothing of their wars with a other nations, they first began to be troublesome to the Romans in the reign of *M. Aurelius* and *Lucius Verus*, about the year 166. when, entering into an alliance with other barbarous nations, viz. the *Marcomanns*, the *Nariscians*, the *Hermundurians*, *Quadians*, *Suevians*, *Sarmatians*, *Visiovalians*, *Roxolanians*, *Baslernians*, *Costebochians*, *Alans*, *Iazygians*, &c. they broke into the empire, took and plundered several cities, and, having put to flight the Roman armies sent against them, committed everywhere unheard of ravages. Of this war, which is compared by the antients to the *Punic* and *Cimbrian* wars, we have spoken in our Roman history ¹. On this occasion the *Marcomanns* and *Vandals* made themselves masters of *Pannonia*, after having defeated and killed *Furius Victorinus* the *præfektus prætorio*, who, with a considerable b army, attempted to put a stop to their inroads². They continued in *Pannonia* till the year 170. when they were driven out by *M. Aurelius*, who pursued them to the *Danube*, and cut great numbers of them in pieces as they were passing that river ³. They entered, it seems, afterwards into an alliance with the *Romans*; for one of the articles of the peace concluded in 180. between the emperor *Commodus* and the *Alemans* was, that they should not make war upon the *Vandals* ⁴. In the year 215. a war was kindled between them and the *Marcomanns*; for *Caracalla*, as we read in *Dion* ⁵, used to glory in his having set at variance these two nations, which, till then, had lived in peace and amity with each other. By this war both nations were greatly weakened; and this is all we know of it. In 271. the second of *Aurelian's* reign, c while the emperor was engaged in a war with several German nations, who had broken into *Italy*, the *Vandals*, having passed the *Danube* under the conduct of two of their kings, and several other princes, laid waste the neighbouring provinces. Hereupon *Aurelian*, having gained a complete victory over the *Germans*, led his army against the *Vandals*, who, upon the news of his approach, retired with great precipitation. The emperor however pursued and overtook them before they reached the *Danube*, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to sue for peace; which he readily granted them, upon their delivering to him, as hostages, the sons of their two kings, and several other persons of great distinction. He incorporated two thousand of their best men amongst his own troops, and ordered the rest d to be supplied with provisions at the public expence, till they reached the *Danube*. Five hundred of them, who had separated from the rest to plunder the country, were cut in pieces by the general of the foreign troops, and their leader put to death by their king's order ⁶. They continued quiet the remaining part of *Aurelian's* reign; but they no sooner received the news of his death, which happened in 275. than entering into an alliance with the *Lygians*, *Franks*, and *Burgundians*, they advanced as far as the *Rhine*, and having, without opposition, crossed that river, entered *Gaul*, and made themselves masters of almost the whole country, which they held for the space of two years, that is, till the year 277. when *Probus*, who had succeeded *Tacitus*, marching against them, overcame them in several battles. Most of the *Lygians*, e a German nation, were cut off, and their king *Semno* taken prisoner; but he was soon after set at liberty, in virtue of a treaty, by which the *Lygians*, after having restored the booty, and dismissed the prisoners they had taken, solemnly promised not only to live in amity with the *Romans*, but to guard the confines of the empire against the other barbarians, who should attempt to break into it ⁷. The *Vandals* and *Burgundians* retired at the approach of the Roman army, and, having crossed the *Rhine* before *Probus* could overtake them, encamped on the banks of that river. However, being provoked by the insults and raillery of the Roman soldiers encamped on the opposite bank, they attempted to pass the river, with a design to give them battle; but the *Romans*, falling upon the first that landed, cut great numbers of f them in pieces, took many prisoners, and drove the rest, who were hastening to the assistance of their companions, back into the river, where most of them perished. The emperor was preparing to pass the *Rhine*, in order to pursue the shattered remains of their army; but, upon their suing for peace, and promising to send back all the prisoners and booty they had taken, he agreed to let them retire unmolested. This promise they did not perform with due fidelity; which so provoked the emperor, that, crossing the *Rhine*, he fell upon them as they were retiring, put many of them

The Vandals
make them-
selves masters
of Pannonia.
Year after
Christ 176.
Are driven out
by M. Aurelius.

They break into
the empire; but
are driven out
with great
slaughter by
Aurelian.
Year after
Christ 271.

The Vandals
receive a great
overthrow from
Probus.
Year after
Christ 277.

¹ Univerf. hift. vol. vi. p. 68, 69.
² Dio. p. 817.
³ Dio. p. 754, 757.
⁴ vit. p. 238, 239. Zos. l. i. p. 664.

⁵ M. Aur. vit. p. 29.

⁶ Idem ibid. p. 31.

⁷ Aur. vit. p. 215. Dexif. legat. p. 12.

⁸ Dio.

⁹ Prob.

- a to the sword, and took a great number of prisoners, among whom was *Igillus* their king, with other persons of great distinction^c. These were afterwards sent by *Probus* into *Britain*, and are supposed to have settled in the neighbourhood of *Cambridge*, where, according to *Bucherius*, they gave name to the village of *Vandelsburg*^e. Two years after, *Probus* finding, on his return from *Persia*, the province of *Thrace* almost quite destitute of inhabitants, allowed a great number of *Bastarnæ*, a *Scythian* nation, some say an hundred thousand, to settle there. He likewise granted lands in the same province to the *Gepidæ*, the *Juthungians*, and the *Vandals*. The *Bastarnæ* continued faithful to the empire, and by degrees brought themselves to live after the *Roman* manner; but the other nations revolting, while the emperor's troops were employed against *Saturninus* and *Proculus*, of whom the former had assumed the purple in *Egypt*, and the latter in *Gaul*, over-ran, says our historian, the whole empire, committing every where dreadful ravages, to the great dishonour of the *Roman* name^f. But *Probus*, having with great success overcome the two usurpers, marched all his forces against the barbarians, and, in several battles, the particulars of which are unknown to us, made such a dreadful havock of them, that few of those, who had entered the *Roman* dominions, had the good luck to escape the general slaughter^g. No farther mention is made of the *Vandals*, till the year 291. the eighth of *Dioclesian's* reign, when we find them engaged in a war with the *Goths*. The *Taisulæ* assisted the *Goths*, and the *Gepidæ* the *Vandals*; but as the *Romans* were no-ways concerned in this war, authors only tell us in general terms, that it was carried on with great vigour; and that the barbarians were so weakened by it, that, for a considerable time, they suffered the *Romans* to live in peace, not being in a condition to molest them^h. As for the *Vandals*, they seem to have continued quiet till the year 406. the twelfth of *Honorius's* reign, when, stirred up by *Stilicho*, who hoped, by their means, to raise his son *Eucherius* to the empire, they broke into *Gaul* with the *Alans* and *Suevians*. The *Vandals*, in attempting to cross the *Rhine*, were attacked by the *Franks*, who cut twenty thousand of them in pieces, with their king *Godigisles*; and would have put them all to the sword, had not the *Alans* and *Suevians* come seasonably to their relief. These, joining the *Vandals*, obliged the *Franks* to retire; and, crossing without opposition the *Rhine*, entered *Gaul* on the last day of the present year 406^k. *Procopius* writes, that the *Vandals*, who entered *Gaul*, had been obliged, by a famine that raged among them at home, to abandon their own country, and seek new settlements; but that the greater part of the nation continued in their ancient seats beyond the *Danube*^l. Having passed the *Rhine*, they first ravaged *Germania Prima*, took by storm, and levelled with the ground, the city of *Mentz*, the metropolis of that province. From *Germania Prima* they passed into *Gallia Belgica*, and from thence into *Aquitain*, the most fertile and opulent province of all *Gaul*. Having advanced to the *Pyrenean* mountains, which they did not at first venture to pass, they over-ran all the neighbouring provinces, committing every-where unheard-of ravages. The *Vandals*, *Alans*, and *Suevians*, were soon joined by the *Burgundians*, and other barbarous nations, stirred up partly by *Stilicho*, and partly by the desire of booty, and hopes of enriching themselves with the spoils of so many wealthy provinces^m. An incredible number of barbarians, says *St. Jerom*, writing about this time, have spread themselves all over *Gaul*: the whole country between the *Alps*, the *Pyrenean* mountains, the ocean, and the *Rhine*, is held by themⁿ. In the mean time *Constantine*, being proclaimed emperor by the *British* legions, from *Britain* passed over into *Gaul*, taking with him all the *Roman* forces quartered in the island, and the flower of the *British* youth, who were joined, soon after his landing at *Bologne*, by the *Roman* troops quartered in *Gaul*. With these he overcame the *Vandals* and other barbarians in several battles, and, in the end, reduced them to such streights, that they were obliged to sue for peace; which he granted, without obliging them to quit *Gaul*, probably because he hoped to maintain himself, by their means, in the power he had usurped^o. Soon after, *Geroncius*, to whom *Constantine*, the son of *Constantine*, had committed the government of *Spain*, revolting upon some disgust, and setting up one *Maximus* for emperor, the *Vandals*, *Alans*, and *Suevians*, flew to

Some of them
allowed to settle
in Thrace.

They revolt,
and are defeated
by Probus.

They break into
Gaul.
Year after
Christ 406.

^c Idem, p. 238. Zos. l. i. p. 663.

^e Buch. Belg. l. vii. c. 1. p. 218.

^f Prob. vit. p. 240.

Zos. l. i. p. 666.

^h Prob. vit. p. 240—245.

ⁱ Paneg. xi. p. 135—138.

^k GREG. TUR.

hist. Franc. l. iii. c. 9. p. 62.

Oros. c. 40. p. 223.

VALES. p. 98.

^l PROCOPI. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 22.

p. 227.

^m Zos. l. vi. p. 825.

SALVIAN. l. vii. p. 167.

Oros. l. vii. c. 40. p. 223.

ⁿ Hier.

ep. xi. p. 93.

^o Oros. ibid.

arms, probably at the instigation of the usurper, and made themselves masters of a
several cities in *Gaul*. Hereupon the natives, expecting no relief either from *Hono-*
rius or *Constantine*, resolved to defend themselves; and accordingly, uniting their
forces, they fell upon the barbarians, and defeated them in several encounters. The
barbarians, meeting with greater opposition than they expected, and at the same
time acquainted with the distracted state of *Spain*, which was represented to them as
a wealthy and fruitful country, resolved to try whether they could settle there. With
this design, they bent their march towards the *Pyrenees*, which they passed without
opposition, the guards, who had been placed there, either abandoning their posts at
the approach of such multitudes, or joining them, in order to avoid the punishment
due to the ravages they had committed in those provinces before their arrival. b

The Vandals,
Suevians, and
Alans, enter
Spain.
Not after
Christ 409.

Thus the *Vandals*, *Suevians*, and *Alans*, first entered *Spain* in 409. according to some,
on the twenty-eighth of *September* ^a; according to others, on the thirteenth of *Octo-*
ber ^c. They soon made themselves masters of several cities and strong-holds, defeated
the troops, which *Constantine* had sent, under the conduct of his son *Constans*, to sup-
press the rebellion of *Gerontius*, and before the end of the year 410. obliged *Constans*
himself to abandon the country, and retire to his father at *Arles* ^d. As for *Gerontius*,
he entered into a kind of alliance with them against their common enemy *Constantine* ^e.
And now the barbarians, having no enemy to oppose them, over-ran the whole
country, committing every-where, without controul, unheard-of cruelties; which
they themselves afterwards repented ^f. *St. Austin*, speaking of the duty of bishops
on such occasions, alleges the example of the bishops of *Spain*, when over-run by the
barbarians: Many holy bishops, says he, fled, after having seen their flocks dispersed
by the barbarians, put to the sword, destroyed by long sieges, or carried into cap-
tivity; but many more remained among the barbarians, because those who were
committed to their care, chose to remain, being willing to endure all sorts of hard-
ships, rather than be wanting to their duty ^g. The barbarians allowed such of the
natives, as desired to abandon the country, to retire unmolested; nay, for a small
sum, they conducted them to such places of safety, as they thought proper to chuse ^h.

The unhappy
condition of
those provinces.

Idatius, who was about this time bishop of a city in *Spain*, describes at length the
calamities suffered on this occasion by that unhappy people. He tells us, that in d
409. the country was ravaged on one side by the barbarians, and on the other by a
dreadful plague, which daily swept off great numbers ⁱ; that, besides these two
evils, so great a famine raged in 410. that many were reduced to the dreadful neces-
sity of feeding upon human flesh; that several parents, pressed by hunger, devoured
their own children; and that the wild beasts, accustomed to live upon the dead bodies
of those who were killed by the barbarians, or died of the plague, being deprived
of that food, fell upon the living, and made a dreadful havock of the country-
people in the fields and villages. To these calamities was added, says our author,
the cruelty of the soldiers and officers, who, being employed by *Constantine* to levy
the taxes, seized and carried off the effects and wealth of the inhabitants, who had e
conveyed them into the towns, as places of safety ^j. *Olympiodorus* tells us, that the
Romans, who, upon the breaking in of the barbarians, had taken refuge in the for-
tified cities and strong-holds, were in the end obliged to feed upon one another. He
adds, that a woman, who had no fewer than forty children, killed and devoured
them one after the other; which the people no sooner knew, than they fell upon
her, and stoned her to death ^k. Such was the deplorable condition, to which the
provinces of *Spain* were reduced by the *Vandals*, *Suevians*, and *Alans*, upon their first
entering that country; and in this state they continued from the year 406. to 411.

The Vandals,
Alans, and Sue-
vians divide
the provinces of
Spain among
them.

when Heaven, says *Idatius* ^l, inspiring the barbarians with thoughts of peace, they
began to prefer agriculture to war. Having therefore divided among themselves by
lot the provinces of *Spain*, they applied themselves to the tilling of the ground, and
to other works of agriculture. In that division, *Galicia* fell to the *Vandals* and *Suevi-*
ans, the former having *Gonderic*, who had succeeded *Godigifles*, for their king, and
the latter *Ermeric*; *Lusitania*, and the province of *Cartagena*, to the *Alans*; *Betica*
to the *Vandals*, called *Silingians*, who are supposed to have given to their lot the f

^a GREG. TUR. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 2. p. 42. OROS. l. vii. c. 40. p. 223. SOZOM. l. ix. c. 12. p. 814.
^b PROSP. chron. ^c IDAT. fast. & chron. ^d OROS. ibid. SOZ. l. ix. c. 12. p. 814. SALV. l. vi.
p. 108. ^e PHOT. c. 80. p. 184. ^f OROS. ibid. ^g AUG. ep. cxxx. p. 306. ^h OROS.
c. 41. p. 223. ⁱ IDAT. chron. p. 10. ^j Idem, p. 11. ^k PHOT. c. 80. p. 189. ^l IDAT.
ibid.

- a name of *Vandalusia*, changed afterwards into that of *Andalusia* c. Such of the natives as had escaped the general slaughter, and taken refuge in the fortified places, submitted in the end to the barbarians, who, touching the holy book of the gospels, swore, that they would treat them for the future as their friends and allies; which oath they observed so religiously, that many *Romans* chose to live in poverty under the barbarians, rather than to return into the dominions of the empire d. However, the inhabitants of *Galicia* maintained their liberty, and formed a separate state in a corner of that province, where they were often attacked by *Ermeric* king of the *Suevians*, who, in the end, suffered them to live in peace, being seized with a distemper, of which he languished the seven last years of the fourteen he reigned e.
- b Pope *Leo* observes, that the catholic church suffered greatly by this irruption of the barbarians, who would not suffer the civil and ecclesiastical laws enacted against heretics, especially the *Priscillianists*, to be put in execution. On the other hand, the bishops not meeting and holding councils as usual, the followers of *Priscillian*, who, till that time, had been obliged to keep themselves concealed, began publicly to own their tenets, and gained over a great many profelytes f.

- In the year 416. *Vallia*, king of the *Goths* in *Gaul*, having concluded a peace with the *Romans*, took upon him to drive the barbarians out of *Spain*; which gave rise to a war, of which we know but very few particulars. *Orosius* writes, that on this occasion *Vallia* gave signal proofs of his zeal for the welfare of the empire g; and
- c *Idatius*, that *Vallia* made head against the *Alans* and *Vandals*, masters of *Lusitania* and *Betica*, and gained great advantages over them h. This is all we know of the present war. In 422. the emperor *Honorius*, acquainted with the low condition to which the *Vandals* had been reduced by the *Goths* under the conduct of *Vallia*, resolved to attempt the recovery of the provinces held by them in *Spain*. With this view, he ordered *Castinus*, general of the foot, and captain of the guards, to march against them at the head of a considerable army, in which served a great number of *Goths*. *Castinus* defeated them in several encounters, and reduced them to such streights, that they began to think of abandoning the country; which they had seized; but the Roman general having in the mean time unseasonably ventured an engagement,
- d twenty thousand of his men were cut in pieces, and he obliged, with the poor remains of his shattered army, to take refuge in the city of *Tarraco* i. *Idatius* ascribes this defeat to the treachery of the *Goths*, who served as auxiliaries in the Roman army; but *Gregory of Tours*, and *Salvian*, suppose it to be intirely owing to the rashness of *Castinus*. After this victory, the *Vandals* made themselves masters of *Seville*; and, having firmly established their dominion in *Andalusia*, they ravaged the neighbouring provinces, almost utterly destroyed the city of *Cartagena*, and, passing over into the *Balearic* islands, committed unheard-of ravages there, carrying back with them into *Spain* an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives k. Not long after, the *Vandals* and *Suevians* falling out, *Gonderic*, king of the *Vandals*, gained
- e great advantages over *Ermeric* king of the *Suevians*, whom, in the end, he obliged to fly for refuge to the mountains of *Biscay*, and there kept him and his people blocked up. But in the mean time *Asterius*, count of *Spain*, and the vicar *Maurocelus*, falling unexpectedly upon *Gonderic*, cut great numbers of his men in pieces, and obliged the rest to abandon *Biscay* and *Galicia*, and retire into *Andalusia* l. *Gonderic*, on his return to *Seville*, took the church of that city from the catholics, and gave it to the *Arians*; upon which, being immediately possessed, says *Idatius*, and tormented with an evil spirit, he perished soon after, that is, in 428. in a miserable manner m. The *Vandals* gave out, that he had been taken prisoner by the *Suevians*, and by them put to death, hoping by that means, say some modern writers, to conceal his shameful end;
- f which was a manifest condemnation of the tenets of *Arius* held by them. *Gonderic* left several sons behind him; but was nevertheless succeeded by his brother, named by the antients *Gaiseric*, *Geiseric*, and *Gizeric*, but now commonly known by the name of *Genferic*. *Procopius* tells us, that he was the natural son of *Godigisles*, killed by the *Franks* in 406. and *Sidonius*, that he was the son of a king; but that his mother was a slave n. He renounced the catholic faith, which he first professed, to embrace the doctrine of *Arius* held by the *Vandals* his countrymen o. He was

They gain a great victory over the Romans.

Gonderic dies;

Genferic.

c Oros. c. 41. p. 223.

d Idem. l. iii. c. 23. p. 173. & l. vii. c. 41. p. 223.

e Isthor. chron.

f Leo, ep. xv. p. 449.

g Oros. ibid.

h Idat. chron.

i Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 9. p. 63, 64.

Salvian. l. vii. p. 165—168.

k Idat. chron.

l Idem ibid.

m Idem, p. 27.

n Sid.

car. ii. & v. p. 300, 310.

o Idat. p. 17.

remarkably

He is invited by
Bonifacius into
Africa.

remarkably brave and courageous, well skilled in the art of war, and, from his infancy, inured to the hardships and toils attending a military life^p. But, as we have elsewhere drawn his character^q, we shall only add here from *Idatius*, that, before his accession to the crown, he was well known to the *Romans* by the many advantages he had gained over them in *Spain*; that the victory over *Cassinus* in 422. was no less owing to his bravery, than to the rash conduct of the *Roman* general; and that chiefly by his means the *Suevians* in *Spain* were reduced to the lowest ebb of power^r. Upon his arrival in *Africa*, he caused the wife of the deceased king to be drowned in the river *Amsbachus*, and soon after put all her children to death, to prevent the disturbances they might have raised, as they had an undoubted right to the crown. *Genferic* had scarce taken possession of the throne, when he was invited over into *Africa*^b by count *Bonifacius*, who commanded the *Roman* troops in that province. *Bonifacius* had served the empire with the utmost fidelity, and, on that account, had been raised by the empress *Placidia* to the highest honours, and sent with an unlimited power into *Africa*; which province he had defended with great bravery against the repeated attempts of the usurper *Jobn*. His rise gave no small jealousy to his rival *Aetius*, who thereupon found means to persuade *Placidia*, that *Bonifacius* had preserved *Africa* for himself, and only waited an opportunity of pulling off the mask, and establishing there an independent sovereignty. *Placidia*, giving intire credit to the insinuations of *Aetius*, whom she did not in the least mistrust, declared *Bonifacius* a public enemy, as we have related more at length elsewhere^s, and dispatched a strong body of troops^c against him. *Bonifacius*, finding the empress bent upon his ruin, and himself not in a condition to contend with the whole strength of the empire, had recourse to *Genferic* king of the *Vandals*, who, at this time, peaceably enjoyed the province of *Andalusia*. *Procopius* writes, that, in virtue of the treaty concluded between them and *Bonifacius*, *Genferic*, whom he supposes to be still living, against the testimony of *Idatius*, and *Genferic*, were to have two-thirds of *Africa*, and he the other; and that they were to assist each other to the utmost of their power^t. The treaty being agreed to, *Genferic* began to make the necessary preparations for so important an expedition. The barbarians, says *Prosper*^u, had no vessels, neither did they know how to make use of them; but those who employed them, took care to supply them^d with every thing they wanted. When necessary vessels were got ready, and the *Vandals* upon the point of going on board, *Genferic* was informed, that *Hermigarius*, a celebrated commander of the *Suevians*, was laying waste the neighbouring provinces. Hereupon *Genferic*, putting himself at the head of a chosen body of troops, went in quest of the enemy; and, coming up with them in *Lusitania*, gave them a total overthrow. *Hermigarius* their leader attempted to make his escape; but was drowned in crossing on horseback the river *Guadiana* near *Merida*^v. *Idatius* looks upon his death as a punishment inflicted upon him for speaking contemptuously of *St. Eulalia*, and pillaging the city of *Merida*, where the body of that saint was kept and revered^e.

He defeats the
Suevians.

The Vandals
abandon Spain,
and pass over
into Africa.
Year after
Chr. 428.

FROM this expedition *Genferic* returned to the place where the vessels were kept in readiness for his embarkation. There he had ordered, before his departure, all the *Vandals* to assemble, with their wives, children, and effects; and having, upon his return, commanded them to go on board, he put to sea in the month of *May* of the year 428. and, abandoning *Spain*, crossed the streights of *Gibraltar*, and landed in *Africa*^f. The *Romans* took possession anew of the provinces, which the *Vandals* had abandoned, and held them till they were driven out by the *Suevians*, as the *Suevians* were in their turn by the *Goths*, as we have related above. *Genferic* gave out, that his army was eighty thousand strong; but in that number he must have comprised the old men, the children, and even the slaves^g. The author of *St. Austin's* life^h describes at length the dreadful ravages committed by them in that wealthy province. According to that writer, they were, in the month of *May* of the year 430. already masters of all the cities of *Africa*, except *Carthage*, *Cirtba*, and *Hippo*. *Cassiodore* writes, perhaps to curry favour with those under whom he lived, that the *Vandals* were driven out of *Spain* by the *Goths*ⁱ. But *Salvian* assures us, that they abandoned

^p PROCOPIUS. p. 184.

^q UNIVERSAL HIST. vol. vi. p. 481.

^r Idem ibid.

^s VICT. VITENS. de

persecut. Vandal. l. ii. p. 21. MALCHUS. leg. p. 959.

^t UNIVERSAL HIST. vol. vi. p. 480.

^u PROCOPIUS.

p. 45. ^w PROSPER. chron.

^x IDATIUS. p. 27.

^y Idem, p. 28.

^z PROSPER. chron. IDATIUS.

p. 17, 18. VICT. VITENS. de persecut. Vandal. l. i. p. 3.

^a VICT. VITENS. ibid.

^b CASSIODORUS.

chron.

those

- a those countries of their own accord, when they were in a condition to maintain themselves in the possession of what they had acquired with their valour, in spite of the utmost efforts of their enemies, Heaven, that had made use of them to punish the sins of the *Spaniards*, employing them for the same purpose against the *Africans*. The same writer adds, that they themselves could not help owning, that they were animated to this enterprize more by a secret impulse from Heaven, than by their own inclination. In the mean time *Placidia*, having discovered the true cause of the revolt of *Bonifacius*, wrote a most kind and obliging letter to him, assuring him of her favour and protection for the future, and exhorting him to return to his duty, and exert his usual zeal for the welfare of the empire, by driving out the barbarians, whom the malice of his enemies had obliged him to call in for his own safety and preservation. This *Bonifacius* readily undertook, offering them considerable sums, provided they quitted *Africa*, and returned to *Spain*. But the *Vandals*, already masters of the far greater part of *Africa*, first returned him a scoffing answer, and then, falling unexpectedly upon him, cut most of his men in pieces, and obliged *Bonifacius* himself to take refuge in *Hippo*; which place they invested in the month of *May* 430. about three months before the death of *St. Austin* bishop of that city. The siege lasted about fourteen months, that is, till the month of *July* of the following year 431. when the *Vandals* were forced, by a famine that began to rage in their camp, to drop the enterprize, and retire^d. Soon after, *Bonifacius* having received two reinforcements, the one from *Rome*, and the other from *Constantinople*, under the conduct of the celebrated *Aspar*, a resolution was taken by the *Roman* generals to offer the enemy battle. The *Vandals* readily accepting the challenge, a bloody engagement ensued, in which the *Romans* were utterly defeated by the barbarians, who took an incredible number of captives, and obliged the rest to take shelter among the rocks and mountains. Among the prisoners was *Marcian*, then assessor to *Aspar*, and afterwards emperor. *Aspar*, who commanded the eastern troops, escaped with much-ado out of *Africa*, and returned to *Constantinople*. As for *Bonifacius*, he repaired with all speed to *Italy*, being called thither by the empress *Placidia*. Upon their departure, the barbarians over-ran all *Africa*, committing every-where, without controul, unheard-of ravages; which struck the inhabitants of *Hippo* with such terror, that they abandoned their city, which was first plundered, and then set on fire by the victorious enemy^e; so that *Cirtba* and *Carthage* were the only two strong places in *Africa* still held by the *Romans*^f. About the same time *Genferic* made several attempts upon *Sicily*; but was constantly repulsed by *Cassiodore*, great-grandfather to the celebrated senator of the same name^g. At length a peace was concluded on the eleventh of *February* of the year 435. between *Valentinian* and *Genferic*^h, whose moderation is greatly extolled by *Procopius*ⁱ. But other writers ascribe his making peace with the *Romans*, not to his moderation, but to the apprehension he was under of being attacked anew by the united forces of both empires. Be that as it will, the *Romans* yielded to him part of *Numidia*, the province *Proconsularis*, and likewise *Byzacene*^k. *Prosper* writes, that, for these provinces, *Genferic* was to pay a yearly tribute to the emperor of the east^l. He delivered up to the *Romans* his son *Hunneric* by way of hostage; but so great was the confidence they placed in *Genferic*, that, some time after, they sent him back his son; of which they had soon occasion to repent, being convinced by experience, that he had either brought with him into *Africa*, or learnt there, the treachery peculiar to the inhabitants of that country; for four years after, that is, in 439. the *Romans* being engaged in a war with the *Goths* in *Gaul*, *Genferic*, laying hold of that opportunity, surprised the city of *Carthage* on the twenty-third of *October*; by the taking of which place, the *Vandals* remained masters of the *Proconsularis*, of *Byzacene*, *Gatulia*, and part of *Numidia*^m. However, *Valentinian* maintained, so long as he lived, the other provinces of *Africa*, though reduced to a most deplorable condition. These were the two *Mauritanias*, viz. *Cæsariensis* and *Sitifensis*, with *Tripolitana*, *Tingitana*, and that part of *Numidia*, in which *Cirtba* stood. Thus *Carthage* fell under the power of the *Vandals*, after it had belonged to the *Romans* for the space of five hundred and eighty-five yearsⁿ. When news of the taking of *Carthage* by the *Vandals* was brought to *Rome*, *Valentinian*, not doubting

They gain several victories over the Romans.

Genferic, king of the Vandals, concludes a peace with the Romans, who yield to him part of Africa. Year after Christ 435.

He takes Carthage.

^e SALVIAN. gub. l. vii. p. 168.

bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. p. 185.

^f PROSP. chron.

^g IDAT. p. 22.

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^a PROCOPI. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. p. 185. Vit. S. Aug.

^b SALVIAN. gub. p. 141, 142.

^c PROCOPI. ibid. c. 1. p. 386.

^d VICT. VITENS. l. i. p. 5.

^e VICT. VITENS. l. v. p. 5.

^h PROCOPI.

ⁱ CASSIODOR. l. i. ep. 4. p. 4.

^j PROSP. chron.

^k PROSP. chron.

but

but they would soon make some attempt upon *Italy* itself, ordered the walls, towers a and gates of all the cities on the coast to be repaired. The governor of *Rome* was strictly enjoined to put that city in a state of defence against any sudden attack, and impowered to oblige all the inhabitants, without distinction, to concur in the work. Levies were made, and guards placed on the walls, and at the gates, as appears from a law enacted on the second of *March*, and addressed to the people of *Rome* p. From another law dated the twenty-fourth of *June* 440. we learn, that the *Roman* people had already received intelligence of *Genferic's* being sailed from *Carthage* with a powerful fleet, but were still unacquainted with his design. Hereupon *Valentinian* published a law, granting to all ranks of people the liberty of taking arms, to defend themselves against the common enemy. By the same law he yields to them whatever they shall take from the *Vandals*, and exhorts them to act b on this occasion with the courage of true *Romans*, and with that moderation and justice, that become men of honour. He adds, that an army, destined by *Theodosius* for the defence of *Italy*, was in full march; and that *Aetius* would soon arrive from *Gaul* at the head of another army. Several bodies of troops were placed, at proper distances, along the coast, under the conduct of *Sigisvult*, by nation a *Goth*; and the people ordered to be in readiness to take arms upon the first alarm c. But, notwithstanding all these precautions, *Genferic*, in the month of *June*, made a descent upon *Sicily*, and, meeting with little or no resistance, ravaged the open country, and even laid siege to *Palermo*; but, not being able to reduce the place, he returned c to *Africa* with an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives. It was, without all doubt, on this occasion, that *Paschasius*, bishop of *Lilybaeum*, was carried into captivity, as pope *Leo* informs us, and kept in a most miserable servitude for the space of three years, viz. to the year 443. when he returned back to his see d.

He ravages
Sicily.

Genferic being now become formidable to both empires, *Theodosius* resolved to assist *Valentinian* his cousin and son-in-law against so powerful an enemy. Accordingly, he fitted out a fleet consisting of eleven hundred large ships, and, putting on board of it the flower of his army under the conduct of *Arcovinidas*, *Ansilus*, and *Germanus*, he ordered them to land in *Africa*, and, joining the western forces there, to drive d *Genferic* out of the countries he had usurped. But *Genferic* pretending in the mean time to be desirous of concluding a peace with both empires, the *Roman* generals waited on the coast of *Sicily* the result of the negotiations, till the season proper for action was over. The following year 442. the *Huns* breaking into *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, and committing there dreadful ravages, *Theodosius* was obliged to recall his forces, and *Valentinian* to conclude a peace with *Genferic*, which he could not obtain, but by yielding to him all the countries in *Africa* which he had seized e. Some years after, that is, in 455. *Eudoxia*, the widow of *Valentinian* III. being forced, by the usurper *Maximus*, who had murdered her husband, to marry him, in order to revenge this affront, dispatched a trusty messenger to *Genferic*, conjuring e him to come and revenge the death of his friend and ally *Valentinian*, and rescue her out of the arms of a tyrant, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of her husband f. As the empress assured him, that he would meet with little or no resistance in *Italy*, and at the same time promised to assist him to the utmost of her power, he embraced, with great joy, so favourable an opportunity of enriching himself with the spoils of so wealthy a country; and, putting to sea without loss of time, steered his course strait to *Rome*, which he took and plundered, as we have related at length in our *Roman* history g. Amongst other persons of great distinction, *Genferic* carried with him over into *Africa* the empress *Eudoxia*, her two daughters *Placidia* and *Eudocia*, and *Gaudentius* the son of *Aetius*. *Marcian*, who succeeded *Maximus*, dispatched ambassadors to *Genferic*, earnestly intreating him to suffer the empress and the two princesses her daughters to return to *Rome*; but he, despising both his intreaties and menaces, kept them till the year 462. when he sent back *Eudoxia*, with her second daughter *Placidia*, to *Leo*, the successor of *Marcian*; but kept *Eudocia*, and married her to *Huneric* his eldest son, who had by her *Hilderic*, afterwards king of the *Vandals* in *Africa* h. *Victor Tununensis* tells us, that *Leo*, then

Valentinian
yields to Gen-
feric all the
countries he
had seized.
Year after
Christ 442.

Genferic takes
and plunders
Rome.
Year after
Christ 455.

¶ Novell. xl. p. 17. & xli. p. 18. ¶ Novell. xx. p. 102. ¶ PROSP. IDAT. CHRON. ¶ LEO, tom. i. p. 412. ¶ CHRON. ALEX. p. 730. PROSP. CHRON. ¶ EVAER. l. ii. c. 7. p. 298. ¶ UNIVERS. HIST. vol. v. p. 502. ¶ PROCOPIUS, bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 9. p. 255. THEOPH. p. 93. EVAER. p. 98.

a bishop of *Rome*, went out to meet *Genferic*, and, with his affecting eloquence, persuaded him to forbear shedding the blood of the innocent citizens, and setting fire to the city ¹; but, according to *Evagrius*, the *Vandals* not only pillaged the city, but set it on fire; so that several public as well as private buildings were intirely consumed ². *Baronius* writes, upon what authority we know not, that *Genferic* spared, as *Alaric* had done, the churches of *St. Peter*, *St. Paul*, and the *Lateran* ³.

Genferic, upon his return to *Africa*, made himself master of the countries that were still held there by the *Romans*. Hereupon *Avitus*, who had succeeded *Valentinian III.* dispatched embassadors to him, putting him in mind of the treaty he had concluded with the empire in 442. and threatening, if he did not observe the articles of that convention, to make war upon him, not only with his own forces, but with those likewise of his allies, meaning the *Visigoths*, that were ready to embarque and pass over into *Africa*. Accordingly, he sent a numerous fleet to *Sicily*, under the conduct of *Ricimer*, whom we have had frequent occasion to mention in our *Roman* history, with orders to keep themselves in readiness to put to sea upon the first notice ^b. But *Genferic*, without the least regard to the emperor's remonstrances or threats, sailed from *Carthage* with a fleet of sixty ships, having on board a great number of land-forces, and shaped his course towards *Corfica*, it being yet a secret whether he designed to make a descent upon *Italy* or *Gaul*. But *Ricimer* no sooner heard he had put to sea, than he too weighed anchor, and, coming unexpectedly upon him near

c *Corfica*, utterly defeated him ^c. However, he returned soon after with a more numerous fleet, and, making a descent on the coast of *Italy*, carried off unmolested an immense booty, and a great number of captives; which *Marcian*, emperor of the east, hearing, and at the same time pitying the condition to which *Eudoxia* and her two daughters were reduced, dispatched embassadors to *Genferic*, earnestly intreating him to send back the three princesses, and to forbear ravaging the lands of the empire, pursuant to the treaties he had concluded with the emperor of the west. *Genferic* heard the embassadors; but dismissed them without any answer. Upon their return *Marcian*, imagining, that an *Arian* might speak with more liberty to, and be more favourably received by, a prince of that persuasion, wrote a letter to

He is defeated
at sea by Ricimer.

d him with his own hand, and charged *Bleda*, a bishop of that sect, to deliver it to him. *Bleda*, finding he could obtain nothing by prayers and intreaties, told him boldly, that he ought not to let himself be so blinded by the success that had hitherto attended him, as not to reflect on the danger to which he exposed himself, by provoking such a warlike prince as *Marcian*. *Genferic* heard him with patience; but refused to comply with either of the emperors requests ^d. Some writers tell us, that *Marcian*, finding he could obtain nothing of *Genferic* by fair means, resolved to make war upon him, but died before he could put his design in execution ^e. *Jornandes*, as quoted by other writers, supposes him to have concluded a peace with the *Vandals* ^f. *Procopius*, who greatly extols *Marcian* in other respects, blames him for

e neglecting the affairs of *Africa*, and scrupling to make war upon *Genferic*, by reason of the oath he had been obliged to take, when prisoner in *Africa*, that he would never molest the *Vandals* ^g. *Evagrius* supposes *Eudoxia*, with her second daughter *Placidia*, to have been sent back to *Marcian* ^h; but he was therein certainly mistaken; for *Genferic* set those two princesses at liberty several years after, at the request of the emperor *Leo*. *Priscus* writes, that *Genferic* obtained of the emperor of the east, *Marcian*, or his successor *Leo*, part of the effects of the deceased emperor *Valentinian*, as the portion of *Eudocia* that prince's daughter married to *Huneric* the son of *Genferic* ⁱ. But we do not well comprehend what right the emperor of the east had to dispose of what belonged to the emperor of the west. In the year 457.

f *Avitus*, emperor of the west, who had succeeded *Valentinian III.* being deposed, after a short reign, *Majorianus* was chosen in his room. In the beginning of that prince's reign, the *Vandals* made a descent on the coast of *Campania*; but the *Romans*, falling upon them while they were busied in plundering the country, put great numbers of them to the sword, among whom was the brother-in-law of *Genferic*, and obliged the rest to quit their booty, and save themselves on board their fleet ^k. *Majorianus*, not satisfied with this small advantage, resolved to pass over

The Vandals
defeated by the
Romans.

¹ VICT. TUN. chron.

² EVAGR. ibid.

³ BARON. ad ann. 455.

^b PRISC. legat. p. 63.

^c IDAT. p. 34. VICT. VITENS. p. 34.

^d EVAGR. l. ii. c. 7. p. 298.

^e THEODOR. lect. l. ii. p. 552.

^f PRISC. p. 41. not. p. 208.

^g PROCOPI. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 4. p. 186.

^h EVAGR. l. ii. c. 7.

p. 298.

ⁱ PRISC. p. 42.

^k SID. cat. v. p. 311.

into

Majorianus re-
solves to pass
over into Atri-
ca.
Year after
Christ 460.

into *Africa*, and attempt the recovery of those wealthy provinces. With this view ^a he assembled a fleet consisting of three hundred vessels, hired a great number of troops of the barbarians, who lived in amity with the empire, and are named by *Sidonius* ¹, and made other necessary preparations for so great an undertaking; the *Gauls*, though greatly exhausted by heavy imposts, contributing with joy their share towards them ^m. Of these military preparations mention is made by *Procopius* ⁿ, and likewise by *Cassiodore* ^o, who tells us, that *Majorianus* spent the whole year 457. and the three following, in making the necessary preparations for driving the *Vandals* out of *Africa*. At length, in the year 460. *Majorianus* leaving *Arles*, where he then resided, soon after *Easter*, which that year fell on the twenty-seventh of *March*, bent his march towards *Spain*, which he entered in the month of *May*, with a design ^b to cross over from thence into *Africa* ^p. *Procopius* writes, that *Majorianus*, the better to inform himself of the strength of the enemy, went in disguise to the court of *Genferic*, pretending to be an ambassador sent by the *Roman* emperor with proposals for an accommodation: he adds, that, while *Genferic* was shewing him his arsenal, all the arms moved of their own accord with a dreadful noise ^q. The *Romans* did not in the least doubt of success, having *Majorianus* for leader; and the *Vandals*, dreading the issue of a war under the conduct of so renowned a commander, did all that lay in their power to avoid it. *Genferic* sent ambassadors with proposals for concluding a peace with the empire, which he promised to observe with the utmost fidelity; but these being rejected by the emperor, he laid waste all *Mauritania*, and ^c even poisoned the waters, being informed, that *Majorianus* designed to land there, and thence march to *Carthage* ^r. In the mean time, the *Roman* fleet being assembled in the bay of *Alicant*, and *Majorianus* ready to embark, a Squadron of *Genferic's* best ships appeared unexpectedly, and, falling upon the *Roman* vessels at anchor, sunk a great number of them, disabled others, and returned with some in triumph to *Africa*. This misfortune, which, we are told, was owing to the treachery of some on board the *Roman* fleet, disconcerted all the emperor's measures, and put a stop to the enterprize. However, *Majorianus*, persisting in his resolution of invading *Africa*, ordered the ships to be repaired, and in the mean time returned to *Arles*, to pass the winter there. *Genferic*, finding the late misfortune had not diverted *Majorianus* ^d from his former resolution, and dreading the arms and valour of so great a general, dispatched ambassadors to him with new proposals, which he in the end accepted ^s. Thus a peace was concluded between *Majorianus* and *Genferic*; but the articles of the treaty have not been transmitted to us. Whatever they were, *Genferic* did not long observe them; for he was no sooner informed of the death of *Majorianus*, which happened the following year 461. than he sent a powerful fleet to pillage the coasts of *Sicily* and *Italy*, and even made himself master of *Sardinia* ^t.

His fleet sur-
prised by the
Vandals.

Concludes a
peace with
Genferic.

THE following year 462. the inhabitants of *Italy*, being informed, that *Genferic* was making great preparations with a design to renew his ravages on their coasts, had recourse to *Leo* emperor of the east, *Severus*, whom *Ricimer* had raised to the em- ^epire of the west, being no-ways qualified for that high station, and altogether incapable of protecting them against so powerful an enemy as *Genferic*. They earnestly intreated *Leo* either to supply them with ships of war, or to procure for them, by his mediation, some kind of agreement with the king of the *Vandals*. *Leo* declined sending them any supplies, which, he said, would be an open breach of the treaties subsisting between *Genferic* and the emperors of the east; but dispatched ambassadors into *Africa*, with proposals for a peace with the western empire, earnestly pressing *Genferic* at the same time to send back *Eudoxia* and her daughter *Placidia*. *Genferic* answered, that he would hearken to no terms till the effects of *Valentinian* were delivered up to him, which he claimed as the portion of *Eudocia*, that prince's eldest ^f daughter, whom his son *Huneric* had married. However, he sent back to *Leo* the two princesses, declaring, that he was willing to live in peace with the emperor of the east; but under the above-mentioned pretences he never failed, for some years, to make descents early in the spring on the coasts of *Sicily* and *Italy*, pillaging the country; but ever avoiding to engage the *Romans*, and retiring as soon as their forces appeared ^u. *Olybrius*, of whom we have spoken elsewhere ^v, having soon after mar-

Genferic ra-
vages the coasts
of Italy and
Sicily.

¹ Idem ibid. p. 324. ^m Idem ibid. ⁿ Procop. bell. Vand. l. vii. p. 194. ^o Cassiodor. ad an. 457. ^p Marc. Idat. chron. PRISC. p. 42. ^q Procop. ibid. ^r Procop. ibid. ^s Idat. p. 39. 40. Sid. l. i. ep. 11. p. 28. CusP. p. 552. ^t Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 6 p. 192. ^u Idat. p. 41. PRISC. p. 42. Sid. car. ii. v. 349. ^v Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 511.

- a ried *Placidia*, *Genferic* took from thence a new pretence to ravage *Italy* more than ever, declaring, that he would wage an eternal war with the western empire, unless *Olybrius*, brother-in-law to his son, was raised to the imperial dignity ^a. Hereupon the inhabitants of *Italy* had recourse anew to the emperor *Leo*, who dispatched the patrician *Tatian* to *Genferic*, injoining him to conclude a peace with that prince upon any terms; but *Genferic* would hearken to none ^b. In the mean time the emperor *Severus* dying, the *Romans* sent deputies to *Constantinople*, intreating *Leo* to send *Anthemius* into *Italy*, whom they designed to chuse emperor. *Anthemius* was a native of *Constantinople*, descended of an antient and illustrious family, had married the daughter of the late emperor *Marcian*, and was at that time count of the east. *Leo* readily complied with the request of the *Romans*; so that *Anthemius*, arriving in *Italy*, was with one consent chosen emperor, notwithstanding the great interest made by *Genferic* in favour of *Olybrius*. Hereupon *Genferic*, highly provoked against *Leo* for contributing to the promotion of *Anthemius*, sent a powerful fleet with orders to ravage *Peloponnesus* and the *Greek* islands, which they did accordingly, committing unheard-of cruelties, and carrying off a great number of captives ^c. *Leo* was no sooner informed of these ravages, than he dispatched one *Philarchus* to acquaint *Genferic*, that, if he did not forbear such acts of hostility, he should be obliged to make war upon him, and repel force with force. But *Genferic*, despising his menaces, answered, that, if *Leo* thought fit to make war upon him, he should not find him unprepared; and soon after, to bid him, in a manner, defiance, he sent his fleet to ravage anew the coasts of *Greece*, and the other maritime provinces of the eastern empire; nay, a report was spread in *Constantinople*, that his fleet had appeared before the city of *Alexandria*, which greatly alarmed the emperor, and the whole court. But we are told, that the famous anchoret *Daniel Stylita*, to whom the emperor had recourse, removed their fears, by assuring them, that the design of the barbarians would prove abortive; and that they would soon return to *Africa*, without being able to make themselves masters of *Alexandria*, or any other place. As he foretold, so it happened; for the barbarians, after several unsuccessful attempts on *Alexandria*, and some other places, returned home, without either captives or booty ^d.
- e THE following year 468. *Leo*, resolving, at all events, to revenge the affront offered by *Genferic* to the eastern empire, made vast preparations for carrying the war over into *Africa*. *Procopius* writes, that on this occasion he spent an hundred and thirty thousand pounds weight of gold ^e. *Candidus*, as quoted by *Suidas*, tells us, that the prefects contributed forty-seven thousand pounds weight of gold towards defraying the charges of this war; the prince seventeen thousand of gold, and seventy thousand of silver, out of his privy purse; that the money arising from the sale of confiscated estates, was employed in buying up provisions, purchasing ships, hiring troops, &c. and that *Anthemius*, emperor of the west, assisted *Leo* to the utmost of his power both with men and money ^f. *Cedrenus* computes the charges of this war in a manner, that to us seems quite unintelligible ^g. *Leo*, says *Procopius*, assembled all the ships that were found in the seas and ports of his empire ^h, which, according to *Theophanes*, amounted to one hundred thousand ⁱ. But that writer confounded perhaps the number of the ships with that of the men, who, according to *Procopius* ^j, did not exceed that number. *Nicephorus* supposes, with *Theophanes*, the fleet to have consisted of an hundred thousand sail; but, speaking of the rowers, he makes them to amount to no more than seven thousand ^k; a mistake altogether unpardonable. *Procopius* only says, that *Leo* fitted out the greatest fleet the *Romans* had ever had ^l; and *Cedrenus*, that the number of the ships amounted to one thousand one hundred and thirteen, each ship having an hundred men on board ^m. In this enterprize were employed the best troops of both empires; for not only *Anthemius* sent very considerable supplies both of men and ships ⁿ, but likewise *Marcellinus*, who had established a new sovereignty in *Dalmatia*, as we have related elsewhere ^o; nay, that prince commanded in person, not only his own troops, but those likewise that were sent by *Anthemius* emperor of the west ^p. The same of these warlike preparations struck the whole world, says *Constantine Manasses* ^q, with terror and amazement:

And likewise Peloponnesus, and the Greek islands.

Leo makes vast preparations, with a design to invade Africa

^a PRISC. p. 43. ^b Idem ibid. ^c Chron. Alex. p. 478. ^d PROCOPIUS. ibid. l. i. c. 6. p. 191. ^e THEOPH. p. 99. ^f PROCOPIUS. beil. Vand. l. i. c. 6. p. 191. ^g SUID. p. 1126. ^h CEDREN. p. 350. ⁱ PROCOPIUS. ibid. ^j THEOPH. p. 99. ^k PROCOPIUS. ibid. ^l NICEPH. p. 631. ^m PROCOPIUS. ibid. p. 192. ⁿ CEDREN. p. 350. ^o SID. car. ii. ver. 540. ^p UNIVERF. HIST. vol. vi. p. 507. ^q SID. ibid. ^r CONST. MANASS. in brevian. p. 59. 60.

nothing, continues he, seemed capable of defeating so numerous an army, so powerful a fleet, except gold, which no power can resist. But as the time appointed by Providence for punishing the *Vandals* was not yet come, Heaven suffered *Leo* to commit the whole management of this war to *Basiliscus*, brother to his wife *Verina*. *Basiliscus* had gained great advantages over the barbarians in *Thrace*, where he had commanded as general of that province; so that, as to his military capacity, he seemed sufficiently qualified for so great a command, the more as he had under him one *John*, a person of extraordinary courage, and experience in war ^a. But, on the other hand, *Basiliscus* was actuated by two very dangerous passions, viz. avarice and ambition. The latter even prompted him to aspire at the sovereignty, which he hoped to attain by means of *Aspar*, who governed under *Leo* with almost an absolute sway; but, as he professed the doctrine of *Arius*, he was himself, on account of his religion, excluded from the imperial dignity. He had lately quarrelled with *Leo*, and therefore fearing, lest that prince, if he got the better of the *Vandals*, should, by his victory, be enabled to reduce his power, and punish him, as he well deserved, for his arrogance, he is supposed to have entered into a private treaty with *Basiliscus*, promising to raise him to the throne, provided he spared *Genferic*, for whom he might likewise have some regard, as for one who professed the same tenets with himself ^b. The island of *Sicily* was appointed the place of the general rendezvous. From thence *Marcellinus* was to sail for *Sardinia*, which the *Vandals* had lately seized; *Heraclius* of *Edeffa*, a brave and experienced officer, for *Libya*; and *Basiliscus*, with the greatest part of the fleet, and the flower of the troops, to steer his course strait to *Carthage* ^c. Pursuant to this plan, *Marcellinus* landed in *Sardinia*, and made himself master of that island, while *Heraclius*, with the troops quartered in *Egypt*, in *Thebais*, and *Cyrenaica*, landing unexpectedly in the province *Tripolitana*, reduced *Tripolis*, and the other cities in that country. From thence he began his march by land, with a design to join *Basiliscus* at *Carthage*. That commander, sailing from *Sicily*, arrived with his fleet at cape *Mercury*, but fourteen leagues from *Carthage*, soon after *Genferic* had received the disagreeable news of the loss of *Sardinia* and *Libya*. The arrival of so formidable a fleet, and the losses he had already sustained, struck him, tho' a man of great intrepidity, with such terror, that, looking upon himself as irretrievably lost, he is said to have had some thoughts of evacuating *Africa*, and retiring elsewhere: and truly, if *Basiliscus* had marched directly to *Carthage* during the panic which had seized the barbarians, he might, in all likelihood, have made himself master of that city, and put an end to the war at once, by an intire reduction of the country ^d. Some authors write, that he had already gained considerable advantages over the fleet of *Genferic* ^e; and *Jornandes*, that he attacked *Carthage* several times by sea; but either for want of skill, or because he was willing to favour *Genferic*, his attacks were not so vigorous as the barbarians expected ^f. Hereupon *Genferic*, recovering from his late consternation, sent deputies to the *Roman* admiral, begging a truce of five days, to settle with him the conditions, on which he was to submit to *Leo* ^g. Some writers tell us, that, with the ambassadors, *Genferic* sent privately a considerable sum to *Basiliscus*, hoping to induce him, by that means, to grant him his request; which he did accordingly, continuing in the mean time inactive in his camp ^h. *Genferic* demanded the above-mentioned truce, hoping a favourable wind might spring up during that time for falling upon the *Roman* fleet; for his men were all on board the ships of war, which were to tow other light and empty vessels. The wind proving as favourable as the *Vandals* could wish, before the truce was expired, they weighed anchor, and, drawing near to the *Roman* fleet, set fire to the empty ships, which being, by the wind, driven upon the *Roman* fleet, spread to many of their ships, and threw their whole navy into the utmost confusion. While the *Romans* were thus in disorder, and busied either in keeping off the fire-ships, or extinguishing the flames on board their own, the *Vandals*, falling upon them, overwhelmed them with showers of darts, took several of their ships, sunk others, and obliged the rest to save themselves in the best manner they could ⁱ. Several *Romans* distinguished themselves on this occasion in a most eminent manner; but above all *John*, whom we have mentioned above, who, finding himself surrounded on all sides by the

Sardinia and Tripolis recovered from the Vandals.

The Roman fleet in Africa intirely defeated. Year after Christ 468.

^a PROCOF. l. i. p. 191. & 193. THEOPH. p. 99.

lect. p. 555.

^b PHOT. c. 242. p. 1041.

^c PROCOF. *ibid.* THEOPH. p. 100. THEODORET.

^d THEOPH. p. 101.

^e PROCOF. p. 192. THEOPH.

ibid.

^f PROCOF. *ibid.*

^g THEOPH. p. 100.

^h PHOT. c. 79. p. 174. CANDID. *Isaur.* p. 18.

ⁱ JORN. p. 654.

^j PROCOF. *ibid.*

^k JORN. reg. p. 654.

^l PROCOF. *ibid.*

^m PROCOF. p. 192—194.

enemy,

- a enemy, attacked them one after another, and killed a great number of them on board their vessels; but, not being able to prevent their boarding his, when he saw himself overpowered, he threw himself, armed as he was, on a plank into the sea. *Genſon*, the ſon of *Genſeric*, admiring his courage and gallant behaviour, begged he would not abandon himſelf to deſpair, offering him at the ſame time his life and liberty; but the brave commander answering, *John ſhall never fall into the hands of ſuch dogs*, quitted his plank, and was drowned^b. *Theophanes* writes, that *Genſeric* fell upon the *Romans* in the night, and that finding them not upon their guard, but aſleep, as they depended upon the truce, he eaſily overcame them^c. *Baſiliſcus*, ſays *Conſtantine Manaffeſſes*, was glad to be overcome^d; and *Zonaras* writes, that, inſtead of encouraging his men with his example, he betook himſelf the firſt to flight; which gave new vigour to the enemy, and quite diſheartened the *Romans*^e. *Heraclius*, who was in full march from *Libya* to *Carthage*, upon the news of the bad ſucceſs of *Baſiliſcus*, thought it adviſeable to turn back, and haſten into the territories of the empire. *Marcellinus* returned to *Sicily*, where he was aſſaſſinated by an officer who commanded under him, not without the privity, as was ſuppoſed, of *Anthemius*, to whom his power gave no ſmall umbrage^f. As for *Baſiliſcus*; he returned to *Sicily* with the few ſhips that had eſcaped, and from thence to *Conſtantinople*, where, upon his arrival, he took refuge in the church of *St. Sophia*. But tho' his treachery was publicly known, his life was ſpared, and leave granted him to retire to *Heraclea* in *Thrace*, the empreſs *Verina*, his ſiſter, having employed the great intereſt ſhe had with the emperor in his behalf^g. But *Aspar*, who had promiſed him the ſovereignty, as the reward of his treachery, was ſo far from being able to perform his promiſe, that he could not ſave his own life, being, by *Leo's* orders, put to death ſoon after, as we have related at length in our *Roman* hiſtory^h. Such was the iſſue of his unhappy expedition, which is ſaid to have drained both empires of their wealth, and to have coſt them the lives of above fifty thouſand menⁱ. *Genſeric*, finding the *Romans* quite diſheartened by the loſſes they had ſuſtained, reſolved not to let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of extending his conqueſts. Accordingly, without loſs of time, he put to ſea, and, landing in *Sardinia*, recovered that iſland from the *Romans*. *Genſeric reduces Sicily, Sardinia, &c.*
- d Thence he ſailed to *Sicily*, which he likewise reduced, as he did the three following years all the iſlands between *Italy* and *Africa*^k, the *Romans* being no-ways in a condition to put a ſtop to his conqueſts, and trembling at the very name of *Genſeric*^l. From theſe iſlands he ſent yearly fleets to ravage the coaſts of *Italy*, of *Peloponneſus*, and the *Greek* iſlands, equally deſpiſing both emperors, and bidding defiance to their power. At length, in the year 476. he concluded a peace with *Odoacer* king of *Italy*, to whom he yielded the iſland of *Sicily*, but upon condition he ſhould hold it of him, and pay him a yearly tribute, for the ſecuring of which he kept the ſtrong caſtle of *Lilybaeum*^m. The year before, he had concluded a peace with the emperor *Zeno*, *Concludes a peace with Zeno, who renounces all claim to Africa Year after Chriſt 475.* the ſucceſſor of *Leo*, who, renouncing all claim to the provinces of *Africa*, yielded them for ever to *Genſeric*, and his deſcendants. The perſon employed by *Zeno* on this occaſion was one *Severus*, a ſenator of an unblemiſhed character, and highly eſteemed on account of his diſinterreſtedneſs, candor, and integrity. He was received by *Genſeric* with all poſſible marks of honour and eſteem, that prince, who was ſtricken in years, being deſirous to put an end to the war by a laſting peace, that his ſon *Hunneric* might quietly enjoy the kingdom he had founded. After the concluſion of the peace upon the terms we have mentioned above, *Genſeric*, greatly taken with the frugal life and modeſty of the *Roman* ambaffador, ſent him a conſiderable ſum of money, and very rich preſents; which he reſuſed, ſaying, That the only preſent worthy of a *Roman* ambaffador, would be the delivery of the many *Romans*, who
- f were held in captivity. *Genſeric* was ſo pleaſed with this answer, that he immediately ſent for *Severus*, and told him, that all the *Roman* captives, who had fallen to his ſhare, and to the ſhare of his children, were free, and at his diſpoſal; and gave him at the ſame time leave to ranſom ſuch as had been divided among the ſoldiers and officers of his army, provided he could prevail upon them to part with them, it not being in his power to force them to it. *Severus*, having thus obtained without ranſom the liberty of all the *Roman* captives belonging to the king and the royal fa-

^b PROCOF. p. 191.^c THEOPH. p. 100.^d CONST. MANASS. p. 60.^e ZONAR. p. 42.^f MARC. CHRON. PROCOF. l. i. c. vi. p. 193.^g PROCOF. *ibid.*^h UNIVERS. HIST. vol. vi. p. 510.ⁱ THEOPH. p. 100.^k PROCOF. l. ii. c. 5. p. 341.^l VICT. VIT. l. i. p. 5.^m VICT. VIT. &PROCOF. *ibid.*

mily, sold publicly by auction all his plate and furniture, and, with the money a accruing from thence, redeemed many others^a. *Severus* prevailed likewise on *Genferic* to suffer the church of the catholics at *Carthage* to be opened, and to recal the ecclesiastics belonging to it, whom he had banished some time before^b. *Genferic* died soon after; but the peace was religiously observed by his successors till the reign of *Justinian*, who, espousing the cause of *Hilderic* against his brother *Gilimer*, who had usurped the crown, drove the *Vandals* out of *Africa*, and reunited those provinces to the empire. But as by this peace the dominion of the *Vandals* was firmly established in *Africa*, the *Romans* renouncing all claim to that province, we shall, pursuant to our plan, reserve a farther account of their affairs to a more proper place, and in the mean time deliver what we have found in the antients concerning the *Sueves*, b from the earliest account of time till their settling in *Spain*.

^a MALC. p. 87. PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7. p. 195.

^b VICT. VITENS. l. i. p. 16.

S E C T. IV.

The antient state, &c. of the Sueves, till their settling in Spain.

The name, seats, origin, &c. of the Sueves.

THE *Sueves* were, in *Cæsar*'s time, the greatest and most warlike nation of all c Germany p. *Tacitus* divides them into several tribes or nations, known by different names, comprehending, under the common name of *Sueves*, the following people, viz. the *Longobardi*, the *Semnones*, the *Rheudingi*, the *Aviones*, the *Angli* q. *Ptolemy* mentions only three nations of the *Sueves*, viz. the *Suevi Longobardi*, the *Suevi Samnones*, and the *Suevi Angli*, whom *Tacitus*, and other writers, call *Angli*. Some writers will have the *Vandals* and *Sueves* to be one and the same people, called *Vandals* from the word *Wandrende*, and *Sueves* from the word *Schwachende*, both which signify wanderers; for *Strabo* tells us, that the *Sueves* often changed their seats, wandering from place to place r. In the time of the emperor *Nero*, they dwelt between the *Rhine* and the *Elbe*; for *Strabo*, who flourished under that prince, speaks d of them thus: The *Sueves* are a great and powerful people; for their country extends from the *Rhine* to the *Elbe*, nay, some of that nation dwell beyond the *Elbe*. Some years after, that is, in the time of *Tacitus* the historian, they were seated between the *Elbe* and the *Vistula* or *Weisser*; for there they are placed by that writer s. From them the *Suevus*, now the *Oder*, took its name; and the *Baltic* was called the *Suevian* sea. *Solinus* is of opinion, that they were called *Suevi* from mount *Suevio*, parting Germany from *Sarmatia*. As to their origin, nothing has been alleged by authors but what is very uncertain, and no ways to be depended upon, some deriving their origin from *Scandinavia*, some from *Sarmatia*, some from *Hungary*, and some endeavouring, with several arguments, and monuments of antiquity, to convince us, that they e were originally a German nation t. Some writers tell us, they came out of *Scandinavia*, and settled on the banks of the *Albis* or the *Elbe*; that they were there subdued by the *Saxons*, and thence blended under their name, as were all the other nations conquered by that people. However, the *Sueves* retained at the same time their own name; and hence the *Angli*, who were, as we have hinted above, a *Suevian* nation, are sometimes called *Saxones Angli*, and sometimes *Suevi Angli*. *Cisnerus* supposes these to be two different nations u; but his opinion is plainly confuted by the learned *Sheringham* w. The *Sueves* were a warlike nation, and, as such, are commended both by *Cæsar* and *Tacitus*, of whom the former often confounds them with the *Catti*, as after him does *Strabo* x, and likewise *Seneca* the tragic writer y; for, by these writers, they are placed in the *Hercynian* forest, which was, beyond dispute, inhabited by the *Catti* or *Cbatti*. The *Sueves* had kings of their own, and seem to have agreed in customs and manners with the other German nations. But of their affairs we know very little till the *Romans* became acquainted with them, which happened in the year of *Rome* 742. the twenty-second of *Augustus*'s reign, and about eight years before the birth of our Saviour, when *Drusus*, the son of *Livia*, and brother to *Tiberius*, passing the *Rhine*, entered *Germany*, and, in three campaigns, reduced f.

^p CÆSAR bell. Gall. l. i.

^q TACIT. de mor. Ger. c. 38.

^r STRABO, l. vii.

^s TACIT. ibid.

^t Vide

RUDBECK Atlant. par. i. c. 24. GROTIUS in proleg. PRÆTORIUM in orb. Goth. l. iii. c. 1. PASTORIUM in hist. Polon. c. 7.

^u CISNER. in præfat. ad Kranz. p. 3.

^w SHERING. de Anglor. gent. orig. c. 2.

^x STRABO, l. iv. p. 134.

^y SENEC. in Medea, v. 713.

- a all the nations between that river and the *Elbe*^a, and among the rest the *Sueves*. But that young prince dying on his return to *Rome*, the nations he had subdued threw off the yoke; which obliged *Augustus* to dispatch *Tiberius* against them, who overran great part of *Germany*, and forced the barbarians to send deputies to *Augustus*, suing for peace; but the emperor would not even hear them, because the *Sicambrians*, one of the most warlike nations among them, had not sent their deputies with those of the other barbarians. The war was therefore continued, till the *Sicambrians*, no longer able to hold out, submitted to such conditions as *Augustus* thought fit to impose upon them, as did likewise the *Sueves*, the allies and confederates of the *Sicambrians*^a. The *Sicambrians* and *Sueves* having thus submitted, *Tiberius*, pursuant to the instructions he had received from *Augustus*, obliged forty thousand of them to pass the *Rhine*, and settle in *Gaul*^b. *Suetonius* tells us, that seats were allotted to them on the banks of that river^c; but *Suetonius*, says *Bucherius*, was therein perhaps mistaken, it being probable, that they were placed at a considerable distance from the *Rhine*, to prevent their passing that river, and joining the other German nations; nay, that author endeavours to prove from several ancient monuments, which are still extant, that the country about *Courtray* was antiently inhabited by the *Sueves*^d. Some are of opinion, that from these *Sueves* sprung the *Burgundians*, so called from the boroughs, in *Latin* *burgi*, in which they were placed by the *Romans*; but this opinion is generally exploded. There are no traces remaining, whence we can conjecture what country was allotted to the *Sicambrians*^e. Though some of that people remained beyond the *Rhine*, yet, in the space of about sixty years, the whole nation was extinct^f. Of them therefore is to be understood what we read in *Dion*, viz. that *Augustus* having distributed into several villages the *Germans* he had taken in war, they were so grieved thereat, that they destroyed themselves with their own hands, especially the persons of distinction among them, who were very numerous^g. Mention is made of the *Sicambrians* after this time; but it is commonly thought, that the name of *Sicambrians* was given to the neighbouring nations, who settled in their country^h, that is, in the southern parts of *Westphalia*. *Augustus* thus obliged part of the *Sicambrians* and *Sueves* to quit their own country, in order to weaken them, having found by experience, that he could neither depend upon their word nor their hostagesⁱ.

The *Sicambrians* and *Sueves* submit to *Tiberius*. Year before *Christ* 8.

Part of them transplanted into *Gaul*.

- In the reign of *Tiberius*, the *Sueves*, quarrelling among themselves, which was chiefly owing to his intrigues, drove out *Marobodes* their king, a prince greatly dreaded by the *Romans*, and chose *Catualdes* in his room, who, at the instigation of *Tiberius*, had stirred up the *Sueves* against him. *Marobodes* took refuge in the *Roman* dominions, and was allowed by *Tiberius* to settle at *Ravenna*, where he passed the last eighteen years of his life. *Catualdes* himself was soon after driven from the throne, and obliged to take refuge in the city of *Frejus*. As both princes came attended by great numbers of *Sueves*, their friends and adherents, *Tiberius*, apprehending they might disturb the peace of the empire, allotted them lands beyond the *Danube*, and appointed a *Quadian*, by name *Vannius*, to reign over them. *Vannius* governed them for the space of thirty years, that is, to the year 50. of the christian æra, the tenth of the emperor *Claudius*, when being in the end become obnoxious to the nation, on account of his haughty and imperious conduct, he was by them, with the assistance of their neighbours the *Hermundurians* and *Lygians*, deposed and banished^k. *Claudius* refused to assist him; but nevertheless allowed him to retire into *Pannonia*, and even gave him and his followers lands in that province^l. *Vangio* and *Sido*, nephews to *Vannius* by his sister, but his declared enemies, divided his dominions between them, and continued ever faithful to the *Romans*^m. *Sido*, and *Italicus*, who had succeeded *Vangio*, joined *Vespasian* with all their forces against *Vitellius*, and on that occasion commanded their troops in personⁿ. In the year 83. a colony of *Sueves* was settled in *Frisia*; for *Tacitus*, in the life of *Agricola*, tells us, that some *Germans* in the *Roman* service, and quartered in *Britain*, having killed their officers, and made their escape, were driven ashore on the coast of *Germany*, and

They drive out their king *Marobodes*.

Some *Sueves* allowed to settle beyond the *Danube*. Year after *Christ* 19.

^a *TACIT. annal. ii. c. 41. p. 53. SUET. l. iii. c. 50. p. 386. VELL. l. ii. DIO. l. lv. p. 548.* ^b *SUET. l. ii. c. 21. p. 178.* ^c *SUET. p. 178. STRABO. l. vii. p. 290.* ^d *SUET. l. iii. c. 9. p. 336.* ^e *BUCH. l. i. c. 20. p. 49. 50.* ^f *Idem, p. 49.* ^g *TACIT. ann. xii. c. 39. p. 181.* ^h *DIO. l. lv. p. 552.* ⁱ *BUCH. ibid.* ^j *STRABO. l. vii. p. 91.* ^k *TACIT. annal. ii. c. 62, 63. p. 61, 62. & annal. xii. c. 20. p. 180.* ^l *Idem, ann. xii. c. 29, 30. p. 180.* ^m *Idem ibid.* ⁿ *Idem, l. iii. c. 7, 21. p. 63, 67.*

They defeat the
Romans in Pa-
nonia.
Year after
Christ 85.

They enter
Gaul, and
thence pass into
Spain.

Which they di-
vide with the
Vandals and
Alans.
Year after
Christ 411.

there taken and sold for slaves by the *Sueves* and *Frisians*, who believed them pirates^a. How, or on what occasion, the *Sueves* came to settle there, we are no-where told. In the year 85. the *Sueves*, and their allies the *Lygians*, being greatly harassed by the neighbouring nations, sent deputies to *Domitian*, earnestly intreating him to assist them in their distress. *Domitian* dismissed the ambassadors with a favourable answer, but sent them only one hundred horsemen; which so provoked the *Sueves*, that, joining the *Iazyges*, a *Sarmatic* nation, they resolved to pass the *Danube*, and, by laying waste the *Roman* territories, revenge the affront that had been offered them; for they thought themselves affronted and derided by the emperor^b. What happened after, our historian has not thought fit to tell us; but *Tacitus*, in one place^c, writes, that the *Sarmatians* and *Suevians* rose in arms against the empire: and in another^d, that, soon after *Agricola* was returned to *Rome*, that is, in 85. the *Roman* armies were defeated in *Pannonia*. The *Sueves*, of whom *Dion* speaks here, were, without all doubt, those to whom *Tiberius* had allotted lands beyond the *Danube*, as we have related above. That writer places them, and likewise the *Lygians*, in *Mæsia*, giving to that province a far greater extent than other historians and geographers have done; for, even according to him, these people dwelt beyond the *Danube*, which was, according to all other writers, the boundary of *Mæsia* to the north, that province extending along the south side of the *Danube*, from the confluence of that river, and the *Saw* or *Savo*, at *Belgrade*, to the *Euxine* sea^e. We find no farther mention of the *Sueves* till the year 168. when, joining the *Marcomans*, and other *German* nations, they laid waste several provinces, defeated great armies, and threatened the empire with utter destruction. But of this war, which is compared, by the antients, to the *Punic* and *Cimbrian* wars, we have spoken at length in our *Roman* history^f, to which we refer the reader. In 268. the first of *Claudius's* reign, the *Sueves*, entering into an alliance with other *German* nations, broke into *Italy*, and advanced as far as the lake *Benacus*, now *lago di Garda*, in the neighbourhood of *Verona*; but were there utterly defeated by the emperor, and most of them cut in pieces^g. This, perhaps, is the victory of which *Vopiscus* speaks, where he tells us, that, in the reign of *Claudius*, *Aurelianus* fought a great battle with the *Sueves*, and gained a signal victory over them^h. In 357. the twenty-first of *Constantius's* reign, the *Sueves* broke into *Rætia*, the *Quadians* into *Valeria*, and the *Sarmatians* into *Lower Pannonia* and *Upper Mæsia*, which obliged the emperor, who was then at *Rome*, to quit that metropolis, and march against themⁱ. But as he returned soon after to *Italy*, and no mention is made of any engagement, we may conclude from thence, that at his approach the barbarians withdrew, and retired to their respective countries. The poet *Claudian*, in his poem against *Eutropius*, tells us, that when news was brought to *Honorius* of that minister's promotion to the consulship, the prince was then busied, with *Stilicho*, in receiving the submissions of the *Alemans*, the *Suabians*, and the *Sueves*; in giving them kings, and settling the number of troops which they were to furnish^j. This is supposed to have happened about the year 398. but as these nations are not said, by any historian, to have submitted to *Honorius*, we are inclined to believe these pretended submissions to be only a poetical fiction. In the year 406. they entered *Gaul* with the *Alans* and *Vandals*, and from thence passed into *Spain* in 409. as we have related above. They continued ravaging that country, putting all to fire and sword, till the year 411. when, the *Romans* being quite driven out, they made peace with the natives, and divided the *Spanish* provinces, by lot, among them. In this division, *Galicia* fell to the *Vandals* and *Sueves*; but the inhabitants of that province, refusing to submit to the barbarians, stood up in defence of their liberties, and formed a separate state in a corner of their antient country, where they were often attacked by the *Sueves*, under the conduct of *Emeric* or *Ermeric*, their king. But that prince, being seized with a lingering distemper, suffered them to live in peace the seven last years of his reign^k. About three years after the *Sueves*, *Vandals*, and *Alans*, had divided the *Spanish* provinces among them, *Alaulphus*, king of the *Visigoths*, quitting *Gaul*, settled in *Catalonia*, where he was murdered the same year, as was likewise his successor *Sigeric*, after a

^a TACIT. vit. Agric. c. 28. p. 147.

^b Idem, vit. Agric. c. 41. p. 151.

^c Aur. vit. p. 213. & GOLTZ. p. 118.
in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 111. & l. i. p. 102.
chron.

^d DIO, l. lxxvii. p. 761.

^e Vide PLIN. l. iii. c. 26.

^f Vit. Aur. ibid.

^g OROS. l. iii. c. 23. p. 163. & l. vii. c. 41. p. 223. IDAT.

^h TACIT. l. i. c. 2. p. 4.

ⁱ Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 66—69.

^j Claud.

^k IDAT.

- ^a short reign of seven days, as we have related above. But *Vallia*, who succeeded *Sigeric*, having concluded a peace with the *Romans*, fell upon the *Sueves*, *Vandals*, and *Alans* in *Spain*, gained several advantages over them, and cut off such numbers of the *Alans*, that the few, who escaped the general slaughter, were obliged to submit to *Gonderic*, king of the *Vandals*. The *Sueves* likewise sustained great losses in this war; but nevertheless maintained, against the utmost efforts of the *Gotbs*, that part of *Galicia*, which, in the division of the provinces, had fallen to their share. The *Gotbs* returning soon after, that is, in 418. to *Gaul*, where *Constans* had bestowed on them *Aquitania Secunda*, the *Vandals* and *Sueves* began to quarrel among themselves; for, the year after the departure of the *Gotbs*, we find the *Sueves*, with their king
- ^b *Emeric*, shut up by *Gonderic*, king of the *Vandals*, among the mountains of *Biscay*. But *Asterius*, count of *Spain*, and *Maurocelus*, vicar to the *præfectus prætorio*, falling unexpectedly upon the *Vandals*, obliged them to leave the *Sueves*, and retire out of *Galicia* into *Bætica*. Upon their retreat, the *Sueves* made themselves masters of that part of *Galicia* which had been held by them. In the year 430. a body of *Sueves* attempted to cross the *Rhine*, with a design to enter *Gaul*, and from thence to pass into *Spain*, and join their countrymen settled in *Galicia*; but *Aetius*, who was then in *Gaul*, falling upon them, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to return to their own country, between the *Elbe* and *Weissel*.^b Of this victory *Jornandes* speaks without all doubt, where he tells us, that *Aetius* overcame the *Sueves*, made a dreadful havock of that nation, and subjected them to the empire.^c At the same time he defeated, with great slaughter, the *Juthongians*, whose country bordered on *Rætia*, and the *Norici*, who were subjects of the empire, but had revolted, and joined the *Sueves* and *Juthongians*.^d
- In *Spain* the *Sueves* made their utmost efforts to reduce the inhabitants of *Galicia*; but that brave people still maintained themselves free, defending their strong holds, against the repeated attacks of the barbarians, with such resolution, that *Emeric* thought it advisable to conclude a peace with them, that his people, who began to be greatly distressed for want of corn, might apply themselves to the tilling of the land, and other works of agriculture. This peace, however, was but short-lived; for, the following year 431. the *Sueves* began hostilities anew, and, breaking into the territories of the natives, committed there dreadful ravages, destroying all with fire and sword. Hereupon the unhappy *Galicians* dispatched *Idatius* the chronologer, their bishop, into *Gaul*, to acquaint *Aetius* with the deplorable condition to which they were reduced; and to intreat him to send what troops he could spare to their assistance. *Aetius*, who was then at war with the *Franks*, not being able to afford them the least aid, sent count *Censorius* into *Spain*, with the character of ambassador, to *Emeric*, hoping to induce him, by that means, to conclude a peace with the natives. *Emeric* received the *Roman* ambassador with the greatest marks of honour, and, at his request, began to treat with the *Galicians*; but the treaty was soon broken off, and hostilities renewed, which continued till the year 437. when *Censorius* was sent again to the court of *Emeric*, with one *Fresimund*, to bring about an accommodation between that prince and the *Galicians*; which they did in the end, *Emeric* being seized with a lingering distemper, and thereby rendered incapable of bearing the toils of war.^e A peace being thus concluded, *Emeric* resigned the crown to his son *Rechila*, after he had reigned twenty-eight years, reckoning from the year 409. when the *Sueves* first entered *Spain* under his conduct. He lived four years after his resignation quite retired, without ever concerning himself with public affairs.^f *Rechila* signalized the beginning of his reign, says *Idatius*, with a victory gained in *Bætica* over one *Andevotus*, whose rich treasures he pillaged;^g but who this *Andevotus* was, we are no-where told. In the year 439. *Rechila*, entering *Lusitania*, made himself master of *Merida*, the capital of that province;^h and, pursuing his conquests, reduced, the two following years, the city of *Seville*, and the two provinces of *Bætica* and *Cartagena*. Hereupon the *Romans*, who had anew taken possession of *Bætica*, upon the departure of the *Vandals*, dispatched into *Spain* one *Astierus*, to drive them out of the provinces they had seized. *Astierus* fell upon the *Bagaudæ*, who had lately settled in the province of *Tarraco*, and, cutting most of them in pieces, recovered that country;ⁱ but we do not find, that he attempted any thing against the *Sueves*.

The *Sueves* in Germany defeated by *Aetius*. Year after Christ 430.

The *Sueves* in Spain make war upon the natives of *Galicia*.

Rechila, king of the *Sueves*, makes himself master of *Merida*, *Seville*, and the provinces of *Bætica* and *Cartagena*. Year after Christ 441.

^a IDAT. chron. GREG. TUR. hist. Fran. l. ii. c. 9. p. 63. ^b SID. p. 131. ^c JORN. rer. Goth. c. 34. p. 660. ^d TIRO PROSP. chron. ^e IDAT. f. 21. ^f Idem, p. 25. ^g Idem ibid. ^h Idem, p. 22. ⁱ Idem, p. 23.

Rechila succeeded by his son Rechiarus. Year after Christ 447.

Rechiarus concludes a peace with the Romans.

Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, espouses the cause of the Romans against him.

Rechiarus utterly defeated, taken, and put to death by Theodoric.

Not long after, *Visus*, who commanded a considerable body of *Roman* troops in *Spain*, with the title of *magister militiæ*, entering the provinces of *Bætica* and *Cartagena*, committed there great ravages; but a body of *Goths*, who came to his assistance, being defeated by *Rechila*, both he and his army were seized with such a panic, that, betaking themselves to a shameful flight, they left the *Sueves* at full liberty to pillage the country at their pleasure, and reduce several strong-holds, that, till then, had been held by the *Romans* ^k. Two years after, that is, in 447. died *Rechila*, and was succeeded by his son *Rechiarus*, who took the royal ensigns at *Merida*, in the month of *August* of the present year, notwithstanding the opposition he met with from some of his own nation ^l. He professed the catholic faith; but began his reign by plundering his neighbours lands ^m. The following year, he married the daughter of *Theodoric*, king of the *Goths*, in *Languedoc*, and, immediately after his marriage, entering the territories of the *Gascons*, who were still in *Spain*, says father *Labbé* in his chronology, laid them waste far and near ⁿ. From thence he went to pay a visit to his father-in-law at *Tboulouse*, and, on his return to *Spain*, surprised the city of *Lerida*, whence he carried with him a great number of captives. He afterwards pillaged the territory of *Saragosa* ^o, which, according to *Isidorus*, in his chronology of the *Sueves*, belonged to the *Romans* ^p. The same writer adds, that in this expedition *Rechiarus* had with him a body of *Goths*; and that he likewise laid waste the province of *Cartagena*, which *Rechila*, says he, had restored to the *Romans* ^q. In the year 452. the twenty-seventh of the reign of *Valentinian III.* *Manfuetus*, count of *Spain*, and count *Fronto*, were sent, by the emperor, to *Rechiarus*, with proposals for an accommodation between him, and the natives of *Spain* who still continued subject to the *Romans*. *Rechiarus* not only received the *Roman* ambassadors with the greatest marks of esteem, but concluded a peace upon the terms which the emperor had enjoined them to propose. What these terms were, we are no-where told; but they are said, by *Idatius*, to have been very advantageous to the empire ^r. The peace, thus concluded, was religiously observed by *Rechiarus* till the death of *Valentinian* in 455. when, taking advantage of the general confusion occasioned by the murder of that prince, and likewise of his successor *Maximus*, he over-ran and pillaged the province of *Cartagena*, with a design, says *Jornandes*, to make himself master of all the countries that were still held in *Spain* by the *Romans* ^s. Hereupon *Avitus*, who had succeeded *Maximus*, dispatched count *Fronto* into *Spain* to put the king of the *Sueves* in mind of the treaty he had concluded with *Valentinian*. At the same time, *Theodoric*, king of the *Visigoths*, who had espoused the interest of *Avitus*, dispatched ambassadors to *Rechiarus* his son-in-law, earnestly intreating him not to seize on the countries belonging to the empire; lest he too should be obliged to treat him as an enemy, and join the emperor, whom he was bound to support against him ^t. What answer *Rechiarus* returned to the ambassadors, our historian does not inform us: he only tells us, that he had no sooner dismissed them, than, breaking into the province of *Tarraco*, which belonged to the *Romans*, he laid it waste, without the least regard either to treaties or justice ^u. Hereupon *Theodoric* sent him a second embassy, to which he answered, with great haughtiness, that if *Theodoric* found fault with his conduct, he was ready to give him an account of it at *Tboulouse*. *Theodoric*, piqued at this answer, began to prepare for war; and, having first concluded a peace with the neighbouring nations, he set out, with the consent and approbation of *Avitus*, for *Spain*, leading with him a very numerous army, consisting of his own people, and a body of auxiliary *Burgundians*, commanded by *Gondiac* and *Hilperic*, or *Chilperic*, the son, as is supposed, of *Gundicarius*, king of that people, who was killed about the year 436 ^v. *Rechiarus* was in the mean time busied in ravaging anew the province of *Tarraco*, whence he carried with him into *Galicia* a considerable booty, ^w and a great number of captives ^x. But hearing that *Theodoric* was marching against him, he went to meet him at the head of a powerful army. Hereupon an engagement ensued, on the banks of the *Urbicus*, now *Orbegua*, at a place about twelve miles from *Astorga*. Both armies engaged with great resolution and intrepidity; but in the end the *Sueves* were utterly defeated, and put to flight. *Rechiarus*, who was dangerously wounded, with much ado made his escape, and took refuge in a distant corner of *Galicia*. The battle was fought on a *Friday*, the fifth of *October*;

^k IDAT. p. 24.

^l ISIDOR. chron.

^m IDAT. p. 32.

ⁿ Idem, p. 25.

^o Idem ibid.

^p Idem ibid.

^q Idem, p. 25.

^r Idem, p. 26.

^s Idem ibid.

^t Idem ibid.

^u Idem ibid.

^v Idem, p. 29.

^w Idem ibid.

^x Idem ibid.

^y Idem, p. 29.

^z Idem, p. 30.

^{aa} Idem ibid.

^{ab} Idem, p. 29.

^{ac} Idem, p. 30.

^{ad} Idem ibid.

^{ae} Idem, p. 29.

^{af} Idem, p. 30.

^{ag} Idem ibid.

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^{aw} Idem, p. 29.

^{ax} Idem, p. 30.

^{ay} Idem ibid.

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^{bb} Idem ibid.

^{bc} Idem, p. 29.

^{bd} Idem, p. 30.

^{be} Idem ibid.

^{bf} Idem, p. 29.

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^{bh} Idem ibid.

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^{bn} Idem ibid.

^{bo} Idem, p. 29.

^{bp} Idem, p. 30.

^{bq} Idem ibid.

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^{bw} Idem, p. 29.

^{bx} Idem, p. 30.

^{by} Idem ibid.

^{bz} Idem, p. 29.

^{ca} Idem, p. 30.

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^{cc} Idem, p. 29.

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^{ck} Idem ibid.

^{cl} Idem, p. 29.

^{cm} Idem, p. 30.

^{cn} Idem ibid.

^{co} Idem, p. 29.

^{cp} Idem, p. 30.

^{cq} Idem ibid.

^{cr} Idem, p. 29.

^{cs} Idem, p. 30.

^{ct} Idem ibid.

^{cu} Idem, p. 29.

^{cv} Idem, p. 30.

^{cw} Idem ibid.

^{cx} Idem, p. 29.

^{cy} Idem, p. 30.

^{cz} Idem ibid.

^{da} Idem, p. 29.

^{db} Idem, p. 30.

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^{dc} Idem, p. 29.

^{dd} Idem, p. 30.

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- ^a and *Theodoric*, pursuing the enemy, entered *Braga* on a Sunday, the twenty-eighth of the same month, and gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers ^γ. From *Braga* he advanced to a place called *Portugal*, whither the fugitive king had retired. *Jornandes* writes, that *Rechiarus* attempted to make his escape by sea, but was driven back by a storm ⁷. Be that as it will, all authors agree, that he was taken and delivered up to *Theodoric*, by whose orders he was put to death, after he had been kept some time in prison ^α. The *Sueves*, disheartened by the captivity of their king, submitted to the *Goths*, by whom great numbers of them were put to the sword, tho' *Theodoric* had ordered their lives to be spared ^β. *Theodoric* appointed one of his officers, named *Aquilulphus*, to govern the *Sueves* who had submitted to him. But he, revolting from *Theodoric*, caused himself to be proclaimed king of the *Sueves*; which obliged *Theodoric* to send a powerful army against him, by whom he was defeated, taken prisoner, and, by *Theodoric's* orders, soon after beheaded ^γ. Thus *Jornandes*; but *Idatius* only says, that he died the following year at *Porto* ^δ. The *Sueves*, who, refusing to submit to the *Goths*, had retired to the most distant corner of *Galicia*, no sooner heard, that *Rechiarus* was dead, than, scorning to live in subjection either to the *Goths*, or the treacherous *Aquilulphus*, they chose one *Maldra*, the son of *Maffilel*, in his room ^ε. *Maldra* chosen king in his room. Year after Christ 456.
- Theodoric* king of the *Visigoths*, after the above-mentioned victory over the *Sueves*, had marched from *Galicia* into *Lusitania*, and there, after reducing several other cities, had laid siege to *Merida*, the metropolis of the province, which, in the end, was obliged to surrender. The king designed at first to give up the city to be plundered by his soldiers; but *St. Eulalia*, a famous martyr of that place, is said to have deterred him, by some prodigies, from putting his design in execution ^ζ. Being soon after obliged to return to *Gaul*, he left behind him part of his troops, consisting of different nations, and commanded by several generals, with orders to march into *Galicia*, and there reduce such of the *Sueves*, as had not yet submitted to him. But these troops, after having committed dreadful ravages in the countries belonging to the *Romans*, were recalled by *Theodoric*, who had occasion to employ them elsewhere, before they began to act against the *Sueves*. That people, having now nothing to apprehend from so formidable an enemy, began to quarrel among themselves; some of them continuing faithful to *Maldra*, whom they had lately chosen, and others setting up against him one named *Franton*. Being thus divided among themselves, they made peace with the *Galicians*, or the natives of that province, who still held several strong-holds, and maintained themselves a free people among the mountains, and in some of the fortified towns ^η. These are, by most authors, styled *Romans*, because they still acknowledged the *Roman* emperor, and looked upon themselves as subjects of the empire. Notwithstanding the peace concluded between them and the *Sueves*, the partisans of *Maldra*, breaking unexpectedly into *Lusitania*, pillaged the country, and put to the sword a great number of *Romans*, under pretence of making war on the *Goths*. Being received into *Lisbon* as friends, they made themselves masters of the city, and kept it ^θ. Soon after, that is, in 458. *Franton* dying, the whole nation of the *Sueves* acknowledged *Maldra* for their king, by whose orders they laid waste that part of *Galicia*, which lay on the *Douro*, without the least regard to the treaty of peace concluded the year before ^ι. About this time *Theodoric* sent an army into *Spain* against the *Sueves*, under the conduct of *Cyrila*, who, entering *Bætica*, which belonged to the *Romans*, committed there the same disorders, as the *Sueves* did in *Galicia*, without offering to molest those against whom they were said to have been sent. At the same time ambassadors were sent to the *Sueves*, both by *Theodoric* king of the *Visigoths*, and by *Genferic* king of the *Vandals* in *Africa*, probably to conclude, not only a peace, but an alliance with them against the emperor *Majorianus*, whose great parts, and military genius, gave them no small umbrage. The peace however was not concluded; for the following year 459. *Theodoric*, having recalled *Cyrila*, and the army commanded by him, sent one *Sunierac* with another army in his room; which did not prevent the *Sueves* from pillaging *Lusitania* under the conduct of *Maldra*, and *Galicia* under that of his son *Remismund* ^κ, by *Jornandes* called *Richmund*. Some writers speak of a battle fought this year between the *Sueves*

^γ JORN. ibid. ISIDOR. CHRON. IDAT. ibid. ^α JORN. ibid. ^β ISIDOR. CHRON. IDAT. p. 34.
^δ JORN. ibid. ^ε JORN. p. 677. ^ζ IDAT. p. 37. ^η Idem, p. 34. ^θ Idem, p. 35.
CUSEP. p. 451. ^ι IDAT. CHRON. ^κ IDAT. p. 37. ^λ Idem ibid. ISIDOR. CHRON. p. 5. ^μ IDAT. p. 37.

Ma'dra killed,
and succeeded
by Remismund
and Frumarius.
Year after
Christ 460.

They lay waste
great parts of
Spain.

Remismund
sole king of the
Sueves.

He surprises
Coimbra.

The Sueves
embrace the
tenets of Arius.
Year after
Christ 465.

and *Galicians*, in which the latter lost many persons of distinction¹. The same year a 459. *Ma'dra* killed, upon what provocation we are not told, his brother, whose name has not been transmitted to us. Soon after this murder, he surprised the strong castle of *Portugal*, which was held by the natives. But he was soon overtaken by the doom his treachery and barbarity well deserved, being killed, by whom our historian does not tell us, in the end of *February* of the following year 460^m. Upon his death his son *Remismund* and *Frumarius* divided his troops between them. *Frumarius* was likewise, as we may suppose, the son of *Ma'dra*, and brother of *Remismund*; for he not only had part of the troops, but shared with *Remismund* the dominions of the deceased prince. In the first year of their reign, the *Sueves* of *Lugo* in *Galicia*, falling treacherously upon the *Romans*, who lived in that city, on *Easter-day*, which in b 460. fell on the twenty-seventh of *March*, cut great numbers of them in pieces, as they were not upon their guard, thinking themselves sufficiently protected by the solemnity of a day held by all christians in the greatest venerationⁿ. *Sunieric* and *Nepotianus*, who commanded the troops of *Theodoric* in *Spain*, no sooner heard of this outrage, than they detached part of their forces to take vengeance on the traitors. The *Goths*, entering *Galicia*, laid waste the territory of *Lugo*; but a false report being spread among them by *Dielines*, *Spinio*, and *Ascanius*, who were natives of the country, but held a private correspondence with the *Sueves*, they returned into their own territories, without daring to advance farther into the enemy's country^o. The same year, the three above-mentioned persons led a party of *Sueves* through c by-ways to surprise the city of *Aque Flavia*, where they took *Idatius*, bishop of the place, prisoner, on the twenty-sixth of *July*, and carried him into captivity, as he himself relates^p. After this, *Frumarius* laid waste the territory of *Braga*, and *Remismund*, at the same time, that of *Orenso*, on the *Minho* in *Galicia*. But the two princes, growing jealous of each other's power, began to quarrel, which gave the natives some respite; for with them they concluded a peace, that they might be more at leisure to watch each other's motions. This peace was observed for the space of four years, that is, till the year 464. when, *Frumarius* dying, the *Sueves* were again all reunited under *Remismund*, who immediately dispatched ambassadors to *Theodoric*, acquainting him with the death of *Frumarius*, and soliciting him to conclude a peace d with the *Sueves*, which he did accordingly, sending ambassadors to *Remismund* with rich presents, and likewise arms, in token of his sincere friendship, and the confidence he reposed in him. At the same time he sent him a young woman of extraordinary beauty, whom he married^q; but who she was, our historian does not inform us. *Jornandes* writes, that *Remismund* sent the bishops of *Galicia* to *Theodoric*, hoping, by their mediation, to obtain a peace; that *Theodoric* received them with all the respect that was due to their rank and dignity; that he soon after recalled the general and troops he had in *Spain*; and that *Remismund*, by a second embassy, returned him thanks for the peace he had granted him. This peace, however, did not hinder *Remismund* from surprising, this very year, the city of *Coimbra*, which was held by the natives, e and carrying with him from thence several captives. He did not, it seems, keep this city; for, three years after, that is, in 467. he surprised it anew^r. The following year 465. *Remismund* was prevailed upon by *Theodoric* to set at liberty the prisoners he had taken at *Coimbra*, and make peace with the natives^s. But this peace, says *Idatius*, was attended with a greater and far more dangerous evil than the war itself. *Rechiarus*, king of the *Sueves* from the year 447. to 456. renouncing paganism, had embraced the catholic faith, and his example had been followed by the whole nation of the *Sueves*; but at this time they suffered themselves to be infected with the heresy of *Arius* by one *Ajax*, a native of *Galatia*, who, abandoning the catholic faith, had been ordained by the *Arians*. Coming into *Gaul*, he had staid some f time at the court of *Theodoric*, and had been treated by that prince, who held the tenets of *Arius*, with great respect. From *Gaul* he passed into *Spain*, where he was well received by the *Sueves*, upon the recommendation of *Theodoric*. The kind reception he met with encouraged him to propagate his errors among the *Sueves*, and impugn the doctrine of the trinity^t. *Isidore* writes, that he infected the whole nation with the pestiferous tenets of *Arius*, and that they continued in their errors during

¹ IDAT. p. 38. CUSP. p. 451. ISIDOR. chron.

^m IDAT. & ISIDOR. chron.

ⁿ Idem ibid.

^o IDAT. p. 39.

^p Idem ibid.

^q Idem ibid.

^r Idem ibid. ISID. chron.

^s IDAT.

p. 43. 44.

^t Idem ibid.

a the reigns of several princes, till the time of king *Theodemir*, who, about an hundred years after, brought them back to the true faith *.

In the mean time, *Theodoric* being murdered by his brother *Euric*, *Remismund*, thinking himself no longer bound by the treaty of peace, which he had concluded by his mediation with the natives, broke into *Lusitania*, and, having surprised the city of *Coimbra*, gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers. He likewise ravaged and laid waste the territory of *Aunona* belonging to the *Galicians*; who thereupon sent deputies to *Euric* king of the *Visigoths*, begging his mediation and good offices with the king of the *Sueves*. Accordingly *Euric* prevailed upon *Remismund* to grant a peace or truce to the people of *Aunona*; but, in the mean time, he himself committed dreadful ravages in *Lusitania*, made himself master of *Pampelona* and *Saragosa*, and, having overcome and put to flight the nobility of the province of *Tarraco*, who continued faithful to the *Romans*, made himself master of all Upper Spain †. Thus were the inhabitants of *Spain*, who could not prevail upon themselves to withdraw their obedience to the *Romans*, and submit to the barbarians, in a most cruel manner plundered and harassed on one side by the *Goths*, and on the other by the *Sueves*, while the *Romans* were no-ways in a condition to relieve them. Of the calamities they suffered, the reader will find a full and pathetic account in *Idatius*, who tells us, that the *Sueves*, when they surprised *Coimbra*, plundered the houses, laid most part of the city in ashes, and carried with them into captivity such of the inhabitants as had not the good luck to make their escape ‡. The following year 688. they made themselves masters of *Lisbon*, which was betrayed to them by one *Lusides*, who was a native of the place, and commanded in the town. As *Lisbon* was at that time held by the *Goths*, the troops of that nation, entering *Lusitania*, committed dreadful ravages on the territories belonging to the *Sueves*, as did the *Sueves* on those of the *Goths*. However, *Euric*, being wholly bent upon driving the *Romans* quite out of *Spain*, with a design to fall afterwards upon the *Sueves*, concluded, for the present, a peace with *Remismund*, and then, turning his arms against the *Romans*, made himself master of all the places, that had been hitherto held by them, as we have related above, in the history of the *Visigoths*; but he died before he could put in execution the design he had formed against the *Sueves*. *Remismund*, finding he could no longer cope with the *Visigoths*, who were now masters of almost all *Spain*, retired into *Galicia*, and there, giving over all thoughts of new conquests, ended his days. His successors followed his example, contenting themselves with the kingdom of *Galicia*, and observing a strict neutrality in the disputes, that arose between the *Visigoths* and the *Romans*. By this means they maintained themselves in the quiet possession of *Galicia* till the year 585. when they were subdued by *Leunigild* or *Leovigild* king of the *Visigoths*, and their kingdom reduced to a province of the *Gothic* monarchy, after it had lasted an hundred and seventy-four, or, as some will have it, an hundred and seventy-seven years. But of the successors of *Remismund*, to which prince the emperor *Antemius* is said to have yielded *Galicia* in 468. and of the downfall of their kingdom, we shall speak at length in a more proper place.

They surprise a second time, and plunder Coimbra.

The greater parts of Spain reduced by the Visigoths.

Galicia yielded to Remismund

* ISIDOR. chron.

† Idem ibid. p. 719.

‡ IDAT. p. 45.

S E C T. V.

The antient state of the Franks, till their settling in Gaul.

f AS the antients, by whom mention is first made of the *Franks*, have given us no account of their origin, and *Valesius*, a most diligent and curious inquirer into the antiquities of his nation, has prudently waved this subject, it cannot be expected we should say any thing relating thereto, that may be depended upon. Of the various opinions, or rather conjectures, that have been offered on this head by the modern writers, and which it would be too tedious to relate, that of *Buchorius* seems to us the most probable, viz. that the *Franks* were originally a motly multitude of several antient nations dwelling beyond the *Rhine*, who, uniting against the *Romans* in defence of their common liberty, styled themselves *Franks*, that word signifying, in their language, as it still does in ours, *free* §. It is certain, that under

The origin and name of the Franks.

§ BUCH. l. vi. c. 13. p. 110.

Derived by
some from the
Trojans.

the name of *Franks* are comprised in history several nations, whose names were known a long before theirs, viz. the *Aëluarii*, *Chamavi*, *Bructeri*, *Salii*, *Frisii*, *Chauci*, *Amisvarii*, and *Catti*. The *Franks* are sometimes called *Sicambrians*, because they inhabited the country formerly possessed by that nation, of which the far greater part was cut off by *Augustus*, and the rest transplanted into *Gaul*, as we have related above. As for the opinion of those writers, who derive the name and origin of the *Franks* from one *Francio*, the son of *Hector*, it is too fabulous to be seriously confuted. No less ridiculous, if we may be allowed to use that term, is the opinion of the abbot *Urspergensis*, and several others, who suppose the name of *Franks* to have been first given them by the emperor *Valentinian*. The original of the *Franks*, says *Urspergensis*, is to be fetched from the antient stock of the *Trojans*; for at the time that *Aeneas*, after the destruction of *Troy*, came into *Italy*, other *Trojan* exiles arrived in the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*, and, settling there, enlarged their bounds as far as *Pannonia*, and built the city of *Sicambria*, from which they took the name of *Sicambrians*. Being in process of time become a powerful and mighty nation, they drove out the *Alani* their neighbours. *Valentinian*, admiring their courage and intrepidity in war, gave them the name of *Franks*, and, for the space of ten years, exempted them from all tributes and taxes. That time being expired, the emperor sent an officer to raise the usual tribute; but they, shaking off all subjection, slew the officer, and openly declared they would no longer obey the *Roman* emperors. At that time reigned amongst them c two, who bore the antient names of *Priamus* and *Antenor*. The emperor, highly incensed against them, ordered all the *Roman* forces, and a great many auxiliaries, to march into their country. The *Franks* met them; but, in the battle that ensued, they were overpowered with numbers, and put to flight, their king *Priam* being killed in the engagement. Scorning to live in subjection to the *Romans*, they abandoned their country, and, retiring into *Germany*, settled in *Thuringia*, where they were governed by *Marcomicus* the son of *Priam*, and *Sunno* the son of *Antenor*. Thus *Urspergensis*. And the same account of the origin and name of the *Franks* is given by *Aimonius*, *Ado* archbishop of *Vienna*, *Gaguinus*, and *Aeneas Sylvius*; only the latter writer supposes *Francio* to have been their leader from *Troy* to the *Palus Mæotis*; and d *Ado* brings them from thence, not into *Thuringia*, but to the countries bordering on the *Rhine*. This account, of all others the most akin to the idle romances of our *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, is so far from being vouched by any antient historian, that, on the contrary, it evidently contradicts all antient history, in supposing the *Franks* to have been so called from *Valentinian*; whereas it is certain, that their name occurs in history at least an hundred years before that emperor's time. *Goropius Becanus* explodes the opinion of those, who derive the origin of the *Franks* from the *Trojans*; but at the same time supposes them to have come from the *Palus Mæotis* into *Germany*, without being able to allege any thing to support his opinion, but a few groundless, not to say childish conjectures. *Bodin* will have the *Franks* to have been descended from the e *Gauls*, who, being increased to such a degree, that the country was too narrow for them, sent colonies beyond the *Rhine* into *Germany*. Some of these colonies settled on the banks of that river, and, in process of time, conquered their antient country. *Cæsar* indeed tells us, that the *Gauls* sent colonies into *Germany*; but upon what authority can we suppose the *Franks* to have been descended from those *Gauls*, rather than from some other of the many nations settled in *Germany*? Upon the whole, we think the opinion of *Buchorius*, which we have mentioned above, to be by far the most probable; for, as we have hinted before, we find several *German* nations, whose names occur in history many ages before that of the *Franks* was known, comprised under the general name of *Franks*; a strong proof, that the *Franks* were not a new nation come from the *Palus Mæotis*, or any other country, to settle in *Germany*, but f consisted of several *German* nations united, as *Buchorius* conjectures, against the *Romans*, in defence of their common liberty.

By others from
the Gauls.

Their seats.

As for the seats of the *Franks*, it appears from their constant incursions into *Gaul*, that they dwelt on the banks of the *Rhine*, in the neighbourhood of *Menz*. All historians speak of them as placed there, till their settling in *Gaul*. The orator *Eumenes*, who flourished at *Autun*, in the end of the third century, distinguishes the country, which the *Franks* held originally, and he places on the coast of the ocean, from the country which was conquered by the *Romans* beyond the *Rhine*, and after-

* Vide VALES. p. 2. & COINT. p. 235.

- a wards seized by the *Franks*^a. Their country, according to the best modern geographers and historians, was bounded on the north by the ocean; on the west by the ocean and the *Rhine*; on the south by the *Lbone* or the *Mein*; and on the east by the *Weser*^b: according to which description, they possessed the present countries of *Westphalia*, *Hesse*, and some adjacent states. St. *Jerom* calls them a nation not so great as powerful, and places them between the *Saxons* and *Alemans*^c, viz. the *Saxons* to the east, and the *Alemans* to the south; for those were properly called *Alemans*, who dwelt between the *Rhine*, the *Mein*, and the *Danube*. The same writer tells us, that the *Saxons* received a great overthrow at *Deuson*, in the country of the *Franks*^d; which place *Pontanus*, and most other writers, suppose to be the same, that, by later historians, is called *Duisium*, and now *Duyts*, over against *Cologne*. *Pontanus* adds, that, in his time, a stone was discovered in a monastery there, with an inscription, importing that fortress to have been placed there in the country of the *Franks* by the emperor *Constantine*. *Beatus Rhenanus* assures us, that he saw at *Ausburg*, in the custody of *Peutinger*, a map drawn in the time of the later emperors, wherein the country, from the mouth of the *Rhine* to *Cologne*, is marked in capital letters with the word *Francia*. *Aimoinius* likewise writes, that *Clodio*, who succeeded *Pharamond*, resided at *Dyspargum*, now *Duisburg*, at a small distance from the *Rhine*. Upon the whole, we may conclude, that the *Franks* possessed the countries we have mentioned above, and that, in process of time, they extended their borders along the *Rhine*, as far as the mouths of that river, and the ocean. The *Franks* were antiently divided into several tribes, whereof the *Ansuarii* and *Salii*, mentioned by *Ammianus*, were by far the most considerable. *Pontanus* supposes the *Ansuarii* to be the same people with the *Ansinarii*, of whom mention is made by *Tacitus*. These, being driven out of their own habitations by the *Cbauci*, seized on the country from which the *Frisians* had been driven by the command of *Nero*. *Tacitus* calls them a more powerful nation than that of the *Frisians*. *Pontanus* is of opinion, that they were a nation that wandered from place to place, without any fixed habitation, ready to join any other, as they found their advantage therein; that, agreeable to this principle, they joined the German nations lying towards the ocean, when, uniting against the *Romans*, in defence of their common liberty, they took the name of *Franks*; that they too were blended under that common appellation; but at the same time retained their antient name, being called *Ansuarii*, or *Ansinarii Franci*. This name some derive from the Teutonic word *Hance*, signifying *excellent*, *free*; whence the free towns of *Germany* are still called the *bance towns*. Others, and among the rest *Goropius Becanus*, will have them called *Ansuarii* or *Ansinarii*, from the German word *Ansie*, signifying *society*, because they were ready to join any other nation in league and society; and hence, according to these writers, the free towns of *Germany* are styled *bance towns*, they being united in one society, though far separated from one another. As for the *Salian Franks*, who broke into *Taxandria*, now *Brabant*, but were driven out by *Julian*, as we read in *Ammianus*^e, *Beatus Rhenanus* derives their name from the *Sala*, which falls into the *Mein*; *Paulus Æmilius* from another river of the same name, that empties itself into the *Elb*; *Sidonius Apollinaris* from the Latin word *Salio*, as if they had been so called from their leaping and dancing; and lastly, *Pontanus* from the river *Sala*, now the *Issel*, on the banks of which they dwelt. The latter opinion seems to us by far the most probable, since the other two rivers, bearing the same name, flowed at some distance from the territories of the *Franks*. As for the derivation of *Sidonius*, it appears to us quite childish, though perhaps not ill adapted to the present *Franks*, a leaping and dancing people. As for their manners, *Vopiscus* paints them as a most treacherous and faithless nation, accustomed to sport with the most solemn oaths and ties, and not deeming it at all dishonourable to break their word^f. *Salvianus*, mixing together their good and bad qualities, says, that they were greatly addicted to lying, but civil and kind to strangers^g. *Procopius* describes them as of all nations the most faithless, and regarding the least their word and oaths^h. But *Agathias*, who flourished soon after *Procopius*, extols them on account of the fidelity, justice, and concord, with which they lived among themselvesⁱ; and St. *Bernard*, in one of his epistles, tells us, that they observed their oaths with the greatest strictness.

The Ansuarian Franks.

And Salian Franks.

The manners of the Franks.

^a EUMEN. p. ix. p. 193.

^b HIER. vii. Hil. p. 246.

^c PROCUL. vii. p. 247.

^d AGATH. l. i. p. 12.

^e VOL. VII. N^o. 7.

^f VALES. not. Gill. p. 200. & rer. Franc. p. 209. BUCH. p. 306.

^g HIER. chron. ad ann. 389.

^h SALV. l. vii. p. 172.

ⁱ AMMIAN. l. xvi.

^j VOPISC. in

^k PROCOP. bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 25. p. 447.

and religion ; infomuch that they thought themselves bound by a public oath, even a when it was sinful to take it^k. This change the *French* writers ascribe to the christian religion ; but whether they may not still be taxed with their original want of faith in the observance of the most solemn oaths and treaties, let the world judge. They seem to have been always troublesome neighbours ; whence *Egonbardus*, chancellor to *Charles the Great*, used to say, *I should chuse a Frank for a friend, but not for a neighbour* : and truly, from the earliest accounts we have of that restless and ambitious nation, it appears, that they have ever incroached upon their neighbours, till they attained the power they now enjoy, which, however great, is not capable of satisfying their boundless ambition, and preventing their aspiring at a far greater power and grasping at universal monarchy.

Their form of government, and kings.

As to their form of government, it was, without all doubt, monarchical, tho' authors have given us no account of their first kings. The *Franks* are first mentioned in history about the year 241. and yet *Tyro Prosper* tells us, that the most antient king of that nation, whose name occurred to him in searching the records of time, was *Priam*, who reigned about the year 382^l. After him reigned his two sons *Marcomir* and *Sunno*, and at the same time *Genobald*. Next to them came *Theodomir* or *Theudemir*, the son of *Ricimer*, who was consul in 384. *Theodomir* was succeeded by *Pharamond* the son of *Marcomir*, and grandson of *Priam*. It is however to be observed here, that as *Fredigarius* supposes *Theodomir* to have been the son and immediate successor of *Clodio*, and ascribes to the former whatever else is by other writers ascribed to the latter, the learned *Usser* concludes from thence, that *Theodomir* and *Pharamond* were one and the same person, and accordingly places the defeat and death of *Pharamond* in the year 428. when *Clodio* began his reign, and the *Franks* were by *Aetius* driven out of that part of *Gaul*, that bordered on the *Rhine*, as we read in *Prosper*. In the reign of *Pharamond*, or not long before, the *Franks*, passing the *Rhine*, which had been the boundary between them and the *Romans* for the space of near two hundred years, settled in *Thongria*, that is, in the territory of *Tongres*, where they were governed by as many kings as they had cities or cantons. These kings were chosen out of the most illustrious families among them, and distinguished from their subjects by the length of their hair^m. But whether *Pharamond* had any authority over the other princes, or was only a prince more powerful than the rest, is what we cannot gather from history. *Bucherius* is of opinion, that, in *Pharamond's* time, *Honorius* concluded a treaty with them, in virtue of which they were allowed to settle in the country bordering on the *Rhine* on the side of *Cologne*ⁿ. But what he writes is not vouched by any of the antients. *Aetius* obliged them, as we have hinted above, to repass the *Rhine*, having overcome them in battle, and slain their king *Theodomir* or *Pharamond*. However, *Clodio*, the successor of *Pharamond*, settled anew in *Gaul* ; for we are told by *Grogory of Tours*, that he resided in the castle of *Disparg*, supposed by *Bucherius*, and most geographers, to have stood in *Brabant*, on the borders of *Thongria*^o. *Clodio* was succeeded by *Merovæus*, *Merovæus* by *Childeric*, and he by *Clodavæus* or *Clovis*, the first christian king of the *Franks*, who drove the *Goths* out of *Gaul*, and fixed the royal seat at *Paris*, where it has continued ever since his time.

Tyro Prosper tells us, as we have observed above, that *Priam*, the father of *Marcomir* and *Sunno*, is the first king of the *Franks*, whose name he found recorded in history ; but it is certain, that, by the antients, other kings are mentioned long before his time, that is, before the year 382. when *Tyro Prosper* supposes him to have reigned. These are *Atec*, *Genobald*, *Ascaric*, *Gaisus* or *Regaisus*, *Maloric*, *Mallobaudus* or *Mellobandus*. *Atec* and *Genobald* seem to have reigned at the same time, but over different nations or tribes of the *Franks* ; for they are both named by *Mamertin* in his panegyric on *Dioclesian*, pronounced about the year 288. as reigning at that time. *Atec*, with his *Franks*, had plundered the coasts of *Gaul* ; but was obliged by *Dioclesian* to sue for peace, and make great submissions to that prince, in order to appease him, and be confirmed by him in his kingdom. *Genobald* likewise was forced to submit, says our panegyrist, which was the only means of his being restored to the quiet possession of his dominions^p. In the same panegyric, *Mamertin* speaks of a great victory gained by the generals of *Dioclesian* over a fickle and deceitful nation of barbarians ; which description suits no nation so well as that of the *Franks*. It was

^k BERNARD. ep. ccxix. p. 203.

^l Vide COINT. p. 417. & VALES. p. 86.

^m GREG. TUR. hist.

FRANC. l. ii. c. 3. p. 64.

ⁿ BUCH. p. 450. 451.

^o Idem, p. 475. COINT. p. 426. CHILD.

p. 7—9.

^p Panegy. x. p. 125—127. BUCH. Belg. p. 123. VAL. rer. FRANC. l. i. p. 11, 12.

- a perhaps upon this victory that the two above-mentioned kings were obliged to submit to the emperor, who, in all likelihood, took, on that occasion, the surname of *Franciscus*, which, in antient inscriptions, is given both to him and his colleague *Maximian* 9. *Alcaric* and *Gaisicus* of *Ragaisus* reigned over the *Franks* in the time of *Constantius* the son of *Constantine the great*, and were, by the latter, in the first year of his reign, that is, in 306. taken prisoners, and exposed to the wild beasts in the public sports 1. *Malaric*, who lived in the reigns of *Constantius* the son of *Constantine*, of *Julian* and *Jovian*, is called, by *Marcellinus*, only the governor, or chief of his countrymen, in the emperor's palace 2; but is, by *Procopius*, reckoned among their kings. *Jovian*, in the year 364. the first of his reign, appointed him general of the *Roman* troops in *Gaul* 3; but he declined that employment 4. *Mallobaudus*, or *Mellobaudus*, styled by *Marcellinus* king of the *Franks* 5, commanded under *Gratian* in 377. and the following year 378. gained a signal victory over the *Alemans*, of whom thirty thousand were killed upon the spot, and, among the rest, *Triarius* their king 6. *Mallobaudus*, though king of the *Franks*, served in the *Roman* army, and thought himself honoured with the employment of *comes domesticorum* to the emperor *Gratian*. *Ricomer*, *Ricimer*, or *Richimer*, who was *comes domesticorum* to the same emperor, general of the *Roman* horse, and consul in 384. is, by some, reckoned among the kings of the *Franks*. His son *Theodomir* reigned over the *Franks* in the time of *Honorius*, and was killed by the *Romans*, with his mother *Ascla*, according to an antient chronicle quoted by *Gregory of Tours* 7. *Fredigarius* supposes him to have been killed by count *Castinus*, who was sent against the *Franks*, by the emperor *Honorius*, about the year 421 8. at which time all other writers suppose *Pharamond* to have reigned. *Usher*, as we have hinted above, will have *Theodomir* and *Pharamond* to have been one and the same person. But why might not *Theodomir* and *Pharamond* have reigned at the same time? it being certain, that the *Franks*, in the time of *Pharamond*, had several other kings, nay, as many kings as they had cities or cantons, as we have observed above. 'Tis true, that *Fredigarius* makes *Theodomir* the father and immediate predecessor of *Clodio*, and says of him what is said by other writers of *Pharamond*. But *Fredigarius*, whom *Valesius* styles an impertinent writer 9, might have been, and probably was, therein mistaken; seeing all other writers suppose *Pharamond* the son of *Marcomir*, or of *Sunno*, as we read in *Vitalis* 10, to have succeeded *Theodomir*. *Tyrs Propper* is the only author that mentions *Priam*, according to him, the father of *Marcomir* and *Sunno*. His name perhaps gave rise to the romances of those writers, who derive the origin of the *Franks* from the *Trojans*, whose last king bore that name. Such romances were, in some degree, countenanced, not only by the name of *Priam*, but by an opinion, which obtained among most writers, as *Gregory of Tours* informs us 11, viz. that the *Franks* had dwelt in *Pannonia* before they settled on the banks of the *Rhine*. Having thus given the reader the best account we have been able to gather from the most authentic writers of the first kings of the *Franks*, without taking upon us to ascertain the order of their succession, or their descents, we shall now pass to their wars and exploits, from the time they are first mentioned in history to their settling in *Gaul*.
- c of the *Franks*, without taking upon us to ascertain the order of their succession, or their descents, we shall now pass to their wars and exploits, from the time they are first mentioned in history to their settling in *Gaul*.

THE first historian, by whom mention is made of the *Franks*, is *Vopiscus*, in the life of the emperor *Aurelian*; where that writer tells us, that the *Franks* made an irruption into *Gaul*, and, though few in number, committed there dreadful ravages. But *Aurelian*, then only tribune of the sixth legion, quartered at that time in *Mentz*, marching against them, killed seven hundred of them, took three hundred prisoners, whom he sold for slaves, and obliged the rest to quit their booty, and retire 12. This event is placed, by *Valesius*, in the year 254. the second of the emperor *Valerian's* reign 13; by *Bucherius* and *Cointius* 14, in 234. In which year it is certain, the *Germans* made an irruption into *Gaul*; and *Aurelian*, say they, born in 200. and then only thirty-four years old, might have attained to no higher post in the army than that of tribune. But as it appears from *Vopiscus*, that at the time *Aurelian* overcame the *Franks*, the emperor was preparing to march against the *Persians*, and *Gordian*

They break into Gaul, but are repressed by Aurelian.

9 Vide VAL. ibid.

10 EUTROP. p. 587. EUMON. panegyr. ix. p. 198.

11 AMMIAN. MARCEL.

l. xv. p. 39.

12 Idem. l. xxv. p. 302.

13 Idem. p. 307.

14 Idem. l. xxxi. p. 454.

15 Idem ibid. p. 453.

16 GREG. TUR. p. 64.

17 Vide VAL. l. iii. p. 112.

18 VALES. l. ii.

p. 61. & l. iii. p. 125.

19 VITAL. apud BUCH. l. xiv. c. 9.

20 GREG. TUR. hist. Franc. l. ii. p. 64.

21 VOPISC. vit. Aur. p. 212.

22 VALES. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 2.

23 BUCH. Belg. l. vi. c. 13 p. 209.

COINT. rom. i. p. 14.

marched

marched against them in 242. *Vorburgus* concludes from thence, that the *Franks* ^a were defeated by *Aurelian* the preceding year 241 8. But at what time soever this happened, it is agreed on all hands, that the *Franks*, who afterwards proved so troublesome neighbours to the *Romans*, and greatly contributed to the downfall of the western empire, are first mentioned in history on this occasion. In the year 256. the fourth of *Valerian's* reign, they broke anew into *Gaul*, with several other *German* nations, but were intirely defeated by *Gallienus*; whom *Valerian* had taken for his partner in the empire ^b. For this victory *Gallienus* took the surname of *Germanicus*, as appears from a medal struck in the latter end of the present year ^c. However, the *Franks* and other *German* nations returning soon after in far greater numbers, *Gallienus*, no longer able to repress them by force, offered advantageous terms to one of their ^b chiefs, who, readily accepting them, took upon him to guard the frontiers of the empire, which he did accordingly, often engaging the *Franks*, and other barbarians, attempting to break into the empire. Thus *Zosimus* ^d; but who this prince was, he has not thought fit to tell us: *Vopiscus* indeed informs us, that *Gallienus* lived in friendship with *Attalus* king of the *Marcomans*, to whom he yielded part of *Upper Pannonia*, taking his daughter, by name *Pipa*, or *Pipara*, as he pretended, for his wife; but by historians she is looked upon only as his concubine, he being already married to *Solonina* ^e, styled, in the antient inscriptions, *Cornelia Solonina Augusta* ^f. The following year 257. some *Franks* seem to have served in the *Roman* army against the *Goths*; for among the auxiliaries that marched with *Aurelian* into *Thrace*, which ^c province the *Goths* were then pillaging, mention is made of *Hartoman*, *Haldegastus*, *Hildemon*, and *Carioviscus* ^g, which names bear a great resemblance to others that frequently occur in history among the *Franks*; whence *Vorburgus* concludes them to be the names of some chief men of that nation, who came with a body of their countrymen to assist the *Romans* in this expedition ^h. Three years after, that is, in 260. the *Franks*, and other *German* nations, taking advantage of the confusion which the captivity of *Valerian*, taken prisoner by the *Persians*, had caused throughout the empire, broke into *Gaul*, and, having ravaged the most wealthy provinces there, made an irruption into *Italy* ⁱ. *St. Jerom* ^j and *Orosius* ^k add, that the *Franks*, crossing the *Alps*, and passing through *Rætia* and *Lombardy*, advanced to the neighbourhood ^d of *Ravenna*, laying waste the country, and committing every-where dreadful ravages. *Zosimus* writes, that this sudden irruption obliged *Gallienus* to take the field, in order to drive back the barbarians; but whether they were forced by him to retire, or withdrew of their own accord, he does not tell us. Five years after, they committed unheard-of ravages in *Spain*. *Victor* writes, that, after they had ravaged *Gaul*, they passed from thence into *Spain* ^l; but *Valesius* endeavours to prove, from the panegyric of *Nazarius* on *Constantine*, that they conveyed themselves thither by sea ^m; for that author writes, that they suffered themselves to be transported, by their warlike ardour, beyond the bounds of the ocean, and struck terror into the coasts of *Spain* itself ⁿ. They passed the bounds of the ocean, according to *Valesius*, by entering the *Mediterranean*, and landing in one of the *Spanish* provinces bordering on that sea. Be that as it will, they penetrated into a country, to use the expression of *Eutropius*, so far distant from their own, and made themselves masters of it, as we are told by *St. Jerom* ^o. *Orosius* writes, that they held, or rather pillaged, *Spain* for the space of twelve years ^p; and that they took by storm, plundered, and almost utterly destroyed, the city of *Tarraco*, which was then one of the chief cities of *Spain*, and the metropolis of several provinces; but for the space of a hundred and fifty years it bore the marks, adds the same author, of what it suffered on that occasion. Some of the *Franks*, having provided themselves with vessels, crossed over into *Africa*, with a design to enrich themselves with the spoils of that wealthy nation ^q; but what was the issue of that undertaking, we are not told. The same year 265. *Posthumius*, who had revolted in *Gaul*, and taken upon him the title of emperor, gained great advantages over the *Franks*, attempting to break into those provinces, drove them all beyond the *Rhine*, and even built some forts in their country; whence,

They ravage
Gaul, and part
of Italy.
Year after
Christ 260.

They break into
Spain, which
they hold for
the space of
twelve years.
Year after
Christ 265.

^a VORBURGH. hist. Roman. German. p. 474. ^b ZOS. l. i. p. 646. ^c ZON. vit. Gallien. p. 235.
^d BIRAG. p. 371. ^e ZOS. ibid. ^f AUR. vit. epist. p. 521. ^g GALLIEN. vit. p. 184. ^h GOLTZ.
BIRAG. p. 380. ⁱ AUR. vit. p. 212. ^j VORB. p. 519. ^k AUR. vit. p. 215, 216. ^l DEXIF.
legat. excerpt. p. 8. ^m HIER. chron. ⁿ OROS. l. vii. c. 22. p. 214. ^o VICT. in Gallien.
^p VAL. rer. Fran. l. i. p. 3, 4. ^q Panegy. vii. p. 163. ^r HIER. chron. ^s OROS. l. vii.
c. 23. p. 223. ^t Idem ibid. ^u VICT. & VAL. p. 5.

- a on his medals he is styled *the restorer of Gaul, the defender of the empire*^a. On the same medals frequent mention is made of his victories over the *Franks*, chiefly in the fifth year of his reign, that is, in 265. and on some he is styled *Germanicus Maximus*, the *Franks* being distinguished in those times, as *Valesius* well observes, by the name of *Germans*, from the *Alemans*, and other nations inhabiting *Germany*. That writer is of opinion, that the medals of *Posthumius*, on which *Deuso*, now *Duitz*, over-against *Cologne*, and *Macusa*, now *Incuse*, in north *Holland*, are mentioned, allude to the victories he gained over the *Franks*^b. However, they afterwards served under him against *Gallienus*, and supported him, to the utmost of their power, in the authority he had usurped^c. In the year 273. the fourth of the emperor *Aurelian*'s reign, they made an irruption into *Gaul*; but were driven back with great slaughter by that prince, who, having taken several of them prisoners, led them, with the captives of several other nations, in triumph, when he made his public entry into *Rome*, which we have described at length in our *Roman history*^d. *Aurelian* dying two years after, the *Franks*, together with the *Lyges*, the *Burgundians*, and the *Vandals*, crossing the *Rhine*, entered *Gaul*, and, having reduced above seventy of the chief cities of that country in the space of two years, looked upon themselves as masters of all *Gaul*. But in the mean time *Tacitus*, who had succeeded *Aurelian*, dying, *Probus*, who was chosen in his room, marching in person against the *Burgundians* and *Vandals*, dispatched some of his best generals against the *Franks*, who gave them a total overthrow, and obliged them to abandon their booty, and return home^e. *Probus* himself was attended with the like success against the *Burgundians* and *Vandals*; so that all *Gaul* was, by his valour, delivered, to use the expression of *St. Jerom*, from the yoke of the barbarians. The emperor, not satisfied with driving them out of *Gaul*, pursued them cross the *Rhine*, laid waste their territories far and near, and even built some forts in their country; which struck the barbarians with such terror, that nine of their kings came in person to sue for peace, which *Probus* granted them, upon their promising to supply the *Romans* yearly with a certain quantity of corn, and other provisions, and to send sixteen thousand men to serve in the *Roman army*^f. These *Probus* divided into several companies of fifty or sixty men, distributing them among the *Roman troops* in different places^g. Some of the *Franks*, who had either submitted to *Probus*, or had been taken prisoners in this war, were sent by the emperor to the coast of the *Euxine sea*, where lands were allowed them to cultivate. There they continued for some time; but, growing weary in the end of living after the *Roman* manner in a country so far distant from their own, having seized on some ships, they put to sea, and, roaming about, pillaged first the coasts of *Asia* and *Greece*, and then, passing over into *Africa*, landed in several places there; but, being constantly repulsed by the *Roman troops* quartered in that province, they quitted *Africa*, and, steering their course to *Sicily*, landed in that island, took and plundered the city of *Syracuse*, and, having put most of the inhabitants to the sword, rebarqued with an immense booty. From *Sicily* they sailed for the streights of *Gibraltar*, and, entering the ocean, plundered the coasts of *Gaul* and *Spain*, and returned, in the end, loaded with booty, to their native country, at the mouth of the *Rhine*^h. This happened while *Probus* was making war on several tyrantsⁱ, that is, about the year 280. The same year, *Proculus* having revolted, and assumed the title of emperor at *Cologne*, the *Franks* at first espoused his cause, and promised to assist him to the utmost of their power; but as they scrupled no more, in those days, than they have done in later times, to break their word, they not only abandoned, but betrayed the usurper into the emperor's hands^k. From this time they continued quiet till the year 287. the fourth of *Dioclesian*'s reign, when, in conjunction with the *Saxon pirates*, they plundered the coasts of *Gaul*, carrying off an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives. But *Carausius* having, by the emperor's order, fitted out a fleet at *Boulogne*, and gained some advantages over them, they retired for a while to their respective countries^l. It was, no doubt, on account of these advantages, that *Mamertinus*, in his panegyric on *Maximian*, by whom *Carausius* had been sent against these pirates, calls him the conqueror of the *Franks*; and adds, that he put an end

The Franks, Burgundians, and Vandals, seize on seventy cities in Gaul. Year after Christ 275.

But are driven out by Probus.

A small number of Franks ravage the coasts of Asia, Greece, Sicily, &c.

^a Trig. tyr. c. 4. p. 186. BIRAG. 393.

^b VALES. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 6.

^c Trig. tyr. p. 177.

^d Univerf. hift. vol. vi. p. 191. ^e TACIT. vit. Aur. p. 227. Prob. vit. p. 218. VAL. rer. Franc. l. i.

p. 7, 8. ^f Prob. vit. p. 238, 239.

^g Idem ibid.

^h Zos. l. i. p. 666. Prob. vit. p. 240. Panc.

gyr. x. p. 218.

ⁱ Prob. vit. ibid.

^k Procul. vit. p. 247. Vict. epit. Eutrop.

^l EUTROP.

p. 585.

Alec and Genobald, two kings of the Franks, submitted to Maximian. Year after Christ 288.

Several Franks transplanted into Gaul by Constantius Chlorus. Year after Christ 293.

Constantine takes two of their kings prisoners, whom he exposes to the wild beasts.

to the piratic war ^p. But as *Carausius* kept, and applied to his own use, the booty ^a he had taken from the barbarians, instead of returning it to the proprietors, *Maximian*, suspecting, that with this view he connived at their piracies, resolved to put him to death; but he, having timely notice of his design, passed over into *Britain*, with the fleet under his command, and there caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, as we have related elsewhere ^q. The following year, *Maximian*, crossing the *Rhine*, entered *Germany*, and, having laid waste the enemy's country far and near, returned to *Gaul* with an immense booty, and a great number of captives. The fame of his name struck such terror into the *Franks*, that two of their kings, *Alec* and *Genobald*, the first we find named in history, submitted to him, desiring him to confirm them in their respective kingdoms ^r. From an ancient inscription it appears, ^b that *Dioclesian*, as well as his colleague *Maximian*, took, probably on this occasion, the surnames of *Francicus*, *Alemanicus*, and *Germanicus* ^s.

THE following year, *Maximian* allowed lands, in the neighbourhood of *Treves* and *Cambray*, to great numbers of *Franks* and *Letes*, who had submitted to him, those territories being almost quite destitute of inhabitants ^t. The *Letes* were originally a *Gaulish* nation; but having afterwards left *Gaul*, and settled in *Germany*, they were reckoned among the *German* nations ^u. Their name often occurs in history, as appears from *Valesius*, who is of opinion, that the names of the river *Lis* in *Flanders*, and of the *Abbey of Lieffis* in *Hainault*, owe their origin to them ^v. *Ammianus* speaks of this nation as dwelling in *Germany*, on the banks of the *Rhine*, about the year 356 ^x. A few years after, the *Franks* made themselves masters of *Batavia*, and that part of *Flanders* which is watered by the river *Escaut*; but *Constantius*, the father of *Constantine the Great*, marching against them soon after he was raised to the dignity of *Cæsar*, overcame them in battle, and, having obliged them to surrender at discretion, transplanted them, with their wives and children, into *Gaul*, where they were forced to cultivate the lands, which they themselves had wasted, to pay the usual tributes and taxes, as subjects of the empire, and to serve, when wanted, in the *Roman* armies. Upon their submitting, their arms were taken from them, nor were they allowed any in their new settlements, that they might, by degrees, forget their native fierceness and barbarity, and accustom themselves to live after the ^d *Roman* manner ^y. The emperor *Julian*, speaking of *Maximian* and *Constantius*, tells us, that they not only drove the barbarians out of the *Roman* territories, which they had long held, and cultivated as their own, but built several castles on the frontiers; by which means the country, no longer infested by the barbarians, enjoyed a profound tranquillity ^z. It was perhaps on account of the victory, which *Constantius* gained over the *Franks*, that the surname of *Germanicus* was given him on a monument erected to him by the city of *Nicomedia*, while he was consul, that is, in 294 ^a. From this time they continued quiet till the year 306. the first of *Constantine's* reign, when, that prince being employed in *Britain*, they laid hold of the opportunity to break into *Gaul*. But the emperor, returning soon after, fell upon them unexpectedly, while they were busied in plundering the country, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and having taken two of their kings prisoners, *Arcaric* and *Gaisus*, he exposed them to be devoured by the wild beasts, in the magnificent shews which he afterwards exhibited ^b. He thought himself obliged, says the panegyrist, to renew the rigour of the ancient *Romans* towards their captive kings, in order to restrain, by the fear of punishment, a perfidious nation, that made no account of the most sacred ties ^c. After this victory he crossed the *Rhine*, and, entering the country of the *Bruclerians*, who were one of the several nations then known by the name of *Franks*, he made a dreadful havock of that people, and took a great many prisoners, whom he likewise exposed to the wild beasts ^d. He repaired all the forts on the ^e *Rhine*, placed numerous garrisons in them, kept on that river a great number of vessels well armed and manned, and by that means put a stop, for some time, to the incursions of the *Franks*. In memory of the advantages he had gained over them, he instituted solemn sports, called, from them, *ludi Francici*, which were annually

^p Panegy. xi. p. 133.

^q Franc. l. i. p. 11, 12.

^r 33. & l. iv. p. 162.

^s p. 3, 47, 93, 104, 106, 107.

^t ix. p. 190, 197. v. 127. vii. 163.

^u p. 197, 198.

^v Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 208.

^w VALES. ibid.

^x Idem ibid.

^y JULIAN. orat. i. p. 12.

^z Panegy. v. p. 126. ix. p. 196, 197.

^a Panegy. i. p. 125. VAL. rer.

^b Panegy. ix. p. 122.

^c VAL. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 32.

^d AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 135.

^e Panegy. i. iii. vii. viii.

^f LACT. perf. p. 366.

^g Panegy.

^h Panegy. ix.

- ^a celebrated from the fourteenth of *July* to the twentieth^e. However, two years after, that is, in 308. they began anew to assemble in considerable bodies, with a design; as was supposed, to make an irruption into *Gaul*; but *Constantine* marching against them upon the first news of their motions, they dispersed^e. In 310. all the nations known by the name of *Franks*, taking arms, approached the banks of the *Rhine*, and there dividing their army, which was very numerous, into several bodies, attempted to break into *Gaul* at different places. *Constantine* marched in person against them, and, not depending upon the relations of others, ventured, in disguise, into the midst of their army, pretending to be a deputy sent to them by the emperor. As he found that, not caring to put the whole to the issue of a general engagement, they designed to carry on the war in separate bodies, which would have rendered it more tedious, he assured them, that the emperor was not then with the army; which they no sooner understood, than they dismissed the pretended deputy, and, uniting all their forces, marched against the enemy. *Constantine* received them at the head of his army, put them to flight at the first onset, and made a dreadful havock of them in the pursuit^e. *Eusebius* writes, that he not only drove the barbarians out of *Gaul*, but utterly subdued those, who dwelt on the banks of the *Rhine*, and near the ocean^b, that is, the *Franks*. However, three years after, taking advantage of the emperor's absence, who was gone to *Rome*, they began to assemble anew on the banks of the *Rhine*; which *Constantine* no sooner understood, than, leaving *Italy*, he hastened into *Gaul*. The *Franks*, who had not yet passed the *Rhine*, withdrew at his approach; but *Constantine*, giving out that the *Alemans* too were ready to break into *Gaul*, left some troops concealed among the woods at a small distance from the river, and retired with the rest. The *Franks* no sooner heard of his departure, than they passed the *Rhine*; but the *Romans*, rising unexpectedly out of their ambuscade, fell upon them before they could draw up their forces, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to repass that river in the utmost confusion. *Constantine* followed them in person with his whole army, and, entering their country, laid waste their lands, burnt their habitations, and, having taken a great number of prisoners, exposed them all to be devoured by the wild beasts.
- ^d This severity towards a perfidious and faithless enemy is commended by his panegyrist; but it does not answer the character of a mild, generous, and good-natured prince, which is given to *Constantine* by most writers of those times. For this victory over the *Franks*, he took the title of *Francicus*^c. Notwithstanding this severity, the *Franks* were no sooner informed, that *Constantine* had left *Gaul*, with a design to visit *Italy* and *Illyricum*, than they crossed the *Rhine* in great numbers, and, entering *Gaul*, laid waste several provinces. But *Crispus*, the son of *Constantine*, marching against them, obliged them to quit their booty, and retire. *Optatianus* seems to insinuate, that he gained a great victory over them^k; but *Nazarius* only says, that he drove them out of *Gaul*, and obliged them to sue for peace; which he readily granted them^l. From some medals it appears, that the young prince gained a victory over the *Alemans*, who, in all likelihood, had invaded *Gaul* at the same time^m; but the *Franks*, it seems, quitting their booty, retired at his approachⁿ. This happened in 320. and no farther mention of the *Franks* is made in history till the year 341. the fourth of *Constantius's* reign, when they made an irruption into *Gaul*, committing every-where great ravages. *Constans* marched against them, and gave them battle; but as the loss was equal on both sides, the war was not ended till the ensuing year^o, when *Constans* either conquered or appeased them, as *Idatius* expresses it, that is, prevailed upon them, with presents and money, to retire, as may be gathered from *Libanius*, who tells us, though speaking as a panegyrist, that the *Franks* were not conquered by dint of arms^p. Be that as it will, it is certain they concluded a peace with *Constans*, and submitted to the princes he was pleased to appoint over them^q. As they were the most powerful nation in those parts, the peace they concluded with the emperor prevented the others from attempting any thing against the empire; so that *Constans*, having nothing to fear on that side, passed over into *Britain*, to oppose the *Scots*, who made frequent inroads into the *Roman* domi-

They are defeated with great slaughter by Constantine. Year after Christ 310.

Who punishes them with great severity.

^a EUTROP. p. 587. ^f PANEG. ix. p. 200, 201. ^g PANEG. vii. p. 164. SYN. REG. p. 19. ^h EUSEB. VIT. CONST. l. iii. c. 25. p. 420. ⁱ VALES. IER. FRANC. l. i. p. 23. ^k OPTAT. c. 15. ^l PANEG. vii. p. 164. ^m BUCH. l. viii. c. 16. p. 265. ⁿ VALES. p. 26. ^o SOCR. p. 88. SOZ. p. 504. ^p LIB. ORAT. iii. p. 139. ^q IDAT. p. 85. SOCR. l. ii. c. 12. p. 90. VALES. l. i. p. 28.

They make
themselves
masters of
above forty
cities in Gaul.
Year after
Christ 355.

nions *. Some years after, that is, in 355. the eighteenth of the reign of *Constantius*, *Malaric*, king of the *Franks*, held a chief employment in the emperor's court *. But the following year, those of his nation, no longer able to live in peace, entering into an alliance with the *Alemans* and *Saxons*, crossed the *Rhine*, took and pillaged above forty cities on the banks of that river, laid waste the neighbouring provinces, and carried off an incredible number of captives. The city of *Cologne* was on this occasion taken by them, and almost intirely ruined *. From thence they advanced as far as *Autun*, which city they besieged; but being vigorously repulsed by the veterans, who were quartered there, they abandoned the enterprize, and contented themselves with plundering the open places, roaming about without controul, and destroying with fire and sword what they could not carry off. *Constantius*, who was then in *Italy*, not thinking it adviseable to quit that country, raised his cousin *Julian* to the dignity of *Cæsar*, and at the same time appointed him governor of *Gaul*. *Julian*, without loss of time, set out for his government, and, arriving at *Vienne*, was received there with extraordinary marks of joy. As he arrived in that city in the depth of winter, he continued there the remaining part of that season, deliberating about the operations of the ensuing campaign; and, taking the field early in the spring, he marched, at the head of a small body, from *Vienne* to *Autun*, and from thence to *Auxerre*. On his march, he found himself surrounded on all sides by the enemy, who moved about in great bodies; but he put them to flight with a handful of men, and opened himself a way through the midst of the barbarians to *Troies*, and from thence to *Rheims*, where the main body of the army waited his arrival. Being joined there by all the *Roman* troops quartered in *Gaul*, he hastened from thence to *Decempagi*, now *Dieuze* on the *Seille* in *Lorain*, with a design to fall upon the *Franks*, who were busied in ravaging the country. But the enemy, receiving timely notice of his approach, took advantage of a dark and wet night to attack his rear unexpectedly, and would have cut off two legions, had not the rest of the army, alarmed at the sudden noise, turned back to their assistance. The *Franks*, encouraged with this success, attacked him anew a few days after; but were put to flight, though not with great loss. However, this small victory opened him a way to *Cologne*, which the enemy abandoned at his approach, after it had been ten months in their hands. During his stay at *Cologne*, one of the kings of the *Franks*, dreading his arms, sent deputies to him to sue for a peace; but *Julian* only granted him a short truce *. The following year, *Julian* gained a complete victory over the *Franks*, and other *German* nations, that had invaded *Gaul*, as we have related at length elsewhere **, and took by storm two castles on the *Meuse*, in which some *Franks* had shut themselves up, after having ravaged the country about *Rheims*. They defended themselves with great bravery for the space of fifty-four days; but being in the end obliged to surrender, they were all sent to the emperor, who incorporated them among his troops *. After this, *Julian* put his troops into winter-quarters, and took up his own in *Paris*. But, in the mean time, the *Salii*, a nation of the *Franks*, breaking unexpectedly into *Taxandria*, now *Brabant*, settled there; but *Julian*, marching against them early in the spring, obliged them to abandon the country they had seized, though they offered themselves ready to guard the frontiers of the empire on that side, to supply the *Romans* with troops when required, and to pay the usual taxes and tributes. *Zosimus* tells us, that they had been driven out of their own country by the *Saxons* and *Quadians*, who were by *Julian* forced to restore it to the ancient proprietors; which so gained the *Salian Franks*, that, submitting to *Julian*, great numbers of them served in his army *.

But they are
defeated and
driven out by
Julian.

Count *Theo-*
dolius gains
some advan-
tages over
them.

THE *Franks* continued quiet the whole time *Julian* reigned; but they no sooner heard of his death, than, entering into an alliance with their neighbours the *Saxons*, they began to infest *Gaul* both by sea and land. But count *Theodosius*, father to the emperor of that name, being sent against them by *Valentinian*, obliged them to retire with great loss *. That commander is said to have overcome the *Saxons*, to have gained a victory over them off the *Orcades*, and to have defeated the enemies of the empire in *Batavia*, near the *Rhine* and the *Vabal*; which country was then held by the *Franks* *. From an inscription of 369. or 370. it appears, that *Valentinian* styled himself the

* LIB. ORAT. III. p. 140.

* AMMIAN. I. V. p. 39.

* Idem ibid. p. 50.

* Idem, I. XX.

p. 168. l. XXIII. p. 203. LIBAN. ORAT. XII. p. 270. & ORAT. IX. p. 237.

* Univerf. hist. vol. vi.

p. 301. * AMMIAN. I. XVII. p. 89.

* ZOS. I. III. p. 561.

* AMMIAN. I. XXVII. p. 346.

* VAL. REC. FRANC. I. VI.

- a conqueror of the *Franks* c, no doubt on account of the advantages gained over that nation by count *Theodosius*. As it appears from a law dated the thirtieth of September d 368. that *Valentinian* was then at *Cologne*, some writers conclude from thence, that he marched in person against the *Franks*; but of this expedition no mention is made by any of the antients. At this time *Mallobaudes* was king of the *Franks*, and engaged in a war with the *Alemans*, who, having concluded a peace with the *Romans*, had entered, upon what provocation we know not, the territories of the *Franks*, destroying all with fire and sword. *Mallobaudes* met them at the head of a considerable army, and, pretending to avoid an engagement, drew them into an ambuscade, by which means he cut great numbers of them in pieces, and among the rest their king *Macrianus*, a warlike prince, who had long infested, with continual inroads, the *Roman* dominions e. Three years after, that is, in 377. *Mallobaudes* was raised by the emperor *Gratian* to the consulate, having the emperor himself for his colleague in that dignity f. The following year he was honoured by the same emperor with the post of *comes domesticorum*, and distinguished himself in a most eminent manner in the battle of *Argentaria*, in which above thirty thousand of the *Lentineses*, who had broken into the empire, were cut in pieces, with their king *Triarius*. This victory was chiefly owing to *Mallobaudes*, who, on this occasion, commanded the *Roman* troops, in conjunction with count *Nennianus*, as we have related in our *Roman* history g. He was consul the second time in 383. the eighth and last of *Gratian's* reign, and commanded the army, under that prince, against the usurper *Maximus*; but was not attended on that occasion with his usual success, for *Gratian* was put to flight, soon after taken prisoner, and put to death at *Lions*. All authors agree, that the unhappy prince was betrayed by his own people; and *Prosper*, in his chronicle, names *Mallobaudes* among those, who kept a private correspondence with the usurper h. But *Baronius* maintains, that *Prosper* was therein mistaken, and that *Mallobaudes* continued ever faithful to *Gratian* i. And truly *Pacatus* upbraids *Maximus* for hating *Mallobaudes*, and reducing him to the fatal necessity of laying violent hands on himself, for no other crime than that of an inviolable fidelity to *Gratian*, whose cause he had maintained to the last k. Three years after the death of *Gratian*, that is, in the year 388. we find the *Franks* ravaging *Gaul* with more fury than ever, perhaps to revenge on the usurper *Maximus* the death of *Gratian*, who had shewn a particular kindness to their nation. However that be, *Gregory of Tours* tells us, that they overran all *Belgic Gaul*, committing every-where unheard-of ravages, made the city of *Cologne* tremble, burnt several villages, and then returned home with their booty, leaving several parties in *Gaul* to pursue the ravages they had begun. These were defeated by *Nannius* and *Quintinus*, the two generals of *Maximus*, who cut great numbers of them in pieces in the province of *Hainault*. *Quintinus*, not satisfied with this advantage, passed the *Rhine* at *Nuys*, contrary to the opinion of *Nannius*, who refused to follow him, and, entering the enemy's country with the troops under his command, burnt several villages, which he found abandoned by the inhabitants. Encouraged with this success, he advanced far into the country; but being, on his return, cunningly drawn into marshes, woods, and unpassable places, by the enemy pretending to fly before him, he found himself on a sudden surrounded on all sides by great multitudes, who, falling upon his men while they were entangled in the woods and marshes, cut most of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to shelter themselves in the woods, where they perished with famine, only *Quintinus*, and a few more, having, with the utmost difficulty, found means to make their escape, and return to *Gaul*, after suffering unexpressible hardships in the enemy's country. The loss sustained by the *Romans* on this occasion was very great, and is, by some, compared to the disaster of *Varus* and his legions, in the time of *Augustus* l. This happened while the *Franks* were governed by *Genobald*, *Marcomir*, and *Sunno*, who, being elated with this victory, broke anew into *Gaul* the year following; which obliged *Theodosius* to send *Valentinian* to make head against them. Upon that prince's arrival in *Gaul*, *Arbogastes*, general of the troops in those provinces, advised him to march into the enemy's country, and force them to restore the booty they had carried off the year before, and deliver up the authors of the war m. Whether or no *Valentinian* followed his advice,

A Roman
army cut off
by the Franks.
Year after
Christ 388.

c Idem ibid.

d Cod. Theodof. chron. p. 83, 84.

e AMMIAN l. xxx.

f Idem, l. xxxi.

g P. 451. GRUT. p. 370.

h Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 387.

i PROSP. chron.

l BAR. ad

ann. 383. k PACAT. p. 267.

l GREG. TUR. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 58, 59, 60.

m Idem ibid.

we are not told. All we know is, that he had a conference with *Marcomir* and *Sunno*,^a who delivered up hostages; and that he afterwards retired to *Treves*, and there passed the winter^a.

THREE years after, that is, in 392. *Arbogastes*, having put *Valentinian II.* to death, persuaded *Eugenius*, whom he had raised to the empire in his room, to make war upon the *Franks*. *Arbogastes*, of whom we have spoken at length in our *Roman* history^o, was himself by nation a *Frank*; but, as he bore an old grudge to *Marcomir* and *Sunno*, he not only induced *Eugenius* to make war upon them, but, taking upon himself the whole management of it, he passed the *Rhine* near *Cologne*, in the depth of winter, and laid waste the countries of the *Bructerians* and *Chamarrians*, without meeting with the least opposition, *Marcomir* only shewing himself at a^b distance on the hills with some parties of the *Answarii* and *Chatti*. But, as to the issue of this war, historians only tell us, that *Arbogastes*, after having put many of his countrymen to the sword, concluded in the end a peace with them; and that *Eugenius* himself approached the *Rhine* to renew the antient treaty with the kings of the *Franks* and *Alemans*^p. From this account it appears, that the *Franks* had several kings at the same time, and that, under the name of *Franks*, were comprised several antient German nations. Great numbers of the *Franks* lifted themselves among the troops of *Eugenius*; for *Orosius* tells us, that he led against *Theodosius* an infinite number of *Franks*, and other barbarians^q. Two years after, *Theodosius* died, and, c by his last will, divided the empire between his two children, bequeathing the east to his eldest son *Arcadius*, and the west to *Honorius*. *Stilicho*, who was prime minister to the latter, advised him, in the first place, to renew the antient alliances with the *Franks*, and other German nations, which they had broken, by assisting the usurper *Eugenius* against *Theodosius*. This province *Stilicho* took upon himself, and, repairing to the banks of the *Rhine*, accomplished it in a very short time^r. However, *Marcomir* and *Sunno* attempting to raise new disturbances soon after the conclusion of the peace, one of them, says *Claudian*, was taken, and, after having been kept some time in prison, confined to *Tuscany*. The other was for revenging on the *Romans* the affront they had offered his brother; but his own people, unwilling to d engage in a war with the empire, put him to death. *Claudian* adds, that *Honorius* appointed other kings over the *Franks* in their room^s. An antient historian supposes *Marcomir* to have outlived *Sunno*, and consequently that it was he, who was banished into *Tuscany*^t. *Marcomir*, or, as the antients call him, *Marcomer*, is supposed to have been the father of *Pharamond*, the first in the catalogue of the *French* kings^u. In the year 406. the *Franks*, falling upon the *Vandals*, as they were attempting to break into *Gaul* with the *Sueves* and *Alans*, cut near twenty thousand of them in pieces, with their king *Godigiseles*; and would have put them all to the sword, had not the *Alans* come seasonably to their assistance. These two nations, together with the *Sueves*, opened themselves a way, in spite of the *Franks*, and, passing the *Rhine*, e entered *Gaul*^v. Great numbers of *Franks* followed them, to have some share in the spoils of those wealthy provinces; but far greater numbers of the same nation entered *Gaul* four years after, being invited thither by the usurper *Constantine*, of whose forces the commander in chief was one *Edobac*, a *Frank* by nation^w. In the year 413. they made an irruption into *Gaul*, and not only pillaged, but burnt, the city of *Treves* the second time, says *Frigerid*, an antient author quoted by *Gregory of Tours*^x. When this first irruption happened, we are no-where told; but that unhappy city was the third time plundered, and set on fire, by the *Franks* about the year 420. as *Salvian* informs us, who was an eye-witness of the deplorable condition, to which it was reduced on that occasion^y. Our author greatly complains of the inflexibility and hardness of heart, which he discovered in the inhabitants, who having lost all their effects, and with much-ado escaped with their lives, instead of applying themselves to works of piety, pressed the emperor to cause the sports of the circus to be exhibited among the ashes and ruins of their demolished city^z.

ABOUT this time *Pharamond* must have reigned over the *Franks*. He is said by *Vitalis* to have been the son of *Sunno*; but all other writers suppose him to have been

They renew the antient alliances with *Honorius*. Year after Christ 395.

They cut off 20,000 of the *Vandals* attempting to enter *Gaul*. Year after Christ 406.

The beginning of *Pharamond's* reign uncertain.

^a Idem ibid. p. 60. 61. ^o Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 396. 413. 419. 420. ^p GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 9. p. 61. ^q OROS. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. ^r CLAUD. p. 128. ^s Idem, p. 129. ^t Vide VAL. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 119. ^u Idem ibid. & l. ii. p. 92. ^v GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 9. p. 62. ^w OROS. c. 40. p. 223. ^x Soz. l. ix. c. 13. p. 814. ^y GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 9. p. 63. ^z SAL. l. vi. p. 145—147. ^a Idem ibid.

- a the son of *Marcomir*, the brother of *Sunnio*. *Gregory of Tours*, a very accurate writer, never once mentions this prince; which is very surprising. But both *Aimoinus* and *Tyro Prosper* speak of him, and place his reign at this time. In the chronicle of the latter, as published by *Scaliger*, at the twenty-fifth year of *Honorius's* reign, we read the following words; *Pharamond reigns in France*: then follows the year 26. with these words; *This year there was an eclipse of the sun*. If therefore *Pharamond* reigned in the year preceding the eclipse, he reigned in the year 417. for all authors agree, that there was an eclipse on *Friday* the 15th of *July* 418. *Philostorgius* writes, that the stars were then seen at two in the afternoon^b. The *Alexandrian* chronicle, and likewise the chronicles of count *Marcellinus* and *Idatius*, mention this eclipse; but
- b the latter, by mistake, supposes it to have happened on a *Thursday*; whereas, in 418. the 19th of *July* fell on a *Friday*. *Tyro Prosper* likewise was mistaken, in supposing the year 418. to have been the twenty-sixth of *Honorius*, that year being, according to the best chronologers, only the twenty-third or twenty-fourth of his reign. Father *Le Cointe* will have *Pharamond* to have begun his reign the same year in which the eclipse happened; others, and among the rest father *Labbe* in his chronology, maintain, that he began to reign in 420. and not before^c. But it is impossible to fix, with any certainty, the precise time, in which this prince began his reign, since *Prosper's* chronicle, on which we must chiefly depend, is full of mistakes, and differently read in this very place. It is even uncertain, whether it was in his reign, or some time before, that the *Franks*, passing the *Rhine*, first settled in *Gaul*. *Bucherus* is of opinion, that, about this time, *Honorius*, entering into a treaty with their chiefs, yielded to them the country bordering on the *Rhine* towards *Cologne*, and on the same side of that river, which country was afterwards called *Ripuaris*; but he alleges only a few conjectures to support his opinion^d. *Gregory of Tours* supposes them to have settled about this time in *Tbongria*, that is, in the territory of *Toigres*, where they were governed, as we have hinted above, by as many kings as they had cities or cantons^e. *Pharamond*, who reigned at this time, was one of the most powerful princes among them; but we are not told whether he had any authority over the rest. He is supposed to have reigned from the year 417. or 418. to the year 428. in which
- d *Clodio*, his son and successor, is said by *Tyro Prosper* to have reigned in *France*, that is, in the country of the *Franks*^f. In the year, in which he is supposed to have died, the famous *Aetius* made war upon the *Franks* in *Gaul*, and drove them from the country in which they had settled^g. Of this war *Jornandes* speaks without all doubt, where he tells us, that *Aetius*, with great slaughter, tamed the barbarity of the *Franks*, and forced them to submit to the empire^h. The learned *Usher* is of opinion, that, in this war, *Pharamond* was killedⁱ. *Cbisetius*, a learned antiquary, will have *Pharamond* to have made himself master of all *Belgica Secunda*, and to have died at *Rheims*, the metropolis of that province. He founds his opinion on the authority of an old manuscript genealogy lodged in the palace at *Brussels*, in which *Pharamond*
- e is said to have been buried at *Rheims*, according to the custom of the barbarians, without the city, towards *Laudunum*, on a little hill^k. But we can hardly believe, that all the antients would have passed over in silence the conquest of such an extensive country; for *Belgica Secunda* comprised *Champagne*, and all the countries lying between that province and the ocean. Some writers are of opinion, that the *Salic* laws were compiled by *Pharamond*, after his settling in *Gaul*, with the assistance of four sages, named *Wifegast*, *Lesegast*, *Widegast*, and *Solegast*; but *Valesius* thinks, that the *Franks* had no written laws till the time of *Clovis*, who, according to him, was their first legislator^l.

- Pharamond* was succeeded by his son *Clodio* in the year 428. the fourth of the reign of *Valentinian III.* *Gregory of Tours* calls him a most illustrious prince, and one to whom his people, whose interest he had at heart, were highly indebted^m. An historian, who flourished in the time of *Charles Martel*, and after him most other writers, suppose both *Clodio*, and his successor *Merovæus*, to have been the children of *Pharamond*ⁿ. *Fredegarius*, in his abridgment of *Gregory of Tours*, which he compiled in the time of *Pepin*, will have him to have been the son of *Theodimir*, who was killed

^b PHILOST. l. xii. c. 8. p. 166.^c Vide VAL. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 118. BUCH. de Belg. p. 453.

COINT. rom. i. p. 44, 45. CHILDER. p. 4.

^d BUCH. p. 450.^e GREG. TUR. l. ii. p. 64.^f PROSP.

p. 51.

^g Vide BUCH. Belg. l. xv. c. 8. p. 471.^h JOAN. rer. Goth. c. 34 p. 660.ⁱ USS.

rer. Brit. p. 402, 403.

^k Vide MIRÆI chron. Belg. p. 518.^l VALES. p. 119, 120.^m GREG.

TUR. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 64.

ⁿ VALES. p. 124, 125.

by the *Romans*, as we have related above. The authority of *Fredegarius* is of no great weight; but as *Gregory of Tours* too mentions the death of *Theodimir*, some are of opinion, that *Theodimir* and *Pharamond* were one and the same person, as we have hinted above. As *Gregory of Tours* begins the history of the *Franks* with the reign of *Clodio*, (for he makes no mention of *Pharamond*) and derives from him the pedigree of the succeeding kings, several historians reckon him the first king of that nation ^a. And truly he ought to be deemed the founder of the *French* monarchy in the country we now call *France*, since he established his dominion so firmly there, that the *Romans* were never after able to drive him out, as they had done his predecessor *Pharamond* about the year 428. He is commonly surnamed *the long-haired*, as if he had been the first among the princes of his nation, who was distinguished ^b from his subjects by the length of his hair; whereas this mark of distinction is taken notice of by several historians, as common to the kings of the *Franks* before his time ^c. On this subject *Bucherius* makes a long descant, and to him we refer the reader. *Sidonius*, speaking of the *Franks*, describes their hair, their beard, their arms, and their whole attire; and from him it appears, that their hair was long before, and quite short behind. We know but very little from the antients of what happened in this prince's reign. *Idatius* tells us, that, in the year 431. *Aetius* was employed in an expedition in *Gaul*. This expedition was, without all doubt, undertaken against the *Franks*; for the same writer, who was then with *Aetius*, adds, that, in 432. he overcame the *Franks* in a combat. *Majorianus*, afterwards emperor, served, in all likelihood, under *Aetius* in this expedition; for *Sidonius* extols his exploits on the *Rhine*, the *Vahel*, and the *Meuse*; and adds, that nothing was performed by *Aetius* without him. *Aetius*, after having overcome the *Franks*, concluded a peace with them the same year; but upon what terms, we know not. *Bucherius* is of opinion, that *Aetius*, being obliged to march against the *Visigoths*, and other barbarians settled in *Gaul*, in order to keep the *Franks* quiet, restored to them the country from which he had driven them in 428. that is, the territory of *Tongres*. This, he thinks, may be gathered from the *notitia*; but the whole is founded upon a mere conjecture. *Gregory of Tours*, speaking of *Clodio* before the conquest of *Cambray*, supposes him to have resided in the castle of *Dispard*, commonly thought to be the present *Doefburg*, between *Brussels* and *Lovain*, in the antient diocese of *Tongres*, or on the confines of that country; which is agreeable to what that writer adds, viz. that the country, which the *Romans* still held, lay south of the territories possessed by *Clodio* residing at *Dispard*. In the year 435. the *Franks* made, it seems, an attempt upon *Tours*; for *Sidonius* tells us, that *Majorianus* defended that city against them. Not long after, the *Franks* made an irruption into the country of the *Atrebatas*, now *Artois*. But *Aetius*, marching against them with all possible expedition, fell upon them unexpectedly, while, without the least apprehension of danger, they were celebrating the nuptials of one of their chiefs, and cut great numbers of them in pieces. This action happened at a place called *Vicus Helena*, which some take to be the village now called *Le Vieil Hesdin*, and others the city of *Lens* on the *Escaut*. The latter opinion seems the most probable to such as have examined narrowly those places, and compared them with the description, which *Sidonius* gives of the spot, where the action happened. This was, without all doubt, the only advantage gained by the *Romans* in this war, since no other is mentioned by *Sidonius* in his panegyric on *Majorianus*, who commanded the *Roman* troops, in conjunction with *Aetius*, and distinguished himself in the above-mentioned action. *Valesius*, who supposes the battle of *Lens* to have been fought in the year 437. tells us from *Gregory of Tours*, that *Clodio*, having sent spies to reconnoitre and view the country as far as *Cambray*, upon their return, set out on his march, advanced, in spite of all opposition, to that city, and, having made himself master of it, fixed, for some time, his residence there ^d (D). From *Cambray* *Valesius* supposes him to have made the above-mentioned irruption

He is overcome by Aetius.

^a GREG. TUR. p. 65. ^b BUCH. p. 473. ^c Idem, p. 475, 479. ^d Idem ibid. ^e SID. car. v. p. 316. ^f IDAT. p. 19. ^g SID. car. v. p. 315. ^h IDAT. ibid. ⁱ BUCH. Belg. p. 473. ^j GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 9. p. 64. ^k SID. p. 315, 316. ^l VALES. p. 131. ^m Idem, p. 131, 132. GREG. TUR. l. i. c. 9. p. 64.

(D) The words of *Gregory of Tours* are: *Clodio*, upon their return, and, marching through the country which they had viewed, overthrew the *Romans*, (for so he calls him) having sent spies as far as *Cambray* to view the country, set out with his army, and made himself master of the city, in which residing

- a irruption into the *Artois*, and to have been surprised by *Aetius* and *Majorianus* at *Lens*. But, notwithstanding that overthrow, he extended his conquests as far as the *Somme* ^c. Some add, that he took *Tournay*, *Amiens*, and several other cities ^d. But we shall content ourselves with what we find in the best and most credible writers, among whom we do not reckon *De Guise*, the author of the annals of *Hainault*, tho' *Bucherius* has copied many things from him. *Aetius* is supposed to have afterwards concluded a peace with the *Franks*, and to have left them in possession, at least, of some part of the country they had conquered, since he granted the like favour to other nations, whom he dreaded less ^e. *Priscus*, who flourished in those days, tells us, that he saw at *Rome* the second son of the king of the *Franks*, who had been sent thither on an embassy, tho' a youth yet quite beardless. He takes notice of his long, yellow hair; and adds, that *Aetius* adopted him for his son, by presenting him with his armour, and treated him with the greatest marks imaginable of esteem, friendship, and affection ^f. Upon his leaving *Rome*, he was loaded with rich and valuable presents, sent him both by *Aetius* and *Valentinian III.* then emperor ^g. This young prince was, in all likelihood, *Merovaeus*, the successor of *Clodio*; for he lived in great friendship with *Aetius*, and joined him against *Attila*. He went, in all likelihood, to *Rome* in 439. for in that year *Valentinian* was there.
- Salvianus*, who wrote about the year 440. tells us, that the city of *Treves* had been the fourth time pillaged by the *Franks*, and utterly destroyed ^h. This must have happened about the year 477. during the war between him and the *Roman*, of which we have spoken above. The same writer adds, that the *Franks* made themselves masters of another city not yielding to *Treves* in grandeur, and standing at a small distance from it ⁱ. This city can be no other but *Cologne*, which was held by

He extends his conquests as far as the *Somme*.

He destroys *Treves*.

Takes *Cologne*.

* GREG. TUR. p. 65. d VAL. p. 130, 131. DU CH. tom. i. p. 164. BUCH. p. 505. * VAL. l. iii. p. 134. f PRISC. legat. p. 40. g Idem ibid. h SALV. gub. l. vi. p. 133. i Idem ibid.

siding some time, he extended his conquests as far as the *Somme* (1). The author of the *gests of the Franks* adds, that *Clodio*, entering the *Carbonarian* forest, marched to the city of *Tournay*, which he took; and from thence advancing to *Cambray*, he likewise made himself master of that place, put the *Roman* garrison to the sword, and, in a short time, reduced the whole country between *Cambray* and the *Somme* (2). The *Sylva Carbonaria* was part of the *Sylva Arduenna*, which extended, as we read in *Cæsar* (3), from the *Rhine* to the *Scheld*, and the country of the *Nervii*, that is, to *Tournay*. *Gregory of Tours* supposes *Clodio* to have retired at *Dispard* or *Diesburg* before he set out on this expedition: and truly from that place, if situated in the country of *Tongres*, the shortest route he could take was through the *Carbonarian* forest (4). By the taking of *Cambray* and *Tournay*, the *Franks* became absolute masters of the whole country between these cities and the *Rhine*, and at the same time had a free communication with *Tongria*, with the *Wahal*, and consequently with the antient *Francia*; for the country between *Tournay* and the *Wahal*, which is now so well peopled and cultivated, was, even in the fifth century, almost quite destitute of inhabitants, and covered with woods and forests. It was under the successors of *Clovis* and *Charlemagne* that the cities of *Bruges*, *Ghent*, *Antwerp*, *Brussels*, *Malines*, *Louvain*, &c. were built, the country between the *Artois*, the ocean, and the *Rhine*, being, till their time, filled with woods and marshes. As therefore *Tournay* and *Cambray* were, in the days of *Clodio*, the only cities in that tract, by the reduction of them the *Franks* became masters of the whole country. This expedition is placed by *Petavius* in 445 (5). But by father *Daniel* before the year 428. in which year, *Felix* and *Taurinus* being consuls, the *Franks* were overcome by *Aetius*, as we read in *Prosper*, driven out of *Gaul*, and obliged to repass

the *Rhine*. But that writer is certainly mistaken; for *Majorianus*, afterwards emperor, who performed wonders in the battle of *Lens* or *Hesdin*, if *Sidonius* is to be credited, was still a young man in 458. since *Sidonius*, in the panegyric which he pronounced that year, styles him *juvenis*, a young man; and how could he be a young man then, if he had signalized himself in a battle fought at least thirty years before? Thus father *Sirmond* (6), who rightly observes, that, in 428. *Aetius* waged war with the *Franks* on the banks of the *Rhine*; whereas the battle mentioned by *Sidonius* was fought in *Artois*, near the village of *Helena*; which some take to be *Lens*, and others place on the *Canche*, where the ruins of it are still to be seen, and known by the name of *Vieil-Hesdin*. Father *Daniel* will have *Clovis* to have possessed nothing in *Gaul* when he came to the crown; and, to support this system, he places the irruption of the *Franks* under *Clodio*, the taking of *Cambray*, and the battle of *Lens* or *Hesdin*, before the year 428. in which the *Franks* were driven out of *Gaul* by *Aetius*, and obliged to repass the *Rhine*. That writer was well apprised, that he could not allow the above-mentioned events to have happened after the year 428. without allowing at the same time the countries, which *Clodio* seized in that irruption, to have been kept by him, since no mention is made in history of the *Franks* being driven out of *Gaul* after the year 428. But against father *Daniel's* system lie the above-mentioned, in our opinion, unanswerable objections, to which we shall add another, *viz.* that we find *Clovis* possessed of *Tournay*, without being told by any historian, that either he, or his predecessors *Merovaeus* and *Childeric*, reduced it; whence we conclude it to have been held by him, and the two princes who reigned before him, as the successors of *Clodio*, by whom the whole country between *Cambray* and the *Rhine* was reduced, in the manner we have related.

(1) GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 5. (2) Gess. Franc. c. 5. apud DU CH. tom. i. p. 699. (3) Cæ. l. v. c. 3. & l. vi. c. 29. (4) Vide VAL. in notis. Gal. ad voc. Syl. Carbon. (5) PETAV. res. temp. l. vi. p. 343. (6) SIMON. in not. ad Sid. p. 120.

the *Franks*, as appears from that writer, in the year 440. The enemy entered the city while the chief inhabitants were feasting and revelling, without the least apprehension of danger^a. Several of *Salvianus's* relations were, on that occasion, taken by the *Franks*, and by them kept in slavery, and, among the rest, a holy widow, who, having ransomed herself, was reduced to such poverty, that she was obliged to earn her bread by working for the wives of the barbarians^b. The taking of *Cologne* happened, according to the best chronologers, in the reign of *Clodio*, about the year 438. or 439^c. 'Tis to be observed, that this town, in the time of *Clovis*, had a king of its own, but a *Frank* by nation^d. Father *Le Cointe* observes, that, till this time, *Cologne* is constantly called *Agrippina*, and seldom *Colonia*; whereas the latter name universally prevailed, and the former was quite laid aside, after the *Franks* became masters of the place, which induced *Hincmar*, and some others, to imagine, that the name of *Colonia* had been given it by them^e. As the *Franks* were still pagans, the church suffered much in the countries subject to them; and hence it is, that we find no bishops of *Cologne*, named in the ecclesiastic history, from the time of *Levergilius*, who is supposed to have died about the year 430. till the time of *Aquilinus*, who governed that church in the reign of *Clovis*^f. The churches of *Tournay* and *Cambray* fared no better; for they seem to have had no bishops from the year 407. when the *Vandals* broke into those countries, till the end of that century^g. *Clodio* reigned about twenty years, that is, from the year 428. to 448. when *Tyro Prosper* tells us, that *Merovæus* reigned in *France*^h, that is, in the countries subject to the *Franks* on either side the *Rhine*. From the words of *Prosper* some conclude, that the *Franks* held yet nothing in *Gaul*; for, by the word *Francia*, say they, is to be understood the country inhabited by the *Franks* on the *German* side of the *Rhine*. But they are therein certainly mistaken; since it is manifest from all the antients, that both *Clodio* and *Merovæus* were masters of several places in *Gaul*. There is a great disagreement among authors about *Merovæus*: according to the opinion which to us seems the most probable, he was the second son of *Clodio*, and him *Priscus* saw at *Rome* in 439. as we have hinted above, he being then about eighteen years old. Both he and his elder brother outlived their father *Clodio*; but *Merovæus*, by the assistance of *Aetius* and the *Romans*, carried the crown; for that there were great contests between them, is certain, the elder brother having called in *Attila* to his assistance; for this *Attila* himself alleged, among the other motives that had prompted him in 451. to enter *Gaul*. He had a considerable number of *Franks* in his army, those, without doubt, who had espoused the cause of the elder brother. But *Merovæus*, king of the *Franks*, fought for the *Romans*, and distinguished himself in the famous battle of *Châlons*, which to him secured the crown, and made his elder brother give over all hopes of ever wearing it; nay, *Attila* himself advised him, after the battle, to return homeⁱ. The elder brother's name is commonly thought to have been *Claudebald*, who, in an antient manuscript copy of the *Salic law*, is said to have been the son of *Clude*, or *Clodio*, the son of *Pbaramond*, and the brother of *Cleno*, of whom no farther mention is made^j. *Valesius* takes *Claudebald* to be the same person with *Clodomir*, who, in the life of *St. Genulphus*, is said to have reigned between *Clodio* and *Merovæus*^k. But that life was written long after those times, and is therefore of no great authority. *Gregory of Tours* only says of *Merovæus*, that he was the father of *Childeric*^l. However, he must have been a prince of no small renown, since the authors of the seventh and eighth century, and after them many others, have given the name of *Merovingian* to the kings who reigned after him till the time of *Pepin* the first king of the second race, as they style it^m, the first being called *Merovingian* from *Merovæus*. *Rorico* extols him greatly, but by elogiums couched in general termsⁿ; and besides, no great stress is to be laid on what that author writes. Of his exploits, *Bucherius* speaks at length; but all he says is founded upon conjecture^o. *Valesius*, from what we read of *Childeric*, concludes *Merovæus* to have extended his conquests from the *Somme* to the *Seine*, probably after the death of *Aetius*. All we know for certain is, that upon the news of the death of *Valentinian III.* the *Franks*, under the conduct of *Merovæus*, ravaged

He extends his conquests from the *Somme* to the *Seine*.

^a Idem, p. 143, 144.

^b Idem, epist. i. p. 198.

^c COINT. tom. i. p. 69.

^d VAL. l. iv.

p. 236.

^e COINT. tom. i. p. 92.

^f Idem, p. 63.

^g Idem, p. 70.

^h VAL. c. iii. p. 125.

144.

ⁱ SID. car. vii. GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 7. p. 56.

Du CH. p. 393.

^j Du CH. ibid.

^k VAL.

p. 144. BULLAND. 17. Jun. p. 98.

^l GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 9. p. 69.

^m VAL. p. 144, 145.

ⁿ Du CH. p. 801.

^o BUCH. p. 510, 521.

^a *Germania Prima*, and *Belgica Secunda*, that is, the provinces of *Mentz* and *Rheims* ². *Bucherius* thinks, that *Merovæus* died the year after *Valentinian III.* that is, in 456 ^b. *He dies.* but *Valesius* will have him to have lived till the year 458 ^c. *Rorico* writes, that he was loved, honoured, and revered, by his people, as a common father, and that from him the *Franks* in general were called *Merovingians* ^d. In a genealogical table of the *French* kings, prefixed to a manuscript life of *Charles the great*, lodged in the royal library at *Brussels*, he is made the stock or head of the first race (E).

Merovæus was succeeded by his son *Childeric*. When he was but a youth, he was ^{Childeric.} taken prisoner by *Attila*, with his mother, and other persons of distinction; but de- ^{Year after} livered from captivity by the fidelity, courage, and address, of a *Frank*, named ^{Christ 456.} *Wiomald*, as we read in *Fredegarius* ^e. This happened in the year 453. when *At-*

^a *Sid. car. vii. p. 341.*

^b *Buch. p. 526.*

^c *Val. Liv. p. 189.*

^d *Gest. Franc. l. i.*

^e *Du Cii. tom. ii. p. 726.*

(E) It is greatly disputed among authors, whether *Merovæus* was brother to his predecessor *Clodio*, only his kinsman, or even of a different family. *Gregory of Tours* only says, that by some it was held for certain, he was of the same race or family (1). It is past all doubt, that the king of the *Franks*, who died some time before the year 451. and could be no other but *Clodio*, had two sons, who, after his death, contended for the kingdom (2). If *Merovæus* was one of these princes, he was certainly the son of *Clodio*. But perhaps both *Clodio's* children lost what each of them strove to get, and a kinsman of theirs, or one who was no ways related to the family, possessed himself of the kingdom. *Du Chesne* seems to have been of this opinion (3). It is not unlikely, that *Merovæus* was the first of a new branch, since his successors were from him called *Merovingians* (4). But on the other hand, if we admit the authority of *Tyro Prosper*, we can hardly deny *Merovæus* to have reigned in 451. when *Attila* broke into *Gaul*, and consequently to have been one of the two sons of *Clodio*. For *Priscus* does not say, that a contest arose among three princes; but only, that the two brothers contended for the kingdom: and it is certain, that this contest was not ended in 451. for *Attila* came to make war on the *Franks* in favour of the elder brother (5). It appears from *Priscus*, that the king of the *Franks*, who sided with *Attila* against *Attila* in 451. fought at the same time against his brother, and the king of the *Huns* (6). The very expression used by *Priscus*, viz. that *Attila* came to make war on the *Franks*, in favour of the elder brother, shews, that the bulk of the nation acknowledged the younger; and, since *Attila* was obliged to retire, it is not at all likely, that the elder brother, supported by him, got the better of the younger, supported by the *Romans*, by whom *Attila* was overcome, and forced to abandon *Gaul*. The king of the *Franks* had, according to *Gregory of Tours* (7), a share in the victory; and in history we find no mention made of any but *Merovæus*, who in 451. could be styled king of the *Franks*. *Gregory of Tours* knew of no other king between him and *Clodio*, for which there is not the least foundation in history, or allow *Merovæus* to have been the son of *Clodio*. Father *le Cointe* allows *Merovæus* to have been the son of *Clodio*; but will have him to have been the elder brother, and adds, that he was acknowledged king; that the younger brother had recourse to the *Romans*, and to *Attila*; and that the *Romans*, hearing *Attila* was coming with a formida-

ble army, abandoned the younger brother, and declared for the elder, who thereupon sided with the *Romans* against *Attila* (8). But is it at all probable, that *Merovæus* would have dared to abandon, nay, to betray *Attila*, at a time when all nations, the *Romans* not excepted, trembled at his name? Besides, it is certain, that *Attila* was assisted by the *Franks*, and that several of that nation served in his army (9). The above-mentioned writer could not persuade himself, that the younger son of *Clodio*, who was a beardless youth when he came to *Rome*, was the father of *Childeric*, who, as early as the year 456. had abandoned himself to all manner of lewdness and debauchery; and this is what induced him to embrace the aforesaid opinion. Some chronologers suppose the son of *Clodio* to have gone to *Rome* in 439. and others place his journey to that metropolis still later. It in 439. he was eighteen, he might have had *Childeric* in 440. *Le Cointe* places the beginning of the reign of *Childeric* in 456. and *Valesius* in 458. when that prince, then eighteen years old, might well have been guilty of all the debaucheries, which, by historians, are laid to his charge. Besides, we are not told, that he abandoned himself to a debauched life as soon as he ascended the throne: so that the chief argument with which *Le Cointe* strives to support his opinion is of no weight. The only proof of any strength, that can be alleged in favour of the opinion denying *Merovæus* to have been the son of *Clodio*, is the name of *Merovingian*, which was given to his successors; for if they were descended from *Clodio*, as well as from him, why did they take their name rather from him than from *Clodio*? But that name is not given by *Gregory of Tours* to the kings of his time, nor is it to be found in any writer till near two hundred years after *Merovæus's* time; and some authors will have it to have been common to the *Franks* in general. Those, who maintain *Merovæus* not to have been the son of *Clodio*, must at the same time suppose, with *Du Chesne*, that both the sons of *Clodio* were by him excluded from the throne; that this happened after the defeat of *Attila*, that is, after the year 451. and that the *Romans* suffered it, though they had espoused the cause of *Merovæus*, finding they could reap no advantage from a war with the usurper (10). As for the fables related by *Fredegarius* on the birth of *Merovæus*, it would be degrading our history to allow them a place in it (11); and with them are much of a piece those we read in the annals of *Hainault*, by *de Guise*, tho' *Bucherius* thinks them agreeable to what we find in *Priscus*. It is surprising, that a man of his learning and penetration should reason on that subject in the manner he does (12): he surely must never have perused the original *Greek* copy of *Priscus*.

(1) *Greg. Tur. hist. Fran. l. iii. c. 9. p. 65.*

(2) *Prisc. legat. p. 40.*

(3) *Du Ch. p. 141.*

(4) *Val. p. 145. Buch. Belg. p. 505.*

(5) *Prisc. p. 40.*

(6) *Idem ibid.*

(7) *Greg. Tur.*

l. ii. c. 8. p. 56.

(8) *Coins. p. 72.*

(9) *Sid. car. vii. p. 341.*

(10) *Du Ch. p. 141.*

(11) *Vide Val. p. 144.*

(12) *Buch. p. 506.*

He extends his
conquests to the
Loire.

He dies.

tila, attempting to pass the *Rhine*, in order to enter *Gaul*, was opposed by *Merovæus*,^a at the head of the *Franks* who had espoused his cause against his competitor. *Chil-deric* no sooner ascended the throne, than he began to think of enlarging his domi-nions, the more, as *Aetius*, who had kept the barbarians in awe, was now dead. He is said to have extended his conquests as far as the *Loire*, and to have reduced the city of *Paris*, after a siege, according to some, of five, according to others, of ten years^f. In the year 470. he made himself master of *Angers*, after having killed count *Paul* the *Roman* governor of the place^g. Thus *Gregory of Tours*, without ac-quainting us how count *Paul* and *Chil-deric* came to fall out; for he had told us, a few lines before, that the *Roman* general, with the assistance of the *Franks*, had made war on the *Goths*, and gained some advantages over them. *Bucherius* thinks, that^b the *Romans* and *Franks* were overcome by the *Goths*; and founds his opinion upon the authority of *Silvius*, who writes, without marking any time, that the *Franks* were de-feated, and put to flight, by *Euric* king of the *Goths*^h. The same author adds, that *Euric*, after having overcome the *Franks*, entered into an alliance with themⁱ; and elsewhere, that he gave his daughter in marriage to one *Sigismer*, a barbarian prince^k, whom *Valisius* takes to have been a *Frank*^l. This alliance between the *Goths* and the *Franks* induced, in all likelihood, *Chil-deric* to turn his arms against the *Romans*, and seize on the city of *Angers*, at that time belonging to them. He likewise made himself master of *Orleans*, after having defeated one *Odoacer*, who came with a body of *Saxons* to the relief of the place^m. *Gregory of Tours* tells us,^c that *Chil-deric*, entering into an alliance with *Odoacer* king of *Italy*, marched against the *Alemans*, who had entered that country, and gave them a total overthrow. Soon after his return to *Gaul*, he died at *Ternacum*, now *Tournay*, where his remains were discovered in 1653. with many gold coins of the *Roman* emperors, and other things of great curiosity and value; among which was the king's signet, with the inscription *Chil-derici regis*, and his image engraved on it, with his long hair covering both his shoulders, and a dart in his right-hand. But of this discovery the curious reader will find a minute and learned account in the *Anastasis Chil-derici*, which *Chiffletius* wrote in 1655. by order of the archduke *Leopold*, at that time governor of the *Low-coun-tries* for *Philip IV.* king of *Spain*ⁿ. *Chil-deric*, in the beginning of his reign, aban-doned himself to all manner of lewdness, loading at the same time his subjects with exorbitant taxes and impositions, to supply his extravagant expences. Hereupon some of those, whose wives and daughters he had debauched, revolting, drove him from the throne. *Gregory of Tours* writes, that, foreseeing the storm, he prudently withdrew of his own accord, and retired into the territory of *Tongres*, where he con-tinued, till, his subjects returning to their duty, which was chiefly owing to his trusty friend *Wiomald*, he was recalled, and restored to the throne. During his absence, the *Franks* submitted to *Ægidius*, by nation a *Gaul*, but commander of the *Roman* troops in that country^o, whom, upon the return of *Chil-deric*, they easily drove out, and received their lawful sovereign with the greatest marks of joy imaginable (F).^e

Frede-

^f BOLLAND. 3. Jan. p. 140. ^g GREG. TUR. p. 282. ^h SID. l. vii. ep. 3. p. 215. ⁱ Idem ibid.
^k Idem, l. iv. ep. 20. p. 215. ^l VAL. p. 219, 220. ^m DU CH. p. 697, 802. ⁿ Anastasis Chil-derici, per CHIFFLET. Antwerpiz, 1655. ^o GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 12. PAPIR. MASSON. annal. l. i. p. 13.

(F) This event is thus related by *Gregory of Tours*: *Chil-deric*, by seducing the daughters of his subjects, provoked them to such a degree, that, fearing he should be assassinated by them, he thought it advise-able to abandon his kingdom, and retire. He there-fore withdrew into the country of the *Thuringians*; but left behind him a trusty friend to mollify the ex-ulcerated minds of his people, and dispose them to receive again their lawful sovereign. Upon his de-parture he cut in two a piece of gold, whereof he took one part with him, and left the other with his friend, to be sent to him, as a token, that he might return without the least apprehension of danger. After this he withdrew, and took refuge in *Thurin-gia*, living as a private person in the court of king *Basinus*, and queen *Basina* his wife. *Chil-deric* being thus withdrawn, the *Franks* with one consent chose *Ægidius* for their governor, who had been raised

by the emperor to the post of *magister militia*, or commander in chief of the *Roman* forces in *Gaul*. While *Ægidius* was in the eighth year of his reign, *Chil-deric's* faithful friend, having privately and by degrees reconciled the minds of the *Franks* to his master, dispatched a messenger to him with the piece of gold, which he had kept. *Chil-deric*, understand-ing, from that token, that his subjects were ready to receive him, left *Thuringia*, and, returning home, was restored to the throne (13). Thus *Gregory of Tours*, who was born about sixty-three years after the death of *Chil-deric*, and consequently must have been acquainted with several persons who had con-versed, at least, with his contemporaries, and, prob-ably, knew some who had seen *Chil-deric* himself: so that it can hardly be supposed, that he was not well informed of such remarkable events as the de-position and restoration of the king of the *Franks*,

(13) *Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 12.*

- a *Fredegarius*, in his epitome of the history of the *Franks*, tells us, that *Childeric*, being driven from the throne, fled to *Constantinople*, to implore the protection of the emperor *Mauritius*, and returned from thence by sea into *Gaul*. A strange anachronism! *Mauritius* having been raised to the imperial throne near a hundred years after the flight of *Childeric*. *Wiltbomius*, in his chronicle written in the year 810. reads *Martianus* instead of *Mauritius*; but, according to the best chronologers, *Martian* died in 457. whereas *Childeric* either fled, or was driven out, in the year 461. and restored eight years after. Besides, *Gregory of Tours*, who lived in the next age, takes no notice of his journey to *Constantinople*; and *Aimonius* expressly tells us, that he kept at a small distance from his own dominions, not doubting but *Wiomald* would, by some means or other, appease his subjects, and procure his return. He was received in

P ARMON. l. i. c. 7.

and the chusing of *Egidius* to reign in his room. And yet father *Daniel* looks upon this account as altogether incredible and fabulous: he thinks, that the conduct of the *Franks*, had they chosen *Egidius* for their king, would have been no less unaccountable than that of the *Turks* in 1687. if, after deposing *Mahomet IV.* they had raised to the throne prince *Charles of Lorrain*, who then commanded the emperor's army in *Hungary*, and owed all his glory to the advantages he had gained over them. Is it at all likely, says he, that the *Franks*, who were barbarians and pagans, should chuse for their king a *Roman*, and one who professed the christian religion; and supposing they had to such a *Roman* offered the crown, would not he, thro' fear of incurring the emperor's indignation, have rejected their offer? But in those days we find several instances of pagans acknowledging and obeying christian princes, and of pagan princes ruling over those who professed the christian religion. As to the jealousy, which his accepting that dignity might have given to the emperor, *Majorianus* reposed an intire confidence in *Egidius*; and besides, the crown, which the *Franks* placed upon his head, was but a small addition to the power and honours he enjoyed before, as *magister militia*, which employment raised him above all the kings of the barbarians, whom he commanded accordingly in the field. The title of king was no great thing in those times, since it was given not only to all the chiefs of the barbarians, but to the different leaders of many tribes, into which each nation was divided. *Ennodius*, bishop of *Pavia*, who flourished in the fifth century, speaking of the army which *Theodoric* king of the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy* led against the barbarians, says, that the country, in which that prince encamped, could hardly supply with provisions so many soldiers as he had kings in his army (13). The title of king, therefore, which the *Franks* bestowed on *Egidius*, could give no jealousy to the emperor: it was far inferior to that of *magister militia*, which he bore already, and with which the greatest kings among the barbarians thought themselves greatly honoured. Nay, *Majorianus*, who reposed an intire confidence in *Egidius*, must have been highly pleased to hear, that the *Franks* had submitted to him, which, in effect, was submitting to the empire. The *Franks* did not then wage war with the *Romans*, but were their confederates, and had often served in their armies under the conduct of *Egidius*, whose probity and moderation could not, by that means, be unknown to them; so that every one must be well apprised of the wide difference between their chusing him, and the *Turks* chusing *Charles of Lorrain*, for their king. But the circumstances, adds father *Daniel*, attending the deposition of *Childeric*, and election of *Egidius*, are evidently fabulous. This we allow to be true, speaking of the circumstances that have been added to those events by later writers; but, in the account *Gregory of*

Tours gives us of them, nothing occurs that to us seems childish, to use rather *Daniel's* expression, or incredible. *Gregory of Tours* is not accountable, and much less are we, for the fables which later writers have been pleased to add to his relation. Is an event related, we may say, by a contemporary writer, to be deemed fabulous, because others, who wrote after, have added to it several fabulous circumstances? How many uncontested events have been thus figured, and turned into fables? As for the silence of the contemporary writers, on which father *Daniel* lays great stress, there flourished at that time but two, viz. *Idatius* and *Apollinaris Sidonius*, of whom the former, who wrote in *Spain*, at that time overrun by the barbarians, was not perhaps informed of what passed among the *Franks* in *Gaul*, or, if he was, he did not think proper to insert in his chronicle an event that no-ways concerned his countrymen; for, in the affairs of *Gaul*, he is so concise, as to give, in one line, an account of the most memorable battles and sieges that happened there. As for *Sidonius*, he did not write the history of those times, but only speaks of some events occasionally; and his subject did not lead him to mention the deposing of *Childeric* by the *Franks*, and their chusing *Egidius* in his room. The only objection of any weight, that can be brought against the account of *Gregory of Tours*, is in point of chronology. It is certain, that *Egidius* was *magister militia* when he was chosen by the *Franks* for their king; that *Majorianus* was then acknowledged emperor in *Gaul*; and that he was not acknowledged there before the latter-end of the year 458. On the other hand it is no less certain, that *Childeric* was restored before the death of *Egidius*; and that *Egidius* died in 461. the fifth year after the deposition of *Childeric*. *Gregory of Tours* therefore was certainly mistaken, in supposing *Egidius* to have reigned eight years over the *Franks*. This mistake in point of chronology has induced father *Daniel* to question the whole account *Gregory of Tours* gives us of the deposition of *Childeric*, and election of *Egidius*. But might not this mistake have crept into the text of our historian through the ignorance or carelessness of the transcribers? It is owned by all the critics, that in several other passages the numbers have been altered by the transcribers; and this they cannot help owning, without supposing *Gregory of Tours* to have contradicted himself. Why then may not the mistake as to the years of *Childeric's* exile be likewise charged upon the transcribers? the more, as in all the ancient manuscript copies the numbers are written in arithmetical figures, which are very liable to be altered. But allowing *Gregory of Tours* to have been mistaken as to the years *Egidius* reigned, can we infer from thence, that he did not reign at all? Are not the best historians sometimes grossly mistaken in point of chronology?

his own territories by the inhabitants of *Barrum*, who went out to meet him, and were, on that account, exempted from all tribute, which immunity they enjoyed for many years. This *Barrum Franchett* will have to be *Barrum ducis*, or *Bar le duc*; *Belleforest* to be *Bar* on the *Seine*; while *Uredius* and *Chiffetius* take it to be a place in *Brabant*, or *Holland*; for they are of opinion, that *Childeric* took shelter, not in *Tungria*, but in *Thuringia*, as we read it in *Gregory of Tours*; but that writer, or his transcriber, often confounds these two countries (G). Whatever place he came from, he was soon followed by *Basina* the wife of king *Basinus*, by whom he had been entertained during his exile. Some *French* historians would make us believe, that she abandoned her husband to follow *Childeric*, being taken with his good qualities. But the answer she gave to *Childeric*, when asked by him for what reason she had left her husband to follow him, seems to insinuate, though related by *Gregory of Tours* in the most modest terms, that she was not so much taken with his good qualities, as with the abilities of another kind, which she had discovered in him (H). Be that as it will, *Childeric* married her, and had by her *Clodoveus*, who succeeded him in the kingdom.

Clodoveus.
Year after
Christ 482.

Clodoveus, called also *Hludovicus*, *Ludovicus*, *Ludicis*, and *Clovis*, was no sooner raised to the throne, than he began to think of enlarging his dominions, which, according to the best writers, extended only from the *Wahal* to the city of *Tournay*. That *Childeric* was, at his death, master of *Tournay*, cannot be questioned, since he was interred there; and, on the other hand, we know for certain, that *Clovis* resided at *Tournay* during the first years of his reign. The kingdom, therefore, to which he succeeded, was bounded on the north by the *Wahal*; on the east by the city of *Tongres*, which belonged to another tribe of *Franks*, and was not reduced by *Clovis* till the tenth year of his reign, as *Gregory of Tours* tells us in express terms; on the south by the kingdom of *Ragnacharius*, who held *Cambray*; on the west by the kingdom of *Chararic*, commonly placed between the *Escault* and the ocean. *Ragnacharius* and *Chararic* were likewise kings of the *Franks*, but ruled over different tribes, and were quite independent of *Clovis*, as well as of each other. The other provinces of *Gaul* were held by the *Romans*, by the *Visigoths*, and by the *Burgundians*, who all lord edit over the unhappy natives. *Clovis*, resolved to enlarge his dominions, and perhaps, as his ambition knew no bounds, he being then but in the twentieth year of his age, aspiring at nothing less than the monarchy of all *Gaul*, thought it advisable to begin with the *Romans*, who, by the downfall of the western empire, were reduced to the lowest ebb of power. *Syagrius*, the son of *Aegidius*, of whom we have spoken above, held the city of *Soissons*. He had succeeded his father in the government of that city, and perhaps had made himself absolute master of it during the anarchy which had prevailed in *Gaul*, upon the downfall of the western empire, since he is, by *Gregory of Tours*, distinguished with the title of king. However that be, *Clovis*, being resolved to reduce that city, invited *Chararic* and *Ragnacharius* to assist him in the enterprize, which the latter readily did; but *Chararic* declined

He makes war
upon Syagrius.
Year after
Christ 487.

* GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 12.

* Vide Du CA. tom. i. p. 632.

* GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 27.

(G) A modern critic (14) is of opinion, that the words *Tungria* and *Thuringia* were used, by those who transcribed the history of *Gregory of Tours*, as synonymous terms to express one and the same country, viz. that of *Tongres*. *Morel*, who in 1761 published the second edition of the history of *Gregory of Tours*, writes, that in an ancient manuscript of that historian he found the following words: *Disparpum, which stands on the borders of the Tungrians & Thuringians*; and father *Ruhnart*, a most accurate writer, quotes two manuscript copies of the history of *Gregory of Tours*, viz. that which was made use of by the first editor of that history, and another lodged in the abbey of *Reims*, in both which the *Franks* are said to have settled in *Thuringia* after they had passed the *Rhine*; which evidently proves, that by *Thuringia* was meant *Tungria*, or the country of *Tongres*, lying on the Roman side of the *Rhine*; for there they settled after having crossed that river.

(H) The words of *Gregory of Tours* are: *Hic ergo*

*regnantibus stant; Basina illa, quam supra memoravimus, relicto viro suo, ad Childericum venit. Qui cum feliciter interrogaret, qua de causa vel viam illam a regione venisset, respondisse fertur: Novus, inquit, viritatem tuam, quam sic valde strenuus; idcirco enim, ut habitem decem. Nam nobilis, si in transmarinis praevidet aliquem cognovissent insidiosis te, expectissimamque cohabitationem esse. At ille gaudens tam fidei conjugio copularet. Is not the meaning of these words, *novi viritatem tuam*, &c. as plain as a trodder writer could well make it, and very different from that which *Dubos*, in his critical history of the French monarchy, would obtrude upon us? viz. *Because I know you are a man of honour; of courage, and worthy of my attention: had there been a more deserving man in the world, I should have crossed the sea in quest of him*. &c. (15). In this speech consistent with the character of a woman who had broken her conjugal faith, and abandoned her husband to cohabit with another man?*

(14) *Dubos, hist. critic. vol. i. c. 7. p. 339.*

(15) *Idem ibid. vol. xi. c. 6. p. 86.*

being

- a being any-way concerned in that war, with a design, says *Gregory of Tours*, to join the prince who should prevail over the other ^k. *Clovis* was no sooner joined by *Nagatharius*, whom our historian calls his kinsman, than he set out on his march for *Soissons*, and, arriving with his army in the neighbourhood of that city, he sent a messenger to *Syagrius*, offering him battle. *Syagrius*, accepting the challenge, marched into a neighbouring plain, where the two armies engaged. The combat lasted some time; but the *Romans* being in the end put to flight, *Syagrius*, from the field of battle, fled to *Toulouse*, and there took refuge at the court of *Alaric* king of the *Visigoths*; which *Clovis* no sooner understood, than he dispatched ambassadors to *Alaric*, threatening to make war upon him, if he did not forthwith deliver the fugitive Roman into his hands. *Alaric*, unwilling to provoke the king of the *Franks*, ordered *Syagrius* to be immediately delivered up to the ambassadors; upon whose return he was, by *Clovis's* order, kept under close confinement till that prince had reduced *Soissons*, and then privately beheaded ^l. *Clovis*, now master of *Soissons*, transferred his royal seat from *Tournay* to that city ^m. He afterwards waged several wars, says *Gregory of Tours*; and in the tenth year of his reign subdued the *Thuringians*, meaning, without all doubt, the *Tongrians*; for *Thuringia* lay on the other side of the *Rhine*, at a great distance from his dominions, and separated from them by the countries which the *Alemans* held on one side of that river, and the *Franks*, called *Ripuarians*, on the other, who had a king of their own. It is therefore passed all doubt, that the country, said by our historian to have been subdued by *Clovis*, in the tenth year of his reign, was the city of *Tongres*, and its territory, which bordered on the territory of *Tournay*, and opened a free communication between his dominions and those of *Sigebert* king of the *Ripuarians*, and his kinsman; for the *Ripuarians* held *Cologne*, and were masters of the country between the *Lower Rhine* and the *Lower Meuse*. *Tongria*, when reduced by *Clovis*, was held, according to the most probable opinion, by another tribe of *Franks*, who had settled there some time before. The same year, *Clovis* married *Clotildis*, or *Chrottebildis*, as she is called by *Gregory of Tours*, the daughter of *Gilderic*, king of the *Burgundians*, who had been murdered some years before by his brother *Gundebald*, as we shall relate in the history of that nation. Of this marriage, *Gregory of Tours* gives us the following account: The ambassadors, whom *Clovis* had often occasion to send to the court of the king of the *Burgundians*, during their abode there, took particular notice of a young woman named *Chrottebildis*, and, being charmed with her beauty, her wisdom, and her engaging behaviour, and at the same time informed, that she was of the blood royal, upon their return home, they gave the king an high idea of her good qualities, which made so deep an impression on his mind, that, soon after, he sent ambassadors to king *Gundebald*, asking her in marriage. *Gundebald*, afraid to disoblige the king of the *Franks*, granted him his request, delivering the young princess to his ambassadors, who immediately conveyed her to their master. The king was so taken with her beauty and amiable qualities, that he immediately married her, tho' he had already, by a concubine, a son named *Theodoric* ⁿ. Thus *Gregory of Tours*: but the epitomiser of the history of the *Franks*, and the author of the *Gests of the Franks*, add several circumstances which seem to have been unknown to our historian. The account they give us is as follows: *Clovis*, desiring to marry *Clotildis*, often sent ambassadors to the court of the king of the *Burgundians*; but these finding no opportunity to speak to her, he charged a *Roman*, by name *Aurelian*, to wait upon her, and, by conversing with her, to discover her real sentiments, delivering to him one of his rings by way of credentials. *Aurelian*, the better to execute his commission, went in the disguise of a beggar to *Genoa*, where *Clotildis* then resided with her sister.
- f The two young princesses, who spent most of their time in acts of charity and hospitality, entertaining all the poor who came to the place, received *Aurelian* among the rest, and conducted him to the place where they used to wash the feet of the poor pilgrims and beggars, according to a custom which then prevailed, as it still does in some places of *Italy*. This gave *Aurelian* an opportunity of speaking to *Clotildis*, and letting her know, that he had been sent by the king of the *Franks*, who, being informed of her good qualities by his ambassadors, begged she would give him leave to ask her in marriage. At the same time he delivered to her the ring as a ser-

He defeats
Syagrius, and
reduces *Sois-*
sons.

He makes him-
self master of
the city and
territory of
Tongres.

He marries
Clotildis.

^k Idem ibid.
L ii. c. 28.

^l GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 27.

^m HINCMAR. in vit. S. Remig.

ⁿ GREG. TUR.

tain token of his embassy. The young princess received the ring with great joy, ^a and returning thanks to the king for the good opinion he entertained of her, and the honour he designed her, readily consented to the proposal; but at the same time desired *Aurelian* to acquaint his master, that unless the whole was concluded before the return of *Aridius*, who had been sent to *Constantinople* by her uncle *Gundebald*, he would leave no stone unturned to put a stop to their intended marriage. In taking her leave of the ambassador, she pulled off her ring, and, delivering it to him, desired him to present it, in her name, to the king, as a token of the affection and esteem she had for so great a prince. *Aurelian*, returning without delay to *Soissons*, delivered the ring to *Clovis*, acquainting him at the same time with the answer *Clotildis* had given him. Hereupon the king immediately dispatched ambassadors to *Gundebald*, demanding his niece in marriage. The king of the *Burgundians* was not inclined to the match, but nevertheless, through fear of disobliging so powerful a prince, granted him his request; so that *Clotildis* was immediately betrothed to *Clovis*, and, after that ceremony was over, delivered to the ambassadors, to be conveyed by them to their master. The ambassadors set out without loss of time; but were scarce gone, when news was brought, that *Aridius* was landed at *Marseilles*. Hereupon *Clotildis*, quitting her chariot, mounted on horseback, and, pursuing her journey with all possible expedition, arrived at the place where *Clovis* waited for her. In the mean time *Aridius*, who, on his landing, had been informed of the marriage, ^c flew to court, and, by remonstrating to the king the dangerous consequences of such a match, viz. that *Clotildis*, mindful of the murder of her father and brothers, would, one day or other, prevail upon her husband to revenge their death, persuaded *Gundebald*, by whose orders they had been assassinated, to dispatch immediately a body of troops, with orders to bring back *Clotildis*. But she had already reached *Villers*, a place in the territory of *Troyes*, and in that city *Clovis* waited for his royal bride. However, the soldiers sent by *Gundebald* seized on her chariot and equipage. Thus the epitomizer of the history of the *Franks*, with whom the author of the *Gests of the Franks* agrees in the main; but as *Gregory of Tours*, whom we may call a contemporary writer, takes no notice of the particulars related by them, we cannot ^d help looking upon them as doubtful, if not fabulous.

He overthrew
the Alemans.

A few years after, the *Alemans*, one of the most powerful nations in *Germany*, having passed the *Rhine*, broke unexpectedly into *Germania Secunda*, held at that time by the *Franks* called *Ripuarians*, who had *Sigebert* for their king. That prince drew together what forces he could; but not finding himself in a condition to make head against so numerous an army with his own troops, he had recourse to *Clovis*, who readily joined him, being glad to lay hold of every opportunity that offered to signalize himself, and inure his men to the fatigues and dangers of war. The two kings, after their conjunction, marched against the *Alemans*, and engaged them at a village called *Tolbiacum*, thought to be the present *Zulpick*, about twelve miles from *Cologne*. The battle proved very bloody, both parties exerting their utmost efforts; but in the end, king *Sigebert* receiving a wound in his leg, of which he ever after continued lame, the *Franks* began to give ground; which *Clovis* no sooner perceived, than, lifting up his eyes to heaven, says *Gregory of Tours*, he implored the assistance of *Jesus Christ*, who, *Clotildis* had often told him, was the Son of God, and never failed to assist those in distress who put their confidence in him, promising at the same time to believe in him, and be baptized, if, by granting him a victory, he convinced him of his divine power. He had scarce made this promise, when the *Alemans*, notwithstanding the advantage they had gained, betook themselves to a precipitous flight. In this battle their king was killed, and with him most of their chief men; which so disheartened them, that they submitted to *Clovis*, and acknowledged him for their king. Thus *Gregory of Tours*; whose words have induced some to believe, that the whole nation of the *Alemans* submitted to the king of the *Franks*. But that writer must be understood only of such of that nation as had been formerly allowed to continue in the places of *Gaul* which they had seized. For it is certain, that numbers of them had recourse to *Theodoric* king of *Italy*, who took them under his protection, and permitted them to settle in *Rbatia* and *Noricum*, then subject to him. Nay, that prince wrote to the inhabitants of *Noricum*, injoining them to supply such of the *Alemans*, as were not willing to continue there, with

* Hist. Fran. epit. c. 19, 20.

• Gest. Franc. c. 11.

• Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 30.

- a fresh oxen to draw their waggons, taking, in exchange, their oxen fatigued with so long a march ⁹. This letter has been transmitted to us by *Cassiodorus*, with another which *Theodoric* wrote to *Clovis*, exhorting him to give over pursuing the flying *Alemans*, especially those who had taken refuge in his dominions¹. In this letter, after congratulating the king of the *Franks* on the victory he had gained over so numerous and warlike a nation, and intreating him to spare the remains of that unhappy people, he tells him, that he had sent ambassadors to impart to him, by word of mouth, several affairs of the greatest importance, and disclose to him some secrets, which it greatly concerned him to know. These secrets perhaps related to the conditions of the treaty, which about this time the king of the *Burgundians* concluded
- b with the emperor *Anastasius*; and it is not improbable, that *Theodoric*, who was at variance with the emperor, should propose now that offensive alliance against the *Burgundians*, which they concluded three years after, as we shall relate anon. *Clovis*, it seems, at the request of *Theodoric*, who had married his sister *Audefreda*, gave over pursuing the *Alemans*; of whom part settled in the provinces of *Rhætia* and *Noricum*, and part was, by *Theodoric*, transplanted into *Italy*, as appears from the panegyric of *Ennodius* on that prince, where he tells us, that, under *Theodoric*, *Italy* was guarded by the *Alemans*, who had formerly plundered it; and that unhappy nation, after having lost their king, and been driven from their native country, were become the subjects of a generous and good-natured prince, who had given them a far better country than that which they had been forced to abandon². Such of the *Alemans*, as settled in *Rhætia* and *Noricum*, continued subject to the kings of *Italy*, till the *Ostrogots* yielded to the children of *Clovis* whatever they held out of that country. From what we have said, it appears, that the *Alemans* received a total overthrow at *Tolbiac*, since, after the battle, they were quite driven out of their country by the two confederate kings of the *Franks*. The *Alemans* in *Gaul*, masters of a considerable part of the present *Switzerland*, submitted to *Clovis*, as we have hinted above, and acknowledged him for their king. Some of that nation had likewise settled in *Alsace*, and of that country too *Clovis* made himself master on this occasion, and likewise of the city of *Basle*; for, among the bishops who subscribed to the first council of *Orleans*, held by order of *Clovis* in 511. we find the name of *Adelphius* bishop of *Basle*; and it is well known, that bishops were not allowed, in those days, to assist at councils that met in places not subject to their prince.
- c *Clovis* no sooner returned from pursuing the fugitives, than he acquainted the queen with the vow or promise he had made, acknowledging at the same time, that the victory he had acquired was owing to it. Hereupon *Clothildis*, without loss of time, dispatched a messenger to *Remigius* bishop of *Rheims*, acquainting him with what had happened, and intreating him to hasten to court, in order to instruct the king in the mysteries of the christian religion. *Clovis* received the holy prelate with the greatest marks of respect and esteem; but being informed, in the several private conferences
- d he had with him, that he must, in the first place, renounce the worship of the gods he had till then adored, he told the bishop, that he was ready to comply with his instructions, but being afraid, lest the *Franks*, attached to the religion of their forefathers, might thence be prompted to revolt, he begged leave to acquaint them first with his design, and to try, whether the arguments, that had convinced him, might not be of equal weight with them. Having therefore, with this view, assembled the *Franks*, he no sooner began to speak, than they all cried out, with one voice, We renounce the worship of the false gods, and are ready to acknowledge the God whom the bishop of *Rheims* preaches. Hereupon the holy prelate, transported with joy, ordered every thing to be got ready for the baptizing of the king, and the ceremony was performed with the greatest pomp and solemnity. When the bishop was upon the point of administering the sacrament, he addressed the king thus: Bow your head with humility, O *Sicambrian*; adore what you formerly burnt, and burn what you formerly adored. *Remigius*, adds *Gregory* of *Tours*, from whom we have copied this whole account, was, by all his contemporaries, held in great veneration for the holiness of his life; nay, he was even said to have raised one from the dead³. With *Clovis* were baptized, according to the same writer, three thousand of his subjects able to bear arms, and one of his sisters, named *Albofleda*. At the same time, an-

And makes
himself master
of the country
they possessed in
Gaul.

The conversion
and baptism of
Clovis.
Year after
Christ 497.

⁹ CASSIODOR. var. l. ii. ep. 50.
TUR. l. ii. c. 31.

¹ Idem ibid. ep. 51.

² ENNOD. in pan. Theodor.

³ GREG.

other sister, by name *Lantildis*, renounced the errors of *Arius*, and was received into the church. *Albofleda* died a few days after she had been baptized; and upon her death *Remigius* wrote a consolatory letter to the king, whereof the beginning has been transmitted to us by *Gregory of Tours*^w, and some fragments of it gathered from other writers by *Du Chesne*^w, to whom we refer the reader. *Clovis* was not baptized during the solemnity of *Easter*, as *Hincmar*^x and *Flodoard* have written; but in that of *Christmas*, as is evident from the letter which *Alcimus Avitus* bishop of *Vienne* wrote to *Clovis*, congratulating him upon his conversion. The epitomizer of the history of the *Franks* tells us, that *Remigius* having preached to *Clovis*, and those who had been baptized with him, a sermon on the passion of our Saviour, the king, in hearing him, could not forbear crying out, *If I had been there with my Franks, that should not have happened*^y. Before his conversion, he had two sons by *Clothildis*, of whom the eldest, named *Ingomer*, was baptized, by the care of his pious mother, but died a few days after; which greatly provoked the king, who ascribed his death to his being offered to the God of *Clothildis*, and not to those of his forefathers. However, the zealous queen caused the other likewise, by name *Clodomire*, to be baptized, who soon after was seized with a dangerous distemper, which incensed the king anew against his consort; but the child recovered, and the queen never ceased to preach to her husband the true God, whom she adored, till, with the miraculous assistance of Heaven, she brought about his conversion^z. From the whole account of the conversion and baptism of *Clovis*, which we have copied from *Gregory* of *Tours*, the reader must conclude him to have been, in religious matters, a very credulous writer; but, credulous as he is, he makes no mention of the holy phial said to have been sent from heaven, wherein is kept the oil with which the *French* kings are still anointed at their coronation. Of this phial *Hincmar* gives us the following account: *Clovis* and *St. Remigius* were no sooner entered into the baptistery, than all the avenues to it were so filled with the croud, that the ecclesiastic, who carried the holy oil, and was not gone in with them, could by no means find a way through the multitude. Hereupon the holy prelate, not finding the oil when he was to use it, had recourse to heaven, begging with a short, but fervent prayer, that the want of what was necessary to accomplish the ceremony might be supplied by some means or other. He had scarce done, when a dove, exceeding the very snow in whiteness, was seen carrying a phial filled with oil; which the bishop had no sooner received, than the dove disappeared, and was never afterwards seen. With this oil, *Remigius* anointed the king; and the odour it spread was sweet beyond imagination or expression^b. Of all this, not a word in *Gregory of Tours*, tho' a great believer of miracles; which plainly shews, that in his time this fable was not yet invented. It is to be observed, that *Clovis* was at this time the only catholic prince in the *Roman* world. *Anastasius*, emperor of the east, was greatly inclined to the doctrine of *Arius*. *Theodoric*, king of the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*, *Alaric*, king of the *Visigoths*, master of almost all *Spain*, and of the third part of *Gaul*, the king of the *Burgundians*, and the king of the *Vandals* in *Africa*, were avowed and zealous followers of that heresiarch: as for the other kings of the *Franks* settled in *Gaul*, they were still pagans. No wonder therefore, that not only *Anastasius II.* then bishop of *Rome*, but several other bishops, though subject to different princes, wrote to the king of the *Franks*, congratulating him on his conversion, and testifying their joy for so happy an event^c.

The holy phial.

The Armorici
submitted to Clovis.

The end of the
Roman dominion
in Gaul.
Year after
Christ 493.

BUT to return to the military achievements of *Clovis*: the year after his conversion, the *Armorici*, that is, the people dwelling on the coast of the ocean between the *Loire* and the *Seine*, who had shaken off the *Roman* yoke, and formed themselves into a republic, submitted of their own accord to *Clovis*, and became one nation with the *Franks*^d. Hereupon the *Roman* troops, that were still in *Gaul*, finding themselves surrounded on all sides by the enemies of the empire, and not caring to serve under the *Arians*, says *Procopius*, that is, the *Burgundians* and *Visigoths*, capitulated with the *Franks* and *Armorici*, and, surrendering to them the places they held, entered into their service. These, adds *Procopius*, still observe, both in their attire, and manner of marching and fighting, the antient customs and discipline of the *Romans*^e. Thus ended the dominion of the *Romans* in *Gaul*, after they had been masters of

^w Idem ibid.
Rem. l. i. c. 13.
Remig.
p. 94.

^w Du CH. tom. i. p. 849.
^x Hist. Franc. epit. c. 22.
^y Vide LE COINTE ann. ecclef. Franc. tom. i. p. 194. & epist. AVIT. ep. 41. edit. Sirmond.
^z Procop. bell. Goth. c. 12.

^x HINCMAR. vit. Remig.
^y GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 29.

^y FLOD. hist. ecclef.
^b HINCMAR. in vit.

- a that country for the space of five hundred years and upwards, which was now held by three different nations, viz. the *Franks*, the *Visigoths*, and the *Burgundians*. To the above-mentioned union of the *Armorici* with the *Franks*, *Procopius*, who flourished soon after, ascribes the great power which the *Franks* had already attained in his time (H). The year after the union of the *Armorici* with the *Franks*, *Theodoric*, king of *Italy*, being resolved to make war on the *Burgundians*, in order to recover that part of *Gaul* which was held by them, and had been formerly subject to *Rome*, entered into an offensive alliance with *Clovis*, at that time the most powerful prince in *Gaul*. In virtue of this treaty, they were to fall upon the king of the *Burgundians* at the same time, and, if attended with success, divide his dominions between them :
- b if either of them should fail to take the field at the time appointed, and the other, by that means, be obliged to fight alone against the king of the *Burgundians*, he, who had not fulfilled his engagement, should pay to the other a certain sum, and not receive any share of the conquered king's dominions, till he had paid it^f. Of this war *Gregory of Tours* gives us the following account: At this time *Gundebald* and his brother *Godegiselus* reigned over the *Burgundians* who were masters of the countries lying on the *Rhône*, and the *Saône*, and of the province of *Marseilles*. Both princes were *Arians*, as well as their subjects. However, as the two brothers were at variance, *Godegiselus* privately concluded an alliance with *Clovis*, whose troops were in great repute. The articles of this treaty were: that *Godegiselus* should, by some means or other, get the whole power into his hands, and thereupon pay an annual tribute to the king of the *Franks*. Pursuant to this agreement, *Clovis* took the field, and in an hostile manner entered the dominions of *Gundebald*, who immediately dispatched a messenger to his brother, of whom he did not entertain the least jealousy or suspicion, intreating him to march without delay to his assistance, which *Godegiselus* promised to do; but, when the two armies joined battle, instead of affording him the promised assistance, he fell unexpectedly upon his brother's troops, who, finding themselves attacked at the same time in the front and the rear, betook themselves, after a faint opposition, to a precipitous flight. This battle was fought at *Divio*, now *Dijon*, on the *Ouse*; and from thence *Gundebald*, upon the defeat of his army, fled to *Avenio*, now *Avignon*, and shut himself up in that city. Upon his flight *Godegiselus* seized on his dominions, and caused himself to be acknowledged at *Vienna*, the capital of his brother's kingdom^g. *Clovis* pursued the fugitive king to *Avignon*, and laid close siege to that city, with a design to take him prisoner, and afterwards dispose of him as he and *Godegiselus* should think proper. But in the mean time *Aredius*, or *Aridius*, one of *Gundebald's* ministers, a person of extraordinary

Clovis enters into an offensive alliance with Theodoric, king of Italy, against the king of the Burgundians.

He defeats Gundebald. Year after Christ 500.

^f Idem ibid.

^g GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 32.

(H) The union of the *Armorici* with the *Franks* is founded chiefly on the authority of *Procopius*; but, in the text of that writer, the people, who submitted to the *Franks*, are called *Arborici*. However, all those, who have had occasion to speak of this event, read, as we have done, *Armorici* instead of *Arborici* (1); except father *Daniel*, who, contrary to the opinion of all those who wrote before him, maintains, that in the reign of *Clovis* there was a people in *Gaul* called *Arborici*. But, in the first place, that nation was utterly unknown to *Cluverius*, who, speaking of them, expresses himself thus: Who these *Arborici* were, no writer has been yet able to discover (2). Father *Daniel*, in the map which he has prefixed to his history, places them between the *Meuse*, the ocean, and the *Escaut*. But he is therein certainly mistaken; for in none of the notices, or descriptions of *Gaul*, which have reached our times, and were composed under the last emperors, mention is made of the *Arborici*, who must have been a very numerous people, though all the other nations inhabiting *Gaul*, and *Belgica Secunda*, are there minutely described. *Apollinaris Sidonius*, *Salvianus*, and *Avisius*, frequently enumerate the various nations

that, in the fifth century, were settled in *Gaul*; but no mention is made of the *Arborici* by any of them. Besides, if the *Arborici* had dwelt in the country allotted them, by father *Daniel*, on the most distant borders of *Belgica Secunda*, how could their joining the *Franks* oblige, as we read in *Procopius*, the Roman troops, who guarded the *Loire*, to capitulate with *Clovis*? For these reasons, all those who have had occasion to speak of the *Armorici*, even after father *Daniel* published the first volume of his history, have read *Armorici* instead of *Arborici*; nay, *Hertius* (3), *Eccard* (4), and father *Lobineau* (5), cannot help expressing great surprise, that such an able writer as father *Daniel* should be guilty of so gross a mistake. Had he read *Procopius*, says *Eccard*, with more attention, he would himself have been convinced of his error. In the same passage we find, in the text of *Procopius*, *Eridianus* instead of *Rhodanus*, which mistake, as well as that of *Arborici* instead of *Marmorici*, ought to be charged upon the transcribers, and not to the author, who had lived too long in *Italy* not to know, that the *Po* was a river of that country, and not of *Gaul*.

(1) *Valef. rer. Franc. tom. i. p. 278. & nos. Gall. p. 44. Vignier ancien état de la petite Bretagne. Cluver. Germ. l. ii. c. 20. p. 226.* (2) *Cluver. ibid.* (3) *Hert. notis. regn. Franc. veter. c. 3.* (4) *Eccard. leg. Franc. Sal. & Rip. p. 208.* (5) *Lobineau hist. de Bretagne, p. 16.*

parts, and greatly attached to his master's interest, pretending to have abandoned him upon some disgust, went over to *Clovis*, and, being received by him with the greatest marks of esteem, he prevailed upon him by degrees, with arguments drawn from the uncertainty of fortune, to raise the siege of a place which he said was impregnable, and content himself with a yearly tribute, which *Gundebald* readily agreed to pay him. *Clovis* was no sooner returned to his dominions, than *Gundebald*, having assembled what forces he could, marched with all possible expedition to *Vienne*, where *Godegiselus* then resided, and, having got into the town, with a chosen body of men, through an aqueduct, at his first appearing, struck the king and the garrison with such terror, that, believing the enemy master of the city, they only thought of saving themselves in the churches. But *Godegiselus* was, by his brother's orders, killed in his asylum, with a bishop who had there taken refuge with him. A small body of *Franks*, who had remained with *Godegiselus*, withdrew into a tower, with a design to defend themselves there; but being in the end forced to submit, *Gundebald* only disarmed them, and sent them thus disarmed to *Alaric* king of the *Visigoths*. But as for the senators, and chief men, who had declared for *Godegiselus*, he ordered them all to be put to death. *Gundebald*, continues our historian, being, by the death of his brother, become master of the whole country now known by the name of *Burgundy*, published a new code, containing several laws in favour of his *Roman* subjects, that they might be no longer oppressed by the *Burgundians*^b.

Gregory of Tours, in his account of this war, has omitted, as the reader must have observed, such events as belonged to the history of the *Ostrogoths*; and, on the other hand, *Procopius* takes very little notice of those that belonged to the history of the *Franks*. The former writer thought, perhaps, an account of what the *Ostrogoths* performed in, or acquired by this war, foreign to his purpose; and the latter contented himself with a detail of those events in which the *Ostrogoths* were chiefly concerned; since, in this war, they made themselves masters of several cities in *Gaul*, which they still held, when *Justinian*, whose wars with them he describes, undertook to subdue them. The account he gives, after the conclusion of the above-mentioned treaty between the *Franks* and the *Ostrogoths*, is as follows: Pursuant to this treaty, the king of the *Franks* took the field with a numerous army, and entered the territories of the *Burgundians* in an hostile manner. *Theodoric*, on the contrary, pretending to hasten his warlike preparations, ordered them privately to be carried on slowly, with a design to wait the issue of the first engagement between his ally and the king of the *Burgundians*. When the troops were, in the end, ready to take the field, he gave private orders to his generals to advance with slow marches till such time as they had received certain intelligence of the success that had attended the *Franks*. If the *Franks* had defeated the *Burgundians*, the *Ostrogoths* were to advance with all possible expedition; but, to halt, and wait for further orders, if the *Burgundians* had gained the advantage. While the *Ostrogoths*, therefore, were yet on their march, the *Franks* alone engaged and put to flight the common enemy, pursuing them to the farthest borders of their country, where they had several strongholds, in which they shut themselves up, abandoning the rest of their territories to the conquerors. Upon the first news of this victory, *Theodoric's* army marched, with all possible expedition, to join the *Franks*, and, alleging the badness of the roads as an excuse for their coming so late, offered to the king of the *Franks* the sum, which, agreeable to the treaty, they had forfeited by their delay. *Clovis* accepted the offer, and, upon his receiving the money, divided with the *Ostrogoths*, pursuant to the same treaty, the country he had conquered. The conduct of *Theodoric* on this occasion, continues our historian, was a strong proof of his wisdom and prudence, since, without exposing the lives of his subjects, and only by paying a small sum, he acquired one half of his enemy's country^c, viz. the city of *Marseilles*, and its territory, with all the countries lying between the *Durance*, the *Alps*, the *Mediterranean*, and the *Lower Rhône*.

SOME writers are of opinion, that *Gregory of Tours* and *Procopius* speak of different wars. *Clovis*, according to them, waged war with the *Burgundians* at two different times. In the first of these wars he had *Godegiselus*, the brother of *Gundebald*, for his ally, and, in the second, *Theodoric* king of the *Ostrogoths*. But this does not at all agree with what we read in *Marius Aventicensis*, a contemporary writer, who,

^b Idem, c. 33.^c PROCOPIUS, bell. Goth. l. i. c. 12.

- a speaking of the war in the year 500. in which *Gundebald* was defeated in the neighbourhood of *Dijon*, that is, of the war described by *Gregory of Tours*, concludes thus: *Gundebald*, therefore, having recovered, upon the death of his brother, his own dominions, and likewise made himself master of those that had belonged to *Godegiselus*, governed them with great prosperity to the day of his death^k. This we cannot persuade ourselves the bishop of *Avanches* would have written, had *Gundebald*, after his restoration in 500. been engaged in such an unsuccessful war as that of which *Procopius* speaks. However, we cannot help thinking it very strange, that *Procopius* should not mention the alliance of the *Franks* with *Godegiselus*, nor *Gregory of Tours* that of the *Ostrogoths* with the *Franks*. 'Tis true, both historians agree in some particulars; viz. that in the very beginning of this war a decisive battle was fought, in which the *Burgundians* were utterly defeated by the *Franks*; and that, after their defeat, they took refuge in their fortified towns, situated on the most distant borders of their country. Besides, it appears, from the acts of a conference held at *Lions* on religious matters, in the year 499. that *Clovis*, who was then preparing to make war on the *Burgundians*, had already entered into an alliance with a prince who was then at war with them. This ally could neither be *Godegiselus* nor *Alaric* king of the *Visigoths*; for the alliance of the former with the king of the *Franks* was kept secret till the battle of *Dijon*, fought, according to the bishop of *Avanches*^l, and the best chronologers, the following year 500. As for *Alaric*, he was not at war with the *Burgundians*; since their king sent, as we have related above, the *Franks*, whom he had taken at *Vienne*, to be kept by him. As it appears, therefore, from hence, that *Clovis* had *Theodoric* for his ally in the war which he waged with the *Burgundians* in 500. we may well suppose *Procopius* to have spoken of this war without recurring to a second. To conclude; if *Gregory of Tours* and *Procopius* speak of different wars, they are both highly to blame, the former for taking no notice of the second war, and the latter for being quite silent as to the first. *Clovis* was so far from revenging the death of *Godegiselus* his friend and ally, that, on the contrary, he restored to *Gundebald*, no doubt in virtue of some treaty unknown to us, that part of his dominions which had fallen to his share. As for *Theodoric*, he kept the city of *Marseilles*, and some adjacent places, which *Gundebald* perhaps yielded to him, in virtue of a treaty of marriage concluded this year between *Sigismund* the son of *Gundebald*, and *Ostrogotha* one of *Theodoric's* daughters.
- b
- c
- d

- Clovis* had scarce concluded a peace with the *Burgundians*, when, some differences arising between him and *Alaric* king of the *Visigoths*, both princes began to prepare for war; which *Theodoric*, king of the *Ostrogoths*, no sooner understood, than he interposed his good offices, and offered his mediation, sending both to them, and to the kings of the *Burgundians*, the *Heruli*, the *Varni*, and the *Thuringians*, letters on that subject, which are still to be seen in *Cassiodore*^m. He advises *Alaric* not to be too confident on the reputation of his *Visigoths*, for the great things formerly achieved by them; but bids him consider what an alteration long peace and idleness may have wrought in them: he tells him, that passion is a bad counsellor, and not only prompts men to take pernicious resolutions, but to make choice of the worst means to put them in execution; that war ought to be looked upon as the last resource, and never ought to be entered into by princes, till all other methods of obtaining what is due to them in justice have proved unsuccessful: he therefore exhorts him to forbear all hostilities against the king of the *Franks* till the return of the ambassadors, whom he designed to send to that prince with an offer of his mediation, in order to prevent either of the two princes, so nearly allied to him, from aggrandizing himself at the expence of the other. He closes his letter thus: It is not to revenge the blood of your fathers, or to recover part of your dominions unjustly seized and detained by either of you, that you take arms against each other, but only on account of some unguarded words; so that your differences may be easily composed, if not heightened by unseasonable hostilities. Give me leave, therefore, to acquaint *Clovis*, before you come to an open rupture, that he shall have me too for his enemy, if he makes war upon you. When justice speaks to princes with a sword in her hand, they readily hearken to her. We have therefore dispatched ambassadors to you, who will farther acquaint you, by word of mouth, with our intention. We have ordered them to repair afterwards to the courts of the king of the *Burgundians*,
- e
- f

Clovis and Alaric quarrel.

Theodoric interposes.

His letters to several princes on this subject.

^k MARIUS AVENTIC. chron. ad ann 500.

^l Idem ibid.

^m CASSIODOR. variar. l. ii. ep. 3.

and of such other princes as you shall think proper, and to act there pursuant to the instructions they shall receive from you. Above all things, take care you be not the first in committing hostilities; lest you should incur the hatred which all men bear to the violators of treaties. Persuade yourself, that we are so far from sowing the seeds of discord among our neighbours, in order to take advantage of their misfortunes, that we shall look upon those, who fall upon you, as a common enemy, and act accordingly^a. In his letter to *Luduin*, for so he calls *Clovis*, he tells that prince, that he cannot but wonder he should be so easily provoked, and, upon so slight an occasion, make war upon *Alaric*, being uncle to his wife *Theodegotha*; that their common enemies wished for nothing so much as to see the *Franks* and *Visigoths* weakening and destroying each other: he bids him consider, they are both kings of powerful nations, and in the flower of their age; and therefore that they ought the more to be upon their guard against evil counsellors, lest they should, by rashly entering into a war, bring their kingdoms to the brink of ruin. He proposes the mediation of the neighbouring princes, and advises him to sheath his sword, which he could not in honour see drawn by either of them: he concludes by threatening to make war upon the first, whether *Luduin* or *Alaric*, who should commit hostilities against the other; and by assuring both, that the advice he gave them proceeded from the most sincere friendship, since none but a true friend, who was far from envying their prosperity, would advise them as he had done. In his letter to *Gundebald*, he tells that prince, that he thinks himself bound in duty to moderate the ardour of two young princes, whose conduct is condemned by all men of experience and prudence; that they ought to hearken to those, who, by their age and experience, are intitled to advise them; that he cannot suffer two princes, who are both nearly allied to him, to destroy each other, and therefore is resolved to declare against him, who shall first commit hostilities: he adds, that he has dispatched ambassadors to him, with orders to repair afterwards to the court of the king of the *Franks*, with the deputies of the other princes his friends and allies, to negotiate an accommodation between the contending parties. He closes his letter with advising the king of the *Burgundians* to act in concert with him, and do all that lies in his power to prevent a war, which, should they be remiss in their good offices, the world will believe to have been under-hand kindled by them. In these letters *Theodoric* pretends to stand quite neuter, and to have taken no other resolution, but that of declaring against the aggressor, whether *Clovis* or *Alaric*; but in the letter he wrote to the three brothers, *Hermanafred*, *Baderic*, and *Bertbier*, who at that time reigned jointly over the *Heruli*, the *Varni*, and the *Thuringians*, he betrays great partiality for *Alaric*, and no small prejudice against *Clovis*. It was couched in the following terms: The proud are detested by Heaven, and it is incumbent upon every man to curb their arrogance. He who seeks to oppress a people, whom every nation would be glad to have for neighbours, shews but too plainly, that he only wants an opportunity of treating all other princes in the like manner. A prince, who pays no regard to the laws of equity, thinks every thing lawful when he has been once attended with success in an unjust attempt: such a prince ought to be abhorred by all mankind. It behoves therefore you, whose valour is capable of stemming the most unbounded ambition, to prevent the execution of such iniquitous projects. Begin with joining your ambassadors to those whom king *Gundebald* and we have have dispatched to the king of the *Franks*, in order to divert him from falling upon the *Visigoths*, and persuade him to pay due regard to the laws of equity, and right of nations. If he refuses to submit to the arbitration of so many powerful princes, let him be deemed the common enemy of mankind. And truly what else can a prince, who is actuated by good principles, wish for, than to have such mediators, who readily take upon them to see justice done him, if he has been wronged? To speak my sentiments openly; a prince, who pays no regard to the law of nations, must necessarily be hatching dangerous projects, which may end in the ruin of other states. Let us therefore stem the torrent at its source, and cover the countries that are exposed to his ravages, lest they should feel, before they are aware, the direful effects of his fury. You remember, without all doubt, the many favours you have received at the hands of *Euric*, the father of *Alaric*, the magnificent presents he often sent you, the efforts he made, and the vast charge he was at, to prevent the neighbouring nations from

^a Idem ibid. ep. 1.

- a making incursions into your territories. It is now time to repay to the son the good offices of the father. If the king of the *Franks* is suffered to aggrandize himself at the expence of his neighbours, the most distant nations will be no longer safe. These are the motives that have induced us to dispatch ambassadors to you, who will farther inform you of our sentiments by word of mouth, and to whom, after seeing their credentials, you may give intire credit. We exhort you therefore to enter into the measures we have taken to secure the public tranquillity, and to concern yourselves in what passes in the neighbouring countries, that you may not have a war in your own^o. From these letters it appears, that *Theodoric* entertained no small jealousy of *Clovis*, and was greatly prejudiced against him. But the king of the *Franks*, not thinking it advisable to break with the *Visigoths* at this juncture, forbore all hostilities till five years after, that is, till the year 507. and in the mean time, probably, consented to that interview with *Alaric* which *Gregory of Tours* speaks of: for, according to that historian, *Alaric*, alarmed at the conquests *Clovis* was daily making, dispatched ambassadors to him, inviting him to an interview. With this invitation *Clovis* readily complied; so that the two princes met in an island formed by the *Loire*, over-against *Amboise*, a place in the territory of *Tours*. There they conferred, and, having dined together, they parted, promising to live in friendship and amity with each other^p. This is all we find in *Gregory of Tours* concerning this interview. But to his account historians, who came after him, have added several particulars, which we look upon as fabulous, since they have not been mentioned by him; namely, that *Alaric* laid snares for *Clovis*, which he happily escaped; a circumstance that seems to have been invented to justify the war which *Clovis* made a few years after on *Alaric*, that is, in 507.

An interview
between Clovis
and Alaric.

- OF this war *Gregory of Tours* gives us the following account: In those days most people in *Gaul* were desirous of living under the dominion of the *Franks*, and, among the rest, *Quintianus* bishop of *Rhodés*; which the *Visigoths* being well apprised of, they resolved to dispatch him, lest he should betray that city to them. But the holy prelate, receiving timely notice of their design, made his escape in the night, and retired into *Auvergne*. When *Clovis* heard of the treatment *Quintianus* had met with from the *Visigoths*, It grieves me, said he, turning to his people, that these *Arians* should hold any thing in *Gaul*: let us march against them, and, with the assistance of Heaven, make ourselves masters of the fine country they possess. His speech being received by all with loud acclamations, he began his march without loss of time, bending his route to *Poitiers*, where *Alaric* then was. On his arrival at the *Vienne* he found the enemy encamped on the opposite bank, and that river so swelled with the heavy rains that had fallen for several days together, that it was not then fordable, nor could he attempt to lay bridges over it, or convey his men in boats to the opposite bank, without exposing them to the greatest and almost inevitable dangers, the other side of the river being all along lined with the enemy's troops. This gave *Clovis* great uneasiness, who thereupon continued all night in prayer; and the next morning a hind of an extraordinary size was seen by the whole army to enter the river, and ford it, as if sent by Heaven on purpose to point out to the *Franks* the place where the *Vienne*, notwithstanding the depth of its waters, was fordable. The whole army followed their guide, and, having crossed the river without the loss of a man, encamped in sight of *Poitiers*. While he lay there, he observed, one night, a globe of fire over the church of *St. Hilarius*, in the city of *Poitiers*, darting rays towards his camp, and, as it were, inviting him to engage, without loss of time, the king of the *Visigoths*, who had his head-quarters in that city. Accordingly *Clovis* immediately set out anew on his march, and, coming up with the enemy in the plain of *Vouglé*, about ten miles from *Poitiers*, he gave them a total overthrow. In this battle most part of the enemy's troops were cut off, and the rest obliged to take refuge in their strong-holds and fortified towns. *Clovis* distinguished himself on this occasion in a most eminent manner, and killed, as all writers agree, the king of the *Visigoths* with his own hand; but was himself in the utmost danger, two of *Alaric's* guards having attacked him while he was engaged with their king; but his breast-plate being proof against their lances, he happily escaped^q. *Gregory of Tours* does not mention the number of the dead; but only tells us, that most of the inhabit-

Clovis makes
war on the Vi-
sigoths.

Whom he de-
feats, and kills
their king.
Year after
Christ 507.

^o Idem ibid. ep. 3. ^p GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 35. VALES. RES. FRANC. l. vi p. 251. ^q GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 37.

ants of *Auvergne*, who, under the conduct of *Apollinaris*, came to the assistance of *Alaric*, were cut off, and that among the dead there were many senators and persons of distinction (I). Of this battle *Procopius* gives us a very succinct account. That writer, after relating what we have inserted above of the war which *Clovis* and *Theodoric* made jointly on the *Burgundians* in the year 500. continues thus: The power of the *Franks* being considerably increased, they no longer paid any regard to *Theodoric*, but, free from all fear, made war upon *Alaric* king of the *Visigoths*. That prince was no sooner acquainted with their design, than he had recourse to *Theodoric*, who immediately put himself at the head of his army, and marched to the assistance of his son-in-law. In the mean time the *Visigoths*, upon intelligence that the enemy began to appear on the frontiers of *Poitou*, posted themselves under the walls of *Poitiers*, and kept some days within their trenches, waiting the arrival of the *Ostrogoths*. This highly affronted the *Visigoths*, who, thinking themselves a match for the *Franks* without the assistance of any other nation, forced *Alaric* in the end to engage the enemy before he was joined by *Theodoric*. But the *Visigoths* were defeated, and great numbers of them killed on the spot, and, among the rest, their king¹. We are told by several writers, who lived in those times, or soon after, that *Clovis* had for his ally in this war *Gundebald* king of the *Burgundians*²; and from *Gregory of Tours* it appears, that a body of *Ripuarian Franks* joined him before the battle, under the conduct of *Chloderic*, the eldest son of *Sigebert* king of that tribe³. The battle of *Vouglé* was fought in the year 507. the emperor *Anastasius* being consul the third time in the east, and *Venantius Decius* in the west. As *Clovis* was chiefly prompted by his zeal for the catholic faith to make war upon *Alaric* an *Arian* prince, no wonder that *Gregory of Tours*, an ecclesiastic and credulous writer, should believe and gravely relate the miracles that were said to have been wrought by Heaven in his favour, but were utterly unknown to *Procopius*.

The Franks
make them-
selves masters
of several
places.

Clovis, taking advantage of the consternation the *Visigoths* were in on the defeat of their army, and the death of the king, dispatched his son *Theodoric*, with part of his forces, to reduce the *Aibigeois*, *Rovergne*, and *Auvergne*; which he did accordingly, making himself master of all the places in that tract between the confines of the *Visigoths* and those of the *Burgundians*⁴. *Clovis*, with the rest of the army, advanced to *Carcaffone*, and laid close siege to that place; but being informed, that *Theodoric* was drawing near at the head of his *Ostrogoths*, he thought it adviseable to retire. However, he made himself master of that part of *Gaul* which lies between the *Rhône* and the ocean, that is, of the two *Aquitains*⁵. After this he took up his winter-quarters in *Bordeaux*, whither he caused great part of the treasures of *Alaric* to be conveyed from *Toulouse*. Early in the spring he took the field, and laid siege to *Engouleme*, which he soon reduced. Our credulous historian tells us, that the walls of that city fell as soon as *Clovis* appeared before them, and that thereupon the *Visigoths* evacuated that place, and the inhabitants, with great joy, took the oath of allegiance to the king of the *Franks*⁶. From *Engouleme* the *Franks* and the *Burgundians*, their allies in this war, advanced to the city of *Arles*, which it was of the utmost importance for them to reduce; since, by the reduction of it, all communication would be cut off between the province which the *Ostrogoths* possessed in *Gaul*, and that part of the province of *Narbonne*, which was still held by the *Visigoths*. The *Franks*, upon their arrival before the place, attempted to make themselves masters of a bridge on the *Rhône*, and, by that means, of an island named *Camargue*, which is formed by the *Rhône*, on which *Arles* stands, dividing itself there into two arms. The *Visigoths* made a vigorous resistance, and in the end obliged the *Franks* to retire, who thereupon crossed the river in boats, and joined the *Burgundians* encamped on the opposite bank. The siege, of which we know but very few particulars, must have lasted some time; for, from several antient records and letters, it appears, that the inhabitants suffered greatly by famine, and that the city was reduced to the utmost extremity⁷. But in the end the *Franks* were obliged, by the troops which *Theodoric* sent

They lay siege
to Arles.

Which they are
obliged to raise
with great loss.

¹ *Procop.* bell. Goth. c. 12.

² *Du Ch.* tom. 1. p. 231.

³ *GREG. TUR.* ibid.

⁴ *Idem*

ibid. ⁵ *Procop.* bell. Goth. l. 1. c. 12.

⁶ *GREG. TUR.* l. ii. c. 37.

⁷ *Du Ch.* tom. 1. p. 232.

(I) *Apollinaris*, who commanded the troops of *Auvergne*, was the son of the celebrated *Apollinaris* *Simonius* by *Papianilla* daughter to the emperor *Avitus*. Most of his men were killed in the battle of

Vouglé; but he had the good luck to escape the general slaughter. He was a few years after chosen bishop of *Auvergne*, but lived only three months after his election.

- a to the relief of the place, to abandon the enterprize, and retire. Of this event *Cassiodore* speaks thus: In the consulship of *Venantius* the younger and *Celer*, our sovereign *Theodoric* sent an army into *Gaul*, where the depredations of the *Franks* had occasioned great confusion. By this army the enemy was defeated, and put to flight, and great part of the country reduced^a. From the life of *Casarius*, at that time bishop of *Arles*, which was written soon after the siege, it appears, that the *Franks* and *Burgundians* were closely pursued in their retreat by the *Ostrogoths*, who cut many of them in pieces, and took an incredible number of captives^a. In this war, *Theodoric* made himself master of *Avignon*, and some other places belonging to the *Burgundians*^b. But no mention is made by any of the antients of his making himself master
- b of any town or country subject to the *Franks*.

THE following year 509. *Hilba*, one of *Theodoric's* generals, gained a memorable victory over the *Franks*, of whom thirty thousand, if *Jornandes* is to be credited^c, were killed upon the spot. Soon after, a peace was concluded between *Theodoric* and *Clovis*, whereof one of the articles was, that the *Franks* should keep the countries, which they had taken from the *Visigoths*^d; which inclines us to question the truth of what *Jornandes* writes concerning the memorable victory of the *Ostrogoths* over the *Franks*, the more as no mention is made of it by *Procopius*; nay, that writer tells us in exprefs terms, that *Theodoric* yielded to the *Franks* the countries they had seized, after he had attempted in vain to drive them out of them. *Amalaric*, the grandson of *Theodoric*, was, at this time, king of the *Visigoths*; but, as he was yet under age, *Theodoric*, who was his guardian, exercised the same authority in the young prince's dominions, as he did in his own. By this peace, the power of the *Visigoths* was greatly impaired; for nothing now remained to them in *Gaul* but the city of *Narbonne*, and five or six other cities within the district of that metropolis. As for the *Ostrogoths*, they continued masters of the province they held before, lying between the *Alps*, the *Mediterranean*, the *Rhone*, and the *Durance*, and appropriated to themselves the city of *Arles*, for the charges they had been at in this war. A peace being thus concluded, *Clovis* repaired to *Tours*, and there received the ambassadors, who had been sent to him by the emperor *Anastasius*, with the ensigns and ornaments of the consulship; for that prince, hearing of his great exploits, thought it adviseable, by such a kind of empty respect, to gain his favour, the rather as *Theodoric* and the emperor were, at this time, at variance; for the *Ostrogoths* had seized on *Pannonia*, and the *Romans*, under the conduct of *Romanus*, were ravaging the coasts of *Italy*. *Clovis*, having received the presents sent him by the emperor, and the rescript of his election, appeared first in the great church of *St. Martin*, with the *tunica trabeata*, the *chlamys*, and the other ensigns of his new dignity, and from thence rode, with a diadem on his head, to the cathedral, throwing gold and silver to the populace, who, in great crouds, attended him. From that time forwards he was acknowledged, concludes *Gregory* of *Tours*, as consul and emperor^e. From which words as consul, and from his name not being found in the *fasti*, some authors conclude, not the real and ordinary, but only the titular and honorary consulship to have been conferred upon him. In all the *fasti*, that have been transmitted to us, *Boetius* alone is marked as consul of the year 510. *Boetius* was one of *Theodoric's* ministers, and is no less known by his writings, than by his misfortunes. To this objection some answer, that, in *Gaul*, all the public registers were kept at *Arles*, at that time subject to *Theodoric*, who, envying the king of the *Franks* his new dignity, would not suffer his name to be registered in the *fasti*. But this answer is of no weight, since the name of *Boetius* alone is to be found, not only in the *fasti* written in *Gaul*, but in all others. *Baronius* is of opinion, that only the titular or honorary consulship was offered him by *Anastasius*; and that he, thinking it below him to accept of such a dignity, refused the emperor's offer. But this opinion evidently contradicts *Gregory* of *Tours*, who lived soon after *Clovis*, and must have been acquainted with several persons, who had seen that prince. Besides, even the honorary consulship was often conferred on the kings of the barbarians, and other very deserving and eminent persons, as is manifest from innumerable instances in history. From *Tours*, where *Clovis* had taken the ensigns of consul, he repaired to *Paris*, which city he chose for the usual place of his residence, and fixed the royal seat there^f. This metropolis was deemed of such

The Franks defeated with great slaughter. A peace concluded between them and the Goths.

Clovis honoured with the consulship, conferred on him by the emperor Anastasius.

He fixes his royal seat at Paris. Year after Christ 510.

^a Cassiod. fast. ad ann. 508.
^d Procop. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 12.

^a Idem ibid.
^c Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 38.
^f Idem ibid.

^e Journ. de reb. Get.

importance, that the grandchildren of *Clovis*, in dividing his dominions among them, ^a agreed, that it should not be comprised in any lot, but remain common to all; and that none of them should enter it without the express consent of the rest, on pain of forfeiting his whole share. *Paris* has been the seat of the *French* monarchy ever since the time of *Clovis*, who first resided there. The kingdoms, over which his grandchildren reigned, after the division of his dominions, had each its particular metropolis; but *Paris* still continued to be the metropolis of the whole monarchy.

*Clovis causes
Sigebert and
his son Chlo-
deric to be
murdered*

Clovis had hitherto greatly enlarged his dominions at the expence of the *Visigoths*, as we have related above; but now he formed a design of causing himself to be acknowledged king by the other tribes of the *Franks*, who were governed by their own princes, and, by adding their dominions and forces to his own, establish his ^b kingdom so firmly in *Gaul*, that it should be out of the power of any other prince to overturn it. This he accomplished, and in the following manner, which no-ways redounds to his glory, though related by *Gregory of Tours*, his panegyrist rather than historian. While he resided at *Paris*, says that writer, by his emissaries he represented to *Chloderic*, the son of *Sigebert*, that his father was now stricken in years, and moreover lame of the wound he had received at the battle of *Tolbiac*, assuring him at the same time, that he was resolved to espouse his cause, and maintain him on the throne after the death of his father. *Chloderic*, depending upon the promises of *Clovis*, suffered himself to be so blinded by his ambition, as to commit a parricide; for one day, while *Sigebert*, who had passed the *Rhine* to take the air in the forest of *Buckovia*, was sleeping after dinner, he was dispatched by two assassins hired for that purpose by his son. ^c A few days after, *Chloderic* was overtaken by the like fate; for having acquainted *Clovis* with the death of his father, and desired him at the same time to send proper persons to take possession of the deceased prince's treasures, which were at his disposal, one of those, who were sent to view the treasures, (for *Clovis* declared he did not want them) bid *Chloderic* thrust down his hand, and search one of the deepest chests to the bottom; but the prince had no sooner inclined his body, in compliance with his request, than, with his battle-ax, he gave him a blow on the head, which dashed out his brains. *Clovis*, upon the news of his death, flew to the place, where the murder had been committed; and having assembled the subjects ^d of *Sigebert*, he assured them, that he was no-ways privy to the death either of the father or the son; but that the father had been barbarously assassinated by the son, and the inhuman parricide, by a just punishment from Heaven, put to death by persons to him utterly unknown. He concluded his harangue by advising them, since they were destitute of a prince and leader, to chuse him for their king, assuring them, that he was ready to defend them against all their enemies at the expence of his own life. His speech was received with loud shouts of joy; and he had scarce done, when he was, with one voice, proclaimed by the multitude king of their tribe. ^e Thus *Clovis* made himself master of the dominions and treasures of *Sigebert*, adding the subjects of that unfortunate prince to his own. *Gregory of Tours* closes his account of the murder of *Sigebert*, and his son *Chloderic*, with the following words: Thus were the enemies of *Clovis* delivered daily up into his hands by Providence, because his intention was upright, and his conduct pleasing to Heaven. ^f Some writers, to excuse *Clovis*, and indeed *Gregory of Tours* for speaking thus of a prince guilty of such enormities, suppose *Sigebert*, and his son *Chloderic*, to have been the aggressors, and to have made some attempt upon the life of *Clovis*; but of this not a word in *Gregory of Tours*, who would not, as we conceive, have passed over in silence such an attempt, since it might, in some degree, have extenuated, in the eyes of the world, the guilt of *Clovis*, in whose favour that writer was greatly prejudiced. Besides, let the provocation be ever so great, the stirring up a son to imbrue his hands in the blood of his father, must be highly criminal. We cannot therefore conceive what could induce our historian, after relating the murder of the father by the son at the instigation of *Clovis*, and of the son by the emissaries of that prince, to add what we have inserted above, viz. that Providence delivered his enemies into his hands, because his intention was upright, and his conduct pleasing to Heaven. By his upright intention the bishop meant perhaps his intention of gaining the *Riparian Franks* over to the christian religion; for both they, and the two princes, were still pagans, whereas *Clovis* was a zealous professor of the catholic faith. This alone, as we appre-

*He is proclaim-
ed king of the
Riparian
Franks.*

^a Idem, l. ii. c. 40.

^b Idem ibid.

- a hend, could excuse, and, in the opinion of our historian, even sanctify, the most inhuman and unnatural murders. Be that as it will, *Clovis*, by the death of those two princes, became master of the whole country held by the *Ripuarian Franks*, which, according to the most probable opinion, extended west of the *Rhine* as far as the river *Fuld*, and on the east to the city of *Chalons* on the *Marne*, having *Cologne* for its metropolis. The country, lying west of the *Rhine*, was part of ancient *France*, which the *Ripuarians* had defended against the efforts of the *Thuringians*, attempting to drive them from thence. Some time before the invasion of *Attila*, they crossed the *Rhine*, and, being allowed to settle in the parts of *Gaul* bordering on that river, they extended, by degrees, their territories to *Chalons*. In the life of *St. Mesmin*,
 b the second abbot of *Mici*, in the diocese of *Orleans*, and contemporary with *Clovis*, which was written soon after his death, and likewise in a chronicle of the twelfth century, by one *Hugo*, we find a long account of the siege and reduction of *Verdun* by *Clovis*, which, according to the best chronologers, happened at this time, the inhabitants of that city, who were highly provoked at the treacherous murder of their princes, refusing to acknowledge him for their king, as we read in the above-mentioned chronicle. However, they were in the end obliged to submit, as were several other cities, which had belonged to *Sigebert*, and were unwilling to receive *Clovis* for their kingⁱ. The *Ripuarian Franks* seem to have been, next to the *Salians*, the most powerful of all the tribes of that nation settled in *Gaul*; for, even after they
 c had acknowledged *Clovis* for their king, they continued a distinct tribe, separated from that of the *Salians*, had their own code of laws, and lived according to them, even under the kings of the second race. But all the other tribes, after they had submitted to *Clovis*, were incorporated, and became one people, with the tribe of the *Salians*, of which *Clovis* was king, no further mention being made in history of the *Cbatti*, *Cbamavi*, *Ampsivarii*, &c. whose names so often occur in the historians, who wrote before that time.

- BUT to resume the thread of our history: *Gregory of Tours*, after relating in what manner *Clovis* united the dominions of *Sigebert* to his own, gives us an account of the
 d opinion, had settled in the country comprising the present dioceses of *Bologne*, *St. Omers*, *Bruges*, and *Ghent*. *Clovis*, says our historian, marched afterwards against *Cbararic*, who, refusing to join him against *Syagrius*, had waited the issue of the battle, in order to side with the conqueror. *Cbararic*, and his son, fell into the snare, which *Clovis* had laid for them, who, having got them into his power, after ordering their hair to be cut, caused the father to be ordained priest, and the son deacon. As *Cbararic* was one day bewailing his hard fate, the son, to alleviate the grief of his disconsolate father; In stripping us of our dignity, says he, and bereaving us of the ensigns of majesty, they have only stripped a green tree of its leaves, which will soon bud anew. May our enemy perish as soon as our hair will grow! *Clovis*, being informed of
 e this discourse, and not doubting but they intended to let their hair grow, which was a mark of royalty, and, by hiring assassins to murder him, attempt the recovery of their kingdom, resolved to be before-hand with them, and accordingly ordered them both to be put to death. The two princes being thus dispatched, he seized on their treasures, made himself master of their country, and obliged their subjects, both *Romans* and *Franks*, to acknowledge him for their king^k.

- Ragnacharius*, king of *Cambray*, was now the only prince among the *Franks*, of whom *Clovis* entertained the least jealousy. He therefore resolved, in the next place, to fall upon him, being well apprised, that, if he were once removed, the kings of the other tribes would be no-ways in a condition to make head against him, even with
 f their united forces. *Ragnacharius*, as *Gregory of Tours* takes care to tell us, was a most wicked prince, abandoned to all manner of lewdness, not sparing his own relations, and intirely governed by a favourite minister named *Faro*, whom he treated rather as his equal than his servant. His debauched life, and the exorbitant power he allowed to his wicked favourite, who was the object of the public hatred, raised an universal discontent among his subjects. This *Clovis* resolved to improve to his advantage, and, in order to gain over the discontented party, he sent to the leading men among them bracelets of gilt brags, pretending they were of pure gold. When he found he could depend upon those, who had received his presents, he entered

ⁱ LABB. bibl. tom. i. p. 87. DU CHESNE, tom. i. p. 531. SPICIL. tom. iii. p. 307.
 TUR. l. ii. c. 41.

^k GREG.

He puts to
death Ragna-
charius, and
the other kings
of the Franks,
and seizes on
their dominions

unexpectedly the dominions of *Ragnacharius* at the head of a powerful army; which *a* *Ragnacharius* no sooner understood, than he took the field with what troops he could assemble, in order to oppose the attempts of his rival. When *Clovis* drew near the place where he was encamped, he sent out some parties to reconnoitre the enemy; but these, being gained over by *Clovis*, assured him on their return, that the troops he discovered at a distance were his own subjects, coming, pursuant to his orders, to join him. In the mean time *Clovis* advanced, and, falling upon *Ragnacharius* before he could draw up the few troops he had with him, put him to flight. The unhappy prince attempted to make his escape; but was taken, together with his brother *Richarius*, by the traitors he had about him, and both delivered up, with their hands tied behind their backs, to *Clovis*, who thus addressed *Ragnacharius*: *It was base and b* *scandalous in you to suffer one of our illustrious race to be thus bound, like a public malefactor. You ought to have avoided, at the expence of a thousand lives, such an ignominious treatment.* He had scarce uttered these words, when, with a blow of his battle-ax, he cleaved his head, and laid him dead at his feet. In the same manner he treated *Richarius*, after upbraiding him with cowardice, for not defending his brother with that courage and resolution, which became one of his blood. In the mean time those, who had betrayed *Ragnacharius*, discovering that their bracelets were not of gold, complained thereof to *Clovis*, who is said to have returned them the following answer: *You well know what you have done, and therefore ought not to complain, but deem it a great favour, that I suffer you to live.* *Clovis*, continues our historian, was nearly *c* related to *Ragnacharius* and *Richarius*, who had another brother named *Regnomer*, king of the *Franks* settled at *Mans*; and him too *Clovis* caused to be murdered, making himself master of the dominions and treasures of the three brothers. By the murder of these, and several other princes, of whom, as they were his kinsmen, he entertained some jealousy, he extended his dominion all over *Gaul*. Having thus dispatched all the princes, who were any-ways related to him, he one day, in the presence of his nobles, bemoaned his condition, saying, That he was, in a manner, a stranger among his own people, having no kinsman to stand by him, in case he wanted his assistance. But this he said, not because he was concerned for their death, but to try whether any one would own himself for his relation, that he might *d* dispatch him, as he had done the others¹. This is the account *Gregory of Tours* gives us of the manner, in which *Clovis* caused himself to be acknowledged king of all the tribes of the *Franks* settled in *Gaul*. Whether his intention could be upright, as that writer is pleased to express himself, and his conduct pleasing to Heaven, we leave our readers to judge.

He dies.
Year after
Christ 511.

Clovis did not long enjoy his new conquests; for he died soon after the reduction of the several tribes of *Franks* settled in *Gaul*. *Clovis*, says *Gregory of Tours*, having transacted these things, that is, having forced all the tribes of the *Franks* in *Gaul* to acknowledge him for their king, died soon after at *Paris*, and was buried there in the church of the holy apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, which had been built by him and *e* queen *Clotildes*, or, as our historian styles her, *Crotbildes*. He died in the forty-fifth year of his age, five years after the battle of *Vouglé*, having reigned thirty years. After his death, *Clotildes* retired into *Touraine*, and there passed the remaining part of her life at *St. Martin's* tomb^m. This is all we find in *Gregory of Tours* concerning the death of *Clovis*. He left four sons behind him, viz. *Theodoric*, *Clodomir*, *Cbildebert*, and *Clotharius*. The three last he had by *Clotildes*, and the eldest by a concubine before his marriage with that princess. *Theodoric*, at his father's death, had already a son named *Theodebert*, a youth of great expectationⁿ. As to the age of the other three, all we know is, that *Clodomir* the eldest was born before the battle of *Tolbiac* in 496. so that, at the time of his father's death, he must have been about *f* seventeen. The four brothers divided their father's dominions equally among them. *Theodoric* reigned at *Metz*; *Clodomir* at *Orleans*; *Clotharius* at *Soissons*; and *Cbildebert* at *Paris*. Though these four kingdoms were rather members of one and the same monarchy, than four different monarchies, yet the princes were quite independent of each other, in the same manner as the kings of the different tribes had been of *Clovis*.

¹ Idem ibid. c. 42.

^m Idem ibid. c. 43.

ⁿ Idem, l. iii. c. 1.

S E C T. VI.

The antient state of the Burgundians, Alemans, Heruli, Gepidæ, &c.

- a** **T**HE *Burgundians*, who, upon the decline of the empire, seized on a considerable portion of *Gaul*, and founded a new kingdom there, were, according to *Am-
mianus Marcellinus**, originally descended from the *Romans*. *Orosius*, who wrote about the year 420. was of the same opinion: We are told, says that writer, that *Drusus Nero*, and his brother *Tiberius*, the adopted sons of *Cæsar Augustus*, having subdued the inner parts of *Germany*, left several camps in the country, and part of their army, to keep the neighbouring people in subjection. From the *Roman* soldiers, who were on this occasion left to guard the camps, are descended the *Burgundians*. The castles and strong-holds, built for the defence of a country, are by the *Germans* called *burgs*; and hence the *Romans* who guarded them, and their descendants, were styled *Burgundians*. Their conquests in *Gaul*, continues our historian, speak them both a numerous and warlike nation. As they have embraced the catholic faith, our ecclesiastics, whose spiritual jurisdiction they acknowledge, have rendered them mild and tractable; for, in the countries where they have settled, they treat the natives, not as strangers whom they have subdued, but as brothers in Christ. Thus *Orosius*, who, had he lived thirty years longer, would not have commended the *Burgundians* on account of their gentle treatment of the natives; for, upon their embracing the tenets of *Arius*, which happened about the year 450. the natives, who professed the catholic faith, were treated by them more like slaves than brethren. But to return to their origin: *Pliny* the elder supposes them to be a *German* nation, descended from the *Vindili*, whom most writers take to be the same people with the *Vandals*†. *Valesius* distinguishes the *Burgundians* of *Germany* from those of the same name, who dwelt more to the east, on the banks of the *Danube*‡. The *Burgundians* of *Germany* were sometimes in alliance, and sometimes at war, with the empire; but never had the reputation of a warlike nation: for the writers, who flourished in those times, speak of them as far inferior in courage and bravery to the other *Germans*, and observe, that the *Burgundians* dwelt in castles and fortified places, whereas the other *German* nations scorned any other fence but their arms: and truly most of them were mechanics, and, before they settled in *Gaul*, they used in great numbers to flock into that country, to earn a livelihood by their respective professions. As to their government, they were divided into several tribes, each governed by their own chief or king, whose authority was so far from being hereditary, that it was not even during life. The kings of this nation, whom we find mentioned in history, are *Gundicar*, *Gundiac*, *Bilimer*, *Gundebald*, *Sigismund*, and *Godemar*. These princes reigned after the *Burgundians* had entered *Gaul*, that is, after the year 407. but they had, without all doubt, kings or chiefs long before that time, though not named by the historians, whose works have reached us. The kings of the *Burgundians*, as well as those of the other barbarians, did not think it below them to serve in the *Roman* armies, to discharge some of the chief offices of the empire, and to receive, at the hands of the emperors, such dignities as they used to confer on their subjects. Thus *Gundiac* was, in the reign of *Anthemius*, *magister militiæ*, or general of the *Roman* armies; and *Gundebald* his eldest son patrician. *Chilperic*, the brother of *Gundebald*, had been likewise *magister militiæ*, and was afterwards created patrician†. His son *Sigismund*, who succeeded him in the kingdom, received from *Anastasius* the same dignity of patrician, on which occasion he wrote to the emperor the following letter: *My predecessors and I have been ever so attached to the Roman empire, as to think ourselves more honoured by the dignities the emperors have conferred on us, than by the titles which have been transmitted to us by our ancestors. We command at home, but think it a greater honour to serve abroad in your armies*‡. The use of legal duels, or duels ordered by the magistrates or judges, to discover, from the event, the truth of contested facts, was first introduced into *Gaul*, where it long obtained, by the *Burgundians*. *Gundebald* was the first, who established by law this maxim, that the best champion

The origin of the Burgundians.

The least warlike of all the German nations.

Their kings.

They think themselves honoured with the dignities of the empire.

The use of legal duels introduced by them.

* AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 375.

† OROS. l. vii. c. 19.

‡ PLIN. l. iv. c. 14. p. 86.

§ VALES.

rer. Franc. p. 48.

§ SOCRAT. hist. eccl. l. vii. c. 30.

† ENNOD. vit. p. 404.

‡ AVIT.

cp. lxxxiii. p. 137.

is the best man, and ought to be believed; a maxim which has so often proved fatal a to innocence! This unjust and sanguinary law was couched in the following words: Being fully convinced, that many of our subjects suffer themselves to be corrupted by their avarice, or hurried on by their obstinacy, so as to attest by oath what they know not, nay, and what they know to be false; to put a stop to such scandalous practices, when two *Burgundians* are at law, if the defendant shall swear, that he owes not what is demanded of him, or that he is not guilty of the crime that is laid to his charge; and the plaintiff, on the other hand, not satisfied therewith, shall declare, that he is ready to maintain, sword in hand, the truth of what he advances; if the defendant does not acquiesce, it shall be lawful for them to decide the controversy by dint of sword. This is to be likewise understood of the witnesses of either party, it b being just, that every man should be ready to defend with his sword the truth which he attests, and to submit himself to the judgment of Heaven. If one of the plaintiff's witnesses shall be killed, all the others shall be condemned to pay immediately three hundred *solidi*. If the defendant is overcome, the plaintiff shall receive three times the sum which he demanded. It is our will and pleasure, that this law be strictly observed and executed, that our subjects may conceive an utter aversion to the detestable sin of perjury. Given at *Lions* the twenty-seventh of *June*, *Avienus* being consul, that is, in 501^a. This law was no sooner published, than *Avitus*, bishop of *Vienne*, wrote a letter to the king, remonstrating, with equal zeal and learning, the injustice of it; but could, by no means, prevail upon that prince to repeal it; c nay, however unjust and sanguinary, it prevailed, by degrees, among the *Franks*, and all the other nations dwelling in *Gaul*.

The Burgundians break in to Gaul; but are driven out by *Probus*. Year after Christ 275.

As to the history of the *Burgundians*, we find nothing worthy of notice concerning them till the year 275. the first of the emperor *Tacitus's* reign, when, in conjunction with the *Lugians*, the *Franks*, and the *Vandals*, they crossed the *Rhine*, over-ran all *Gaul*, and made themselves masters of seventy cities and upwards in that country, which they held for the space of almost two years^w. But in the mean time *Tacitus* being murdered, *Probus*, who was chosen in his room, marched against them, and, having gained a complete victory over the *Burgundians* and *Vandals* on the banks of the *Rhine*, obliged them to sue for peace; which was granted them, upon their promising to restore the booty, and set at liberty the prisoners they had taken. But, as they did not faithfully comply with this condition, *Probus* fell upon them in their retreat, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and took many prisoners, whom he afterwards sent into *Britain*, where they proved very serviceable to the *Romans* in all seditions and insurrections^x. In the year 287. the fourth of the emperor *Dioclesian*, they broke into *Gaul* anew with the *Heruli*, the *Alemans*, and the *Chabions* or *Cavions*, a people on no other occasion mentioned in history, and of whom all we know is, that their country, as well as that of the *Heruli*, lay at a great distance from *Gaul*^y.

They are defeated anew in Gaul by *Maximian*. Year after Christ 287.

We are told, that the *Alemans* and *Burgundians* were destroyed by their own numbers, which occasioned a famine, that was followed by a plague; so that they were easily overcome by *Maximian*, whom *Dioclesian* had taken for his partner in the empire, and dispatched against them. We are told, that, of such vast multitudes of barbarians, a very small number returned home, the rest being swept off by the plague, or cut in pieces by the *Romans*^z. For the advantages gained over the barbarians on this occasion, the two emperors were decreed a triumph, as appears from a medal of this year^a. Some years after, that is, in the year 291. a war broke out between the *Burgundians* and *Alemans*, in which the former seem to have gained considerable advantages over the latter; for we are told, that they reduced great part of their country, and that the *Alemans* were striving to recover what they had lost^b: and this is all we know of that war. In the year 370. the seventh of *Valentinian I.* the *Burgundians* appeared on the banks of the *Rhine*, to the number of eighty thousand fighting men, being invited thither by *Valentinian*, who maintained a private intelligence with their chiefs, and had promised to pass the *Rhine*, and, in conjunction with them, fall upon *Macrian* king of the *Alemans*, with whom they were then at variance. But the emperor, who was then busied in building forts on the *Rhine*, not caring to interrupt the work, and join them, as he had promised to do, they returned home, highly incensed against *Valentinian*, by whom they had f

^a L. x. Burg. tit. xlv. p. 238. Zos. l. i. p. 664. & Panegy. x. p. 125.

^w Tacit. vit. p. 227. VALES. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 7, 8.

^y Panegy. xi. p. 131. Buch. Belg. p. 221.

^z Notis. de Diocles. c. 4. p. 18.

^b Panegy. xi. p. 138.

^x Prob. vit. p. 133. Idem ibid. p. 133.

- a been thus disappointed and deluded^c; but we do not find they committed any hostilities against the empire. In the year 407. they followed the *Vandals*, *Sueves*, and *Alans*, who had entered *Gaul* the last day of the preceding year, in order to share with them the spoils of those wealthy provinces; but they did not settle, it seems, in that country till the year 413. for in that year, *Prosper* tells us, they obtained that part of *Gaul*, which borders on the *Rhine*, that is, according to *Bucherius*, the present *Alsace*, and the remaining part of *Germania Prima*, which, in the opinion of that writer, were yielded to them by *Honorius*, not able, by any other means, to put a stop to their ravages^d. Such was the beginning of the kingdom of the *Burgundians* in *Gaul*. They continued quiet in the seats allotted them till the year 435. when, in conjunction with the *Heruli*, the *Hunns*, and the *Franks*, they entered *Belgic Gaul*, committing every-where dreadful ravages, though they had, upon their first settling in *Gaul*, promised to assist the *Romans*, and serve in their armies as subjects of the empire. Hereupon *Aetius* marched against them, and, having overcome them with great slaughter in a pitched battle, reduced them to such streights, that *Gundicarius* their king was obliged to sue for peace; which, in the end, he obtained, but did not long enjoy, being, in the beginning of the following year 436. attacked by the *Hunns*, perhaps at the instigation of *Aetius*, and cut off, with twenty thousand of his subjects^e. *Socrates* tells us, that the *Hunns* made frequent irruptions into their territories, putting all to fire and sword; that the *Burgundians*, no longer able to withstand them, had recourse to Heaven, and, repairing to a city in *Gaul*, embraced there the christian religion, and received the sacrament of baptism; which ceremony was no sooner over, than, full of courage and confidence, they marched against the enemy, and, finding them without a leader, (for we are told, that *Uptar* their king died suddenly the night before) cut ten thousand of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitous flight, though the *Burgundians* were in all but three thousand men. Thus *Socrates*^f. But *Orosius*, who wrote in 417. assures us, that they had, at that time, already embraced the christian religion^g. They continued on the banks of the *Rhine* till the year 438. or, as others will have it, 443. when they were removed from thence by *Aetius* to the present duchy of *Savoy*. During their abode there, *Gundiac*, who succeeded *Gundicar*, and is thought to have been his son, joining *Theodoric* king of the *Visigoths* about the year 456. against the *Sueves*, marched with him into *Spain*, and signalized himself in the battle, that was fought that very year on the banks of the *Orbegua*, in which the *Sueves* were utterly defeated, and their king *Recharius* wounded, and afterwards taken prisoner^h. *Gundiac*, upon his return from *Spain*, seized on part of *Gaul*, dividing, according to an ancient chronologist, the lands with the *Roman* senatorsⁱ. *Valesius* is of opinion, that he made himself then master of the city of *Lions*^k. In 463. *Gundiac* wrote to *Hilarius* bishop of *Rome* concerning an affair of *Dié* in *Dauphiny*^l; whence we may conclude, that he was then in possession of that city. Some are of opinion, that both *Dié* and *Vienne* were yielded to him by the emperor *Avitus*, whose cause he had espoused^m. Others think, that *Gundiac*, taking advantage of the disturbances, that were occasioned by the deposition of *Avitus*, enlarged his dominions, and seized on the above-mentioned citiesⁿ. It is certain, that, in the war between the *Romans* and *Visigoths* about the year 470. the *Burgundians*, under the conduct of their king *Gundiac*, and his son *Cbilperic*, fought for the *Romans*; for we are told, that they defended the province of *Auvergne* against *Euric* king of the *Visigoths*, being jealous of the growing power of that prince^o. Besides, both *Gundiac* and *Cbilperic* were at that time *magistri militie*, and commanded the *Roman* troops^p; whence it is probable, that the *Romans* either yielded to them the above-mentioned countries, or suffered them to seize them, not caring to quarrel at the same time with the *Visigoths* and *Burgundians*. Before the year 490. the *Burgundians* were masters of all *Lugdunensis Prima*, which *Sidonius* styles *Germanica Lugdunensis*, saying, it was then subject to *Cbilperic* the son of *Gundiac* q. The same writer tells us elsewhere, that, when he left *Lions*, and retired to *Auvergne*, a *Burgundian* king resided in that city with his queen^r. *Sidonius* withdrew from *Lions* about the year 470. finding himself obnoxious to the *Burgundians*, who suspected

The beginning
of their king-
dom in Gaul.
Year after
Christ 413.

Gundicarius
their king kill-
ed by the
Hunns.
Year after
Christ 436.

They are re-
moved to the
present duchy of
Savoy.
Year after
Christ 438.

They make
themselves
masters of se-
veral cities
and places in
Gaul.

^c AMMIAN. l. xxx. p. 377.

^d BUCH. Belg. p. 440.

^e IDAT. p. 25. VAL. rer. Franc. l. iii.

p. 136, 138.

^f SOCRAT. l. vii. c. 30. p. 371, 372.

^g OROS. l. vii. c. 38. p. 219.

^h JORN.

p. 676.

ⁱ MARC. CHRON. p. 210.

^k VALES. rer. Franc. p. 186.

^l CONCIL. tom. iv. p. 1043.

^m BUCH. p. 525.

ⁿ VALES. ibid.

^o JORN. rer. Goth. c. 47. p. 678.

^p SID. l. iii. ep. 4. p. 68.

^q ENNOD. vit. p. 404.

^r SID. l. v. ep. 6, 7. p. 134, 137.

^s Idem, l. vi. ep. 12. p. 168.

him

him of privately favouring the *Franks*. *Chilperic* was likewise master of the country, in which stood the abby of *St. Claudius*^a, that is, of the country of the *Sequani*. When *Sidonius* died, *Aprunculus*, bishop of *Langres*, finding the *Burgundians* suspected him as if he maintained a private correspondence with the *Franks*, made his escape from the castle of *Dijon*, and withdrew to *Auvergne*^b. In 494. *Epiphanus*, bishop of *Pavia*, went to the court of *Gundebald* at *Lions*, and to that of *Godigiseles* at *Geneva*^c; so that the *Burgundians* were then masters of all these places. On the other hand, we do not find they made war upon the *Romans*; nay, on the contrary, they assisted them against the *Visigoths*, and are styled, by the writers of those times, the friends and allies of the empire. We may therefore conclude, that they thus enlarged their dominion with the consent, or at least with the connivance, of the emperors, willing to yield to them, or to wink at their seizing, part of the country, which they could not maintain without them. *Chilperic*, who is often mentioned by *Sidonius*, and styled by him a *valorous prince*^d, was not, as some have imagined, the brother, but the son, of *Gundiac*, and grandson of *Gundicar*; for *Gundiac* married the sister of the famous *Ricimer*, whom we have had frequent occasion to mention in our *Roman* history, and had by her *Gundebald*, *Godigiseles*, *Chilperic*, called also *Hilperic*, and *Godemar*^e. They divided, in all likelihood, among them the countries then subject to the *Burgundians*; for *Chilperic* is styled by *Sidonius* *tetrarch*^f, and by *Jornandes* king^g. *Sidonius*, speaking elsewhere of these four princes, calls them *tirannopotes*, intimating thereby, that they acted more like tyrants than kings. Father *Sirmond* tells us, that *Chilperic* and *Godemar*, joining against *Gundebald*, drove him out, and seized on his dominions; but that *Gundebald*, having in the end recovered his dominions, found means to dispatch his two brothers, with their issue male^h. But this is vouched only by the chronicle of *Burgundy* written by *Vigner*, to which we do not give intire credit. *Gundebald* was in *Italy* in 472. and there raised by the emperor *Olybrius* to the rank of patrician. However, he might have returned from thence to *Gaul*, and there caused his brother *Chilperic* to be put to death, and his wife to be drowned, as we read in *Gregory of Tours*ⁱ. *Sidonius* styles her a *Tanaquil*, either on account of her prudence, or because she had a great ascendant over her husband^j; for she is said to have tempered, with her address and engaging behaviour, the severity to which her husband was naturally inclined, and to have saved the lives of several persons unjustly accused^k. *Chilperic* left two daughters behind him, who were both banished by *Gundebald*, or rather kept under confinement in a castle at some distance from the court^l. *Mucruna* the eldest embraced the state of virginity; the other was *Clotildes*, who was married to *Clovis* king of the *Franks*, as we have related in the foregoing section. In the year 473. *Gundebald* was at *Ravenna*; for he is said to have induced *Glycerius* to take upon him the title of emperor in that city^m. After the deposition of *Glycerius*, *Gundebald* espoused the cause of *Nepos*, who was raised to the empire in his room, joining the *Romans* in *Gaul* against the *Visigoths*, who, under the conduct of *Euric* their king, attempted to make themselves masters of *Auvergne*ⁿ. In the year 480. *Odoacer* king of *Italy* having yielded *Provence* to the *Visigoths*, *Gundebald*, jealous of the growing power of that nation, claimed part of the country that had been granted them. This gave rise to a war between the two nations, in which the *Burgundians* were subdued, says *Jornandes*^o, by the *Visigoths*, who made themselves masters of all *Gaul*. But that writer was certainly mistaken, since the *Burgundians* were, in the year 517. and 528. still masters of above twenty-eight cities, and, among the rest, of *Lions*, *Vienne*, *Besançon*, and *Embrun*, as appears from the acts of the councils of *Agde* and *Epaune* held in those times^p. In the year 490. the *Burgundians*, under the conduct of *Gundebald*, entering *Italy*, with a design, as they pretended, to assist *Odoacer* against *Theodoric* the *Ostrogoth*, committed unheard-of ravages in *Liguria*, putting all to fire and sword, and carrying off with them, upon their return home, such numbers of captives, that, in most places, there were not left sufficient hands to till the ground. They met with no opposition, the *Romans*, who had always looked upon them as their friends and protectors, being no-ways upon their guard against them^q. *Gundebald*

Gundebald
puts his brothers to death.

He joins the
Romans
against the
Visigoths.

Ravages Li-
guria.

^a BOLLAND. MORT. xxi. p. 265.

^b EPIPH. p. 402, 408.

^c SID. p. 55.

^d SID. ep. 7. p. 137.

^e ONUPH. p. 57.

^f NOT. GOLL. p. 105.

^g GREG. TUR. HIST. FRANC. l. ii. c. 23. p. 284.

^h SID. l. v. ep. 6.

ⁱ ENNOD. VIT. p. 403.

^j GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 28. p. 235.

^k SID. p. 57.

^l GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 28. p. 185.

^m JORN. c. 45. p. 654.

ⁿ JORN. p. 650.

^o VIDE VAI.

a afterwards declared, that he had acted as an open enemy, to be revenged on the king of Italy, who had deceived him by a false alliance¹; but whether he meant *Theodoric*, or *Odoacer*, is uncertain. Authors observe, that, on this occasion, bishops began first to fortify their mansions, that, on any sudden irruption of barbarians, they might serve as places of refuge for those who dwelt in the country^m. About this time *Gundebald* sent one *Laurentius*, a person of great distinction among the *Burgundians*, with the character of ambassador to the emperor *Anastasius* at *Constantinople*ⁿ; but with what commission he was charged, we are no-where told. Two letters have reached us, both written in 497. the one by the emperor *Anastasius* to *Clovis*, intreating him to prevail upon *Gundebald* to allow one of *Laurentius*'s sons to repair to his father at *Constantinople*; the other by *Clovis* to *Gundebald*, who readily complied with the emperor's request and his^o. In the history of the *Franks*, we have spoken of the war which *Gundebald* waged with *Clovis*, and his brother *Godegisces*, whom in the end he overcame, and put to death. Being restored to his dominions, he reigned, without disturbing his neighbours, or being disturbed by them, till his death, which happened in the year 516^p. Some years before his death, he was for renouncing privately the errors of *Arius*; but could, by no means, be prevailed upon, says *Gregory of Tours*, to acknowledge publicly the mystery of the holy trinity^q.

He dies.
Year after
Christ 516.

Gundebald was succeeded by his son *Sigismund*, who had no sooner taken possession of his father's dominions, than he dispatched ambassadors to the emperor *Anastasius* at *Constantinople*, acquainting him with his accession to the crown. In the letter he wrote on this occasion to the emperor, he styles his father one of *Anastasius*'s most faithful subjects; and adds, that the nation, which he governed, had ever acknowledged *Anastasius* for their liege lord; that he himself deemed it a greater honour to obey his commands, than to be obeyed by a whole nation; that these sentiments were hereditary in his family; that his ancestors had ever had a heart truly *Roman*, thinking themselves more honoured by the titles, which the emperors had been pleased to confer upon them, than by those, however specious, which they had received by birth; that the country, which it was now his lot to govern, though lying at a great distance from the capital of the empire, was not, on that account, less subject to the imperial crown, than those that lay near it, &c. He closes the letter thus: The east is governed by your presence, the west under your auspices. By this letter therefore I offer my duty to the greatest of princes, and wait, with submission, your august commands^r. From this letter it is manifest, that the princes of the barbarians, who reigned in *Gaul*, acknowledged themselves subjects of the empire. *Theodoric*, king of *Italy*, refused a passage through his dominions to the ambassadors, who were dispatched with these letters. However, *Anastasius* wrote to *Sigismund*, without waiting till he received letters from him, confirming to him the dignities, which he had conferred upon him in his father's life-time, and adding to them the patriciate^s. *Sigismund* wrote a second letter to *Anastasius*, returning him thanks for the honours to which he had raised him, and acquainting him, that, upon his father's death, he had immediately written to him; but that his ambassadors had been stopped on their way to *Constantinople*. In this letter, as well as in the former, and in a third, which he wrote to the emperor *Justin*, he owns himself a subject of the empire, and uses all along the language of a subject to his sovereign. There was, without all doubt, at this time a misunderstanding between *Theodoric* and *Sigismund*, which however did not come to an open rupture. *Sigismund*, in the sixth year of his reign, caused his son *Sigeric* to be inhumanly murdered. Of this murder *Gregory of Tours* gives us the following account: *Sigismund*, says our historian, had to his first wife the daughter of *Theodoric* king of *Italy*, and by her a son named *Sigeric*. Upon the death of that princess, he married one of her household, who, looking upon *Sigeric* with the eyes of a step-mother, did all that lay in her power to incense his father against him. The young prince indeed, with his haughty and contemptuous behaviour, heightened the aversion, which the new queen bore him as a step mother; for the queen having one day appeared in the robes of his mother, he publicly upbraided her for presuming to shew herself in the apparel of one, whose menial servant she had been. This bitter reproach galled her to such a degree, that, transported with rage, she resolved at all events to make *Sigeric* pay dear for it. Accordingly, as she had a great ascendant

He acknow-
ledges himself
a subject of the
empire.

He causes his
son Sigeric to
be put to death.

¹ Idem ibid. p. 406.
^p 98. & ep. xlv. p. 99.

^r Avit. ep. xciv. p. 139.

^m BAR. 3d ann. 489.

ⁿ VALES. rer. Franc. l. vi. p. 328.

^o Idem, ep. xliii. p. 98.

^s Avit. ep. xli. p. 97.

^q Idem, ep. xlii.

^r GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 34.

^s Idem, ep. xciv. p. 139.

over her husband, she persuaded him, that the young prince had formed a design of ^a assassinating him, and joining his dominions to those of his grandfather *Theodoric*. *Sigismund* gave intire credit to these false and malicious insinuations, and, without further inquiry, to be before hand with his son, caused him to be strangled, while he was reposing after dinner. He was scarce dead, when *Sigismund*, stung with the remorse of so heinous a crime, threw himself upon the dead body, and, bathing it in tears, called himself of all men the most unhappy; which one of his servants hearing, *You have but too much reason*, said he, *to bewail your own fate; but as for your son, he died free from all guilt, and is now happy*. Thus *Gregory of Tours* ^a. A few days after, *Sigismund* retired to the monastery of *St. Mauritius* in *Valais*, to do penance for the crime he had committed, and there founded what is called by our historian *laus perennis*, ^b that is, a service to be celebrated night and day without intermission, by several ecclesiastics relieving one another. After a short stay in the above-mentioned monastery, he returned to *Lions*, and there married a daughter, which he had by his first wife *Ostrogotha*, to king *Theodoric* or *Tbierri*, the eldest son of *Clowis*. As the *Ostrogoths*, and their king *Theodoric*, were highly provoked against *Sigismund* for the murder of his son, whom they looked upon as a prince of their own blood, *lotbildis* thought this a favourable conjuncture to be revenged on the posterity of *Gundebald*, since he was no more, for the death of her father *Cbilperic*, of her mother, and her brothers, all massacred by that prince's order. Having therefore first put the three kings, her children, *Clodomire*, *Childebert*, and *Clotharius*, in mind of the cruel and ^c inhuman treatment, which her father and mother had met with at the hands of *Gundebald*, she exhorted them not to let slip so favourable an opportunity of revenging it on his posterity. As this advice was intirely agreeable to the ambitious views of the young princes, they readily hearkened to it, and began to make the necessary preparations. They pressed *Theodoric*, whom their father *Clowis* had by a concubine, as we have related above, to join them in the enterprize; but, as he had married the daughter of *Sigismund*, and had not been any-ways injured either by him or his ancestors, he declared, that he would take no part in a war between his brothers and father-in-law, but observe a strict neutrality. The three princes therefore, finding ^d they could not prevail upon him to join them, took the field without him, and, entering the dominions of *Sigismund*, began to lay them waste. Hereupon *Sigismund*, having drawn together what troops he could, marched out against them; but, in the battle that ensued, he was utterly defeated, and obliged to take refuge in a monastery, where he lay some time concealed in the habit of a monk; but his own subjects, by whom he was abhorred, on account of the murder of his son, discovered him to the *Franks*, who immediately seized him, and delivered him to *Clodomir*, who had already in his power his wife and children. *Clodomir* sent both the prince, and his unfortunate family, to the city of *Orleans*, where they were kept under close confinement. Upon the news of his captivity, the far greater part of the country, which he held, submitted to the *Franks* ^e. This happened, according to the bishop of *Avanches*, in the year 523. In the consulship of *Maximus*, says that writer in his chronicle ^f, *Sigismund* was by the *Burgundians* delivered up to the *Franks*, who carried him away in the habit of a monk, in which they had found him, and afterwards threw him, with his wife and children, into a deep well, where they were all drowned. *Maximus* was consul, as appears from all the antient chronologers, in the above-mentioned year. What our chronologer relates of the unhappy end of *Sigismund* and his family, did not happen till the following year, when the *Franks* retiring to their own country, the *Burgundians*, who had submitted to them, revolting, proclaimed *Godemar*, the brother of *Sigismund*; and, in order to induce the *Ostrogoths* to assist them, at least under-hand, yielded to them four cities, viz. *Carpentras*, ^f *Cavaillon*, *Tricastinum*, now *St. Paul-trois-chateaux*, and *Apt*. No mention indeed is made of any succours sent them by the *Ostrogoths*. It is not however to be doubted, but that *Theodoric*, then king of that nation, and greatly alarmed at the growing power of the *Franks*, assisted them so far as he could, without openly declaring in their favour. News was no sooner brought to the three princes of the *Franks*, that *Godemar* had been proclaimed king of the *Burgundians*, and acknowledged even in those countries, which had submitted to them, than they resolved to take the field anew. But *Clodomir*, before he set out on his march, ordered *Sigismund*, with his

War between
the Franks and
Burgundians.

Sigismund de-
feated and
taken.
Year after
Christ 523.

Godemar king
of the Burgun-
dians.

^a GREG. TUR. l. iii. c. 5.

^w Idem ibid. c. 6.

^x AVENT. chron. ad ann. 523.

^y Vide

COINT. annal. ecclef. Franc. tom. i.

- a wife and children, to be put to death in the city of *Orleans*, in the manner we have related above, notwithstanding the remonstrances and threats of *Avitus*, abbot of *Mici*, a person highly esteemed and revered all over *Gaul* for the sanctity of his life. *Gundebald* had caused the father, mother, and brother, of *Clothildis* to be thrown into a well, as we have related above; and in the same manner, by way of retaliation, *Clodomir* ordered *Sigismund* to be dispatched, with his wife and children. Soon after, *Clodomir* led his troops against *Godemar*; and the two armies meeting at *Veseronce* in the territory of *Vienne*, not far from the city of *Belley*, a bloody battle ensued, in which the *Burgundians*, after a long and obstinate resistance, were in the end put to flight. But *Clodomir*, pursuing the enemy with more ardour than caution, was surrounded by them, and cut in pieces^a. The *Burgundians*, says *Agathias*, concluding from *Clodomir*'s long hair, which covered his shoulders, that he was one of the kings of the *Franks*, struck off his head, and, carrying it upon the point of a spear, returned to the charge; but were repulsed by the *Franks*, and a second time put to the rout^a. However, the *Franks* being destitute of a leader, (for the children of *Clodomir* were yet very young) they readily concluded a peace with the *Burgundians*, whereof one of the articles was, that they should restore to *Godemar* all the countries they had seized during the war^b; which they did accordingly. *Gregory of Tours* writes, that *Godemar*, having raised a new army, pursued the war with great vigour, and in the end recovered the kingdom of his ancestors^c. According to the chronicle of the bishop of *Avanches*, the battle of *Veseronce* was fought the same year, in which *Godemar* had been proclaimed king, that is, in 524.

Sigismund put to death by Clodomir.

Peace between the Burgundians and Franks.

- THE peace concluded between the *Franks* and *Burgundians* lasted for the space of eight years, that is, till the year 532. when the two surviving brothers *Cbildebert* and *Clotharius* broke anew into the dominions of *Godemar*. What gave rise to this new war, we are not told; but, so far as we can conjecture from *Procopius*, they were prompted merely by their ambition, and that lust of conquests, which seems hereditary to the princes of that restless nation, to invade a kingdom, which, they were well apprised, they could easily reduce; for a few years after the conquest of *Burgundy* by the *Franks*, an ambassador from the emperor *Justinian* to the *Ostrogoths*, with whom the *Franks* were at that time negotiating an alliance, addressed them thus, as we read in *Procopius*: The *Franks* pique themselves upon standing faithfully to their engagements; but, to say nothing at present of the manner, in which they have observed the treaties concluded with the *Thuringians* and *Burgundians*, you cannot have forgot the little account they have ever made of the most solemn engagements they have, from time to time, entered into even with you^d. Of this war, which ended in the ruin of the kingdom of the *Burgundians*, *Gregory of Tours* gives us the following account: *Cbildebert* and *Clotharius*, having made the necessary preparations to invade the kingdom of *Burgundy*, solicited their brother *Theodoric* to join them in the enterprize; but he openly declared, that he would take no part in that war. This gave great offence to the *Franks*, who were subject to him; nay, they were displeased with his conduct to such a degree, that they openly threatened to revolt from him, and acknowledge the other two princes, if he did not assist them with all his forces, and look upon their cause as the common cause of the *Franks*. *Theodoric*, to quiet his mutinous subjects, told them, that, without him, his brothers were well able to cope with the king of the *Burgundians*; that however he would not fail to join them, if they should stand in need of his assistance; but that, in the mean time, he designed to lead them against the inhabitants of *Auvergne*, who, during the war he had lately made on the *Thuringians*, had given strong proofs of their disaffection to his person and government; that he designed to lay waste their country; and that those, who followed him thither, should have free quarters, and be at full liberty to plunder, and carry off what slaves, cattle, money, furniture, &c. they thought fit. The subjects of *Theodoric*, allured by these promises, gave over all thoughts of joining the other two princes in their expedition against the *Burgundians*. *Cbildebert* therefore and *Clotharius*, hoping to compass their design without the assistance of *Theodoric*, took the field, and, entering the territories of the *Burgundians*, laid siege to *Augustodunum*, now *Autun*, obliged *Godemar* to save himself by flight, and made themselves masters of his kingdom^e. Thus, in a few words, *Gregory of Tours* gives us an account of the reduction of the kingdom of the *Burgundians*, one of the most

A new war between these two nations.

^a GREG. TUR. *ibid.*

^b AGATH. de reb. Justin. l. i.

^c Idem *ibid.*

^d GREG. TUR. *ibid.*

^e PROCOP. bell. Goth. c. 28.

^f GREG. TUR. l. iii. c. 11.

remarkable events in the history of the *Franks*. And *Marius Aventiensis* is no less ^a concise in relating the same events: In the consulship of *Paulinus* the younger, says that writer, *Childebert*, *Clotharius*, and *Theodebert*, kings of the *Franks*, reduced *Burgundy*, and, having put *Godemar* to flight, divided his kingdom among them^f. From this writer it appears, that the war lasted two years, that is, from 532. to 534. and that *Theodoric* dying in the mean time, his son *Theodebert* joined the other two princes. From other writers we learn, that, in this war, the *Burgundians* were assisted both by the *Ostrogoths* and *Visigoths*^g; that, in several encounters, the *Franks* were defeated by those two nations^h; but that, upon the death of *Albalaric*, the *Ostrogoths* having withdrawn their troops, the *Burgundians* were in the end obliged to submit to the conquerorsⁱ. *Procopius* tells us, that *Godemar* was taken prisoner by ^b the *Franks*, who kept him under close confinement in one of their castles; that, upon his captivity, the *Burgundians* agreed to serve the *Franks* in their wars, and to pay them a yearly tribute, with such taxes and customs, as they had paid to *Godemar* and his predecessors. One of the conditions, on which they submitted to the *Franks*, was, though not mentioned by *Procopius*, that they should live according to their own laws; which they actually did to the reign of *Lewis* surnamed the *Debonnair*, as we shall relate in a more proper place. Thus the *Franks*, prompted by their boundless ambition, extended their dominions, at the expence of their neighbours, till they became masters of all *Gaul*.

^f MAR. AVENT. CHRON. ad ann. 534.^g CASSIOD. VAR. l. xii. ep. 28.^h Idem ibid. lxi. ep. 1.ⁱ Idem ibid.^k PROCOR. BEL. GOTH. l. i. c. 13.

The Alemans.

THE *Alemans*, a nation, which, in process of time, became so famous in history, ^a made their first appearance about the year 214. the fourth of the emperor *Caracalla*'s reign¹. *Agathias*, upon the authority of *Asinius Quadratus*, a Roman historian, who wrote in the reign of the emperor *Philip*, about the year 247. tells us, that the *Alemans* were originally a motley multitude, consisting of several nations, as appears, adds that writer, from their very name^m; so that, according to *Asinius Quadratus*, the *Alemans* were so called, because they consisted of *all men*, that is, of men of all nations. Some *German* writers, displeased with this etymology, derive the name of *Alemans* from the word *Atelman*, signifying a *man of distinction*ⁿ. But the other derivation is both more natural, and better grounded. The *Alemans*, according to the most common opinion, consisted chiefly of *Sueves*, who, in process ^d of time, were joined by several other *German* nations, and some *Gauls*; for we are told by *Tacitus*, that a considerable number of *Gauls*, abandoning their own country, went to settle beyond the *Rhine*, in the country which had formerly belonged to the *Sueves*^o. The *Alemans* are placed by *Aurelius Victor*, *St. Jerom* ^p, and other writers, between the *Danube*, the *Upper Rhine*, and the *Mein*, that is, in the present duchy of *Wirttemberg*. They were a numerous and warlike nation, and are chiefly commended for fighting with great skill and dexterity on horseback^q. They had such an aversion to slavery, that even their women, some of whom were taken prisoners by *Caracalla*, chose rather to die, than to be sold for slaves. *Caracalla* however ordered them to be sold; but, preferring death to slavery, they laid violent hands on them- ^e selves, some of them having first dispatched their children^r. Their government was monarchical; for we find several of their kings mentioned in history, of whom we shall have occasion to speak anon. As to their religion, they worshipped the same deities as the other *German* nations. We shall now acquaint the reader with what we have been able to gather from the antients concerning this nation. In the year 214. *Caracalla* is said to have made war upon the *Cenni*, or, as some read it, the *Chatti*, the *Alemans*, and other *German* nations. The *Alemans*, it seems, had joined the *Chatti* or *Catti*; and *Caracalla*, under pretence of succouring another nation, with whom they were at variance, made war upon them, and is said to have defeated the *Alemans* on the banks of the *Mein*^s. He afterwards concluded a peace with them, ^f

Their govern-
ment and reli-
gion.

They are over-
come by Cara-
calla.

Year after
Christ 214.

¹ VAR. p. 473.^m AGATH. l. i. p. 17.ⁿ LUDEWIG. vit. Justin. p. 501.^o Vide BUCH.

Belg. l. vi. c. 7. p. 199, 200.

^p HIER. vit. Hilar. p. 246.^q AUR. VICT.^r DIO, l. lxxvii.

p. 876

^s CARACAL. vit. p. 87. DIO VAL. p. 749. & l. lxxvii. p. 876.

distri-

- a distributed large sums among them, lifted great numbers of them in his army, and even among his guards, chusing rather to trust his life to them, than to the Romans. *Aurelius Victor* adds, that he often appeared in the dress peculiar to those barbarians, wearing false hair of the same colour with theirs^a. For the victory he gained over the Alemans, he took the surname of *Alemannicus*^w. In the year 234. the thirteenth of the emperor *Severus Alexander*, the Alemans, and other German nations, having passed the *Rhine*, made themselves masters of the forts built on the banks of that river, and, entering *Gaul*, committed dreadful ravages there. *Alexander*, who was just then returned from *Persia*, where he had gained great advantages over *Artaxerxes* the Persian king, upon the news of this irruption, hastened into *Gaul*, and advanced,
- b without loss of time, to the banks of the *Rhine*. But the enemy having repassed that river upon the news of his approach, he ordered a bridge to be laid over it, with a design to attack them in their own country, as soon as the season would allow him to take the field. But he being in the mean time assassinated by the mutinous soldiery, *Maximinus*, who had stirred them up, and was chosen in his room, entered Germany early in the spring, at the head of a mighty army, ravaged the country far and wide, burnt the enemy's habitations, carried off their corn and cattle, and took an incredible number of prisoners. We are told, that several battles were fought in the woods and marshes, in each of which the emperor killed many of the enemy with his own hand^x. For the signal advantages he gained in this expedition over the
- c Alemans, and other German nations, the senate decreed both to him and his son the title of *Germanicus*, which is still to be seen on several of his medals^y. The Alemans continued quiet from this time to the year 256. the fourth of *Valerian's* reign, when, breaking unexpectedly into *Gaul*, they laid waste that country, while the *Jutbongians*, that is, the Alemans who dwelt on the banks of the *Danube*, made an irruption into *Italy*. In *Gaul* they were defeated, and obliged to repass the *Rhine*, by *Posthumius*, governor of those provinces. In *Italy* they advanced as far as *Milan*, destroying all with fire and sword; but their numerous army, consisting of three hundred thousand men, was defeated in the neighbourhood of that city, if *Zonaras* is to be credited, by *Gallienus*, with a body only of ten thousand men^z. But of this victory
- d no mention is made either by *Pollio* or *Vopiscus*; and *Zosimus* writes, that the Alemans, and other barbarous nations, having ravaged *Illyricum*, and great part of *Italy*, returned home, without meeting with the least opposition^a. *Eutropius*^b, *St. Jerom*^c, and *Orosius*^d, suppose the Alemans to have first ravaged *Gaul*, and from thence passing through *Rætia*, to have entered *Italy*. We find no further mention made of them till the year 268. the first of the emperor *Claudius*, when the *Jutbongians*, breaking into *Italy*, advanced without opposition as far as the lake *Benacus*, now *Lago di Garda* near *Verona*. *Claudius* had no sooner suppressed the rebellion of *Aureolus*, who had assumed the purple, than he marched against them, defeated them in a pitched battle, and, having cut great numbers of them in pieces, obliged the rest to quit their booty, and save themselves by a precipitous flight into their own country^e. This victory was not known, it seems, to *Pollio*, since he does not mention it; but it is confirmed by several medals, on which the title of *Germanicus* is given to *Claudius*, before that of *Gothicus*, which he took the year after, that is, in 269^f. Notwithstanding this overthrow, they no sooner heard of the death of *Claudius*, than joining the *Marcomans*, they resolved to invade *Italy* anew. But *Aurelian*, who succeeded *Claudius*, having timely notice of their march, left *Pannonia*, where he then was, and meeting them with the flower of his army in *Vindelicia*, which comprehended all the present *Bavaria*, and a great part of *Swabia*, gave them a total overthrow, and, pursuing them close, cut off great numbers of them, as they attempted to pass the *Danube*. Hereupon they sent ambassadors to the emperor, offering to renew their antient alliance with the empire, provided they were allowed to return unmolested to their own country; for *Aurelian* had cut off their retreat, and detached part of his army to guard the banks of the *Danube*. But the emperor refusing to hearken to any terms, the Alemans, by this means reduced to despair, after various debates and consultations, resolved at length to enter *Italy*, since they could not return to their own country; and accordingly, finding the passes unguarded (for the empe-

Their country
ravaged by
Maximinus.
Year after
Christ 235.

They break into
Gaul and Italy.

Gallienus is
said to have
gained a great
victory over
them.

Great numbers
of them cut off
by Claudius.
Year after
Christ 268.

And by Aure-
lian.

^a Dio. l. lxxviii. p. 891.

^w Aur. Vict. de Cæsarib. ad ann. urb. 965.

^x Spart. in Caracal.

c. 10. p. 731.

^y Maximip. vit. p. 142. Herod. l. vii. p. 590. 591.

^z Goltz. p. 101, 102.

Birag. p. 329. ^a Zon. l. i. p. 650.

^b Zos. l. i. p. 646.

^c Eutrop. l. ii. p. 67.

^d Hier.

chron. ^e Oros. l. ii. c. 22. p. 214.

^f Aur. Vict. in epit.

^g Goltz. p. 118.

Who is afterwards defeated by them.

But in the end cuts off their whole army. Year after Christ 270.

Their several irruptions into the empire.

60,000 of them cut off by Constantius Chlorus. Year after Christ 301.

ror thought only of cutting off their retreat) they advanced as far as *Placentia* before *Aurelian* could come up with them; committing every where unheard-of ravages. As the emperor drew near, they concealed themselves in the neighbouring woods; whence falling out upon him in the night, they gained a complete victory; which threw all *Italy*, and *Rome* itself, into the utmost consternation: The books of the *Sibyls* were consulted on this occasion by the emperor's orders, and several ceremonies performed to avert the impending storm, which, they apprehended, might be attended with the total ruin of the empire: But in the mean time *Aurelian*, having received strong reinforcements from *Illyrium*, came unexpectedly upon the enemy in the neighbourhood of *Fanum Fortuna*, now *Pano*, and gave them a dreadful overthrow: Such of them as escaped from this first battle were slain in two others, one of which was fought in the neighbourhood of *Placentia*, and the other in the plains of *Ticinum*, or *Pavia*. Thus was the whole multitude cut off to a man. About four years after, the *Alemans*, who dwelt near the *Rhine*, made an irruption into *Gaul*; but were forced by *Probus*, who was afterwards emperor, and then commanded in those parts, to repass that river, and return home. They continued afterwards quiet, without molesting either their neighbours or the *Romans*, for the space of eleven years, that is, till the year 285. the third of *Dioclesian's* reign; when they attempted, it seems, to break into the empire; for *Dioclesian* is said to have made war upon them, and to have gained some advantages over them. In 287. they broke into *Gaul* anew, with the *Burgundians*, *Heruli*, *Cavians*, and several other barbarous nations; but were most of them cut off by *Maximian*, or destroyed by famine. For the great advantages gained over them by *Maximian*, a triumph was decreed by the senate both to him and *Dioclesian*, as appears from a medal of this very year 287. The following year *Maximian* passed the *Rhine* at the head of a numerous army, and, entering the country of the *Alemans*, laid it waste far and near, destroying all with fire and sword. He took in this expedition an incredible number of captives, and reduced, if *Mamertin* his panegyrist is to be credited, great part of *Germany*. At the same time *Dioclesian* entered *Germany* through *Rætia*, and is said to have extended the confines of the empire to the source of the *Danube*. In the year 291. the *Burgundians* seized on part of the country belonging to the *Alemans*, which gave rise to a war between those two nations; but as to the issue of this war, we are quite in the dark. In the year 301. *Constantius Chlorus*, the father of *Constantine the Great*, gained a signal victory over the *Alemans*, who, breaking into *Gaul* with a numerous army, came upon him unexpectedly, while he had but a small body of troops with him; which obliged him at first to retire, and shelter himself within the walls of *Langres*. But his army arriving a few hours after he had entered that city, he marched out at the head of the detachment he had with him, joined his other forces, and, engaging the enemy, gained a complete victory. In this battle the *Alemans* lost sixty thousand men, as appears from *Eutropius* 9, *St. Jerom* 1, *Orosius* 1, and even from *Zonaras* 1, and not six thousand only, as we read it in the Greek text of *Eusebius*. The *Alemans*, disheartened with so great a loss, did not offer to disturb the peace of the empire during the remaining part of the reign of *Constantius*. But, in the first of his son *Constantine*, that is, in 306. they began anew to make inroads into *Gaul*; which provoked that prince to such a degree, that, having taken some of their kings prisoners, he exposed them to be devoured by the wild beasts in the magnificent shews which he exhibited. However, a few years after, that is, in 310. the *Alemans*, in conjunction with the *Bructerians*, *Cherusians*, and *Chamavians*, having crossed the *Rhine*, laid waste the neighbouring provinces; but *Constantine*, marching against them, overcame them in a pitched battle, and obliged them to quit their booty, and repass the *Rhine*. For this victory he is supposed to have taken the title of *Maximus*, which we find on his coins of this year. From this time no mention is made of the *Alemans* till the year 355. the eighteenth of *Constantius's* reign, when they attempted to break into *Italy*; which obliged the emperor to march against them: but as he drew near the enemy, who were advanced as far as the lake of *Constance*, he detached *Arbetio* with the flower of the army against them. *Arbetio*,

² Aur. vit. p. 215. Vict. epit.

³ Prob. vit. p. 237.

⁴ NORIS. de Dioc. c. 14. p. 19, 20.

⁵ Panegy. x. p. 124. Buch. Belg. p. 221.

⁶ NORIS. de Dioc. c. 4. p. 18.

⁷ Panegy. x.

p. 125, 126.

⁸ Idem ibid.

⁹ Idem xi. p. 138.

¹⁰ EUTROP. p. 586.

¹¹ THEOPH. p. 5.

¹² EUTROP. l. ix. p. 587.

¹³ Hier. chron.

¹⁴ OROS. l. vii. c. 25. p. 215.

¹⁵ ZONAR. p. 244.

¹⁶ EUTROP. p. 587.

¹⁷ Panegy. vii. p. 165.

¹⁸ BIRAG. p. 462.

- a falling into an ambuscade, was defeated with great loss. But some of the officers, who commanded under him, engaging the enemy a few days after, without his orders, put the *Alemanni* to flight; and *Constantius*, satisfied with this small advantage, returned to *Milan*. The same year, another body of *Alemanni*, breaking into *Gaul*, with the *Franks* and *Saxons*, took and plundered above forty towns on the banks of the *Rhine*, and, among the rest, the city of *Cologne*, which they almost intirely ruined. Hereupon *Constantius*, unwilling to leave *Italy*, and march against the barbarians in person, raised *Julian* to the dignity of *Cæsar*, and sent him to head the *Roman* forces in *Gaul*. *Julian*, soon after his arrival, led what forces he had against the *Alemanni*, who had advanced as far as *Lyon*, with a design to surprise that city; but the enemy retiring upon his approach, he waited for them in the passes, through which they were to return to their own country, and there cut most of them in pieces. Only a small number, who took their rout through the present *Switzerland*, had the good luck to make their escape, being suffered to pass unmolested by *Barbatio*, another *Roman* general, who was encamped at *Basle*, and is supposed to have had private orders from *Constantius* to thwart all the designs of *Julian*. Be that as it will, *Julian*, having thus driven the *Alemanni* out of *Gaul*, undertook the rebuilding of the *Tres Tabernæ*, a fort near *Argentoratum*, now *Strasbourg*, known at present by the name of *Saverne*, which the enemy had demolished. As it was so situated as to curb the nations beyond the *Rhine*, and prevent their irruptions into *Gaul*, *Julian* not only repaired the ancient fortifications, but added new works to them, stored them with provisions for a whole year, and left a numerous garrison in the place, to keep the neighbouring country in awe. In the mean time a large body of *Alemanni*, falling upon *Barbatio* while he was busied in laying a bridge of boats over the *Rhine*, cut great numbers of his men in pieces, took most of his baggage, laid waste the neighbouring country, and returned home loaded with booty. Elated with this victory, they assembled in great numbers under the banners of *Chnodomarius*, and six other kings, and encamped in the neighbourhood of *Strasbourg*. Being informed there by a deserter, that *Julian's* army was only thirteen thousand strong, *Chnodomarius* had the arrogance to send a messenger to him, commanding him to quit a country, which the *Alemanni* had acquired by their courage and valour. *Libanius* adds, that the messenger produced letters from *Constantius*, in which he yielded to them that country. *Julian* however, paying no regard to them, detained the messenger as a spy, and pushed the works he had begun at *Saverne*, till he received intelligence, that the enemy, having passed the *Rhine*, were advanced within twenty miles of his camp. Hereupon, interrupting the work, he marched directly against them, and engaging the same day, though his men were tired with their long march, gained a complete victory over them. They were thirty-five thousand strong, headed by seven kings, ten princes, and several other persons of great distinction. The victory continued long doubtful; the *Roman* cavalry even gave way, nor could *Julian*, with all his oratory, prevail upon them to return to the charge; but the vigorous resistance made by the foot so disheartened the barbarians, that, despairing to be able to break them, they began to abate much of their impetuosity; which the *Romans* perceiving, made a last effort, and charging the barbarians, already quite spent, put them in the end to flight, and pursued them with great slaughter. Vast numbers of them were drowned in the *Rhine*, in attempting to cross that river. *Chnodomarius* himself was taken prisoner, and presented to *Julian*, who sent him to *Constantius*, by whose orders he was conveyed to *Rome*, where he died soon after a natural death. In this battle *Julian* lost only four tribunes, and two hundred and forty-three private men.
- f Of the *Alemanni* six, or, as some write, eight thousand men were killed in the field; but a great many dead bodies were seen floating on the river. *Zosimus* writes, that sixty thousand of the enemy were killed upon the spot, and an equal number drowned; but he must certainly have been mistaken. *Julian* himself styles the battle of *Strasbourg* a successful action, which restored *Gaul* to its ancient liberty. *Mamertinus* says, that, by this single battle, the war was ended, and *Germany* ruined. It is at least certain, that the barbarians were intirely driven out of *Gaul*. *Julian*, from the field of battle, returned to *Saverne*, and, having finished the works there, advanced with

Take and plunder forty cities in Gaul.

They are driven on by Julian.

The battle of Strasbourg, in which the Alemanni were intirely defeated by Julian. Year after Christ 357.

⁷ AMMIAN. l. xv. p. 36, 37.

⁸ Idem ibid.

⁹ Idem, l. xvi. p. 73, 74.

^b Jul. p. 512.

LIBAN. p. 273. AMMIAN. p. 75.

^c AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 76, 77.

^d LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 269, 273.

^e AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 75. & l. xvii. p. 86. LIBAN. orat. x. p. 237. & orat. xii. p. 274, 276.

^f AMM.

l. xx. p. 160.

^g Panegy. xi. p. 223.

his whole army to *Mayence*, where he built a bridge over the river, and, entering a *Germany*, continued ravaging the countries of the *Alemans*, and their allies, till after the equinox, when the snow preventing him from advancing farther, he returned to *Gaul*, after having repaired the castle of *Trajan*, which stood at a small distance from the present city of *Frankfort*, and granted to the *Alemans*, and their allies, a truce for ten months, upon their promising to store with provisions the fort that was building in their country^b. The truce no sooner expired, than *Julian*, passing the *Rhine* on a bridge of boats, entered anew the country of the *Alemans*, and obliged two of their kings, *Suomarius* and *Hortarius*, to sue for peace; which he granted them, upon their sending back all the *Roman* captives, and furnishing timber, iron, and other materials, to repair the cities which they had ruined^c. We are told by *Zosimus*; ^b that, in this expedition, *Julian* got two thousand *Romans* set at liberty^k.

*Julian obliges
the princes of
the Alemans to
sue for peace.*

THE following year 359. *Julian*, passing unexpectedly the *Rhine*, advanced to the most distant borders of the *Alemans* and *Burgundians*, destroying all with fire and sword. Hereupon two of the kings of the *Alemans*, *Macrianus* and *Hariobaldus*, dispatched ambassadors to him, suing for peace. At the same time *Vadomarius* king of the *Alemans*, whose country lay towards *Basle*, came in person to wait on *Julian*, who, at his earnest request, restored to him his son, whom he had given as an hostage; but at the same time he declared, that he would treat him as an enemy; if he did not set at liberty the *Romans*, whom, to the number of three thousand, he kept in captivity. As *Vadomarius* put off from time to time the sending back the captives, ^c *Julian*, leaving *Spire*, where he then was, marched directly to *Basle*, and, arriving unexpectedly in the neighbourhood of that city, struck *Vadomarius* and his people with such terror, that the captives were immediately set at liberty. Hereupon *Julian* received the king of the *Alemans* as his friend and ally, ordering his men to forbear all hostilities^l. We are told, that the emperor himself wrote to *Julian* in favour of *Vadomarius*, being induced thereunto by some *Alemans*, who were in great employments at court, viz. by *Latinus*, at that time *comes domesticorum*; by *Agilo* the *tribunus stabuli*, or master of the horse; and by *Agilo*, who had a chief command in the army^m. Soon after, three other kings of the *Alemans*, viz. *Urias*, *Ursicinus*, and *Vestralphus*, sent deputies suing for peace; which *Julian* granted them, upon their ^d setting at liberty the *Roman* captivesⁿ. *Julian*, having thus concluded a peace with the princes of the *Alemans*, left *Germany*, and, putting his troops into winter-quarters, as the season was already far advanced, retired himself to *Paris*^o. Two years after, that is, in 361. the *Alemans*, those chiefly who were subject to *Vadomarius*, broke anew into *Gaul* on the side of *Rhetia*, and committed dreadful ravages there. *Vadomarius* pretended to be much concerned for the hostilities committed by his countrymen, and to have the greatest respect imaginable for *Julian*. But in the mean time he wrote a letter to the emperor *Constantius*, filled with bitter invectives against him. *Julian*, having intercepted the letter, found means to have him arrested at a banquet, and banished him into *Spain*^p. He had already sent *Ibano*, one of his ^e generals, with a strong detachment against the *Alemans*; but he being killed, and his men put to the rout near *Sanctio*, thought to be the present *Seckingen*, in the neighbourhood of *Basle*, *Julian* advanced in person against them, passed the *Rhine*, and, coming upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to restore the booty they had taken, and sue for peace; which he granted them upon his own terms^q.

*They break
anew into Gaul;
but are defeated
by Julian,
who takes one
of their kings
prisoners.
Year after
Christ 361.*

*Upon the death
of Julian they
ravage Gaul.*

THE *Alemans* continued quiet the remaining part of *Julian's* reign; but they no sooner heard of his death, than they renewed their ravages in *Rhetia* and *Gaul*. Hereupon *Valentinian I.* then emperor, dispatched *Dagalaiphus*, one of his best generals, against them, and, leaving *Italy*, hastened in person into *Gaul*, in order to make head against the numerous forces, which the *Alemans*, and other barbarous nations, were said to be raising with a design to invade *Gaul*. The emperor advanced as far as *Rheims*; but the *Alemans* retiring at his approach, he returned back, and took up his winter-quarters at *Paris*^r. In the mean time the *Alemans* having, in the depth of winter, passed the *Rhine* on the ice, defeated in a pitched battle the *Romans*, who attempted to oppose them, took the standards of the *Batavians* and *Heruli*,

*They defeat the
Romans.*

^b AMMIAN. p. 88. LIBAN. ORAT. xii. p. 277.

^c Idem, ORAT. xii. p. 279.

^d In JULIAN. p. 514.

^e AMMIAN. l. xvii. p. 117.

^f Idem, l. xvi. p. 75. & l. xiv. p. 24.

^g Idem, l. xvi. p. 75.

^h Idem, l. xx. p. 154.

ⁱ LIBAN. ORAT. xii. p. 286. AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 181, 182.

^j AMMIAN.

ibid. ^k Idem, l. xxvi. p. 315.

killed

- a killed count *Charietto*, who commanded in both *Germanies*, and wounded count *Severianus*, who had the command of a body of troops *. *Zosimus* supposes *Valentinian* himself to have been present at this battle. But it is plain from *Ammianus*, that he was then at *Paris*; whence, upon the first news of the defeat of his troops, he dispatched *Dagalaiphus*, to prevent the evil consequences, that were likely to attend the late overthrow. *Dagalaiphus*, pretending he had not sufficient strength to engage the enemy, who were roving about the country in several great bodies, did not so much as offer to restrain them. Hereupon he was recalled, and *Jovinus*, general of the horse, sent in his room, who defeated the *Alemans* in three battles, whereof the first was fought at a place called *Scarponna*, now *Charpeigne*, between *Toul* and *Metz*; the second in the neighbourhood of the *Moselle*; and the third near *Chalons* on the *Marne*. In the last of these three engagements, the enemy fought with great resolution and intrepidity, and the *Romans* were once in great danger of being utterly defeated, the sudden flight of a tribune having disanimated the troops under his command. However, *Jovinus*, inspiring them with fresh courage, led them on to the charge, while they were ready to turn their backs; and, pressing with great resolution and intrepidity upon the enemy, obliged them to give ground, and in the end to betake themselves to a precipitous flight. On the enemy's side, six thousand were killed on the spot, and four thousand wounded; and of the *Romans* only two hundred killed, and as many wounded †. The enemy withdrew in the night-time; but were intercepted in their retreat by several parties sent out by *Jovinus* for that purpose; infomuch that few of them had the good luck to make their escape. One of their kings was taken prisoner, and immediately hanged by those who took him; which base action provoked *Jovinus* to such a degree, that he would have punished with death the tribune who commanded the party, had he not found, upon a strict inquiry, that he had done all that lay in his power to restrain the fury of the incensed soldiery *. Of this victory *Idatius* must, without all doubt, be understood, where he writes, that the *Alemans* were utterly defeated by *Valentinian* *. In the close of the following year 367. the *Alemans*, notwithstanding the loss they had sustained the year before, passed unexpectedly the *Rhine*, and, having taken and plundered the city of *Mentz*, while the emperor was employed, says *Ammianus*, in some other expedition, committed dreadful ravages in the neighbouring provinces, under the conduct of *Rhando*, one of their princes. The *Romans*, to be revenged on the *Alemans*, had recourse to treachery, and caused *Vitricabius*, a prince of the same nation, to be assassinated by one of his own people, whom they had gained over by their emissaries. *Vitricabius* was the son of *Vadomarius*, and a prince of great address, intrepidity, and resolution †. *Valentinian*, having spent the following winter at *Treves* in making vast preparations, with a design to attack the *Alemans* in their own country, took the field on the seventeenth of *June*, and, having assembled all his troops, crossed the *Rhine*, entered the enemy's country, and advanced, without the least opposition, to a place called *Solicinium*, which the modern geographers take to be the city of *Sultz* on the *Neckar*. The *Alemans* had posted themselves there on a high and steep mountain; but the *Romans*, notwithstanding their advantageous situation, attacked them with great intrepidity, and, tho' several times repulsed, dislodged them in the end, and pursued them with great slaughter. Some of the enemy made their escape by favour of the night; but the far greater part were put to the sword, their retreat being cut off by count *Sebastian*, at the head of a strong detachment. After this battle, which was fought at a small distance from the head of the *Neckar*, in the present duchy of *Wirtemberg*, the emperor returned to *Treves*, as the season was already far advanced, and there gave audience to the ambassadors of the *Alemans* suing for peace; which, it seems, he granted them †, but, upon what terms, we are not told. This peace however was not long-lived; for two years after, that is, in 370. there appeared on the banks of the *Rhine* eighty thousand *Burgundians*, whom *Valentinian* had invited to join him against *Macrianus* king of the *Alemans*. But the emperor being then busied in fortifying the banks of the *Rhine*, and unwilling to interrupt that work, the *Burgundians* returned home, without offering to molest the *Alemans*. However, *Theodosius*, father to the emperor of that name, taking advantage of the consternation the *Alemans* were in, made an irruption into their country, and returned with a considerable number of

But are defeated with great slaughter by Jovinus. Year after Christ 366.

The Romans cause one of their kings to be treacherously murdered.

Valentinian gains a signal victory over them. Year after Christ 368.

* AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 334. Zos. l. iv. p. 740. † AMMIAN. ibid. p. 334, 335. Zos. ibid. ‡ Zos. ibid. w IDAT. fast. ad ann. 366. * AMMIAN. ibid. p. 349. † Idem ibid. p. 350, 351. & l. xxviii. p. 352.

prisoners, to whom the emperor allowed lands and settlements on the banks of the *Po*^a. The following year *Valentinian* broke unexpectedly into the country of the *Alemans*, hoping to surprize *Macrianus* their king, whom he chiefly dreaded; but *Macrianus*, having received timely notice of his approach, saved himself by flight; and the emperor returned to *Treves*, after having laid waste the country round *Mentz* belonging to the *Alemans* called *Bucinobantes*, to whom he gave one of their own nation, named *Fraomarius*, for king. But the country being intirely ruined, *Fraomarius* was glad to quit his new dignity for the command of a body of his countrymen then quartered in *Britain*^a. The following year, *Valentinian*, passing the *Rhine* in the beginning of the summer, committed some ravages in the country of the *Alemans*, and undertook the building of a fort in the neighbourhood of *Basle*, to serve as a curb upon the *Alemans* on that side. But in the mean time the *Sarmatians* and *Quadians* having broken into *Pannonia*, and cut in pieces two *Roman* legions there, the emperor resolved to march against them in person. As he could not leave *Gaul* without concluding a peace with the *Alemans*, who, he was well apprised, would not fail to break into those provinces upon his departure, he invited *Macrianus* to an interview in the neighbourhood of *Mentz*. The king of the *Alemans* readily complied with the invitation; and though at first he betrayed a great deal of haughtiness in seeing his friendship thus courted by the *Roman* emperor, yet, in the end, he accepted the advantageous terms that were offered him, and ever after continued a faithful friend to the *Romans*^b. Some years after, a war being kindled between the *Alemans* and *Franks*, *Macrianus*, having invaded the enemy's country, was killed in an ambuscade by *Mellobaudes*, a warlike prince of that nation.

He concludes a peace with *Macrianus* their king.
Year after
Christ 374.

In the year 378. the *Goths*, who had been admitted by *Valens* into the empire, having revolted, and defeated several *Roman* armies sent against them, *Gratian*, alarmed at the danger that threatened the eastern provinces, resolved to march in person to the assistance of his uncle, as soon as the season would permit; and in the mean time ordered part of his forces to set out on their march from *Gaul*, where he then was, to *Illyricum*. Of this notice being immediately given to the *Alemans*, called *Lentienses*, by a countryman of theirs, who was in some employment at the court of *Gratian*, without the least regard to the treaty they had concluded with *Valentinian*, they passed the *Rhine*, and began to lay waste the neighbouring provinces. They were repulsed at first by the *Roman* troops quartered in those parts; but returning soon after, to the number of forty thousand fighting men, *Gratian* was obliged to recal the troops that were already on their march into *Illyricum*, and to send them, reinforced with those that were left in *Gaul*, under the conduct of count *Nannianus*, and *Mellobaudes* king of the *Franks*, to oppose the attempts of the enemy, and to oblige them to repass the *Rhine*. The two generals gave them battle at a place called *Argentaria*, now, as is commonly believed, *Colmar*, and, tho' greatly inferior in number, gained a complete victory, thirty thousand of the enemy being killed on the spot, and the rest either slain in the pursuit, or taken prisoners. Their king *Triarius*, and several other persons of great distinction, were in the number of the dead^d. After this victory, *Gratian* passed the *Rhine* at the head of his army, and, entering the enemy's country, obliged them to take refuge among their barren mountains, where he kept them shut up, till they were forced by famine to submit to such terms as the conqueror thought fit to impose upon them, one of which was, that they should deliver up their youth to serve in the *Roman* army; which they did accordingly^e. Of the *Alemans* no further mention is made in history till the year 388. when we are told by *Orosius*^f, that, dreading the arms of *Maximus*, who had usurped the empire in *Gaul*, they submitted to him of their own accord, paying him a yearly tribute, and supplying his army with such quantities of corn and other provisions, as he thought fit to demand. In the reign of *Honorius*, which began in 395. a colony of the *Alemans* was allowed to settle in that part of the present *Switzerland*, which is separated by mount *Jura* from the *Franche Comté*, and by the lake of *Geneva* and the *Rhône* from the present *Savoy* and province of *Vienne*^g. *Servius*, who wrote his comment upon *Virgil* about the year 411. tells us, that, in his time, the country bordering on the lake *Lemanus*, or lake of *Geneva*, was inhabited by the *Alemans*^h. We find no farther mention made of the *Alemans* till the year 477. when *Audoacrius* king

They break the treaty; but are defeated with great slaughter by *Gratian*.
Year after
Christ 378.

They submit to *Maximus*.

They settle in *Helvetia*.

^a Idem, p. 377.

^b Idem, l. xxix. xxx. p. 397, 398.

^c Idem, l. xxx. p. 417, 418.

^d Idem

ibid. ^e Idem, l. xxxi. p. 453, 454.

^f Idem ibid. p. 455.

^g Oros. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220.

^h VALER. l. v. p. 237.

ⁱ SERV. in not. ad 4 georg. p. 158.

- a of the *Saxons*, and *Cbilderic* king of the *Franks*, marching against those of that nation who had settled among the *Alps*, and made frequent inroads both into *Gaul* and *Italy*, put great numbers of them to the sword, and stripped them of the booty, which they had a little before brought with them from *Italy*¹. Upon the downfall of the western empire, the *Alemans* made themselves masters of that part of *Gaul*, which is now known by the name of *Alsace*, and settled there². These *Alemans*, being joined by their countrymen in *Germany*, and those who dwelt between mount *Jura* and the lake of *Geneva*, in the year 496. entered *Germania Secunda*, which then belonged to the *Ripuarian Franks*, putting all to fire and sword. Hereupon *Sigibert*, king of the country, not able to make head against them with his own forces alone,
- b had recourse to *Clovis* king of the *Salian Franks*; who immediately joined him. The two kings, after their conjunction, engaged the *Alemans*, and gained a complete victory over them at *Tolbiac*, thought to be the present *Zulpick*, about four leagues from *Cologne*. After this defeat, such of the *Alemans* as had settled in *Alsace*, and in the neighbourhood of the lake of *Geneva*, acknowledged *Clovis* for their king. Others took refuge in *Rætia* and *Noricum*, being allowed to settle there by *Theodoric* king of *Italy*, as we have related above³. The same prince transplanted great numbers of them into *Italy*, and suffered the rest to settle in the countries between the *Alps* and the *Danube*, which were subject to him. From this time the *Alemans* had no king of their own (for their last king was killed in the above-mentioned battle); but continued, as they were dispersed in several countries, subject partly to the *Ostrogoths*, who were masters of *Italy*, and partly to the *Franks*, who were lords of *Gaul*. When the *Ostrogoths* yielded to the children of *Clovis* whatever they held out of *Italy*, all the *Alemans*, except those whom *Theodoric* had transplanted into that country, submitted to the *Franks*, as we shall relate in our history of the modern nations.

They are overcome by Clovis, and dispersed. Year after Christ 275.

¹ GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 19.² PROCOPI. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 12.³ Vide supra, p. 565.

The Gepidæ.

- d **THE** *Gepidæ* were, without all doubt, a Gothic nation. *Jornandes*, speaking of them, gives us the following account of their name and origin: The *Goths*, says that writer, leaving *Scandinavia* under the conduct of king *Berith*, put to sea with three ships only. One of these, sailing slower than the other two, was thence called *Gepanta*, signifying in the Gothic tongue *slow*; and hence the name of *Gepantæ* and *Gepidæ*, which was first given to that people by way of reproach^m. *Procopius* likewise tells us in express terms, that the *Goths*, the *Vandals*, the *Visigoths*, and the *Gepidæ*, were originally one and the same nation; that they had the same customs, manners, religion, and language; and that they only differed in names, borrowed perhaps, says he, from their different leadersⁿ: and *Paulus Diaconus*; The *Goths*, the *Gepidæ*,
- e the *Vandals*, says he, agree in language, manners, and religion, and differ only in name^o. They entered *Scythia*, according to *Jornandes*, with the other *Goths*, and settled in the neighbourhood of the *Tanais*, and *Palus Meotis* p. There they continued till the reign of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, when their numbers being greatly increased, they approached the *Danube*, and, having some time after crossed that river, they settled in the neighbourhood of *Singidunum* and *Sirmium*, about the year 400. where they still were when *Procopius* wrote his history q. They had kings of their own, and formed a separate and distinct nation both from the *Ostrogoths* and *Visigoths*; but perhaps not from the *Lombards*, who were afterwards masters of *Italy*^r. As for what we find of them in the antient writers, *Jornandes* tells us, that, under the conduct of their king *Fastida*, they gained a complete victory over the *Burgundians* about the year 245^s. The *Burgundians* whom they overcame, and almost utterly extirpated, were, according to *Valesius*, as we have observed above, a different nation from the *Burgundians* who afterwards settled in *Gaul*. Be that as it will, *Fastida*, elated with his success against the *Burgundians*, dispatched a messenger to *Ostrogotha* king of the *Goths*, acquainting him, that as the *Gepidæ* were greatly streightened for want of

Their origin and name.

Their country.

They defeat the Burgundians.

^m JORN. de reb. Goth. p. 89.ⁿ PROCOPI. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 2.^o PAUL. DIAC. misc. l. xiv.

p 429.

^p JORN. ibid. p. 84.^q Idem ibid.^r Vide GROTI. proleg. in hist. Goth. p. 53.^s JORN. l. xvii p. 635.

room,

room, he must either grant them lands, or prepare for war. *Ostrogotha* answered, a That he should be very unwilling to make war upon his kinsmen; but was determined to part with no land. Hereupon *Fasida*, entering the territories of the *Goths*, began to lay them waste; which *Ostrogotha* no sooner understood, than, leaving *Mæsia*, which he was then ravaging, he hastened back to the defence of his own country, and, meeting *Fasida*, gave him a total overthrow; but, contenting himself with the victory, did not so much as pursue the flying *Gepidæ*, looking upon them rather as his kinsmen, than an enemy^c. The *Gepidæ* joined the *Goths*, and other northern nations, in the famous irruption which they made with their united forces into the empire in 269. the second of the reign of *Claudius*; but they were defeated by that prince with great slaughter, as we have related at length elsewhere^a. In the year 279. the emperor *Probus* granted to them, and likewise to the *Juthungians*, *Vandals*, and *Franks*, lands in *Thrace*, upon their promising to live as the other subjects of the empire. But while the emperor was engaged in war with *Saturninus*, who had revolted in the east, they laid hold of that opportunity to ravage the neighbouring provinces. Hereupon *Probus*, having successfully ended his other wars, marched against them in person, and, in several encounters, cut such numbers of them in pieces, that only a small body of *Franks* had the good luck to escape the general slaughter, and return home^w. In 291. a war broke out between them and the *Goths*, in which the *Gepidæ* were assisted by the *Vandals*; and the *Goths* by the *Taisalæ*, another Gothic nation. But all we know of this war is, that both parties were greatly weakened, and put out of a condition of disturbing, for some years, the peace of the empire^e. The *Gepidæ* are mentioned by *St. Jerom* among the other nations of barbarians, that in 407. broke into *Gaul*, and over-ran those provinces^v. They were afterwards subdued, with the other northern nations, by *Attila*, and in 451. served under him in his famous expedition into *Gaul*; on which occasion the *Franks* and they meeting in the dark, both parties engaged with such fury, that above fifteen thousand were left dead on the spot^z. Upon the death of *Attila*, the *Gepidæ* shook off the yoke under the conduct of their king *Ardaric*; which occasioned a bloody war between them and the *Hunns*. But at length *Ardaric* having gained a complete victory over the *Hunns*, of whom thirty thousand were killed on the spot, with their king *Ellac*, the *Gepidæ* not only recovered their ancient liberty, but the country whence they had been driven by *Attila*, that is, all ancient *Dacia*, lying north of the *Danube*^x. This memorable battle, which, in a manner, put an end to the empire of the *Hunns*, was fought on the banks of the *Netad* in *Pannonia*, about the year 480^b. The *Gepidæ*, thus settled in *Dacia*, entered into an alliance with the *Romans*, who agreed to pay them an annual pension. *Dacia* beyond the *Danube* was thenceforth called, from its new inhabitants, *Gepidia*, as we read in *Jornandes*^c. Some years after, part of *Illyricum* was likewise granted them, with the city of *Sirmium*; whence their kings are by *Theophanes* styled kings of *Sirmium*^d. There they continued quiet till the year 537. when, joining the *Heruli*, they began to plunder the neighbouring provinces. Hereupon *Justinian*, then emperor, having ended the war in *Italy* with the *Goths*, dispatched his best generals against them, who, having overcome them in several encounters, obliged them to abandon what they held in *Illyricum*, and content themselves with *North Dacia*, or *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*^e. In the year 550. a contest arose between the *Gepidæ*, and the *Lombards* descended from them, says *Paulus Diaconus*^f, about their confines; for the *Lombards* held part of *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*, having been allowed to settle there by the *Roman* emperors, who indeed had abandoned that province, but claimed a right of disposing of it to whom they pleased. Both the *Gepidæ* and *Lombards*, before they came to an open rupture, dispatched ambassadors to *Justinian*, soliciting succours, in virtue of their alliance with the empire. The emperor, after hearing the ambassadors of both nations, declared, that, in case of a war, he was determined not to suffer the *Lombards* to be oppressed by their encroaching neighbours, ordering at the same time ten thousand horse, and fifteen hundred foot, to march to their assistance, under the command of *Constantianus*, *Buzes*, *Aratius*, and other generals; which the *Gepidæ* no sooner

But are defeated by the *Goths* Year after Christ 248.

Great numbers of them cut off by *Probus*. Year after Christ 279.

They are subdued by *Attila*.

They defeat the *Hunns* with great slaughter, and recover their ancient liberty. Year after Christ 480.

They are driven out of *Illyricum* by *Justinian*. Year after Christ 537. They quarrel with the *Lombards*. Year after Christ 550.

^a Idem, p. 636, 637.

vit. p. 240.

c. 46. p. 664.

ad ann. Justin. 13.

^b Claud. vit. p. 207. & Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 186, 187.

^c Panegy. xi. p. 131, 138.

^d Idem ibid. p. 133, 134.

^e Procop. bell. Goth. l. iii. c. 33.

^f Hier. ep. xi. p. 93.

^g Idem ibid.

^h Idem, p. 93, 94.

ⁱ PAUL. DIAC. l. xiii. p. 429.

^j Jorn. rer. Goth.

^k Theoph.

under-

- a understood, than they concluded a peace with the *Lombards*. But the *Roman* troops were scarce returned home, when the *Gepidæ*, refusing to stand to the articles of the treaty, took the field anew, under the conduct of their king *Tborisfinus*. *Auduinus*, then king of the *Lombards*, having drawn together what troops he could, went out to meet the enemy; but both armies, seized with a panic while they were ready to engage, betook themselves at the same time to a precipitous flight; which both kings looking upon as a prodigy, they concluded a two years truce; which was no sooner expired, than the *Gepidæ*, calling in the *Heruli* to their assistance, broke unexpectedly into the territories of the *Lombards*, destroying all with fire and sword. But the *Lombards*, receiving a timely reinforcement from *Justinian*, fell upon the *Gepidæ*, and gave them a total overthrow¹. We are told, that *Justinian* had promised to observe a strict neutrality in this war; and that his promise was confirmed by the oath of twelve senators: but nevertheless, as the *Gepidæ* had not kept their word with him, he did not think himself bound, either by his own promise, or the oaths of the senators, who had sworn in his name². This defeat was followed by a peace between the two nations, which was concluded by the mediation of *Justinian*, unwilling that either should aggrandize themselves at the expence of the other. *Tborisfinus* was at this time king of the *Gepidæ*, and *Auduinus* of the *Lombards*; but neither had any right to the crown he wore. The lawful heir to *Elemund* the late king of the *Gepidæ* was *Ustrogotbus*, that prince's only son; but *Elemund* dying while he was yet under age, *Tborisfinus* had caused himself to be acknowledged in his room. In the same manner *Auduinus*, king of the *Lombards*, had excluded *Ildigesal* the lawful heir from the crown, and placed it upon his own head. The above-mentioned peace between the two nations was scarce concluded, when *Ildigesal* took refuge among the *Gepidæ*, and *Ustrogotbus* among the *Lombards*. Both princes were demanded with great earnestness and threats by their respective nations; but neither caring to comply with the request of the other, they both began to prepare for war. However, the two kings, or rather usurpers, before hostilities were committed on either side, agreed to dispatch each other's rival; which they did accordingly, deeming it less dishonourable to assassinate than betray those, who had put themselves under their protection³. Not long after, the two kings dying, *Tborisfinus* was succeeded by *Cunimundus*, and *Auduinus* by *Alboinus*. *Cunimundus* had scarce ascended the throne, when, reviving some antient claims upon the *Lombards*, which they refused to comply with, he took the field at the head of a very numerous army, and, entering the country of the *Lombards*, committed there unheard-of ravages. On the other hand, *Alboinus*, having drawn together a no less numerous army, resolved to put the whole to the issue of a battle; which *Cunimundus* not declining, the two armies engaged with a fury hardly to be expressed. The victory continued long doubtful; but, in the end, the *Gepidæ* were put to flight, and pursued by the victorious *Lombards* with such slaughter, that scarce one was left alive of so numerous a multitude. *Alboinus* killed *Cunimundus* with his own hand, and, cutting off his head, turned his skull into a cup called by the *Lombards*, says *Paulus Diaconus*, *scbala*, and by the *Latins* *palera*. This *scbala* or cup he ever afterwards used at all public banquets and entertainments. After this victory, the *Lombards* seized on all *Dacia*, obliging the *Gepidæ* either to submit to them, or retire elsewhere. Thenceforth they had no king of their own, but lived in subjection either to the *Lombards*, who were masters of their country, or to the princes of the neighbouring nations, especially of the *Hunns* settled in *Pannonia*⁴. Thus *Paulus Diaconus* in his history of the *Lombards*. *Lazius* adds, that, among the present *Hungarians*, the descendants of the *Gepidæ* are easily distinguished from those who are sprung from the *Hunns*⁵. The ruin of the kingdom of the *Gepidæ* is placed by *Pagi* in 553. while *Justinian* was still living; but by others more rightly in the year 572. *Justin*, the successor of *Justinian*, being then emperor; for we are told, that the treasures of the deceased king were conveyed to *Justin* at *Constantinople* by *Traffaicus* an *Arian* bishop, and by *Reptilanes*, the late king's grandson⁶. *Alboinus* afterwards married *Rosimund* the daughter of *Cunimundus*; which made the *Gepidæ* bear the yoke more patiently⁷. *Theodebert*, one of the kings of the *Franks*, reproaches the emperor *Justinian* for assuming the title of *Gepidicus*, to which he had no claim, since that nation was never overcome or conquered by him⁸.

The Gepidæ
received a great
overthrow from
the Lombards.
Year after
Christ 552.

The Gepidæ
defeated by the
same nation
with great
slaughter.

The end of their
kingdom.
Year after
Christ 572.

¹ Procop. *ibid.* c. 34. 39.

² Idem *ibid.* l. iv. c. 18.

³ Idem *ibid.* c. 25.

⁴ Idem *ibid.*

⁵ Idem *ibid.* c. 27.

⁶ PAUL. DIAC. de gest. Longibard. l. i. c. 27.

⁷ Laz. de migrat. gent. l. xi.

p. 183.

⁸ Abbas BICLAR. p. 12. edit. Scalig.

⁹ PAUL. DIAC. *ibid.*

¹⁰ AGATH. l. i. p. 14.

Some writers think, that the king of the *Franks* was therein mistaken, since the surname of *Gepidicus* is not to be found on any of the almost innumerable monuments and coins of *Justinian*, which have reached our times. Others are of opinion, that *Justinian* took the surname of *Gepidicus*, not on account of his conquering that nation, but because the *Gepidæ*, by putting themselves, as they did, under his protection, were deemed his subjects, which, say they, intitled him to the surname of *Gepidicus*. It is certain, that he took, and, according to the most probable opinion, on this account, the title of *Francicus*, before he had gained any advantages over that nation, nay, several years before he made war upon them.

The Heruli.

The Heruli.

Their origin.

Their different
(cass.

Their govern-
ment, manners,
customs, reli-
gion.

THE Heruli, by *Zosimus* called *Eruli**, by *Synellus* *Aairuli*†; but commonly b
Heruli, were originally, according to *Jornandes* and *Procopius*, a *Gothic* nation. The former writer tells us, that they first dwelt in *Scandinavia*, and that, being driven from thence by the *Dani*, they wandered eastward as far as the *Palus Maotis*, and settled in that neighbourhood‡. *Procopius* speaks of them as inhabiting, in ancient times, the countries lying beyond the *Danube*§, agreeing therein with *Jornandes*. There they continued, making frequent irruptions into the empire, till the reign of the emperor *Anastasius*, who succeeded *Zeno* in 491. when great numbers of them were cut off by the *Lombards*, and the rest driven from their ancient habitations. Some of them, after having long roved about from one country to another, settled in that of the *Rugians*, the present *Pomerania*, which they found uninhabited, the c
ancient proprietors being gone with the *Goths* into *Italy*. Some time after, they removed from thence into *North Dacia*, or *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*, being allowed by the *Gepidæ*, then masters of that country, to settle among them. But being oppressed and ill used by the *Gepidæ*, they had recourse to the emperor *Anastasius*, who in 511. allowed them to pass the *Danube*, and settle in *Thrace*, upon their promising to serve with fidelity in the *Roman* armies, when required¶. Great numbers of them, upon their being driven out of their own country by the *Lombards*, as we have mentioned above, under the conduct of several princes of the blood royal, took their route westward, and passing without opposition thro' several barbarous nations, came to the ocean, and, embarking there, set sail for *Thule*, where they settled‡. By d
Thule *Procopius* meant, without all doubt, the peninsula of *Scandinavia*, which he calls ten times as big as *Britain*; and adds, that great part of it was destitute of inhabitants, but in that, which was inhabited, were seated thirteen populous nations, each of them being governed by their own kings and laws‡. The Heruli had kings of their own; but their kings, says *Procopius*, were such only by name; for they scarce had any authority, and were almost upon a level with every private man‡. Hence some think they were called *Heruli*, from the ancient *Gothic* word *herra*, signifying free. But others, and, among the rest, *Ablavius*, as quoted by *Jornandes*, will have them to have been called *Heruli*, from the *Greek* word *hele*, signifying marshy grounds, such as those were in the neighbourhood of the *Palus Maotis*, where they dwelt‡. c
The Heruli had some laws peculiar to themselves, and differing from those of all other nations; for, among them, when men were grown old or infirm, they were not to live, but intreat their relations to dispatch them; which they did accordingly, by placing them on a pile of wood, where they were put to death by one, who was a stranger to them in blood, and their bodies reduced to ashes, it being the duty of the nearest relation to set fire to the pile. When the husband died, the wife was to strangle herself on her husband's tomb, on pain of being deemed infamous, and looked upon as one, who had no value for her husband. They were given to all manner of lewdness and debauchery, and not ashamed of the most unnatural practices. They adored the same gods as the other *Gothic* nations, and used, on some extraor- f
dinary occasions, to appease them with human sacrifices‡. They were a warlike people, and are chiefly commended by the antients for their swiftness and agility, all other nations chusing their light-armed soldiers out of them. The Heruli began first to invade the empire about the year 526. the fourth of the emperor *Valerian's* reign;

* Zos. l. i. p. 652.

† SYNCEL. p. 382.

‡ JORN. rer Goth. c. 3. p. 613.

§ PROCOF.

de bell. Goth. l. ii.

¶ Idem ibid. c. 14. p. 42.

‡ Idem ibid.

‡ Idem ibid.

‡ Idem.

c. 14.

* JORN. ubi sup.

† PROCOF. ibid.

but

- a but were soon driven back by *Gallienus*, the son of *Valerian*, and his colleague in the empire^c. Eleven years after, the *Heruli*, passing from the *Palus Mæotis* into the *Euxine* sea with five hundred vessels, under the conduct of one of their chiefs named *Naulebat*, landed at *Byzantium* and *Chrysopolis*, now *Scutari*. At the latter place they were met and defeated by *Menecianus*, who was himself killed in the engagement. The *Heruli*, somewhat discouraged with the loss they had sustained, re-embarked, and began to retire to the mouth of the *Euxine* sea; but the very next day, the wind proving favourable, they returned anew before *Byzantium*, and, having crossed the *Bosphorus*, surprised and plundered the city of *Corinthus*, with great part of *Asia*, and the islands of *Lemnos* and *Seyros* in the *Archipelago*. Thence they steered their course towards *Greece*, and, landing there, besieged and burnt *Athens*, *Corinth*, *Sparta*, and *Argos*, without meeting with the least opposition, till the *Athenians*, under the conduct of *Damippus* the historian, waiting for them in the straits, and, falling upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces. However, in their retreat they committed great devastations in *Boeotia*, *Acarnania*, *Epirus*, and *Thrace*. In the mean time *Gallienus*, returning from *Gaul*, hastened into *Illyricum*, hoping to meet the *Heruli* there on their return home. He met them accordingly, and, coming upon them unexpectedly, gave them a total overthrow, pursued them with great slaughter as far as the *Nessus* in *Mæsia*, and there cut three thousand of them in pieces, as they were attempting to cross that river. *Naulebat* himself was taken prisoner, but treated with great humanity by *Gallienus*, who, to gain the affection of the barbarians, honoured him either with the consulate, or the consular ornaments^d. The *Heruli* however, two years after, that is, in 269. joined the *Goths*, and other northern nations, against the emperor *Claudius*; but were defeated by that prince with great slaughter, as we have related at length elsewhere^e. In the year 287. the fourth of *Dioclesian's* reign, the *Heruli*, joining the *Chaibons* and *Cavions*, entered *Gaul*, and laid waste the provinces bordering on the *Rhine*. But *Maximian*, marching against them, gave them a total overthrow, and pursued them with such slaughter, that, if his panegyrist may be credited, out of so great a multitude not one was left alive to carry home the news of their defeat^f. All we know of the *Chaibons* and *Cavions* is, that their country lay at a great distance from *Gaul*, as well as that of the *Heruli*. In the year 366. the third of *Valentinian's* reign, we find a body of *Heruli* serving in the Roman army on the *Rhine*; for *Ammianus Marcellinus*^g and *Zosimus*^h tell us, that the *Alemans*, crossing that river on the ice, defeated the *Romans*, and took the standards of the *Batavians* and *Heruli*. About the year 370. *Ermenric*, whom *Jornandes* calls *Ermanaric*, king of the *Ostrogoths*, after having subdued the neighbouring nations, fell upon the *Heruli*, and obliged them to submit, to pay him a yearly tribute, and to supply his army with their youth, when required^k. They were afterwards subdued, with the other northern nations, by *Attila*, and served in his army, when in 451. he invaded *Gaul*. Upon the death of *Attila*, they recovered their ancient liberty, and, entering into an alliance with the *Romans*, served in their armies, under commanders of their own nation, but named by the emperors^l. In the year 456. they made a descent on the coast of *Galicia*; but finding the inhabitants on their guard, they re-embarked, and, landing in *Biscay*, committed great ravages there^m. *Idatius*, who speaks of this descent, does not tell us whence these *Heruli* came, who, according to him, were but four hundred in number. When *Odoacer* made himself master of *Italy* in 476. such of the *Heruli*, as served at that time in the Roman armies, obtained of him lands in *Italy*, the third of that country being by him divided among the barbarians, who were in the Roman service, under the name of *fœderati*, or allies, and had joined him against *Orestes*, and his son *Augustulus*, as we have related elsewhereⁿ. In the reign of the emperor *Anastasius*, which began in 491. they made war on several barbarous nations, says *Procopius*^o, and subdued them; but having obliged their king *Rodulphus* to make war upon the *Lombards*, without the least provocation, they were overthrown by them with great slaughter, and obliged to live either in subjection to the conquerors, or abandon their country. Most of them chose the latter, some settling in the country of the *Rugians*, as we have hinted above,

Great ravages
committed by
them in Asia
and Greece.
Year after
Christ 267.

They are de-
feated by Gal-
lien.

And by Maxi-
mian.
Year after
Christ 287.

Subdued by the
Ostrogoths
and Huns.

Serve in the
Roman armies

Overthrown
with great
slaughter by
the Lombards.

^c ZONAR. vit. Gallien. p. 253.

^d Gallien. vit. p. 181—182.

ZOS. l. i. p. 651. SYNCER. p. 382.

^e Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 186, 187.

^f Panegy. x. p. 125.

^g Idem ibid. p. 124.

^h AMM.

MARCEL. l. xxvii. p. 334.

ⁱ ZOS. l. iv. p. 740.

^j JORN. rer. Goth. p. 645. PROCOP. de bell.

Goth. l. i. sub init.

^k AGATH. l. i. p. 22.

^l IDAT. p. 32.

^m Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 513.

ⁿ PROCOP. bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 14.

They murder
their king,
and send for
another from
Thule.

They are dri-
ven out of the
empire by Ju-
stinian.

others returning into *Scandinavia*, and some, with the permission of the emperor *Anastasi-
stasius*, taking up their abode in *Thrace* and *Slyritum* [†], where they had not been long,
ere they began to oppress and abuse, in a most barbarous manner, the *Romans*,
among whom they lived. Hereupon *Anastasi-
stasius* ordered the troops quartered in the
neighbouring provinces to march to the assistance of the oppressed *Romans*, who,
taking arms upon their arrival, fell, in conjunction with them, on the *Heruli*, and
cut most of them in pieces. Such of them as escaped the general slaughter, had
recourse to the clemency of the emperor, who, upon their promising to serve the
empire like faithful subjects, not only ordered them to be spared, but suffered them
to continue in the countries, which he had formerly granted them [‡]. In the reign of
the emperor *Justinian*, which began in 526. the *Heruli*, having murdered their king, ^b
and no other remaining among them of the blood royal, they dispatched embassa-
dors into *Thule* or *Scandinavia*, with orders to bring a prince from thence of the
same family, if it was not extinct likewise there. The ambassadors, pursuant to
their directions, pitched upon one (for there were many of the royal race there);
but he dying on the way, they went back, and chose another named *Todasius*, who
immediately set out on his journey to *Thrace*, attended by the ambassadors, by his
brother *Aordas*, and by a guard of two hundred men. But in the mean time the
Heruli, having long waited the return of their ambassadors, and suspecting they had
met with some misfortune, had recourse to *Justinian*, begging he would give them
a king. The emperor readily complied with their request, and appointed one *Suar-
tuas* to reign over them, who was of the same nation, but had lived long at *Constan-
tinople*. The *Heruli* received their new king with the greatest demonstrations of joy;
but, a few days after his arrival, news being broughed, that the ambassadors, on their
return from *Thule*, had already reached the confines, with a prince of the blood royal,
they immediately revolted from *Suartzuas*, who was thereupon obliged to save him-
self by flight, and return to *Constantinople*. *Justinian*, highly provoked at their
conduct, resolved to force them to acknowledge the prince he had given them; but
the *Gepidæ* espousing the cause of the new king, the emperor, whose troops were
then employed against the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*, did not think it advisable to engage
in a new war. But the war in *Italy* was no sooner ended, than, turning his arms ^d
against the *Heruli*, and their allies the *Gepidæ*, he drove both nations quite out of the
empire [‡]. He was afterwards reconciled to the *Heruli*, who assisted him in his other
wars, supplying his armies with numerous bodies of troops, of which one served with
great reputation in *Italy*, and the other in *Colchis* [‡]. In the reign of *Justinian*, great
numbers of them embraced the christian religion; but the change of religion wrought
no change in their manners, being of all nations, says *Procopius*, the most wicked,
the most treacherous, avaricious, and the most addicted to drunkenness, and all man-
ner of lewdness and debauchery [‡]. They were, soon after the death of *Justinian*,
subdued by the *Lombards*, and lived partly subject to them, partly to the neighbour-
ing nations.

[†] Idem ibid. p. 420.
Goth. l. ii. c. 14. 15.

[‡] Idem ibid. & PAUL. DIAC. LANG. c. 20. p. 759.
[‡] AGATH. l. i. c. 22.

[‡] Procop. bell.
Vand. l. ii. c. 4. p. 144.

The Marcomans.

The Marco-
mans.
Their origin,
country, &c.

THE *Marcomans* are, by all the antient writers, reckoned among the German ^e
nations. They dwelt originally near the springs of the *Danube*; but removed
from thence, under the conduct of their king *Maroboduus*, into the country which was
then held by the *Boians*, and is still called from them *Bobemia*, as it was by the antients
Boiobemia and *Boioheimia*, that is, the country of the *Boians*. The *Boians* were,
according to *Cæsar*, a *Gaulish* nation, but from *Gaul* passed into *Germany*, and, set-
tling in the present *Bobemia*, continued there till they were driven out by the *Marco-
mans* [‡]. The migration of the *Marcomans*, from their original country into that of
the *Boians*, is mentioned by *Velleius Paterculus* [‡]. *Ptolemy*, in describing the country
of the *Marcomans*, mentions a city there called *Marobudum*, which name it took,
without all doubt, from its founder *Maroboduus*. This our modern geographers take ^f
to be the present city of *Prague*. *Strabo* calls the city, where *Maroboduus* usually

[‡] CÆSAR, l. vi. c. 24.

[‡] VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 108.

resided,

- a resided, *Boviasmum*^f; but *Cluverius* thinks we ought to read *Boiaum*. The *Marcomans* agreed in customs, manners, religion, &c. with the other *German* nations, were a very numerous and warlike people, and ever ready to prefer death to slavery. Of all the *German* nations they alone made use of the *Runic* letters in their charms and incantations; whence *Lazius* and *Rhabanus Maurus* conclude them to have come originally from *Scandinavia* s; but, in every thing else, they agreed with the *German* nations, and are reckoned among them, as we have hinted above, by the antient writers. As for their history, in the reign of *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, having crossed the *Rhine* at the head of a very numerous and powerful army, gained great advantages over them, and the other *German* nations; which obliged them to send deputies to
- b *Augustus*, and sue for peace. The emperor received the ambassadors of the *Marcomans* with particular marks of distinction, and granted them their request; but obliged the other *German* nations to retire beyond the *Elbe*, and the *Sicambrians*, with such of the *Sueves* as were not subject to *Meroboduus*, to abandon their native country, and people some places in *Gaul*, that were destitute of inhabitants^b. In the year 17. the fourth of *Tiberius*, a war broke out between the *Marcomans* and the *Cheruscans* dwelling between the *Elbe* and the *Wefer*. The former were commanded by *Meroboduus*, and the latter by the celebrated *Arminius*, who, a few years before, had cut off the legions of *Varus*. But all we know of this war is, that the *Cheruscans* gained considerable advantages over the *Marcomans*¹. Two years after, *Tiberius*
- c having, by his emissaries, stirred up the subjects of *Meroboduus* against him, he was driven from the throne, and obliged to pass the last eighteen years of his life at *Ravenna*. *Meroboduus* was succeeded by *Catualdus*, who was likewise driven out soon after, and obliged to take refuge in *Gaul*^k. In the year 86. the emperor *Domitian*, provoked against the *Marcomans* and *Quadians*, because they did not assist him in the war, which he was then waging with the *Dacians*, entered their country in an hostile manner. Both nations earnestly sued for peace; which *Domitian* was so far from granting, that he caused their ambassadors to be put to death. Hereupon the *Marcomans* flew to arms, and, having drawn together a considerable body of troops, they engaged the emperor, and put his army to the rout^l. However, the emperor,
- d upon his return to *Rome*, triumphed both over them and the *Dacians*, of whom, after his defeat by the *Marcomans*, he had purchased a peace with large sums, which he had refused before upon most advantageous terms^m. But the triumphs of this emperor were looked upon as certain tokens of his having been defeatedⁿ. In the year 93. *Domitian* marched in person against the *Sarmatians*, who, according to some, had cut in pieces one, according to others, several *Roman* legions^o, and at the same time made war upon the *Marcomans*^p. But all we know of this war is, that *Domitian* pretended to have gained great advantages over both nations, and, on that account, took the title of *imperator*^q. We have spoken elsewhere at length of the memorable war, which, in conjunction with several other *German* nations, the *Marcomans* made
- e on the empire^r; and therefore shall only observe here, that, in one of the battles that were fought in this war, the *Romans* were defeated with the loss of twenty thousand men; and that, on another occasion, the emperor *Aurelius* was in great danger of being cut off with his whole army. Though the whole strength of the empire was employed against them, yet they held out for the space of fifteen years, and in the end obtained a peace upon very reasonable terms, one of which was, that they should not, for the future, settle within six miles of the *Danube*. Some of the *Marcomans*, who submitted to the emperor, were transplanted into *Italy*; but these, having attempted to make themselves masters of *Ravenna*, were by him sent back to their own country. This war lasted from the year 165. to the year 180. In the year 214.
- f a war was kindled between them and the *Vandals*, by means of the emperor *Caracalla*, who used to brag, that he had set at variance those two nations, which, till his time, had lived in friendship and amity^t; but what was the issue of that war, we are no-where told. In the year 256. the emperor *Gallienus* entered into an alliance with *Attalus* king of the *Marcomans*; and, upon the captivity of his father *Valerian*,

The Marcomans obtain a peace of Augustus.

They wage war with the Cherusicans.

They defeat and put to flight the emperor Domitian. Year after Christ 86.

Their war with M. Aurelius. Year after Christ 165.

^f STRABO, l. vii. p. 201.

^s GOLDAST, Alam. antiq. tom. ii. part. 1.

^b SUET. l. ii. c. 21.

p. 178. TACIT. annal. l. ii. c. 36. p. 47. STRAB. l. vii. p. 29.

¹ TACIT. annal. c. 42. p. 53. &c.

c. 44. 46. p. 54. 55.

^k Idem, ann. ii. c. 62, 63. p. 61, 62.

^o DIO, l. lxxvii. p. 761.

^m SUET.

in Domit. c. 6. p. 788, 789. EUSEB. chron.

ⁿ SUET. ibid.

^q STAT. silv. iii. ver. 398. SUET.

in Domit. c. 6. p. 788.

^p STAT. ibid.

^r SUET. ibid. p. 789.

^t Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 66.

& seq.

^l DIO, l. lxxi. p. 807.

^o DIO. Val. p. 754, 757.

The king of the
Marcomans
subjects himself,
and his king-
dom, to the
empire.
Year after
Christ 396.

taken prisoner by the *Persians*, he yielded to him part of *Upper Pannonia* for his daughter *Pipa* or *Pipara*, whom he pretended to marry; but as he was already married to *Salonina*, styled in the antient inscriptions *Cornelia Salonina Augusta*, *Pipa* is called by the writers of those times his concubine^a. The *Marcomans* joined the *Alemans* and the *Juthungians* in the war, which those nations made on the emperor *Aurelian* about the year 270. but were in the end cut off almost to a man^b. Both *Idatius* and *Victor*^c mention a victory gained over the *Marcomans* in the year 299. the sixteenth of *Dioclesian's* reign. About the year 396. *Fritigil*, queen of the *Marcomans*, having embraced the christian religion, wrote to *St. Ambrose*, intreating him to send her some instructions relating to the conduct of her life. The holy prelate readily complied with her request, and besides exhorted her to persuade her husband to live in peace and amity with the *Romans*. This she not only did, but prevailed upon the king to subject himself, and his kingdom, to the empire^d. And hence it is, that, among the many barbarous nations that broke into *Gaul* a few years after, that is, in 406. and 407. no mention is made of the *Marcomans*. They seem to have continued faithful to the *Romans* till the time of *Attila*, when, being subdued by that prince, they were obliged to serve in his army against their old friends and allies; for they are mentioned among the many different nations, of which his army was composed, when in the year 451. he invaded *Gaul*^e. Upon the death of *Attila*, they shook off the yoke, and, having recovered their antient liberty, submitted either to *Marician*, or his successor *Leo*^f, and served the empire to the last with unshaken fidelity. From them, and, without all doubt, from several other nations settled among them, are descended the present inhabitants of *Bohemia*.

^a GOLTZ. Birag. p. 380.

^x Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 188.

^b JOAN. rer. Goth. c. 38. p. 666, 667.

^w Gallien vit. p. 184. Valer. vit. p. 174. Victor. epit. p. 541.

^y Aur. Victor. p. 525.

^z Ambros. vit. c. 36. p. 10.

^b Idem ibid. c. 50. p. 688.

The Quadians.

The Quadians.
Their country.

Their wars
with the em-
pire.

They join the
Marcomans
against M. Au-
relius.

NEXT to the *Marcomans* dwelt the *Quadians*, a German nation often mentioned^d by the antients, especially by *Eutropius* and *Capitolinus*. Their country is at present known by the name of *Moravia*; for it extended from the mountains of *Bohemia* to the river *Marus*, now the *March*, and consequently comprised that province. *Ptolemy* mentions the following cities in the country of the *Quadians*, viz. *Eburodunum*, or, as others read it, *Robodunum*, *Eburum*, *Medoslanium*, and *Celemantia*, now, according to *Cluverius*, *Brin*, *Olmütz*, *Znaim*, and *Kalminz*. The *Quadians* were a warlike people, had kings of their own, and agreed in customs, manners, and religion, with the other German nations. The *Quadians* joined, without all doubt, their countrymen against *Lollius*, *Germanicus*, *Caius*, and *Galba*, attempting to reduce *Germany*, and bring under subjection the several nations inhabiting that extensive country. The emperor *Domitian*, while engaged in a war with the *Dacians*, turned unexpectedly his arms against them; but, before the *Quadians* could draw their troops together, the emperor was defeated and put to flight by the *Marcomans*, as we have related above. They submitted, it seems, to the emperor *Titus Antoninus*; for they received and acknowledged a king named by that prince, as appears from some of *Antoninus's* coins, supposed to have been struck about the year 139^e. They joined the *Marcomans* in the memorable war, which that nation made on the empire in the reign of *M. Aurelius*, as we have hinted above, and related at length in our *Roman history*^f. The *Quadians* being, by that war, which had lasted fifteen years, reduced to great streights, sent in the end embassadors to sue for peace, and with them all the *Roman* deserters, and thirteen thousand prisoners, whom they had taken during the war. By that means they obtained a peace, upon condition that they should not traffick for the future within the *Roman* dominions, nor settle within six miles of the *Danube*. But, disliking these conditions, they renewed the war, in conjunction with the *Marcomans*; and, having driven out *Furtius*, whom the emperor had appointed to reign over them, they appointed one *Ariogeses* in his room; which *M. Aurelius* resented to such a degree, that tho' the *Quadians* promised to set at liberty fifty thousand *Roman* captives, upon condition that he confirmed to *Ariogeses* the title of king,

^c BIRAG. p. 194. SPANH. l. ix. p. 831, 832.

^d Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 66—79.

- a the emperor would not hearken to the proposal; but, on the contrary, proscribed the new prince, and set a price upon his head. Hereupon the *Quadians*, being joined by the *Marcomans*, and several other nations, attacked the *Romans*; but, after a long and bloody dispute, were put to the rout, and utterly defeated. *Ariogestes* himself was taken prisoner; but the emperor generously spared his life, and contented himself with confining him to the city of *Alexandria*, the metropolis of *Egypt*. After this victory, the other nations submitted, and obtained a peace; but the *Quadians* seem to have continued in arms till the reign of *Commodus*, who granted them a peace upon the following terms: 1. They should keep at the distance of five miles from the *Danube*. 2. That they should deliver up their arms, and supply the *Romans* with a certain number of troops, when required. 3. That they should assemble but once a month in one place only, and in the presence of a *Roman* centurion. And lastly, That they should not make war upon the neighbouring nations, without the consent of the people of *Rome*.^d This peace was concluded in the year 180. the first of the emperor *Commodus*'s reign. In the year 214. the *Quadians* had one *Gaiobomar* for their king, who was murdered by the orders of *Caracalla*; but upon what provocation, we are not told. Of this assassination the emperor used to brag, as of a glorious action.^e In 257. the fourth of the emperor *Valerian*'s reign, the *Quadians*, joining the *Sarmatians*, broke into *Illyricum*, and ravaged part of that province; but they were defeated by *Probus*, afterwards emperor, but at that time only tribune of a legion. On this occasion *Probus* rescued out of the hands of the *Quadians* *Valerius Flaccus*, a youth descended from an illustrious family, and nearly related to the emperor *Valerian*, who publicly commended *Probus* for so glorious an action, and presented him with a civic crown, which, in the times of the republic, was bestowed on those, who had saved the life of a citizen.^f In 260. the seventh of the emperor *Galienus*, they made a sudden irruption into *Pannonia*; but were obliged by *Regillianus*, who commanded there, to quit their booty, and return home. That commander is said to have gained several victories over them in one day.^g Some years after, that is, about the year 283. *Probus*, who had kept the barbarians in awe, being dead, the *Quadians*, in conjunction with the *Sarmatians*, broke into *Illyricum* and *Thrace*, and, after having ravaged those provinces, were advancing towards *Italy*; but *Carus*, who had succeeded *Probus*, meeting them on the borders of *Illyricum*, gave them a total overthrow, killed sixteen thousand of them on the spot, and took twenty thousand prisoners.^h In the year 355. the nineteenth of the emperor *Constantius*, the *Quadians* broke into *Pannonia* and *Mæsia*, and, having pillaged both provinces, without meeting with the least opposition, they returned home unmolested, carrying with them an immense booty.ⁱ Of this irruption, no mention is made by *Ammianus*. Two years after, they returned anew, and laid waste *Valeria*, while the *Sueves* committed dreadful ravages in *Rætia*, and the *Sarmatians* over-ran *Lower Pannonia*, and *Upper Mæsia*. Hereupon *Constantius*, leaving *Milan*, where he then was, advanced to the confines of the *Quadians*, and there conferred with their chiefs, who excused, in the best manner they could, the past ravages, and promised, for the future, to live in peace and amity with the empire.^j But, notwithstanding the promises they had made, the following year 358. in conjunction with the *Sarmatians*, they laid waste great part of *Pannonia* and *Mæsia*; but, at the approach of *Constantius*, who marched against them in person, they repassed the *Danube*, and returned home. But the emperor resolved to punish them for their treachery, and, having passed the *Danube* on a bridge of boats, began to lay waste their country. The *Quadians*, not finding themselves in a condition to make head against the numerous forces *Constantius* had with him, sent deputies to sue for peace; which the emperor readily granted them, upon their delivering up hostages, and setting at liberty all the prisoners they had taken.^k In the year 374. their king *Gabinus* being treacherously murdered by *Marcellianus* duke of *Valeria*, in the manner we have related in our *Roman* history,^l they passed the *Danube* in the utmost rage, and falling upon the reapers, it being then harvest-time, cut most of them in pieces, laid waste the country to a great distance, and took an incredible number of captives. *Equitius*, general of the troops in *Illyricum*, not finding himself in a condition to stem this furious torrent, retired into *Valeria*; but the *Quadians*, looking upon him as the chief author of the murder of their

They obtain a peace of Commodus.

Defeated by Probus.

And by Carus, with great slaughter. Year after Christ 283.

Their king Gabinus murdered by the Romans.

^d Dio. l. lxxii. p. 206, 817.

tyrna. vit. p. 188.

p. 72. Jul. ad Ath. p. 513.

^e Dio. Val. p. 754, 777.

^f Carin. vit. p. 250. ZONAR. p. 242.

^g AMMIAN. l. xvii. p. 105.

^h Prob. vit. p. 234, 235.

ⁱ Zos. p. 702.

^j Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 361.

^k Trig.

^l AMMIAN.

king,

They cut off
two Roman le-
gions, and com-
mit great ra-
vages in the
empire.
Year after
Christ 374.

king, followed him thither, committing dreadful ravages in the countries through ^a which they passed. In their way they met two legions, the *Pannonian* and *Mælian*, who had been sent to oppose them; but the legions falling into an unreasonable contention about precedence, the barbarians, taking advantage of their disagreement, cut them both in pieces. Thus all the open country was abandoned to them, the *Romans* remaining masters only of the fortified places ⁿ. The *Sarmatians*, who had joined the *Quadians* in this irruption, having entered *Upper Mæsia*, were defeated there with great slaughter by *Theodosius*, afterwards emperor, but then very young, and only duke of *Mæsia*. Against the *Quadians* *Valentinian I.* then emperor, marched in person, and, arriving at *Carnutum* in *Illyricum*, which most geographers take to be the present city of *Hainburg* on the *Danube* in *Austria*, about thirty miles east of *Vienna*, continued there three months, making vast preparations for his intended ex-
pedition into the country of the *Quadians*. At length he took the field, and, having passed the *Danube* at *Acincum*, now *Gran*, or, as others will have it, *Buda* in *Lower Hungary*, he entered the enemy's country, and laid it waste, destroying all with fire and sword. Having thus passed the summer, and great part of the autumn, he took up his winter-quarters at *Bregetio*, which some take to be a village on the *Danube*, now called *Bregnitz*, and others the present city of *Komare* in the isle of *Schut*. There he gave audience to the ambassadors of the *Quadians*, come to sue for peace; but, while he was speaking to them with great warmth, and threatening to extirpate their whole nation, he fell all on a sudden to the ground, as if his life and voice had failed ^c him at once. Being immediately conveyed into his chamber, he was there seized with convulsion-fits, and violent contortions of all his limbs, in the agonies of which he soon expired ^o. *Socrates* writes, that being offended at the mean and beggarly appearance of the ambassadors of the *Quadians*, he asked them, If their country afforded men of no better quality to appear before him? They answered, That the first men in the nation were in his presence. Hereupon he fell into a violent passion, upbraiding their whole nation with arrogance, for daring to insult the majesty of the *Roman* people. He delivered himself with so much heat and violence, that, his veins burst-
ing, he was instantly suffocated in his own blood ^p. Upon his death, the officers of the army proclaimed *Valentinian*, his second son, emperor, though he was then a child ^d but four or five years old. At the same time they concluded a truce with the *Quadians*, and recalled the troops, which, under the conduct of *Merobaudes*, and count *Sebastian*, were laying waste their country. In the year 379. they broke anew into *Illyricum*; but were driven out with some loss by the emperor *Gratian*. In the year 407. the *Quadians* entered *Gaul* with the other barbarians, and over-ran those provinces, committing every-where dreadful ravages, of which we have spoken at length elsewhere ^q. From this time no further mention is made in history of the *Quadians*; whence *Lazius* concludes them to have been either subdued, or utterly extirpated, by the *Goths*, who had settled in *Pannonia* and *Illyricum*.

They enter
Gaul.
Year after
Christ 407.

ⁿ AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 408. 409. Zos. l. iv. p. 745.
p. 284. ^q Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 388.

^o AMMIAN. l. xxx. p. 68.

^p SOCRAT.

The Sarmatians.

The Sarmatians.

Their country.

They consisted of
several differ-
ent nations.

THE *Sarmatians* were a very numerous and warlike nation, divided into many ^e tribes, each of them having their own king, and masters of a large and exten-
sive country. *Sarmatia Europæa*, or *Sarmatia* in *Europe*, of which alone we design to speak here, extended from the *Vistula*, now the *Weissel*, parting it from *Germany*, to the *Euxine* sea, the *Bosporus Cimmerius*, the *Palus Mæotis*, and the *Tanais* dividing it from *Asia* and the *Asiatic Sarmatia*. In this vast tract of land, comprehending the present *Poland*, *Russia*, and great part of *Tartary*, dwelt the following nations; viz. the *Burgiones*, *Cariones*, *Sudeni*, *Geloni*, *Hamaxobii*, *Agathyrsi*, *Boruse*, *Melanchane*, *Alauni* or *Alani*, *Iazyges*, *Roxolani*, *Bastarnæ*, *Carpi* or *Carpates*, *Sidones*, *Borani*, and *Venedi*, by *Jornandes* called *Winidæ* and *Vinidi*. The five last-named nations are thought to have come originally from *Germany*, especially the *Bastarnæ*; for even ^f in the time of *Tacitus*, who is at a loss whether he ought to place them among the *German* or the *Sarmatian* nations, they agreed with the former in dress and language ^r.

^r TACIT. de mor. German. c. 46.

- a The *Gelonians* were, according to *Herodotus**, of Greek extraction; but had, even in *Their origin.* his time, adopted, in a great measure, the customs and manners of the *Budini*, among whom they had settled, especially the custom of painting their bodies, as we read in *Virgil*† and *Claudian*‡. The *Budini* dwelt near mount *Budinus*, from which springs the *Borysthenes*, called by more modern writers the *Danapris*, and thence the *Dnieper* or *Nieper*. The other nations, which we have mentioned above, were all *Gotbic*; and of the origin of the *Gotbic* nations we have spoken at length in the history of the *Gotbs*. These various nations were blended by the *Romans* under the common name of *Sarmatæ*; by the *Greeks* under that of *Sauromatæ*, and sometimes by both, under the denominations of *Scythæ* or *Scythians*, and *Gætæ*. Each of them had, it seems, their own king; for mention is made in history of the kings of the *Roxolani*, of the *Bastarnæ*, of the *Iazyges*, &c. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, speaking of the *Sarmatians* in general, tells us, that they were a savage people, and infamous for their lewdness*. The *Melanclænæ* are said, both by *Ammianus*† and *Herodotus*‡, to have fed on human flesh, and are thence called by them, as well as by *Mela* and *Pliny*, *Anthrophagi* and *Androphagi*.

- THE *Sarmatians* began first to threaten the empire in the reign of *Nero*, about the year of the christian æra 63. that is, about seventeen years after *Thrace* had been by *Claudius* reduced to a Roman province; for, till its reduction, it had been governed by its own princes, and served as a barrier on that side between the *Sarmatians* and *Romans*. A few years after the latter became possessed of it, the *Sarmatians* began to appear in great numbers on the confines, as if they intended to make themselves masters of that province, which was then guarded by a small number of troops, under the command of *Plautius Silvanus Ælianus*, who had sent the rest to the assistance of *Corbulo*, then making war in *Armenia*. But the Roman general having gained over the kings of the *Bastarnians* and *Roxolani*, the rest soon dispersed†. However, six years after, that is, in 69. *Otho* being then emperor, the *Roxolani*, who dwelt on the west side of the *Palus Mæotis*, entering *Mæsia*, defeated there two Roman cohorts, and, having pillaged that part of the province, which bordered on the *Danube*, they repassed the river, and returned home unmolested. Animated with this success, they appeared anew the same year with nine thousand horse. But *Marcus Aponius Saturninus*, governor of *Mæsia*, falling upon them with a legion and some auxiliaries, cut them off almost to a man‡. The same year *Vespasian* being proclaimed emperor by the legions quartered in the east, the *Iazygians*, a Sarmatic nation dwelling next to the *Roxolani*, declared for the new emperor against *Vitellius*. But *Vespasian*, returning them thanks for the troops they offered him, took with him only their chiefs, not with a design to employ them, but to prevent them from making inroads into the Roman territories during the war§. *Tacitus* calls the *Iazygians* the allies of the *Romans*. But the very first year of the reign of *Vespasian*, whom they had offered to join a few months before, they broke into *Mæsia*, and, having killed *Lontei* *Agrippa*, governor of that province, who attempted to oppose them, they laid waste the country far and near. Hereupon *Rubrius Gallus*, marching against them with the utmost expedition, pursuant to the orders he had received from the emperor, cut great numbers of them in pieces in several encounters, obliged the rest to repass the *Danube*, and, with great care, fortified the banks of that river, to cover the province from their incursions¶. In the year 85. the fourth of *Domitian's* reign, the *Iazygians*, joining the *Sueves*, armed with a design, says *Dion*‡, to pass the *Danube*, and lay waste the Roman dominions; but whether or no they put their design in execution, that writer has not thought fit to tell us. *Tacitus* indeed writes in one place, that the *Sarmatians* and *Suevians* armed against the empire*; and elsewhere, that this very year, soon after the return of *Agricola* to *Rome*, the Roman armies were defeated in *Pannonia*†, in all likelihood by the *Iazygians* and *Suevians*. In the year 93. the thirteenth of *Domitian's* reign, the *Sarmatians* having cut in pieces a Roman legion with their tribune, the emperor, who was then in *Dacia*, marched against them in person‡; but with what success, we are not told. *Domitian* indeed took the title of *imperator*, as if he had gained some great advantage over the enemy; but that prince often claimed

The *Roxolani* defeated two Roman cohorts, and ravage *Mæsia*. Year after Christ 69.

They kill the governor of that province; but in the end are most of them cut in pieces.

* HERODOT. l. iv. c. 108.

† VIRG. georg. xi. ver. 115.

‡ CLAUD. l. i. in RUFIN. ver. 315.

w AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xxxi. p. 443.

* Idem ibid.

† HERODOT. l. iv. c. 102, 106.

‡ TACIT.

sonal. xv. c. 25. p. 248. & 459.

* Idem hist. l. i. c. 79. & l. ii. c. 85.

† Idem ibid. l. iii. c. 7.

p. 63.

‡ Idem, l. iv. c. 54. p. 102.

JOSEPH. bell. vii. c. 22. p. 976.

§ DIO. l. lxxvii. p. 761.

* TACIT. l. i. c. 2. p. 4.

† Vit. Agr. c. 41. p. 151.

‡ SUET. in Domit. c. 6. p. 788.

They submit to
Adrian.
Year after
Christ 119.

They join the
Marcomans
against M.
Aurelius.
Year after
Christ 165.

They obtain a
peace.

The Carpi de-
mand an an-
nual pension.

the victory when he had been driven out of the field, and shamefully put to flight, as we have hinted above. The *Sarmatians* are by *Dion* reckoned among the nations that submitted to *Adrian* ^b while he was in *Armenia*, in the year 107. but that writer speaks, without all doubt, of the *Asiatic Sarmatians*. As for the *Sarmatians* in *Europe*, they broke into *Illyricum* with great fury in the year 119. the second of *Adrian's* reign; which obliged that prince to quit *Rome*, and march against them in person. Upon his arrival in *Mæsia*, they repassed the *Danube* with great precipitation, and encamped on the opposite bank; but the *Roman* cavalry swimming, armed as they were, cross the river, in order to attack them, the *Sarmatians* were struck with such terror, that they immediately submitted ^c. The horse, to whose intrepidity and boldness was owing the submission of the enemy, were the *Batavians* in the *Roman* ^b service, as appears from the epitaph of one of them named *Soranus* ^k. *Suidas* writes, that *Adrian* himself passed the *Danube* on horseback ^l; but he seems to have misunderstood the passage in *Dion*. The princes of the *Sarmatians* quarrelled afterwards among themselves, and chose *Adrian* for their umpire, who composed their differences to the general satisfaction of the contending parties. On this occasion, the king of the *Roxolani*ans complaining to the emperor, that his pension had been lessened, *Adrian* ordered the sum, which had been formerly allowed him, to be paid without the least deduction ^m. In the year 135. the *Iazygians* sent ambassadors to *Rome*, to renew their alliance with *Adrian*, who received them in a very obliging manner, introduced them to the senate, and, having granted them their request, sent them ^c back loaded with rich presents ⁿ. All the nations inhabiting *Sarmatia* conspired, with the *Marcomans*, against *M. Aurelius*; but were in the end most of them cut in pieces. Over the *Iazygians* in particular the emperor gained two complete victories, the one before they reached the *Danube* on their way home, and the other, described at length by *Dion* ^o, as they were crossing that river on the ice. But, notwithstanding the great losses they sustained in this war, they were so far from suing for peace, that they deposed, and threw into prison, their king named *Bandaspes*, for no other reason but because he had sent ambassadors with proposals for concluding a peace with the empire. However, being in the end abandoned by the *Marcomans*, and their other allies, and reduced to great straits, their new king, named *Zanticus*, came in ^d person, attended by all the chief men of the nation, to throw himself at the emperor's feet, and sue for peace; which was granted them upon the following terms, viz. That they should not settle within ten miles of the *Danube*; that they should set at liberty all the prisoners they had taken, and supply the emperor's army with a body of eight thousand horse. With these conditions they readily complied; and we are told, that the prisoners, whom they dismissed on this occasion, were in number, at least, one hundred thousand, though they had sold to other nations many of those they had taken during the war. The eight thousand *Iazygian* horse were, by the emperor, sent into *Britain*. To the other *Sarmatic* nations lands were allotted in *Pannonia*, *Mæsia*, *Germany*, and even in *Italy* ^p. The *Iazygians* lived, it seems, ^e some time in peace and amity with the *Romans*; for in 180. one of the articles of the peace concluded between the emperor *Commodus* and the *Alemans* was, that they should not make war upon the *Iazygians*, *Burians*, or *Vandals* ^q. Besides, no mention is made by historians, either of them, or the other *Sarmatic* nations, till the year 215. when the emperor *Caracalla* is said to have gained some advantages over the *Sarmatians*, and to have taken, on that account, the surname of *Sarmaticus* ^r. In the year 228. the *Carpi*, a people of *Sarmatia* dwelling near the *Carpatian* mountains, which part *Hungary* and *Transylvania* from *Poland*, being informed, that the *Roman* emperors paid a yearly pension to the *Goths*, sent deputies to *Menophilus*, governor of *Mæsia*, demanding, that the same sum which the *Goths* received should be paid to ^f them, since their friendship deserved to be no less courted than that of the *Goths*. The deputies found *Menophilus* exercising his troops, according to his daily custom; and, as he well knew on what errand they were come, to humble their pride, he made them wait several days before he gave them audience, allowing them in the mean time to assist at the military exercises performed by his troops. At length he received them seated on a high tribunal, and attended by all the officers of the army, to whom he pretended to give his orders while the ambassadors were speaking, as if

^a Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 779.

^b Idem, l. lxxix. p. 792.

^c Ger. nov. p. 12.

^d Suid. p. 87.

^e Adrian, vit. p. 4.

^f Dio, p. 794.

^g Idem, l. lxxi. p. 804, 805.

^h Idem ibid. p. 808.

809.

ⁱ Idem, l. lxxii. p. 817.

^j Ger. vit. p. 92.

- a nothing they said deserved his attention. The ambassadors, mortified and amazed at this conduct, only asked, Why money was given to the *Goths*, and not to them? Because the emperor, answered *Menophilus*, bestows his favours on whom he pleases. We hope then, replied the ambassadors, that he will be pleased to shew himself as generous to us, as to the *Goths*: we are a more brave and deserving nation. The *Roman* general answered with a smile, That the emperor would do what he thought fit; and that if they met him in four months time, at a place which he appointed, he would acquaint them with the emperor's will and pleasure. The ambassadors met him accordingly, and found him, as they had done before, wholly intent upon exercising his troops. *Menophilus*, having made them wait some days, as if he had affairs
- b of greater importance on his hands than to give audience to them, received them in the same manner as he had done the first time, and ordered them to return in three months, appointing the place where they should find him. The answer he then gave them was, That the emperor would enter into no engagements with them; but, if they stood in need of present relief, the emperor would, in all likelihood, out of his good-nature, allow them some, provided they went and threw themselves at his feet. They were highly provoked at this answer, and departed in a great rage; but nevertheless, awed by *Menophilus*, they continued quiet so long as he commanded in that province^a. The emperor *Maximinus* made, it seems, war upon the *Sarmatians*, and gained considerable advantages over them; for it appears from several
- c inscriptions found in *France* and *Spain*, that both he and his son took the surname of *Sarmaticus*^b. However, *Capitolinus* only writes, that *Maximinus*, having quelled the *Germans*, resolved to make war upon the *Sarmatians*, and, with that design, passed the winter in 236. at *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*^c. *Maximinus*, speaking of himself in *Herodian*, only says, that he overcame, on several occasions, the *Germans*; inso-much that they were afraid to stir, as were likewise the *Sarmatians*, who, by their deputies, were constantly suing for peace^d. In the year 238. *Menophilus*, of whom we have spoken above, being recalled, the *Carpi*, who had been awed by his presence, broke into *Mæsia*, and having ravaged that province, and utterly destroyed the city of *Istria* or *Istropolis*, on the most southern mouth of the *Danube* in *Lower*
- d *Mæsia*, or rather *Little Scythia*, they returned home unmolested, the *Romans* being then engaged in a civil war between *Maximinus*, *Maximus*, and *Balbinus*^e. In 242. the fourth of the emperor *Gordian's* reign, that prince, in passing through *Thrace* on his march into the east to make war there on the *Perfians*, overcame the *Goths* and *Sarmatians*, and obliged them to abandon that province, and retire beyond the *Danube*^f. In the year 260. the *Sarmatians* and *Quadians* seized on great part of *Dacia* and *Pannonia*; but were driven out by *Regillianus*, who commanded in *Illyricum*, and is said to have gained several victories over them in one day^g. He soon after caused himself to be proclaimed emperor; but he was scarce seated on the throne, when the *Roxolanians*, who served under him, revolted; and their example being fol-
- e lowed by the rest of the army, he was murdered by some of his own men^h. *Aurelian*, who was afterwards emperor, is said to have gained a signal victory over the *Sarmatians* and *Sueves* in the reign of *Claudius*, about the year 268ⁱ. But of this victory no mention is made by any other writer. In the year 278. the emperor *Probus* marched against them in person; but, at his approach, they retired from *Thrace*, where they had committed great ravages, abandoned the booty they had taken, and, awed by the fame of his name, sent deputies to sue for peace; which the emperor granted them, upon their promising to keep beyond the *Danube*, and supply the *Roman* armies with a certain number of troops, when required^j. They continued quiet during the remaining part of *Probus's* reign, but no sooner heard of his death,
- f than they broke into *Illyricum*, destroying all with fire and sword. But *Carus*, then emperor, marching against them, cut sixteen thousand of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to repass the *Danube*, and sue for peace^k. About seven years after, they returned with a very numerous army, and committed great ravages in *Thrace* and *Illyricum*; but *Dioclesian*, hastening to the relief of the oppressed provinces, defeated the barbarians with great slaughter. *Eumenius* writes, that, on this occasion, almost the whole nation was cut off^l: but he speaks more like a panegyrist than an historian;

Their demand
rejected.

They make se-
veral irrup-
tions into the
empire.

And defeated
with great
slaughter by
Carus.

^a Legat. excerpt. p. 14.

^b Grut. p. 151, 156. Spon. p. 186, 187.

^c Maximin. vit. p. 143.

^d Hærod. l. vii. p. 592, 600.

^e Maxim. & Balb. vit. p. 171.

^f Gord. vit. p. 165.

^g Trig.

^h tyrann. vit. c. 9. p. 188.

ⁱ Idem ibid.

^j Aur. vit. p. 213.

^k Prob. vit. p. 239.

^l Car.

^m vit. p. 250.

ⁿ Panegyri. xi. p. 133. & viii. p. 105, 107.

for some years after, the *Sarmatians* dwelling near the *Palus Mæotis*, under the conduct of *Crisco* king of *Bosporus*, broke into the country of the *Lazians* in *Colchis*, and, having pillaged great part of *Pontus*, advanced as far as the *Halys*, a river of *Paphlagonia*. *Constantius*, then only tribune, but soon after declared *Cæsar*, was sent by *Dioclesian* to put a stop to their ravages; but his army being far inferior in number to that of the barbarians, he contented himself with encamping on the opposite bank of the *Halys*, and by that means preventing them from passing that river. But in the mean time *Chrestus*, king of the *Chersonesus*, and vassal of the empire, having, at the instigation of *Dioclesian*, broken into *Sarmatia*, and even taken by stratagem the city of *Bosporus*, *Crisco* immediately dispatched ambassadors to *Constantius*, suing for peace; which was granted him, upon his restoring the booty, and setting at liberty all the prisoners he had taken. *Chrestus* at the same time restored to him the booty he had taken, and the prisoners, among whom were his wife, and his concubines. For this eminent piece of service, *Dioclesian* sent rich presents to the inhabitants of the *Chersonesus*, declared them free, and exempted them from all tribute, customs, and taxes. This account we have copied from a piece, intituled, *Of the government of the empire*, published by *Meursius* in 1611. and ascribed to *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, who reigned in the east in 950. The emperor *Galerius* made war, it seems, on the *Sarmatians*; for both *Zonaras* and *Ammianus Marcellinus* tell us, that seeking the destruction of *Constantine*, whose extraordinary qualities gave him great umbrage, he ordered him, in the *Sarmatian* war, to engage a barbarian, who surpassed all the others in stature, and the fierceness of his looks; which *Constantine* did accordingly, and, having overcome him, and thrown him to the ground, he dragged him by the hair to the emperor's presence, and laid him at his feet. In the same war, having ordered him to cross a marsh at the head of some troops, he entered it the first on horseback, and, being followed by his men, put great numbers of the enemy to the sword, and gained a complete victory^f. This is supposed to have happened about the year 305. About the same time the whole nation of the *Carpi* submitted to the *Romans*, being several times overcome, and reduced to great streights, by *Galerius*. *Dioclesian* transplanted the whole nation into the *Roman* territories, especially into *Pannonia*, where great numbers of them had been allowed to settle in the reign of *Aurelianus*^g. *Constantine the Great*, in the year 322. the seventeenth of his reign, gained a great victory over the other *Sarmatic* nations^h. *Ostianus* writes, that they were overcome in several battles in the neighbourhood of *Campana*, *Marga*, and *Bononia*, all three cities of *Illyricum* on the *Danube*ⁱ. *Raufimodes*, one of the *Sarmatian* kings, had, as we read in *Zosimus*, besieged a city, which that writer does not name; but *Constantine*, hastening to the relief of the place, put the enemy to flight, and, having obliged those, who had made their escape, to repass the *Danube*, he pursued them cross that river, defeated them a second time, killed their king *Raufimodes*, laid waste their country, and returned with an incredible number of captives^k. The *Sarmatian* sports, which were yearly celebrated about the latter end of *November*, as appears from an antient calendar of the year 534. probably took their rise from this victory.

The Carpi
transplanted
into the empire.

The Sarmatians
defeated
in several
battles by Con-
stantine.
Year after
Christ 322.

Constantine
espouses their
cause against
the Goths.

Punished by
him for their
ingratitude.

In the year 332. a war being kindled between the *Goths* and *Sarmatians*, the latter had recourse to *Constantine*, who immediately sent a considerable body of troops to their assistance. These, engaging the *Goths* on the twentieth of *April* of this year, gained a complete victory over them. We are told, that, in this war, near an hundred thousand *Goths* perished either by the sword, or by famine. At length they concluded a peace, both with the *Romans* and the *Sarmatians*, *Ariaric* or *Araric* their king delivering up his son as an hostage^l, and supplying the *Roman* armies with a body of forty thousand *Goths*; which corps was, for some ages, kept intire and complete, and served under the name of *fæderati*, or allies^m. The *Sarmatians*, finding they had nothing now to fear from the *Goths*, with the utmost ingratitude, turned their arms against their friends and benefactors, making frequent inroads into the territories of the *Romans*, to whom they owed their deliverance. *Constantine*, highly provoked at their conduct, marched against them at the head of a powerful army, and, having put them to flight, entered their country, destroying all with fire and sword. However, upon their submitting, and promising to serve the empire with

^g ZONAR. vit. Dioc. p. 246. AMMIAN. p. 471.

^h Zos. l. ii. p. 680.

ⁱ OPTAT. c. 23.

rer. Goth. c. 21. p. 640.

^k AMMIAN. L. xxviii. p. 357. AUR. VICT. p. 525.

^l Idem ibid.

^m AMMIAN. p. 472.

ⁿ JORN.

- a fidelity, the emperor put a stop to all hostilities, and, quitting their country, repassed the *Danube* ^a. Two years after, the *Sarmatians* were attacked anew by the *Goths*, under the conduct of their king *Geberic*, the successor of *Araric*. The war lasted some years; but in the end the *Sarmatians* were utterly defeated on the banks of the *Marisus* in *Dacia*. In this battle, the *Sarmatians* lost their king *Wisimar*, and with him the flower of their nobility, and such numbers of men, that they were obliged to arm their slaves, who defeated indeed the *Goths*; but then, turning their arms against their masters, drove them quite out of their native country, and seized on their lands and possessions ^o. These slaves are by *Ammianus* ^p and *St. Jerom* ^q styled *Limigantes*: ^{They are driven out of their country by their slaves.} the former tells us, that the free-born among the *Sarmatians* were distinguished by the name of *Acaragantes* ^r. The *Sarmatians*, thus driven out by their slaves, had recourse to *Constantine*, who received three hundred thousand of them within the empire, incorporated some among his troops, and to the others allowed lands in the provinces bordering on the *Danube*, and in *Italy* itself ^s. Some of them took refuge amongst other barbarians, by *Ammianus* called *Vitolobales* ^t, and by most writers thought to be the same people with the *Quadi Ultramontani*, or the *Quadians* beyond the mountains *Sudeti* or *Suditi* parting the country of the *Quadi* from that of the *Marcomans*, at present the mountains of *Bohemia*. The *Sarmatians*, who took refuge among the *Quadians*, in the year 355. made an irruption into *Pannonia*, in conjunction with the *Quadians*, and, having pillaged both that province and *Upper Mæsia*, returned home unmolested, with an immense booty ^u. Thus *Zosimus*. But of this irruption no mention is made by *Ammianus*. Two years after, they returned anew, and laid waste the same provinces, while the *Sueves* committed dreadful ravages in *Rætia*, and the *Quadians* in *Valeria*, a province of *Illyricum*. *Constantius*, who was then at *Rome*, and, as *Ammianus* tells us ^v, mightily taken with the curiosities and diversions of that city, set out in great haste to stop the progress of the barbarians, who threatened *Italy* itself; but they were no sooner informed of his arrival at *Milan*, than they retired of their own accord ^w. However, the emperor advanced as far as *Sirmium*, and there had several conferences with the chiefs of the nations dwelling in the neighbourhood of the *Danube*, who all promised to live in peace and amity with the empire ^x.
- d But the following winter, while the *Danube* was frozen, unmindful of their promises, they laid hold of that opportunity, and, entering *Mæsia* and *Pannonia*, pillaged those provinces, while the *Alemans*, notwithstanding the peace they had lately concluded with the empire, laid waste *Rætia*. Against the *Alemans* *Constantius* dispatched *Barbatio*; but against the *Sarmatians*, who had been joined by the *Quadians*, he marched in person, leaving *Sirmium*, where he had passed the winter, after the spring equinox ^y. The barbarians retired at his approach; but the emperor, having passed the *Danube* on a bridge of boats, entered their country, and laid it waste far and near. The *Sarmatians* came in great numbers to *Constantius*, pretending to sue for peace; but their real design was to attack the *Romans* unawares. Of this the emperor had timely notice, and therefore ordered his troops to fall upon them as they drew near; which they did accordingly, and cut them in pieces to a man. The rest, disheartened with this loss, submitted to *Constantius*, who concluded a peace with them, upon their setting at liberty all the prisoners they had taken, and delivering up hostages as a surety for their future conduct ^z. The *Sarmatians* reaped in the end great advantages from this war. They had been driven out of their own country by their slaves in 334. as we have hinted above, and obliged to take refuge among the *Quadians*, who treated them as their subjects. From this subjection they were delivered by *Constantius*, who declared them free, appointed one *Zizais*, a prince of their own nation, to reign over them, and re-established them in their antient country; for the slaves, by whom they had been driven out, having ravaged the neighbouring provinces, *Constantius* made war upon them, and reduced them to great streights. Hereupon the *Limigantes* (for so those slaves were called) came in great numbers to the emperor, suing for peace; but resolved at the same time to fall unexpectedly upon the *Romans*, if they could not obtain it upon honourable terms. This *Constantius* suspected, and therefore ordered his troops to surround them insensibly while they were yet speaking. When they had done, *Constantius* told them upon

^a AMMIAN. anonym. p. 476. SOCRAT. p. 48. ^o AMMIAN. anonym. ibid. & AMMIAN. l. xvii. p. 107.
^p Idem ibid. ^q Hier. chron. ^r AMMIAN. ibid. ^s EUSEB. p. 529. AMMIAN. anonym. p. 476. ^t AMMIAN. l. xvii. p. 106. ^u ZOS. p. 702. ^v AMMIAN. p. 72. ^w Idem ibid. ^x Idem ibid. & JUL. ad Athen. p. 513. ^y AMMIAN. l. xvii. p. 104. ^z Idem, p. 105.

But restored by
Constantius.
Year after
Christ 358.

what terms he was willing to grant them a peace; which they no-ways relishing, ^a began to handle their arms. This the *Romans*, who watched them narrowly, no sooner observed, than they fell upon them sword in hand, and cut most of them in pieces, not one, out of so great a multitude, calling for quarter, or offering to submit ^b. After this, the *Romans* entering their country on one side, and the *Sarmatians*, their ancient masters, on the other, a dreadful havock was made of the inhabitants, without distinction of sex or age. Thus the *Limigantes* were obliged at length to submit, and accept the terms, however hard, that were offered them. These were, that they should quit the country, which they had seized on, and held with the utmost injustice, and retire to another at a great distance from the empire. The country, which they abandoned, was, by *Constantius*, restored to the antient proprietors, who ^b settled there anew twenty-four years after they had been driven out by their rebellious slaves ^c. For these achievements *Constantius* took the surname of *Sarmaticus* ^d. The *Sarmatians*, notwithstanding the great obligations they owed the *Romans*, a few years after, that is, in 364. broke into *Pannonia*, and laid waste that province, while the *Roman* troops were employed against the *Alemans* in *Rhetia* ^e. In 374. they joined the *Quadians*, and, in conjunction with them, committed dreadful ravages in *Pannonia*, and from thence advanced into *Upper Mæsia*; but were there defeated with great slaughter by *Theodosius*, afterwards emperor, as we have related above. In the year 376. *Atbanaric*, one of the chiefs of the *Goths*, being forced by the *Hunns* to abandon his own country, retired, with his people, to a place called *Caucalanda*, driving from ^c thence the *Sarmatians*, to whom it belonged ^f. In 378. the *Sarmatians*, informed that the *Goths*, who had been admitted by *Valens* into the empire, had taken up arms against the *Romans*, resolved to pass the *Danube*, and join them. But *Theodosius*, afterwards emperor, meeting them in *Thrace*, gave them a total overthrow. Incredible numbers of the barbarians were cut in pieces, and the victory *Theodosius* gained over them is said to have been so complete, that *Gratian*, then emperor, could not believe the account, which *Theodosius* himself gave him of it upon his return to court, till he was informed of the truth by persons sent on purpose to view the field of battle ^g. In the year 407. they entered *Gaul*, with the *Vandals*, *Sueves*, *Franks*, *Burgundians*, and other barbarians, and committed dreadful ravages there. Those who remained in ^d *Sarmatia*, were afterwards subdued by *Attila*, and served, with their princes, in his army, when he invaded *Gaul* in 451 ^h. Upon that prince's death, they shook off the yoke, and, having recovered their antient liberty, submitted to *Marcian*, then emperor, who allowed them to settle in *Pannonia*, *Mæsia*, and the other provinces bordering on the *Danube*, where they continued quiet, till they were reduced by the *Goths*, the most powerful nation in those parts. Such of them as resided among the *Goths*, became, in process of time, one nation with them. From those, who remained in *Sarmatia*, the present *Poles* and *Tartars* are thought to have sprung.

^b Idem, p. 109.
^f Idem, p. 453.

^c Idem, p. 110, 111.
^g THEODORET, l. v. c. 5. p. 710.

^d Idem, p. 112.
^h JOHN, p. 685—683.

^e Idem, l. xxvi. p. 315.

The Dacians.

The Dacians.

Their origin.

THE *Dacians* were, according to *Jornandes* ⁱ, a *Gotbic* nation, came originally ^e out of *Scandinavia*, and, settling in the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*, made themselves masters of *Scythia*, *Mæsia*, *Thrace*, and *Dacia*, driving out the antient inhabitants. This seems agreeable to what we read in *Herodotus*, viz. that the antient *Scythians*, who, coming out of *Syria*, had crossed the *Araxes*, and settled in the country which was afterwards called *Scythia*, were, in process of time, driven from their seats by the *Cimmerians*, that is, by the *Goths*, who, according to *Jornandes*, settled first in *Cimmeria*. *Dion* observes, that the same people were called *Dacians* by the *Romans*, and *Getes* by the *Greeks* ^k; and *Justin*, the compiler of *Trogus Pompeius*, tells us in express terms, that the *Dacians* were the offspring of the *Getes* ^l. Now, that the *Getes* and *Goths* were one and the same people, we have sufficiently proved above, ^f in our history of the *Goths*. Some writers derive the *Dacians* from the *Dacæ*, a people dwelling, according to *Strabo*, near *Hyrkania* in *Asiatic Scythia*. But this opinion is intirely founded on the similitude of the names *Daci* and *Dacæ*. The *Dacians*, in more

ⁱ JORN. rer. Get. l. v.

^k DIO, l. lxxvii. p. 761.

^l JUSTIN. l. xxiii.

antient

- a ancient times, were known by the name of *Davi*; for the termination *dava* was common to most of their towns and cities, as *Comidava*, *Sergidava*, *Decidava*, *Marcidava*, &c. and the names of *Geta* and *Davus* were, among the *Athenians*, peculiar to slaves, who usually bore the name of the nation to which they belonged. As to the ancient country of the *Dacians*, it comprised the present *Moldavia*, *Valachia*, and part of *Transylvania*. The whole nation was afterwards transplanted into *Illyricum* by the emperor *Aurelian*, and the country they held there is the *Dacia*, of which the authors speak, who wrote in the fourth and fifth centuries, the *Goths* being then masters of ancient *Dacia*. The *Dacians* were deemed the most warlike and formidable of all the barbarous nations, not only on account of their natural courage, and great strength, which enabled them to endure the toils of war, but because they looked upon death, not as the end of the present, but as the beginning of a more happy life; whence they were as ready, says the emperor *Julian*, to expose themselves to the greatest dangers, as to undertake a journey^m. This doctrine they learnt of one *Xamolxis*, a great philosopher, whom *Jornandes* supposes to have been king of the *Getes* or *Goths* dwelling in *Thrace*, *Dacia*, and *Mæsia*; but other writers speak of him only as a disciple, and some as a slave, of the celebrated *Pythagoras*ⁿ. *Suidas* thinks he flourished long before *Pythagoras*^o. He was by birth a *Gete* or *Goth*, and is said to have been held in great veneration among his countrymen during his life, and, after his death, to have been worshipped by them with divine honours^p. The *Dacians* were governed by their own kings, and agreed in customs, manners, laws, and religion, with the other *Gothic* nations, of whom we have spoken above. The first of their kings we find mentioned in history is *Oroles*, in whose reign they made war upon the *Basternæ*; but not having behaved on a certain occasion with their usual courage, the king, by way of punishment, ordered them to lay their heads, when they slept, where their feet should lie, and to perform the same offices about their wives, which it was customary for their wives to perform about them, till such time as, by a more gallant behaviour, they had retrieved their lost reputation^q. In the reign of *Augustus* they broke first into the empire; but in what place, we are not told. All we know is, that, at the approach of *Drusus*, sent against them by *Augustus* then in *Gaul*, they retired to their own country^r. In the year of the christian æra 69. the legions quartered in *Mæsia* being by *Otho* ordered into *Italy*, to make head against *Vitellius* there, the *Dacians*, who dwelt beyond the *Danube*, and never allowed the *Romans*, says *Tacitus*, any respite, but when they did not think it safe to attack them, laying hold of that opportunity, crossed the *Danube*, and, entering *Mæsia*, made themselves masters of part of that province. But *Mucianus* passing soon after through *Mæsia* on his march from the east into *Italy*, obliged them to abandon the country they had seized, leaving there *Fon-teius Agrippa*, formerly proconsul of *Asia*, with a body of troops to awe the barbarians^s. But the following year, *Agrippa* being killed by the *Sarmatians*, the *Dacians* broke into *Pannonia*, and, having plundered that province, advanced into *Mæsia*, where they joined the *Sarmatians*; but were soon after driven out with great slaughter by *Rubrius Gallus*, whom *Vespasian*, then emperor, had dispatched against them^t. About the year 86. the *Dacians* having anew ravaged the neighbouring provinces, and committed every-where great cruelties, *Domitian*, then emperor, resolved to march against them in person. *Duras* was at that time king of the *Dacians*; but he, by an instance of moderation seldom to be met with in history, of his own accord yielded the sovereignty to *Decebalus*, because he thought him better qualified for it than himself: and truly *Decebalus* was, according to *Dion*^u, one of the best commanders of his time, knew what was proper to be done, and how it ought to be put in execution; was very dextrous both in attacking and retiring, in laying ambuscades, and engaging in the open field; was never at a loss how to improve a victory, or how to support himself when conquered^v. Either *Duras* or *Decebalus*, but more likely the latter, is by *Orosius*^w and *Jornandes*^x called *Diurpaneus*. As for the issue of this war in general, *Tacitus* tells us, that, soon after the return of *Agricola* to *Rome*, several *Roman* armies were destroyed in *Mæsia* and *Dacia*, some through the cowardice, others by the rashness, of their leaders; that the legions and the troops of the allies were taken prisoners even in the fortified towns; insomuch that the *Romans* had rea-

Their country.

Their customs, manners, &c.

Their irruptions into the empire.

^m JUL. CÆS. p. 39. 40.ⁿ PHOT. c. 166. p. 360. STRAB. l. vii. p. 297, 298.^o SUID. f. 1121.^p Idem ibid.^q JUSTIN. l. xxxii.^r DIO, l. liv. p. 546.^s TACIT. l. iii. c. 46. p. 73, 74.^t JOSEPH. bell. l. vii. c. 22. p. 976. TACIT. l. iv. c. 54. p. 102.^u DIO VAL. p. 709.^v Idem,

p. 761.

^w OROS. l. vii. c. 10. p. 212.^x JORN. rer. Goth. c. 13. p. 629.

son to apprehend the loss, not only of the country bordering on the *Danube*, but of a
 intire provinces. News was daily brought of some new misfortune, and every year
 distinguished by some remarkable defeat ^p. Our historian did not think it safe to
 give us a more particular account of these misfortunes, or to mention the number of
 the slain on the side of the *Romans* in so many engagements, imitating therein the
 reserve of *Salust*, and some other historians, on like occasions ^q. Every true *Roman*,
 says *Tacitus*, wished then to see the command of the armies vested in *Agricola*. He
 was even proposed to the emperor by several of his freed-men, some of them hoping
 by that means to hasten his ruin, while others had nothing in view but the reputation
 of their master, and the welfare of the state; but that jealous prince dreaded nothing
 so much as to trust a man of courage with the command of his armies ^r. As for the ^b
 particulars of this war, we have related them in the history of *Domitian's* reign; and
 therefore shall only observe here, that the *Dacians*, in the first battle they fought,
 utterly defeated *Appius* or *Oppius Sabinus*, governor of *Mæsia*, who was killed in the
 engagement; that, upon his death, and the defeat of his army, they laid waste,
 without controul, all *Mæsia*, and made themselves masters of several castles and
 strong holds; that *Domitian*, to put a stop to their ravages, hastened into *Illyricum*,
 with almost all the forces of the empire; that thereupon *Decebalus* sent deputies to
 sue for peace; but the emperor, rejecting his proposals, dispatched *Cornelius Fuscus*,
 then *præfectus prætorio*, against him, with the flower of his army, who, having passed
 the *Danube*, and engaged the *Dacians*, was by them cut off, with almost his whole ^c
 army. This overthrow obliged *Domitian*, who was already returned to *Rome*, to
 hasten back into *Illyricum*, whence he detached one of his generals, named *Julian*,
 against the enemy, not caring to expose his own person. *Julian* gained a complete
 victory, and put such numbers of the *Dacians* to the sword, that *Decebalus*, no longer
 able to keep the field, dispatched ambassadors anew to sue for peace; which *Domitian*
 upon no terms would grant him. But in the mean time, instead of improving
 his late victory, and pressing *Decebalus*, already reduced to great straits, he turned
 his arms against the *Marcomans* and *Quadians*, and, being by the former defeated and
 put to flight, he was glad to come to an agreement with *Decebalus*; and accordingly
 dispatched ambassadors to him, with more advantageous proposals than he could ^d
 have asked or expected. *Decebalus*, reflecting on the bad situation of his affairs,
 thought it adviseable to accept the emperor's offers; but instead of waiting upon
 him in person, as *Domitian* desired, he appointed his brother *Diegis* to supply his
 room. *Diegis* delivered up to the emperor some arms, and a small number of pri-
 soners, and received, at his hands, the diadem in his brother's name ^e. The empe-
 ror besides agreed to pay to *Decebalus* a yearly sum, and sent him, at his request, a
 great number of artificers of all professions, such artificers especially as were well
 versed in the art of contriving and making military engines. This yearly pension,
 or, as we may call it, tribute, was punctually paid, so long as *Domitian* lived; and
 nevertheless, after this shameful peace, he wrote to the senate boasting letters, as if ^e
 he had obliged *Decebalus* to submit to what terms he had thought proper to prescribe;
 nay, he dispatched to the senate the ambassadors of *Decebalus*, with a letter of sub-
 mission, which he pretended to have been written to him by that prince, but others
 deemed supposititious ^f. The senate decreed him a triumph, and he triumphed
 accordingly over the *Dacians* ^g, and at the same time, according to *Eusebius*, over
 the *Marcomans*, by whom he had been defeated. The sycophants of those days,
 especially the poets, extolled these pretended victories, comparing, nay, and pre-
 ferring them to the victories of *Alexander* and *Cæsar*. But they were, or hoped to be,
 paid for their lying encomiums and flatteries. The war with the *Dacians* lasted,
 according to *Eusebius*, from the year 86. to 90. and *Domitian* is supposed to have ^f
 triumphed in 91. After the conclusion of the peace, he caused a magnificent monu-
 ment to be erected in the country of the *Dacians* in honour of *Fuscus*, who was killed
 there ^h.

THE yearly sum, which *Domitian* had agreed to pay to *Decebalus*, was punctually
 transmitted to him during the reign of that prince, and likewise the reign of his suc-
 cessor *Nerva*; but *Trajan*, who succeeded *Nerva*, would by no means submit to

They cut off
*Appius Savi-
 nus, with his
 army.*

Year after
Christ 86.

*Domitian con-
 cludes a shame-
 ful peace with
 them.*

Year after
Christ 90

^p *TACIT.* vit. Agr. c. 41. p. 151.

^q *Oros.* ibid.

^r *TACIT.* ibid.

^s *Idem* ibid. *SUET.*

in Dom. c. 6. p. 788. *JORN. rer. Goth.* c. 13. p. 619. *PETR. legat.* p. 23, 24. *JUV. sat.* iv. ver. 111.
DIO. l. lxxviii. p. 773. & l. lxxvii. p. 764. *MART.* l. v. epig. 3. p. 392.

^u *Idem* ibid. p. 762. & *SUET.* c. 6. p. 788, 789.

^w *MART.* l. vi. epig. 76. p. 53.

that

- a that shameful tribute, as he called it, alleging, that he had not been conquered by *Decebalus*. Hereupon the *Dacians* began to prepare for war, soliciting the neighbouring nations to join them, especially the *Iazygians*, at that time a powerful and war-like people; but they declining, under various pretences, to break with the empire, *Decebalus* made war first upon them, and seized a considerable part of their country, They seize on part of the country of the Iazygians. which *Trajan*, after he had conquered the *Dacians*, refused to restore to them, tho' they had lost it for their fidelity to the *Romans* *. *Dion*, who relates this, does not tell us, that *Trajan* alleged, or had, any reason for not complying with the just demand of the *Iazygians*. *Decebalus* soon after turned his arms against the *Romans*, and, passing the *Danube*, began to plunder the neighbouring provinces. With this
- b *Trajan* was no-ways displeased; for he wanted only a pretence to make war on the *Dacians*, whose growing power gave him no small umbrage. Besides, he was informed, that *Decebalus* maintained a friendly correspondence with *Pacorus* king of the *Parthians*, whom he had presented with one *Callidromus* taken in *Mæsia* by one of his lieutenants during the war with *Domitian*. The good understanding between these two powers gave *Trajan* no small jealousy. He therefore no sooner heard, that *Decebalus* Their war with Trajan. Year after Christ 101. had crossed the *Danube*, and committed some hostilities in the *Roman* territories, than, drawing together a mighty army, he marched, with incredible expedition, to the banks of the *Danube*, passed that river without opposition, *Decebalus* not being apprised of his arrival, and, entering *Dacia*, laid waste the country far and near.
- c *Decebalus* however, not in the least dismayed, having armed the youth of the country, marched boldly to meet *Trajan*; whereupon a bloody engagement ensued, in which great numbers fell on both sides; but the *Romans* in the end gained the victory. It was on this occasion, that, linen being wanted to bind the wounds of the *Romans*, *Trajan* tore his own robes to supply that want. The emperor, pursuing the advantages of his victory, followed the enemy close, and, not allowing them time to levy new forces, he harassed them without intermission to such a degree, that *Decebalus* was in the end obliged to send deputies with proposals for an accommodation. *Trajan* appointed *Licinius Sura*, and *Claudius Libianus*, to treat with them; but the deputies not agreeing, *Trajan* pursued his ravages, advancing from hill to hill, not without
- d great danger, till he arrived in the neighbourhood of *Zermizegethusa*, the metropolis of *Dacia*. On the other hand, *Maximus*, one of the emperor's generals, reduced several places, in one of which he took the sister of *Decebalus* prisoner, and recovered a *Roman* standard, which had been lost when *Fuscus* was defeated and killed in the reign of *Domitian*. Thus *Decebalus* was obliged at last to submit, and comply with the hard terms, which *Trajan* thought fit to prescribe, and we have related elsewhere *. However, three years after, he renewed the war; but, being overcome by *Trajan* in several encounters, and stripped of his dominions, he chose rather to put an end to his life, than to live in subjection. His head was immediately brought to *Trajan*, and by him sent to *Rome*. Upon the death of *Decebalus*, *Dacia* was intirely Dacia reduced by Trajan to a Roman province. Year after Christ 105. subdued, and reduced to a *Roman* province. The emperor caused several castles to be built in the country, and placed garisons in them, to keep the inhabitants in awe. He likewise planted a great number of colonies, distributing lands among the poor citizens of *Rome*, and of the other cities of *Italy*, who were willing to settle in *Dacia*. The *Hungarian* writers mention several cities in their country, and likewise in *Transylvania*, which on this occasion were, as they endeavour to prove, built or peopled by the *Romans*. But of *Trajan's* war with the *Dacians*, and the intire reduction of their country, we have spoken at length in our *Roman* history *; and therefore have only hinted here at some of the chief events. *Dacia*, thus reduced to a province, was governed by a *Roman* magistrate, with the title of *proprætor*, as appears from
- f some antient inscriptions *. The emperor *Adrian*, who succeeded *Trajan* in 117. was for abandoning *Dacia*; but the regard he had for the *Roman* citizens, who had settled there in great numbers, made him alter the resolution he had taken. However, to prevent the barbarians dwelling on the other side the *Danube* from invading the *Roman* territories, he caused the famous bridge to be broken down, which his predecessor had built over that river, and we have described in our *Roman* history b. In the year 138. the first of the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, the *Dacians* attempted to They attempt in vain to shake off the yoke. shake off the yoke; but the rebellion was soon quelled by the generals, whom the

* Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 774.

* Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 12.

* Idem ibid. & p. 13, 14, 15.

* GRUTER. p. 354.

* Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 14.

emperor dispatched against them^c. In 168. they joined the *Alemans*, *Marcomans*, *Quadians*, and *Sarmatians*, against the empire; but the two emperors *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus* marching against them, they submitted anew. However, a battle, it seems, was fought, and the victory gained by the *Romans*; for in this very year the two emperors took the title of *imperator* the fifth time^d; which they never did but on occasion of some victory. In 180. twelve thousand *Dacians* being driven out of their country by other barbarians, *Sabinianus*, governor of that province, prevailed upon them to settle in another part of *Dacia*, while they were in full march to join the *Alemans*, then at war with the *Romans*^e. In the reign of *Caracalla*, the *Dacians* seem to have revolted anew; for we are told, that some skirmishes were fought between them and that prince, and that they gave hostages, as a pledge of their future fidelity^f. Upon the reduction of *Dacia* in 105. great numbers of the natives, abandoning their ancient country, settled among the neighbouring barbarians. These made frequent inroads into the empire, with the *Sarmatians*, *Quadians*, *Alemans*, &c. and their descendants, in the reign of *Maximinus*, joining the *Sarmatians*, committed dreadful ravages in the *Roman* provinces bordering on the *Danube*; but were, in all likelihood, repulsed with great loss by the emperor, since the year after they broke into the empire *Macrinus* took the titles of *Sarmaticus* and *Dacicus*, as appears from several inscriptions found in *France* and *Spain*^g. In the year 265. the thirteenth of *Gallienus*'s reign, the *Goths*, and other barbarous nations, made themselves masters of *Dacia*; for the loss of that province is reckoned among the many misfortunes of that prince's unhappy reign^h. About nine years after, it was in great part recovered by *Aurelian*; but he, finding he could not maintain it in the midst of so many barbarous nations without an immense charge, withdrew the troops appointed to defend it, and with them the inhabitants and their families, allotting them lands in *Mæsia* and *Dardania*, which he made a new province, called likewise *Dacia*, and by *Laëtantius* *New Dacia*. This province lay on the *Roman* side of the *Danube*, and is placed by *Vopiscus* between the two *Mæsias*. It comprised, according to *Sanson*, part of the present *Bulgaria* and *Servia*, and had *Sardica* for its metropolis. The *Goths* seem to have seized on the ancient *Dacia* abandoned by *Aurelian*. Thus were the ancient *Dacians* either transplanted into the *Roman* territories, or dispersed among the neighbouring barbarians beyond the *Danube*, with whom they became one nation.

*Dacia beyond
the Danube
abandoned by
Aurelian.
Year after
Christ 274.*

^c Tit. Anton. vit. p. 19. ^d Oros. p. 285, 306. GOLTZ. p. 77. BIRAO. p. 220, 237. ^e Dio. l. lxxii. p. 818. ^f Get. vit. p. 92. ^g GRUT. p. 151. & 158. SPON. p. 186. ^h AUR. VICT. EUTROP. OROS. l. viii. c. 22. p. 214. FEST. p. 670.

The Lombards.

The Lombards **T**HE *Longobards*, *Langobards*, or *Lombards*, who, in process of time, made themselves masters of *Italy*, and from whom part of that country, formerly known by the name of *Cisalpine Gaul*, is still called *Lombardy*, are first mentioned in history by *Prosper Aquitanus*, bishop of *Rhegium*, in the year 379. That writer, beginning a chronicle of his own in the said year, after having copied till then the chronicle of *St. Jerom*, tells us, that the *Lombards*, abandoning the most distant coasts of the ocean, and their native country *Scandinavia*, and seeking new settlements, as they were overstocked with people at home, attacked first, and overcame, about this time, the *Vandals*, then in *Germany*. They were headed by two chiefs, named *Iboreus* and *Aionus*, upon whose death, which happened about ten years after, they created *Agil-mund*, son to the latter, their first king, who reigned thirty-three yearsⁱ. It is to be observed, that, long before *Prosper*'s time, mention is made of a people named *Longobards*; for that name occurs in *Ptolemy*, *Tacitus*, and *Strabo*; nay, *Maroboduus*, who was contemporary with *Augustus*, is by *Tacitus* styled king of the *Sueves*, *Marcomans*, and *Longobards*^k. In the time of *Tiberius* they entered into an alliance with the *Cheruscans*, under the conduct of the celebrated *Arminius*, and made war upon *Maroboduus*, from whom they had revolted^l. In the year 170. the ninth of *M. Aurelius*'s reign, six thousand of them, who had passed the *Danube*, and, in conjunction with the *Marcomans*, invaded the *Roman* dominions, were defeated by *Vindex* and *Candidus*, and obliged to sue for peace^m. But these *Longobards*, by most geogra-

ⁱ PROSP. chron. GRUT. proleg. in hist. Goth. p. 53. ^k TACIT. hist. c. 44. 46. p. 54. 55. ^l Idem, annal. xi. c. 16. 18. p. 159, 160. ^m PET. legat. p. 24.

- a phers placed between the *Elbe* and the *Oder*, were, according to *Grotius*, a German nation, and a quite different people from the *Longobards*, who are mentioned by *Pro-*
per, and afterwards settled in *Italy*°. The latter were, according to *Paul Warne-*
frid deacon of *Aquileia*, commonly known by the name of *Paulus Diaconus*, and the
 most credible writers, originally a *Gotbic* nation, and the same with the *Gepidæ*, of
 whom we have spoken above. The *Gepidæ*, coming, with the other *Gotbs*, out of
Scandinavia in three ships, as we have related above, stopped at the mouth of the
Vistula or the *Wieffer*. From thence they advanced to the banks of the *Danube*, and,
 settling there, infested, as we read in *Vopiscus*, the *Roman* territories with frequent
 incursions. In process of time, the *Gepidæ* fell out among themselves; and from
 this division sprung the *Longobards*, who are therefore, as *Salmasius*° and *Constantine*
Porphyrogenitus p observe, called sometimes *Gepidæ*, and sometimes *Longobards*.
 They wandered from place to place, often shifting their seats, and were thence called
Winili, that is, *wanderers*; which denomination has induced some writers to think,
 that the *Lombards* and *Vandals*, named also *Winili*, were one and the same people.
 As these two nations were constantly changing their habitations, they were thence called
Winili, or *wanderers*; but, tho' agreeing in name, they continued to be two distinct
 nations. The learned *Sherringham* is of opinion, that the *Longobards* mentioned by
Strabo, *Tacitus*, and *Ptolemy*, were of *Gotbic* extraction; and that they were left in
Germany by the celebrated *Woden* on his march through that country from *Scythia* into
 Scandinavia; but at the same time that writer allows the *Lombards*, who afterwards
 made themselves masters of *Italy*, to have been a different nation, come several ages
 after out of *Scandinavia*, their common country q. As for the name of *Longobards*,
 some derive it from the word *lack* or *lache*, signifying in the *German* language *water*,
 because the *Lombards*, while in *Scandinavia*, lived in marshes, or near the sea r. Others
 think it comes from the two *German* words *langen barden*, or *bellebarden*, that is, from
 the long halberds, which they suppose to have been used by them. But *Paulus Dia-*
conus, who was himself a *Lombard*, though born in *Italy*, tells us, that they were
 called *Longobards* from the length of their beards; and with him agree *Constantine*
Porphyrogenitus°, *Otho Frisingensis*°, *Gunterus*°, and *Grotius*°. After they had wan-
 dered through several countries, shifting their seats, they settled at length in *Panno-*
nia, which they held for the space of forty-two years, and then marching into *Italy*,
 under the conduct of their king *Alboinus*, made themselves masters of the greater part
 of that country. We have observed above, that, upon the death of their leaders
Iboreus and *Aion*, they appointed *Agilmond* their first king. He was succeeded by
 the following princes, *Lamiscus*, *Leta*, *Ildeock*, *Gudeoc*, *Claffus*, *Talus*, *Wachus*, *Walter-*
rius, *Audoinus*, and *Alboinus*, the first of that nation who reigned in *Italy*. As for the
 manners of the *Lombards*, *Paulus Diaconus* tells us, that no violence or oppression, no
 treachery or compulsion, was practised among them; and that every man enjoyed his
 property undisturbed, and followed his profession, without the least apprehension of
 danger. But that writer was perhaps somewhat prejudiced in favour of his country-
 men; for *Procopius* writes, that those *Lombards*, who had served under *Narses* against
 the *Gotbs* in *Italy*, were sent back to their own country, on account of the disorders
 they committed; and pope *Gregory*, surnamed *the Great*, who was but too well
 acquainted with the *Lombards*, calls them, in several parts of his works, a most wicked
 nation. Perhaps they neither deserved the encomiums of *Paulus*, nor the reproaches
 of *Gregory*; at least it does not appear from their conduct, while masters of *Italy*, that
 they did. *Paulus Diaconus*, speaking of their dress, tells us, that their cloaths were
 loose, and for the most part of linen, such as the *Anglo-Saxons* wore, being interwoven
 with various colours; that their shoes were open to the end of their foot, and that they
 used to button or lace them°. From some antient paintings it appears, that they
 shaved the back part of their heads; but that their hair was long before, their locks
 being parted, and laid on each side their foreheads. As for their history, we shall
 here relate what we find in *Paulus Diaconus*; but will not take upon us to vouch the
 truth of what that author writes.

THE *Gotbs* in *Scandinavia*, overstocked with people at home, sent out frequent colonies in quest of new settlements. One, among the rest, leaving their native

° GROT. *ibid.* p. 27. ° SALMAS. *spud* GROT. *ibid.* ° CONSTANT. PORPHYR. *de* *admin. imper.* x. c. 25. ° SHERRINGH. *de* *Angl. gent. orig.* c. 15. p. 352. ° RUDBECK. *Atlant. part.* i. c. 24. ° CONST. PORPHYR. *de* *Them.* ° OTHO FRISING. l. ii. c. 13. *de* *gest. Frid. imper.* ° GUNTHER. l. ii. ° GROT. *ibid.* ° PAUL. DIAC. l. iv. c. 23.

*Their several
migrations.*

*They defeat the
Vandals.*

*Agilmund
their first king.*

*Lamissio suc-
ceeds him, and
defeats the Bul-
garians.*

country, put to sea in three ships: one of these sailed slower than the other two, and a stopped in the end at the *Vistula*. The *Goths* on board this ship were called, as we have observed above, *Gepidæ*, from a word in their language signifying *slow*. These *Gepidæ*, unwilling to proceed farther, settled in an island formed by the *Vistula*, and continued there, till their numbers were so increased, that the island could no longer support them. They then began to roam about the neighbouring countries in quest of new seats; and thence were called *Winili*, or *wanderers*. They quarrelled at length among themselves, and agreed to part. *Paulus Diaconus* writes, that the country, where they had settled, being no longer able to maintain them, they divided themselves into three parts, one whereof, on whom the lot should fall, was to go in quest of new habitations. But most other writers suppose the *Longobards* to have sprung from b the division of the *Gepidæ* quarrelling among themselves. Be that as it will, those who went out, chose for their leaders *Iboreus* and *Aion*, the sons of one *Gambra*, a woman universally respected on account of her wisdom. Under their conduct they first settled in a country, by *Paulus Diaconus* called *Scoringa*, bordering on that which was then held by the *Vandals*, who, soon after their arrival, gave them to understand, that they must either pay tribute, or prepare for war. The two leaders, by advice of their mother, returned answer, That, though they were few in number, they preferred war to servitude and subjection. Hereupon a bloody engagement ensued, in which the *Vandals* were utterly defeated. But the *Gepidæ*, whom we shall henceforth call *Lombards*, though that name was perhaps given them afterwards, c being sorely distressed with famine, resolved to abandon *Scoringa*, and settle in a more fruitful country. They set out accordingly for *Mauringa*; but the *Assipitti* denying them a passage through their territories, they resolved to attempt it by force. In order to strike terror into the enemy, who were far superior to them in number, they gave out, that they had among them *Cynocephali*, or men with dogs heads; which report so terrified the *Assipitti*, that, not caring to engage so dreadful an enemy, and having one among them of extraordinary strength and courage, they resolved to put the whole to the issue of a single combat; which they no sooner proposed to the *Lombards*, than the proposal was accepted, the two nations agreeing, that, if the champion of the *Assipitti* should overcome, the passage should be denied; but, if the d *Lombard* proved victorious, the rest should be allowed to pass unmolested. The two champions engaged in the sight of both armies; and the *Lombard* having gained the victory, a passage was granted to the whole nation, pursuant to the agreement. Upon their arrival in *Mauringa*, to increase the number of their warriors, they set all their slaves at liberty, who, though of different countries, became one nation with them. From *Mauringa*, where they staid but a short time, they proceeded to *Gotbland*, and there made themselves masters of *Antbabet*, *Balbab*, and *Urgundiab*, which our historian conjectures to be names of towns. In *Gotbland* died their two leaders *Iboreus* and *Aion*, upon whose death the *Lombards* resolved to chuse a king, after the manner of other nations; and accordingly conferred that dignity on Agil- e mund the son of *Aion*, who is said to have been killed by the *Bulgarians*, after he had reigned thirty-three years. He was succeeded by *Lamiscus* or *Lamissio*, so called from the word *lama*, signifying in their language a *fish-pond*; for his mother, by profession a harlot, is said to have thrown him, with six other males, of whom she was delivered at the same time, into a fish-pond. *Lamissio* was luckily saved by *Agilmund*, who, passing that way, and observing the children, stopped his horse, and stretching out his spear to them, one of them took hold of it, and was by that means saved. The king, not doubting but he would one day prove a great man, ordered him to be brought up with great care, calling him *Lamis-shon*, that is, the son of a fish-pond. He is said to have gained a victory over the *Amazons*, and to have behaved, on several f other occasions, with such resolution and intrepidity, that, upon the death of *Agilmund*, the *Lombards*, with one voice, proclaimed him king. He no sooner found himself invested with this dignity, than, bent upon revenging the death of his predecessor, he marched against the *Bulgarians*; and though his men gave way at first, yet in the end, being animated by the words and example of their new king, they gained a complete victory. *Lamissio* was succeeded by *Leta* or *Lechu*, and he, after a reign of near forty years, by *Ildeock* or *Hildebock*, as was *Ildeock* by *Gudeck*. In the reign of the latter, *Odoacer* king of *Italy* having killed *Felctbeus*, king of the *Rugians* dwelling beyond the *Danube*, and either put to the sword, or carried into captivity, the whole nation, the *Lombards* came and settled in their country, then destitute g of

- a of inhabitants. During their stay in *Rugiland* (for so the country of the *Rugians* is called by our historian) their king *Gudgock* died, and was succeeded by his son *Claffus*, after whom reigned *Tatus*, in whose time the *Lombards*, leaving *Rugiland*, settled in the champaign country bordering on the *Danube*, where a war breaking out between them and the *Heruli*, the latter were defeated with great slaughter, their king *Rodulphus* being slain, with the flower of their nation. The victorious *Lombards* divided the rich plunder; but *Tatus* their king took for his share only the standard of *Rodulphus*, called *bandum*, with the helmet he used to wear in battle. Not long after, *Tatus* was slain by *Wacho*, son to his brother *Zuchilo*. *Aldicbus*, the son of *Tatus*, endeavoured to revenge his father's death, and make good the just claim he had to the crown; but was in several encounters defeated by *Wacho*, and in the end obliged to take refuge among the neighbouring *Gepidæ*. *Wacho* is said to have subdued the *Sueves*. He had three wives, viz. *Ranicunda*, daughter to the king of the *Thuringians*; *Austrigosa*, daughter of the king of the *Gepidæ*; and *Salinga*, daughter of the king of the *Heruli*. By the latter he had *Walterius*, who succeeded him in the kingdom, and reigned about seven years. After *Walterius* came *Audoinus*, in whose reign a war being kindled between the *Lombards* and the *Gepidæ*, a bloody battle was fought, in which the latter were utterly defeated. The signal victory gained on this occasion by the *Lombards*, was chiefly owing to *Alboinus*, the king's son; for the young prince having engaged and killed with his own hand *Thorismund*, the son of *Turisind* king of the *Gepidæ*, the enemy, who had fought till then with great resolution and intrepidity, hearing the king's son was killed, betook themselves to a precipitous flight. The victorious *Lombards*, upon their return home, begged their king to indulge his son, by way of reward for his gallant behaviour, the honour of dining with him, which was deemed no less honourable among the *Lombards*, than a triumph was among the *Romans*. The king answered, That, by an antient and immemorial custom among the *Lombards*, that honour and mark of distinction was not to be granted, even to the princes of the blood royal, till they had publicly appeared in the armour of some foreign prince killed in battle with their own hand. Hereupon *Alboinus*, attended only by forty resolute young men, repaired to the court of *Turisind*, to demand the armour of that prince's son, whom he had killed in the above-mentioned battle, being resolved, if any violence was offered him, to sell his life dear. The king received him in a most obliging manner, entertained him at his table, and, admiring his courage and intrepidity, complied with his demand, and dismissed him not only unmolested, but loaded with rich presents. Upon his return home, after he had publicly appeared in the armour of *Thorismund*, he was, at a grand entertainment, allowed to sit at table with the king his father. In the reign of *Audoinus*, the *Lombards* were, by the emperor *Justinian*, allowed to settle in *Pannonia*. Thus far *Paulus Diaconus* of the various migrations, wars, and conquests, of the *Lombards*, from their first leaving *Scandinavia*, to their settling in *Pannonia*. His account is, as the reader must have observed, interwoven with some fables; but, in the main, he agrees with *Prosper Aquitanus*, who wrote before his time; with *Erchempertus*, who flourished after; and likewise with *Procopius*, who lived in the reign of the emperor *Justinian*, whose secretary he was, and consequently well acquainted with the *Lombards*. The latter writer, in speaking of the above-mentioned war between the *Lombards* and the *Heruli*, tells us, that the *Lombards* had been formerly obliged to pay tribute to the *Heruli*, of which no notice is taken by our historian. The names of the various countries, in which the *Lombards* are said by *Paulus Diaconus* to have settled, have occasioned great debates among the later historians and geographers, and several conjectures have been offered; but all we know with any foundation is, that the countries mentioned by that writer, lay between the mouth of the *Vistula*, where the *Lombards* coming from *Scandinavia* are supposed to have stopped, and *Pannonia*, where they settled in *Justinian's* time.
- b
- c
- d
- e
- f

Their king Tatus gains a great victory over the Heruli.

Audoinus defeats the Gepidæ.

The Lombards, under the conduct of Audoinus, settle in Pannonia. Year after Christ 526.

Audoinus dying, the brave *Alboinus* was by the *Lombards* proclaimed king. Upon his accession to the crown, he married *Clodisvinta*, daughter to *Clotharius* king of the *Franks*, by whom he had but one daughter, named by some *Alpisunda*, and by others *Albisvincla*. About the same time died *Turisind* king of the *Gepidæ*, and was succeeded by his son *Cunimund*, who, to revenge the death of his brother *Thorismund*, made war upon the *Lombards*. Hereupon *Alboinus*, entering into an alliance with the *Hunns*,

† PAUL. DIAC. de gest. Longob. l. i. & ii.

* PROCOF. bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 14.

Alboinus kills
the king of the
Gepids with
his own hand.

Sends a body of
Lombards to
the assistance of
Narſes againſt
the Goths.
Year after
Chriſt 553.

The Lombards
invited into
Italy.

Whether Nar-
ſes betrayed
Italy to the
Lombards.

then known by the name of *Avars*, took the field, and, in the first battle that was fought, killed the king of the *Gepids* with his own hand, put their army to the rout, and, pursuing his victory, cut such numbers of them in pieces, that they ceased to be a nation, as we have related above. *Alboinus*, having caused the deceased king's head to be struck off, made a cup of his skull, called, in the language of the *Lombards*, *ſebala*, which he made use of in all public entertainments. However, having taken, among many other captives of great distinction, the late king's daughter, by name *Rofimunda*, he married her upon the death of his former wife *Clodisvinta* ^a. By this victory *Alboinus* gained great fame and reputation, not only among the *Gothic* nations, whose bards celebrated his prowess and valour in their poems, but likewise among the *Romans*; insomuch that *Narſes*, who had been sent by *Justinian* to drive the *Goths* out of *Italy*, courted his friendship, and, entering into an alliance with him, solicited his assistance to put in execution the commission he had received. *Alboinus* sent him a choice body of men, who, crossing the *Adriatic* gulf, landed in *Italy*, and, joining the *Romans*, distinguished themselves in that battle, in which *Totila* was killed. The war being ended, they were sent home loaded with rich presents, continuing faithful allies to the *Romans*, whom they assisted on all occasions, so long as they inhabited *Pannonia* ^b. Thus *Paulus Diaconus*. But *Procopius* writes, that the *Lombards*, who came to the assistance of *Narſes*, committed every-where unheard-of disorders, pillaging the open country, burning the villages, and not sparing even the holy virgins; insomuch that the *Roman* general was obliged to send them home before the war was ended, charging the two generals *Valerianus* and *Damianus* to accompany them, with a body of troops, to the confines of the empire, in order to restrain them from plundering the countries through which they passed ^c. Be that as it will, it is certain, that *Narſes*, whom we may justly style the deliverer of *Italy*, maintained, so long as he governed that country, a strict friendship and correspondence with *Alboinus* king of the *Lombards*; so that it was no difficult matter for him to persuade that warlike and ambitious prince to attempt the conquest of *Italy*. Of this memorable event *Paulus Diaconus*, the author who deserves most credit in what concerns the *Lombards*, gives us the following account: *Narſes* having, with the assistance of the *Lombards*, delivered *Italy* from the yoke of the *Goths*, sent back into *Pannonia* his victorious auxiliaries, loaded with rich presents. There they continued faithful to their engagements with the *Romans*, whom they were ready to assist on all occasions. In the mean time *Justinian* dying, *Narſes*, who governed *Italy* with an absolute sway, and had acquired immense wealth, was by the *Italians* accused to the emperor *Justin II.* the successor of *Justinian*, and to the empress *Sophia*, as if he aspired at the sovereignty of the country. Hereupon he was recalled, and *Longinus* was sent to succeed him; nay, as he was an eunuch, the empress is reported to have said, that his employment at *Constantinople* should be to distribute, in the apartment of her women, the portion of wool, which each of them was to spin. *Narſes*, enraged at this severe and insolent reflection, *I will begin*, said he, *such a web, as she shall never be able to finish*; and immediately dispatched messengers to the *Lombards*, inviting them into *Italy*. With the messengers he sent several presents to *Alboinus*, with whom he was well acquainted, and some of the best fruits *Italy* afforded, as baits to allure him and his subjects to attempt the conquest of so fertile a country ^d. Thus *Paulus Diaconus*. But *Baronius* ^e, and some other writers, reject this account as fabulous, alleging, that *Narſes* had been recalled the year before by *Justin*, at whose inauguration he assisted, and continued in great credit at *Constantinople*. This they assert upon the authority of *Chorippus*, a poet and grammarian of *Africa*, who flourished at that time, and was then at *Constantinople*, where he saw *Narſes* present at the emperor *Justin's* coronation, and attending him soon after, when he gave audience to the ambassadors of the *Avars*. ^f But this objection the learned *Petavius* has intirely removed, shewing, that *Chorippus* speaks of another *Narſes*, much younger than the celebrated commander; and that there were three of that name living at the same time, viz. the renowned deliverer of *Italy*, who died at *Rome* some time after he had called in the *Lombards*; the brother of *Aratius*; and the *Narſes* whom *Chorippus* mentions in his poem, commending him on account of his tall stature, comely countenance, graceful person, and beautiful

^a PAUL. DIAC. *ibid.* c. 27.

^b Idem *ibid.* c. 2.

^c PROCOPI. *bell. Goth.* l. iv. c. 33.

^d PAUL.

DIAC. *de gest. Longob.* l. ii. c. 1, 5, 6, & seq.

^e BARON. *ad ann.* 563.

- a hair (K). It is surprising *Baronius* should think, that such a description suited an old eunuch. The *Narſes*, of whom *Chorippus* speaks, was burnt alive in the year 605, by the command of *Phocas*. *Baronius* adds, that, according to our historian, *Narſes* dying at *Rome*, his body was put into a leaden coffin, and conveyed from *Rome* to *Constantinople*, where it was honourably interred¹. Now, it is not by any means probable, says *Baronius*, that the emperor would have suffered any honours to be paid him after his death, had he treacherously delivered up *Italy* to the *Lombards*. To this *Pelavius* answers, that his treachery was not known either to the *Greeks* or *Latins*, till some time after his death, when it was discovered by the *Lombards* themselves owning, that they had been invited into *Italy* by *Narſes*. That brave commander was, according to *Paulus Diaconus*, a man of great piety, and had, as we are told by *Evagrius*² and *Nicephorus*³, a particular veneration for the virgin *Mary*, imploring her assistance before he entered upon any enterprize, and ascribing the success, that attended his arms, to her protection; and this is what induced *Baronius* to write in his favour, and endeavour to clear him from the treachery, with which he is charged by our historian.

- But to resume the thread of our history: *Alboinus*, highly pleased with the opportunity that offered of invading *Italy*, a country with which his *Lombards* were already well acquainted, began, without loss of time, to make the necessary preparations for his intended expedition. In the first place, he solicited the assistance of the *Saxons*, his old friends and allies, promising to share with them his future conquests. The *Saxons* readily closed with his proposals, and sent him twenty thousand men, with their wives and children⁴. He likewise received powerful succours from other nations, namely from the *Gepidæ*, then his subjects, from the *Bulgarians*, *Sarmatians*, *Pannonians*, *Sueves*, *Noricans*, &c.⁵. Having thus drawn together a numerous and powerful army, before he set out, he entered into a strict alliance with the *Hunns*, the most powerful of his neighbours, leaving *Pannonia* to them, upon this condition, that, if the expedition he was going upon should not succeed, the *Lombards* should be allowed to re-enter upon their former possessions. Having concerted such other measures as he thought necessary for so great an undertaking, he set out with his whole nation, their wives and children, carrying with them all their moveables, and whatever they had of value, and, leaving *Pannonia* after a stay of forty-two years there, took their route towards *Italy*. They began their march in the month of *April*, just after *Easter*, which fell that year on the first day of the month, in the first indiction, in the third year of *Justin II.* the ninth of *John III.* bishop of *Rome*, and in the year of the christian æra 568. *Alboinus*, with his army, and the promiscuous multitude that followed it, arrived, by the way of *Istria*, on the borders of *Italy*, which he entered without the least opposition, and, advancing through the province of *Venetia* to the city of *Aquileia*, found the whole country abandoned, the inhabitants being fled to the neighbouring islands in the *Adriatic*. He no sooner appeared before *Aquileia*, than the gates were opened to him by the few inhabitants who had the courage to stay, the rest having, upon the news of his approach, fled with their most valuable effects, following therein the example of their patriarch *Paulinus*, who, carrying with him all the utensils of his church, had taken refuge in an island. From *Aquileia* *Alboinus* advanced to *Forum Julii*, now *Friuli*, which likewise surrendered. In this city he passed the winter, dispersing his troops among the neighbouring villages, where they were plentifully supplied by the natives with all sorts of provisions. During the winter, *Alboinus* reduced the city of *Friuli*, and its territory, to a dukedom, conferring the title of duke on his nephew *Gisulfus*, whom he appointed to guard and govern those territories, which were, in a manner, the gates of *Italy*, through which every invader must first force his passage. Thus *Friuli* was erected into a duchy, and

The Lombards
set out for Italy.
Year after
Christ 568.

Enter Italy,
and make
themselves
masters of se-
veral cities.

¹ PAUL. DIAC. *ibid.* ² EVAGR. l. iv. c. 23. ³ NICEPH. l. xvii. c. 13. ⁴ PAUL. DIAC. *ibid.*
⁵ Anonym. apud Camil. *Pol.* l. ii. c. 12.

(K) The words of the poet are:
*Armiger interea, domini vestigia lustrans,
Eminet excelsus super omnium vertice Narſes
Agmina, & augustam cultus præfulserat aulaam,
Comptus caſaris, formaque insignis & ore (1).*

It is surprising that *Baronius* should think the celebrated *Narſes* to be described by these verses, who was an eunuch, and at this time, that is, at the beginning of *Justin's* reign, stricken in years.

(1) *Cherip. l. iii. ver. 230.*

such it has continued ever since. The following year 569. *Alboinus*, as soon as the ^a season allowed him to take the field, moved forward with his army, and, without the least opposition, made himself master of *Trivigi* and *Oderzo*. From thence he marched to *Monte Selce*, *Vicenza*, *Verona*, and *Trent*, which surrendered to him upon the first summons. In each of these cities he left a strong garrison of *Lombards*, under the command of an officer, whom he distinguished with the title of duke; but these dukes were only officers and governors of cities, and bore that title no longer than the prince thought fit to continue them in their command or government. Such likewise were the first dukes in *Gaul*, as *Paulus Æmilus* well observes¹. *Alboinus* left *Padua*, and several other cities, behind him, either because they lay too much out of his way, or because they were well garrisoned, and it would take up too much of ^b his time to besiege them. Thus ended the second campaign of the *Lombards* in *Italy*. The third proved no less successful; for entering *Liguria* upon the return of the spring, the inhabitants were so terrified at his approach, that, leaving their habitations, they fled, with such of their effects as they could carry off, to the most remote and inaccessible parts of the mountains; so that the cities of *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, *Lodi*, *Como*, and the other towns of *Liguria*, quite to the *Alps*, being almost destitute of inhabitants, received him, without attempting to make the least resistance. He then advanced to *Milan*, the capital of *Liguria*, which, after a short siege, surrendered, most of the inhabitants, seeing there were not forces in the place sufficient for its defence, being retired, with *Honoratus* their bishop, to *Genoa*. Upon the reduction of *Milan*, ^c the *Lombards*, with joyful acclamations, proclaimed and saluted *Alboinus* king of *Italy*, lifting him up upon a shield in the midst of the army, according to the custom of their nation, and presenting him with a lance, which, among them, was the ensign of royalty. From this time historians date the beginning of the kingdom of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, which lasted for the space of two hundred years, and upwards.

Alboinus proclaimed king of Italy.
Year after
Christ 570.

Alboinus, now vested with royal authority, marched from *Milan* to *Pavia*; but meeting there with a vigorous resistance, as the place was well garrisoned, and furnished with great plenty of provisions, he left part of his army to push on the siege, and with the rest reduced *Piacenza*, *Parma*, *Modena*, and the other inland cities both in *Emilia* and *Tuscany*. He then marched into *Umbria*, and there made himself ^d master of *Spoleto*, which he made the metropolis of *Umbria*; and, erecting the city and its territory into a dukedom, appointed *Feroaldus*, whom he dignified with the title of duke, governor of that district. The governors of the other cities of note were honoured with the same title, as were the cities with that of duchies, which title most of them retain to this day^m. From *Umbria* *Alboinus* returned to the siege of *Pavia*, which at length surrendered, after it had held out with great resolution for three years, and some months. The king, highly incensed against the inhabitants, had vowed to put them all to the sword; but we are told, that, as he was entering the city on horseback, his horse fell under him in the middle of the gate, and could not by any means be raised, till, at the persuasion of one of his followers, he revoked ^e the cruel vow he had made; when his horse starting up of himself, he proceeded to the palace built by *Theodoric* king of the *Ostrogoths*, whither the people, to whom he had promised indemnity, crowded to see him, and to swear allegiance to their new princeⁿ. As *Pavia* was a city of great strength, and conveniently situated, *Alboinus* and his successors chose it for the place of their residence; whence it became the metropolis of the kingdom of the *Lombards*, and was raised above all the other cities subject to them. *Alboinus*, now master of great part of *Italy*, that is, of all *Venetia*, *Liguria*, *Emilia*, *Ættruria*, and *Umbria*, resolved to establish peace and good order throughout the countries he had already reduced, before he made any further conquests. But he was in the mean time slain by the treachery of his wife, in the fourth ^f year of his reign. This princess, called *Rosamund*, was the daughter of *Cunimund*, king of the *Gepidae*, whom *Alboinus* had killed with his own hand in battle, and made a cup of his skull, as we have related above. Our historian assures us, that he himself had seen this cup^o. Though *Alboinus* thus insulted the memory of his conquered enemy, yet, upon the death of his first wife, he married his daughter, and was, by her contrivance, murdered on the following occasion: As the king was one day feasting at *Verona* with his chief favourites, and principal officers, in the height of his mirth he sent for the queen, and, filling the detested cup, commanded her to drink

Pavia surrenders.

And becomes the metropolis of the kingdom of the Lombards.

¹ PAUL. ÆMIL. de reb. Franc. c. 6.

^m PAUL. DIAC. l. iii. c. 7.

ⁿ Idem ibid.

^o Idem, l. ii. c. 14.

- a merrily with her father. *Rosamund*, struck with horror, hurried out of the room, and, highly incensed against her husband for thus barbarously triumphing over the misfortunes of her family, resolved, at all events, to make him pay dear for such an inhuman and affronting conduct. Accordingly she immediately discovered her intention to *Helmichild*, the king's *schilpor*, as the *Lombards* called him, that is, *shield-bearer*, a youth of great boldness and intrepidity. *Helmichild* peremptorily refused to imbrue his hands in the blood of his sovereign, or to be any-ways accessory to his death; and in this resolution he persisted, till he was, by a shameful stratagem, forced by the queen to a compliance; for she, knowing that he carried on an intrigue with one of her ladies, placed herself one night in her bed, and, receiving the youth, indulged him, as if she had been his own mistress, in his amorous desires; which she had no sooner done, than, discovering herself to the deceived lover, she told him, that he must now either put the king to death, or be put to death by him. *Helmichild*, well apprised that, after what he had done, his safety depended upon the death of the king, engaged in the treason, which he otherwise abhorred. One day therefore, while *Alboinus* was reposing in his chamber after dinner, *Helmichild*, with some others, whom he had made privy to his design, breaking in unexpectedly, fell upon the king with their daggers. *Alboinus*, starting up at their first coming in, laid hold of his sword, which he had always by him; but having attempted in vain to draw it, the queen having before-hand fastened it in the scabbard, he defended himself for some time with a footstool; but was in the end overpowered, and dispatched with many wounds. Such was the end of *Alboinus*, the first king of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, and one of the greatest princes of the age in which he lived. He was both a warlike and prudent prince, being, according to the character the antients give him, no less skilled in the arts of government, than in those of war. His friendship was courted by all the princes of those times, especially by the emperor *Justinian*, who was glad to enter into an alliance with him while he was still in *Pannonia*. Accordingly he assisted *Narses*, as we have hinted above, in his wars with the *Goths*, and, so long as that great man continued in favour at court, was ready to serve the *Romans* on all occasions. The little opposition he met with in the reduction of *Italy*, was, in a great measure, owing to the new form of government, of which hereafter, introduced by the exarch *Longinus*, sent by *Justin* the younger to succeed *Narses*, who had driven the *Goths* quite out of *Italy*, and had governed those provinces with great reputation, as the emperor's lieutenant, for the space of thirteen years. *Baronius* supposes *Alboinus* to have led the *Lombards* out of *Scandinavia*, to have brought them into *Pannonia*, and from thence, after they had continued forty-two years in that country, into *Italy*. But what that annalist writes on this head is scarce worthy of notice, since he can only allege a few groundless conjectures to support his opinion; and, on the other hand, *Paulus Diaconus*, the only author who has given us a tolerable account of the affairs of the *Lombards*, writes, that *Alboinus* was the tenth king of the *Lombards*; that, under the conduct not of *Alboinus*, but of *Iboreus* and *Aton*, they left *Scandinavia*, or at least the countries at the mouth of the *Vistula*; that, upon the death of these two leaders, they chose *Agilmund* for their first king; and lastly, that, after having often changed their seats, they settled at last in *Pannonia*, under the conduct of *Audoinus*, the father of *Alboinus*.

Alboinus murdered.
Year after
Christ 575.

- BUT to return to *Rosamund*: she had promised to marry *Helmichild* as soon as he had dispatched the king her husband, and to bestow upon him, with her person, the kingdom of the *Lombards*. She married him accordingly; but was so far from being able to bestow upon him the crown, that they were both obliged to save themselves by flight, the *Lombards* being highly provoked against them for the death of a prince, whom, in a manner, they adored, and unalterably determined to bring to condign punishment the authors of so barbarous a murder. *Rosamund* therefore, with her new husband, and her daughter *Albifvinda*, withdrew in the night-time, and fled to *Longinus* the exarch, residing at *Ravenna*, taking with her all the jewels and treasure of her late husband. *Longinus* received her with the greatest marks of friendship and kindness, and assured her of his protection. She had not been long in *Ravenna*, when the exarch, judging a favourable opportunity now offered to make himself king of *Italy* by means of *Rosamund* and her treasure, imparted his design to her, and declared his intention to marry her, provided, by some means or other, she dispatched *Helmichild*. *Rosamund*, highly pleased with the proposal, to satisfy her ambition, resolved to get rid of the person, whom she had married for the sake of her revenge. Accord-

Rosamund flies to the exarch with the treasure of the Lombards.

Her deserved
end.

Clephus chosen
in his room, and
soon after mur-
dered.

The Lombards
governed by
dukes.

The royal au-
thority restored
among them.
Year after
Christ 585.

ingly, having prepared a strong poison, she mixed it with wine, and gave it to her husband, as he came thirsty out of the bath, and called for drink, according to his custom. *Helmichild* had not half emptied the cup, when, by the sudden and strange operation he felt in his bowels, he concluded what it was, and, with his sword pointed at the queen's breast, compelled her to drink the rest. The poison had the same effect on her as on her husband; for, in a few hours, they both died. *Longinus*, laying aside, upon her death, all thoughts of making himself king of *Italy*, sent the treasure of the *Lombards* to *Constantinople*, together with *Albifrinda*, the queen's daughter by *Alboinus*. In the mean time the *Lombards*, having paid the last duties to their deceased king, assembled in *Pavia*, the metropolis of their kingdom, and there proceeded to the election of a new prince, which fell on *Clephus*, a man of great distinction among them. He rebuilt *Imola*, which had been ruined by *Narses*, made himself master of *Rimini*, and extended his conquests to the very gates of *Rome*. But as he treated not only the *Romans*, but his own subjects, with great cruelty, he was murdered, with his wife *Messana*, by one of his people, after a short reign of eighteen months. His cruelty gave the *Lombards* such an aversion to royal power, that, upon his death, they resolved to change their form of government; and accordingly, for the space of ten years, they chose no king, but lived subject to their dukes, that is, to the governors of the cities; for each city of note, as we have hinted above, was governed by some person of distinction, dignified with the title of duke. These dukes had hitherto acknowledged the royal authority, and were by the kings appointed and removed at pleasure; but, upon the abolishing of kingly power, each of them became sovereign in his own city and its district. This division of the countries they had conquered in *Italy* into so many petty kingdoms, as we may call them, put a stop for the present, to their conquests, prevented them from ever making themselves masters of all *Italy*, and in the end occasioned their total ruin; for though the royal authority was afterwards restored among them, yet, as they had been free for some time, they proved less obedient, and more liable to quarrel among themselves^a.

WE cannot dismiss this subject, without taking notice of a mistake, which most modern writers have been led into by *Sigonius*. That writer supposes the *Lombards*, upon the death of *Clephus*, to have created thirty dukes, and to have divided their conquests in *Italy* among them. But from the words of *Paulus Diaconus*, where he speaks of that change^b, it plainly appears, that the *Lombards*, dreading the authority, or rather tyranny, of a king, chose to live under their dukes, who were not then first appointed, but had been chosen before by *Alboinus* and *Clephus*. The only innovation that happened among the *Lombards*, upon their abolishing the royal authority, was this, that the dukes, who had been hitherto subordinate to the kings, as their ministers and officers, now governed each his dukedom with absolute power, acknowledging no superior authority. Besides, the number of the dukes amounted not to thirty only, as is commonly believed, but to thirty-six; for *Paulus Diaconus*, after having told us, that *Pavia*, *Milan*, *Bergamo*, *Brescia*, *Trent*, and *Friuli*, were governed by the following dukes, *Zaban*, *Alboinus*, *Walaris*, *Alachis*, *Evin*, and *Gisulfus*, adds, that the other cities were governed by thirty dukes^c. Tho' the *Lombards*, during the inter-regnum, were attended with success in their wars with the *Romans*, for they made themselves masters of several cities, namely of *Sutri*, *Bomarzo*, *Orta*, *Todi*, *Amelia*, *Perugia*, *Luceoli*, &c. yet they soon perceived, that their kingdom, thus divided, could not long subsist; and therefore assembling in *Pavia*, they resolved to submit anew to the authority of one man, and accordingly chose *Autbaris* the son of *Clephus* for their king in the year 585. This prince, with his valour and prudence, (for he is said to have excelled in both *Alboinus* himself) so established the kingdom of the *Lombards*, that, in spite of the utmost efforts of the *Roman* emperors, it lasted for the space of near two hundred years. But of the exploits of the dukes during the inter-regnum, and the wars of *Autbaris* and his successors, till the utter destruction of their kingdom by *Charlemagne* in 774. we shall speak at length in a more proper place.

^a PAUL. DIAC. l. i. c. 14.
diff. de duc. Benevent. diff. i.

^b Idem, l. ii. c. ult.

^c Idem ibid. Vide CAMILL. PELLEGRIN. in

The Bulgarians.

- A** THE name of the *Bulgarians* began to be first heard and dreaded by the *Romans* The Bulgarians in the reign of the emperor *Zeno*, about the year 485. *Ennodius*, the most antient writer who mentions them, tells us in the panegyric, which he wrote on *Theodoric* king of the *Ostrogoths*, that they were a warlike and numerous nation, inured to the toils of war, ever ready to prefer death to slavery, and never known to have been put to flight, till they engaged this hero^d. They dwelt, in antient times, near the *Volga*, on the north side of the *Caspian* sea; whence their country was called *Vo'garia*, Their antient seats, language, origin, &c. and they *Vo'gari*, which names, in process of time, were changed into *Bulgaria* and *Bulgari*^e. *Paulus Diaconus* calls those countries *Bulgaria Magna*, which are known at present by the names of *Asiracan* and *Casan*^f. Some writers will have them to be of *Gothic*, and some of *German* extraction; but as their language differs widely from the languages of both these nations, others, with far greater appearance of truth, conclude them descended from neither. They spoke antiently, says *Diocleates* in his history of the kingdom of the *Slavi*, the *Slavonian* language, as they still do, with some variation in the dialect^g. As therefore the *Goths*, *Alans*, *Vandals*, *Gepide*, &c. are thought to have been originally one and the same people, because the same language was common to all, these nations must, on the contrary, be allowed to be different, whose languages differ. Now, no two languages, says *Rudbeckius*, can be conceived more unlike than the *Slavonian* spoken by the *Bulgarians*, and the *German* and *Gothic*. The *Bulgarians* therefore were not sprung either from the *Goths* or the *Germans*, but ought to be reckoned among the nations inhabiting *Asiatic Scythia*; for they came first from thence; and to trace them farther back would be a vain and fruitless attempt. From *Asiatic Scythia*, and the countries lying north of the *Caspian* sea, they advanced, in quest of a more fertile country, to the *Tanais*, and from thence, in the reign of the emperor *Zeno*, to the banks of the *Danube*, having at that time one *Bladinus* for their king. They were not stopped by that river, but, passing it, broke into *Thrace*, with a design to settle there. But *Theodoric* the *Ostrogoth*, afterwards king of *Italy*, and at this time general of the *Roman* troops quartered in that province, marching against them, put them to flight, and obliged them to repass the *Danube*^h. Those who broke into *Thrace* had one *Libertem* for their leader, who was wounded in the engagementⁱ. *Ennodius*, to enhance the glory of his hero, pretends, as we have hinted above, that the *Bulgarians* had never been overcome before^k. Some years after, that is, in 499. the eighth of the emperor *Anastasius*'s reign, they broke anew into *Thrace*, committing every-where dreadful ravages. Against them the emperor dispatched *Aristus*, commander of the troops in *Illyricum*, at the head of fifteen thousand men, attended by five hundred and twenty waggons, loaded with arms and provisions. *Aristus*, confiding in his own strength, engaged the barbarians on the banks of the *Zarta* or *Zurta*; but was by them utterly defeated, with the loss of all his baggage, and four thousand men, among whom fell the counts *Nicostratus*, *Innocentius*, and *Aquilinus*, with some of the most experienced officers of the army^l. Of this victory *Zonaras*, without all doubt, speaks, where he tells us, that the *Bulgarians*, in the second irruption they made into the empire, gained, by magical incantations, a complete victory. He adds, that, about the time of this invasion, a comet appeared, and several prodigies happened^m. We are not told what the barbarians did after this victory; but, in all likelihood, they returned home with the rich booty they had acquired. Three years after, they invaded *Thrace* anew, and, having plundered that province, and great part of *Illyricum*, they carried off an immense booty, without meeting with the least opposition, the *Roman* troops being employed against the *Saracens*, who, under the conduct of one *Badicarim*, committed unheard-of cruelties in *Palestine*, *Arabia*, and *Phœnice*ⁿ. They seem to have continued quiet, perhaps by some agreement with the empire, from this time to the year 539. the twelfth of the emperor *Justinian the Great*, when, under the conduct of two kings, *Vulger* and *Droggo*, they passed the *Danube*, and laid waste all *Mæsia*. The

^d ENNOD. in panegyric. Theodor. p. 296, 297.^e Vide DIOCLEAT. de regn. Slavon. p. 288.^f PAUL.

DIAC. miscel. l. xix. p. 616, 617.

^g DIOC. ibid. p. 288.^h ENNOD. Theodor. paneg. p. 296.ⁱ Idem ibid.^k Idem, p. 297.^l MARC. chron. JORN. reg. c. 48. PAUL. DIAC. hist. miscel.

l. xv. p. 449.

^m ZONAR. p. 47.ⁿ MARC. chron. THEOPH. p. 153.

commanders of the *Roman* troops quartered in that and the neighbouring provinces, a having drawn together their forces, marched against them; but were defeated with great slaughter, and put to flight. Hereupon the barbarians, roving about uncontrouled, took an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives, destroying with fire and sword what they could not carry off. But in the mean time one *Acum*, by nation a *Hunn*, an officer of great experience, whom *Justinian* had sent against them, having cut off their retreat, obliged them to venture a battle in a very disadvantageous situation. The *Bulgarians* fought with great resolution and intrepidity; but great numbers of their men being cut in pieces, and both their kings killed, they were in the end forced to quit their booty, and betake themselves to a precipitous flight. *Acum*, having thus delivered the *Roman* provinces from the barbarians, by whom they had been strangely harassed, set out on his return to *Constantinople* with *Constantine*, who had commanded under him; but, in passing through *Thrace*, both generals were unexpectedly surrounded by a party of *Bulgarians*, and taken prisoners; so that *Justinian* was obliged to ransom them with an immense sum^o. The following year 540. the *Bulgarians*, not in the least discouraged by the losses they had sustained, returned anew, and, entering *Thrace*, plundered and laid waste the open country far and near. But *Mundus*, by nation a *Gepid*, whom *Justinian* had appointed governor of *Illyricum*, coming upon them unexpectedly, gave them a total overthrow, cut most of them in pieces, and, having taken a great number of prisoners, sent them to the emperor at *Constantinople*, who incorporated some of them among his troops, and ordered the rest to be transplanted into *Armenia* and *Lazica* &c. For this and the above-mentioned victory, the emperor took the surname of *Bulgaricus*, which, among his other titles, is still to be seen on his coins.

They are defeated by them, and their two kings killed. Year after Christ 539.

They defeat the Romans.

Constantine III. agrees to pay them an annual pension. Year after Christ 678.

Some Bulgarians settle in the dukedom of Benevento.

No further mention is made in history of the *Bulgarians*, till the reign of *Constantine* III. surnamed *Pogonatus*, which began in 668. In his time they passed the *Danube*, and, entering the *Roman* territories, committed great ravages in the provinces bordering on that river. *Constantine*, having raised a powerful army, dispatched it against them; but as the *Romans*, confiding too much in their own strength, and despising the barbarians as an undisciplined multitude, were marching carelessly, the *Bulgarians* fell upon them with such vigour, that, after a faint resistance, they betook themselves to flight, and, retiring into the fortified places, left the enemy at full liberty to ravage at pleasure the open country. Hereupon the emperor, preferring a shameful peace to an expensive and doubtful war, agreed to pay them a yearly pension, upon condition that they should not, for the future, infest the *Roman* territories, but join, when required, the emperor's forces against all other barbarians, who should attempt to disturb the peace of the empire &c. About this time *Alczecus*, one of the princes or chiefs of the *Bulgarians*, abandoning his own country, for what reason we are not told, entered *Italy* with a body of his countrymen, and arriving at *Pavia*, without offering the least violence to the people in the countries through which he passed, offered his service to *Grimoaldus* king of the *Lombards*, declaring at the same time, that he was willing to live, with his people, in what part soever of his dominions he should be pleased to allot him. *Grimoaldus* received him in a most obliging manner; and thinking he might prove very serviceable to his son *Romualdus* duke of *Benevento*, threatened at that time by the *Greeks*, who were masters of *Naples*, he sent *Alczecus* and his *Bulgarians* to him, requiring him to allow them settlements in the dukedom of *Benevento*. *Romualdus*, in compliance with his father's request, allotted them several cities, and, among the rest, *Sepinum*, *Bajanum*, and *Isernia*; but at the same time obliged *Alczecus* to relinquish the title of duke, which, it seems, he had before, and content himself with that of *gastaldus*, either to shew, that he had not given him those places in feignory and property, or because he did not think it fit, that one of his subjects should be distinguished with the title of duke, since he had no other himself. The dukedom of *Benevento* being thus divided into several counties, all subject to the duke of *Benevento*, those who were appointed to govern them, had no other title but that of *gastaldi*, which is the same with the title of *comes* or count &c. Thus the *Bulgarians* came to settle in the dukedom of *Benevento*, where, for several ages, they inhabited the country now known by the name of *Contado di Molise*. *Paulus Diaconus*, who wrote above an hundred and fifty years after they had settled there,

^o THEOPH. p. 184. PAUL. DIAC. miscel. l. xvi. p. 480.
¹ CEDREN. ad ann. Const. 10. NICEPH. c. 3.
 paragraph. 3.

^p THEOPH. ad ann. Justinian. 13.
^f PAUL. DIAC. l. v. c. 11. CUYAC. l. i. de feud. tit. 1.

- a tells us, that though, in his time, they had learnt the *Italian* language, nevertheless they had not yet lost the use of their own (*L.*). To return to the *Bulgarians* who remained on the banks of the *Danube*: *Constantine*, as we have hinted above, had concluded a peace with them, and agreed to pay them an annual pension; nay, most authors are of opinion, that he allowed them to settle in *Lower Masia*, from them afterwards called *Bulgaria*, which name that country still retains. Other writers indeed suppose them to have settled there several years before *Constantine's* reign, tho' they will not take upon them to fix the precise time. However that be, *Justinian II.* not only refused to stand to the articles of the treaty, which his father had concluded with the *Bulgarians*, but, entering their country in an hostile manner, laid it waste far and near, made himself master of several forts, and obliged the inhabitants either to submit to him, and pay unreasonable contributions, or to abandon their dwellings, and take refuge in the woods and marshes. The *Bulgarians*, finding themselves reduced to great streights, dispatched ambassadors to the emperor, suing for peace; but he refusing to hearken to any terms but those of an intire submission, animated with despair, they resolved to make a last effort in defence of their liberties. Accordingly, having drawn together all their forces, they fell unexpectedly upon the emperor, put his army to flight, and, having seized on all the passes, obliged him to restore the prisoners and booty he had taken, and confirm the treaty his father had made with them, to purchase a retreat. In the year 713. *Philippicus* being then emperor, the *Bulgarians*, upon what provocation we know not, breaking unexpectedly into *Thrace*, advanced to the very gates of *Constantinople*, and, having laid waste the country, taken an incredible number of captives, and put more to the sword, returned home unmolested, carrying with them an immense booty. Six years after, that is, in 719. *Anastasius II.* who had been deposed and confined to *Thessalonica* by *Theodosius III.* having made his escape from thence, fled to *Tribelin* king of the *Bulgarians*; and, having prevailed upon that prince to espouse his cause, he obtained of him a considerable army, with which he marched into *Thrace*, and approached the imperial city. *Anastasius* believed himself, and had assured the *Bulgarians*, that the inhabitants, at his approach, would open the gates, and receive him; but the citizens making a vigorous resistance, and the emperor *Leo* raising at the same time a numerous army, the *Bulgarians*, highly provoked against *Anastasius*, seized him, and delivered him up to *Leo*, by whom he was put to death.

Justinian II.
invades their
country; but is
defeated by
them.
Year after
Christ 637.

* THEOPH. CEDREN. *ibid.*

* THEOPH. *ad ann. Phil. 2.*

* THEOPH. CEDREN. *ad ann. Leon. 5.*

(*L.*) What *Paulus Diaconus* writes on this head is worthy of observation: The *Bulgarians*, says he, retained their own language, tho' at the same time they spoke the *Latin*, *quamvis etiam Latino loquerentur* (1). By the *Latin* tongue our historian did not mean, as some have imagined (3), the language of the ancient *Romans*, but another then current in *Italy*, and commonly called *Italian*; for the ancient *Latin*, about the end of the ninth century, when *Paulus Diaconus* flourished, was only made use of in writings, another, called *Italian*, being then commonly spoken, to which the mixture, variety, and confusion of several languages with the *Latin*, had given rise. The *Latin* tongue, even in the time of the emperor *Justinian*, who died in 566. began to be strangely corrupted, and to bear a great resemblance to the *Italian*; for *Fornerius* tells us, that he had perused a public instrument, which had been drawn up in *Ravenna* in the reign of *Justinian*, and was written in a kind of *Latin*, which bore a great affinity to the *Italian* (4). In the tenth century, the *Italian* alone was spoken in *Italy*; but that *Italian* came much nearer the *Latin*, than the language which is used now by the *Italians*, both in common speech, and in writing; but tho' the current language was then very different from the *Latin*, yet it was called *Latin* by the writers of that and the two following centuries, because it was spoken

by the antient inhabitants, who were styled *Latins* or *Romans*, and by that name distinguished from the *Greeks*, the *Lombards*, and the other nations settled in *Italy*. Hence not only *Paulus Diaconus*, but authors who flourished long after his time, by the *Latin* meant the *Italian*, as the learned *Camillo Pellegrino* rightly observes (5). Thus, where *Otho Frisingensis* commends the *Lombards* of his time, who were then become *Italians*, for the elegance with which they spoke the *Latin* tongue, that writer must be understood, not of the antient *Latin*, but the *Italian*; and in the same sense we must understand all the authors who flourished after the ninth century, and call the language used in their time *Latin*. There is in no country so great a variety of dialects as in *Italy*, which, as *Camillo Pellegrino* observes, is owing to the many different nations that settled there, *viz.* the *Goths*, the *Lombards*, the *Bulgarians*, the *Greeks*, the *Saracens*, the *Normans*, the *Sueves*, &c. for tho' these foreign nations forgot, in process of time, their native language, and spoke that of the country in which they dwelt, yet they kept many of their own words, and, with their words, a foreign accent; and hence the many different accents and dialects chiefly in the present kingdom of *Naples*, where all the above-mentioned nations continued some time.

(1) *Paul. Diac. l. v. c. 11.*

(3) *Vide Ciarlant. in Samnio.*

(4) *Forn. in not. ad Cass. l. x. c. 7.*

(5) *Camil. Pell. in diff. de duc. de Benevent.*

Constantine
Copronymus
put to flight by
them.
Year after
Christ 750.

He gains a
great victory
over them.
Year after
Christ 763.

Cuts 12,000 of
them in pieces.
Year after
Christ 775.

Elerich king of
the Bulgarians,
being driven
from the throne,
embraces the
christian reli-
gion.

FROM this time the *Bulgarians* continued quiet till the year 750. the ninth of the a
reign of *Constantine* surnamed *Copronymus*, who caused some forts to be built on the
borders of the provinces, which joined the country of the *Bulgarians*. Of this they
sent ambassadors to complain to the emperor, and to demand a confirmation of the
former treaties. The emperor received the ambassadors in a manner altogether un-
suitable to their character, and dismissed them with a disdainful answer; which so
incensed the *Bulgarians*, that they made a sudden irruption into the *Roman* territories,
and, penetrating without opposition as far as the long wall, laid waste the country,
and returned home loaded with booty. Hereupon the emperor, upon the arrival of
his troops out of the east, marched against them in person, and, entering their coun-
try, began to lay it waste, destroying all with fire and sword. But the *Bulgarians*, b
who carefully watched all his motions, falling upon him as he was marching through
a narrow pass named *Beregaba*, put him to flight, and pursued him with great slaugh-
ter to the very gates of *Constantinople* *. In the year 763. a new war was kindled
between the same emperor and the *Bulgarians*, the occasion of which is variously
related by authors; but the most probable opinion is, that *Constantine*, wanting a
pretence to quarrel with them, and to retrieve the reputation he had lost in his late
war with them, pretended to be highly provoked against them for putting to death
in a sedition all the princes of the blood royal among them, and raising to the throne
one *Telesis*, a person of a mean descent. What gave rise to this rebellion, we are not
told; but *Constantine*, pretending to revenge it, raised a powerful army, and, march- c
ing into the country of the *Bulgarians*, gave them battle on the borders of *Thrace*.
The engagement lasted eight hours; but in the end the *Romans* gained a complete
victory: after which the emperor, instead of improving it, returned to *Constantinople*,
with the booty and prisoners he had taken, and entered the city in triumph. The
Bulgarians, upon the retreat of the emperor, put their new king to death, either
mistrusting him, as if he entertained a private correspondence with the *Romans*, or
because his behaviour in the battle was such, as shewed him unworthy of the dignity
to which he had been raised *. The *Bulgarians*, discouraged with the loss of the
battle, in which the flower of their youth was cut off, sent ambassadors to *Constan-*
tinople to sue for peace; which was granted them; but upon such disadvantageous d
terms, that they resolved to observe them no longer than a favourable opportunity
offered of renewing the war. Accordingly two years after, great part of the emper-
or's forces being employed in the east against the *Saracens*, they broke into the *Ro-*
man dominions with a body of twelve thousand men; but *Constantine* marching in
person against them, and, coming upon them when least expected, cut them all off
to a man, and then returned in triumph to *Constantinople*. This the emperor styled
his noble war, because not one christian was killed in it; but the victory was obtained,
it seems, by treachery, the emperor being privately informed by some *Bulgarians* of
the designs, and all the motions, of their countrymen. These *Elerich*, king of the e
country, discovered by the following device: He wrote to *Constantine*, pretending a
desire to resign the crown, and lead a private life at *Constantinople*; for which purpose
he begged the emperor to send him a safe conduct, and at the same time to let him
know what friends the *Romans* had among the *Bulgarians*, that he might repair with
them to *Constantinople*, being unwilling to trust his person or design to others. Here-
upon *Constantine*, not suspecting any deceit, sent him a list of the names of those, who
maintained a private correspondence with him; which *Elerich* no sooner received,
than he caused them all to be put to death. The emperor, finding himself thus
deluded, tore his garments, and his hair, in the height of his passion, and, vowing
revenge at all events, spent the winter in warlike preparations, and early in the spring f
took the field, with a design to cut off the whole nation of the *Bulgarians* root and
branch; but being seized on his march with a violent fever, he was obliged to return
to *Achadiopolis*, whence he was conveyed to *Strongylum*, where he died †. He was
succeeded by his son *Leo III.* who, upon his accession to the throne, concluded a
peace with the king of the *Bulgarians*, whose daughter *Irene* he had married. In the
third year of his reign, *Elerich* being driven from the throne by his own subjects, fled
to *Constantinople*, where he was received by the emperor with extraordinary marks of
kindness and esteem. During his stay in that metropolis, he was, at his own request,
instructed in the principles of the christian religion; which he no sooner embraced,

* THEOPH. ad ann. Const. 19.

† Idem ad ann. Const. 22.

‡ Idem ad ann. Const. 34.

than

- a than he was by *Leo* created a patrician, and married to a relation of the empress². *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, the son and successor of *Leo*, in the year 791. the eleventh of his reign, made war upon the *Bulgarians*, who, according to their custom, had broken into the *Roman* provinces; but with what success the emperor was attended in this war, is uncertain; for *Cedrenus* writes, that he gained a signal victory; *Zonaras*, that it was a drawn battle; and some, that the *Romans* were worsted, and lost the flower of their army. Be that as it will, the following year 792. he marched anew against the *Bulgarians*, encouraged thereunto by some mathematicians, who promised him certain victory; but while, depending upon their promises, he omitted the proper means to obtain it, he was utterly defeated. In the battle, besides a great number of common soldiers, fell some of the best officers of the army, and the most considerable men in the empire, with *Pancratius* the mathematician, who, by his lying predictions, had given occasion to the overthrow³. Two years after, *Cardanes* king of the *Bulgarians* sent ambassadors to the emperor, demanding a tribute, and threatening, if it was refused him, to come as far as the *Goldengate* of *Constantinople*, and take it by force: to such a low ebb was the empire then reduced! *Constantine* however, exerting himself on this occasion, returned answer, That, as the king of the *Bulgarians* was stricken in years, he would save him the trouble of so long a journey, by coming in person to wait upon him. Accordingly he marched against him at the head of a considerable army, at the sight of which the barbarians, struck with a panic, fled in the utmost confusion; but *Constantine*, instead of pursuing them, and taking advantage of the consternation they were in, returned to *Constantinople*^b. In the year 806. the seventh of the emperor *Nicephorus*, the *Bulgarians*, falling upon a party of *Romans*, put them all to the sword, and seized eleven hundred pounds weight of gold, which they were escorting to *Strogmon* for the payment of the army. Soon after, they made an irruption into the *Roman* provinces, under the conduct of *Crumus* their king, and, having surprised *Sardica*, put the whole garrison, consisting of six thousand men, to the sword. *Nicephorus* marched against them in person; but the barbarians retiring at his approach, he returned to *Constantinople*. However, the following year, having drawn together all the forces of the east and west, he marched at the head of them into *Bulgaria*, destroying all with fire and sword. *Crumus*, alarmed at the approach of so formidable an army, sent ambassadors to sue for peace, which he offered to conclude upon terms highly honourable to the empire. But *Nicephorus*, rejecting them with scorn and indignation, pursued his ravages, burning the towns and villages, and putting such of the inhabitants to the sword as fell into his hands, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. He not only raged against the living, but likewise against the dead, not suffering those who were slain to be buried, but ordering their bodies to be exposed to the dogs and wild beasts. But in the mean time *Byzantius*, his chief favourite, forsaking him, fled with the imperial robe, and an hundred pounds weight of gold, to the enemy; which was looked upon by the superstitious multitude as an unlucky omen. *Crumus*, sensibly affected with the calamities of his subjects, sent anew ambassadors to the emperor, offering to agree to any terms, on condition he would put an end to the ravages, and quit the country. But *Nicephorus*, deaf to all proposals, received the ambassadors with great haughtiness, and dismissed them with scorn. Hereupon *Crumus*, pushed on by despair, and the thirst of revenge, in the first place, secured and fortified all the passes thro' which the emperor was to retire; and then, animating his men to revenge the blood of their wives and children inhumanly massacred by the emperor's orders, he attacked unexpectedly the *Roman* camp, and, having forced it in spite of all opposition, cut off almost the whole army, with the emperor himself, a great number of patricians, and almost all the chief officers of the army. *Saturatius*, the emperor's son, was dangerously wounded; but escaped in a litter to *Adrianople*. All the arms and baggage fell into the enemy's hands; and the body of *Nicephorus* being found among the slain, *Crumus* ordered his head to be struck off, and, after having kept it for some time exposed to public view, inclosed the skull in silver, and used it ever after in all grand entertainments, instead of a cup^c. In the beginning of the reign of *Michael*, who succeeded *Nicephorus*, a peace was concluded between the *Romans* and *Bulgarians*, nay, some of the latter were allowed to settle in the *Roman* provinces. But the good harmony that passed between the two nations was short-lived; for, in the second year

The Bulgarians
gain a great
victory over
Constantine
Year after
Christ 792.

The Bulgarians
surprize the ci-
ty of Sardica.

The emperor
Nicephorus
killed by them;
and his whole
army cut off.
Year after
Christ 811.

² Idem ad ann. Leon. 2.

³ CEDREN. in Const. ann. 2.

^b THEOPH. & CEDREN. ad ann. Const. 5.

^c CEDREN. ZONAR. in Niccph. p. 181.

of *Michael's* reign, they came to an open rupture on the following occasion: Some *Romans*, who had been taken prisoners by the *Bulgarians* in the late war, having found means to make their escape, returned home. These *Crumus* demanded, threatening the empire with war, if his just demand was not immediately complied with. The emperor, who was naturally averse to war, and several persons of distinction at court, were for granting the king of the *Bulgarians* his request, the empire not being at that time in a condition to carry on a war with success. But *Nicephorus* the patriarch, and *Theophilus*, a person in great esteem at court for his virtue and wisdom, urging, that they ought to trust to the assistance of Heaven, and not gratify the pride and insolence of the barbarians, the emperor, following their advice, received the *Bulgarian* ambassadors in the most obliging manner; but at the same time told them, ^b that he could not, by any means, comply with their request, and deliver up into captivity such of his subjects, as, having once escaped that deplorable condition, had fled to him for protection. Hereupon *Crumus*, having drawn together a considerable army, entered the *Roman* territories, and not only ravaged the open country, but laid siege to, and made himself master of, several fortified places, being assisted therein by an *Arabian*, well skilled in the art of framing military engines, who had been formerly employed by the emperor *Nicephorus*, but, being ill used by him, had fled to the *Bulgarians*, and taught them the use of all sorts of battering engines. Besides ^c several other cities, he made himself master of *Mesembria*, a place of great importance in the neighbourhood of mount *Hæmus*, and put the garrison to the sword. In the mean time the emperor, having assembled a very numerous army, leaving *Constantinople*, put himself at the head of it, and marching into *Thrace*, came up with the enemy in the neighbourhood of *Constantinople*. After several skirmishes, in which the *Romans* had the advantage, the emperor was, in a manner, forced by the soldiery to venture a battle. Both armies engaged with the utmost fury, and the victory continued long doubtful; but in the end the *Romans* were utterly defeated. *Michael* was so sensibly affected with this misfortune, that, resigning the purple to *Leo*, he retired to the monastery of *Pharus*, and there took the monastic habit. Thus *Theophanes* ^d, who lived at this time, and was an eye-witness of what he wrote. But *Cedrenus* writes, that the *Romans* had the advantage in the engagement; that great numbers of the *Bulgarians* were cut in pieces; and that *Crumus*, with much-ado kept his men from betaking themselves to a precipitous flight, till *Leo*, who aspired at the empire, drew off the forces under his command; which so disheartened the *Romans*, that they fled in the utmost confusion ^e. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the *Bulgarians* gained a complete victory, and that the emperor, with great difficulty, escaped to *Adrianople*, and from thence, with a small attendance, to *Constantinople*, where he abdicated soon after. The *Bulgarians*, elated with the great victory they had gained, pursued their ravages without controul, advancing almost to the gates of *Constantinople*, and destroying all with fire and sword. *Leo*, who had succeeded *Michael*, endeavoured at first to restrain them by fair means, and for that purpose ^f sent ambassadors to *Crumus*, with proposals for an accommodation; but *Crumus*, deaf to all overtures, sent them back without so much as granting them an audience. *Leo*, who was an active and warlike prince, highly provoked at the arrogance of the barbarian, drew together all the forces of the empire, and, marching into *Thrace*, offered the enemy battle; which *Crumus* not declining, a bloody engagement ensued. Great numbers fell on both sides; but in the end the *Romans*, after a most obstinate resistance, were put to the rout. The *Bulgarians*, instead of pursuing the enemy, fell upon the baggage, and began to plunder the camp in great disorder; which being observed by *Leo* from a neighbouring eminence, where he had kept during the battle with a body of reserve, he came down unexpectedly upon the enemy, renewed the fight, and, having rallied his other troops, obtained in the end an intire victory. Great numbers of the enemy were slain, and more taken prisoners. Among the former some reckon the king himself; and add, that the emperor slew him with his own hand; but others say, that he was only wounded, and that, falling from his horse, he had been either killed or taken prisoner by the *Romans*, who had already surrounded him, had not his guards, with unparalleled valour, rescued him out of their hands ^f. The *Bulgarians* were so disheartened with this overthrow, that they made no inroads into the empire for some years after. *Crumus* was succeeded by

They take Mesembria.

And gain a complete victory over the emperor Michael. Year after Christ 813.

Leo gains a great victory over them. Year after Christ 814.

* THEOPH. ad ann. Mic. 2.

* CEDREN. in Leon. p. 173.

* ZONAR. p. 632. CEDREN. ibid.

a *Mortagon*, in whose time *Thomas*, of whom we have spoken in our *Roman* history ^e, revolting from *Michael* II. who had succeeded *Leo*, and keeping him closely blocked up in *Constantinople*, the king of the *Bulgarians*, pitying his condition, resolved to march to his assistance, and, lest he should in the mean time come to any agreement with the rebels, he privately acquainted him with his design. The emperor, either to prevent the ravages and disorders, which he was well apprised the barbarians would commit, or suspecting the sincerity of the king, or, what the writers of those times think most probable, apprehending that a reward, answerable to such a friendly and seasonable assistance, would too much exhaust his treasury, in the improving of which he at least equalled the most covetous of his predecessors, returned the king of the *Bulgarians* thanks for his generous offer; but declined accepting it. *Mortagon* however, accustomed to war and depredations, undertook the expedition, and, entering *Thrace*, encamped at a place called *Cedossus*, at a small distance from *Constantinople*. *Thomas*, hearing of the approach of the *Bulgarians*, broke up the siege, and marched with all his forces to meet the enemy. Hereupon a battle ensued, in which the rebels were put to flight with great slaughter. But *Mortagon*, instead of pursuing the fugitives, returned home, with the booty he found in the enemy's camp^b.

The Bulgarians assist the emperor Michael II.

THE *Bulgarians* continued quiet, no doubt in virtue of some treaty between them and the *Romans*, from this time to the year 893. the eighth of *Leo* V. when a war broke out between them and the *Romans* on the following occasion: A great trade had been carried on for some time between the two nations, and the public mart was kept at *Constantinople*, whence, by the interest of *Zantzas*, father to *Zoe* the emperor's concubine, it was removed to *Thessalonica*. This removal was procured by *Zantzas*, at the request of the *Constantinopolitan* merchants, and those very merchants were, by the great sway he bore at court, appointed officers and receivers of the customs; which put it in their power to give great trouble to the *Bulgarian* merchants, whom they oppressed with new and unlawful impositions. Of this *Simeon*, king of the *Bulgarians*, complained by his ambassadors to the emperor; but he, who was in all things governed by *Zantzas*, refusing to redress the grievances complained

d of, *Simeon*, who wanted only a pretence for a rupture, without any further declaration of war, entered the *Roman* territories at the head of a powerful army, and advanced as far as *Macedon*, destroying all with fire and sword. On the borders of that province he was met by the army, which *Leo* had sent against him, under the conduct of *Procopius Crenites*, and one *Curcius* an *Armenian*. The two armies no sooner came in sight of each other, than they engaged. The *Romans* stood their ground some time; but both their generals being slain, they were in the end utterly defeated. In the pursuit great numbers of them were taken prisoners, and treated in a most barbarous manner by the insolent conqueror, who first led them in triumph round his camp, and then, having caused their noses to be cut off, sent them, thus deformed, to *Constantinople*. *Leo*, highly provoked at this outrage, prevailed upon

Under the conduct of their king *Simeon*; they cut off a Roman army Year after Christ 893.

e the *Ungri* or *Hungarians* to break into the country of the *Bulgarians* on one side, while he invaded it on the other. *Simeon* marched first against the *Hungarians*, who committed every-where dreadful ravages; but, in the battle that ensued, the flower of his army was cut off, he himself having, with great difficulty, made his escape, and taken refuge in a strong-hold named *Drifta*; so that the *Hungarians* pursued their ravages without controul, laid waste the country far and near, and took an incredible number of prisoners, whom they sold to the emperor. *Leo*, before the *Hungarians* began hostilities, or his own troops took the field, had sent to *Simeon* one *Constantinacius*, with proposals for an accommodation; but the king of the *Bulgarians*, imagining that the emperor had therein no other view but to deceive and amuse him, had thrown the ambassadors into prison; but finding his army cut off by the *Hungarians*, and being informed at the same time, that the *Roman* army, under the conduct of *Nicephorus Phocas*, was in full march to enter his country, he not only set *Constantinacius* at liberty, but dispatched ambassadors to *Leo* suing for peace in a most submissive manner. The emperor, not thinking it adviseable to reduce so warlike a nation to despair, readily granted him his request, ordering *Phocas*, who was then upon the point of entering *Bulgaria*, to return home, with the forces under his command^f. But *Simeon* no sooner found the danger removed, than he threw *Leo's*

Simeon defeated by the Bulgarians.

^e Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 565.

^b CEDREN. p. 189.

^f Idem ibid.

He gains a
victory over
them, and ra-
vages their
country.

He puts the
Romans to
flight with
great slaugh-
ter.
Year after
Christ 897.

A mighty army
sent against the
Bulgarians,

Who are at first
put to flight.

embassadors into prison, and, falling unexpectedly upon the *Hungarians*, gave them a total overthrow. He then entered their country, and committed there unheard-of cruelties, putting all to the sword who fell into his hands, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. *Leo*, not able to march to the assistance of his allies at so short a warning, dispatched embassadors to the king of the *Bulgarians*, complaining of the breach of the treaty just concluded, and requiring him to withdraw his troops forthwith out of the country of the *Hungarians*. *Simeon*, elated with his success, returned answer, That he would hearken to no terms, till all the *Bulgarians*, who had been taken in the late war, were set at liberty. To this the emperor consented, unwilling to engage in a new war. But the prisoners were no sooner returned him, than *Simeon* made new demands, still more unreasonable than the former; which provoked the emperor to such a degree, that he resolved to fall upon the *Bulgarians* with the whole strength of the empire, and utterly extirpate, if possible, that perfidious nation. A powerful army was accordingly raised, and sent into *Bulgaria*, under the command of *Catacalon*, and *Theodosius* a patrician. But *Simeon*, falling upon them unexpectedly, cut most of them in pieces, with *Theodosius*, and a great number of officers of distinction. This obliged the emperor to consent to a peace upon the best terms he could obtain; which the *Bulgarians* seem to have observed during the remaining part of *Leo's* reign.

UPON that prince's death, they dispatched embassadors to *Alexander*, his brother and successor, to renew the treaty concluded in the late reign. But *Alexander*, instead of cultivating the friendship of that warlike nation, dismissed the embassadors in an ignominious manner; at which *Simeon* justly provoked, invaded the *Roman* dominions with a mighty army, and, meeting with no opposition, after having ravaged *Thrace*, advanced to the very gates of *Constantinople*, which he hoped to surprise; but the inhabitants making a vigorous resistance, after several unsuccessful attempts, *Simeon* was obliged to drop the enterprize, and retire to *Hebdomon*, at a small distance from the imperial city. From thence he sent embassadors to *Constantine*, who had succeeded *Alexander*, with proposals for an accommodation; which were received with great joy by the governors of the young prince, who was then under age. While the negotiations were carrying on, *Simeon* was admitted to dine with the emperor in the palace of *Blachernæ*, and, when the entertainment was over, dismissed with rich presents. *Cedrenus* supposes a peace to have been concluded; but *Zonaras* writes, that *Simeon* would not agree to the terms that were offered him. Be that as it will, the following year 914. the king of the *Bulgarians* broke anew into *Thrace*, and, advancing as far as *Adrianople*, laid siege to that city. In the mean time the empress *Zoe*, mother to the young prince, having got the whole power into her own hands, and, by the advice of the senate, concluded a peace with the *Saracens*, who had invaded the eastern provinces, resolved to employ the whole strength of the empire against the *Bulgarians*, and utterly extirpate, if possible, that nation. With this view she assembled a mighty army, and, having first distributed large sums among the soldiers, she ordered them to march against the enemy, under the command of *Leo Phocas*, captain of the imperial guards. Under *Leo* commanded the following generals, *Grapsos*, *Merula*, *Romanus*, *Melius*, and *Constantinus Africanus*, who had all distinguished themselves in former wars. The army was mustered in a spacious plain called *Diabesis*, where the chief chaplain of the palace, called the *Protopapa*, made them all kneel down, and swear, they would fight to the last. After this, he gave them his blessing with the usual ceremonies; which were no sooner over, than *Leo* led them against the *Bulgarians*, who had made themselves masters of *Adrianople*, betrayed to them by one *Pancratucus* an *Armenian*. *Simeon* met the *Romans* at a castle called *Achelous*, whereupon a bloody battle ensued on the sixth of *August* of the present year 917. in which the *Bulgarians*, after a most obstinate dispute, were in the end put to flight. The victory however was snatched out of the hands of the *Romans* by the following unlucky accident: *Leo*, the *Roman* general, alighting at a fountain to quench his drought during the pursuit, his horse broke loose while he stooped down to drink. The soldiers, who knew him, seeing him without a rider, concluded that their general was killed, and thereupon turned the pursuit into a flight. *Simeon* quickly perceived the disorder the *Romans* were in, though not acquainted with the cause of it, and, rallying his men, returned to the charge, put such of the

- a enemy to flight as offered to oppose him, and pursued them, till the day was far spent, with great slaughter. Vast numbers of common soldiers were killed on this occasion, and several officers of distinction, among whom were *Constantius Africanus*, and *Grapsus*. As for *Leo*, who commanded in chief, having narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands, he got safe in the end to *Mesembria* ^k. To this mistake some ascribe the dreadful overthrow, which the Romans received on this occasion; but others tell us, that, while *Leo* was busy in the pursuit of the enemy, news was brought him, that *Romanus Lacapenus*, who commanded the fleet, was returned to *Constantinople*, with a design to usurp the sovereignty, while most of the nobility and officers were absent; that, upon this intelligence, *Leo*, who had the same ambitious view, returned in great haste to the camp, the better to be informed of the truth; and that the soldiers, imagining he retired out of fear, betook themselves to flight. Be that as it will, the flower of the Roman army was cut off; and *Simeon*, elated with this unexpected success, resolved to return before *Constantinople*; but two strong detachments from his army being met and defeated at a place called *Catasyrtes* by the imperial troops, he thought it advisable to drop the enterprise, and return home; with the immense booty, which he had already got. Even in this encounter or skirmish the Romans lost a considerable number of men, and some officers of great reputation, among whom was *Nicolas*, the son of *Constantine Ducas*, who, on this occasion, commanded in chief, and to whose valour the success of the day was chiefly owing. Five years after, *Simeon*, taking advantage of the intestine broils and factions into which the empire was rent by the usurpation of *Romanus*, began to make new inroads into the Roman territories. One of his parties advanced as far as *Catasyrtes*, in the neighbourhood of *Constantinople*, where they were met by *Leo*, son-in-law to *Romanus*, and put to flight. In this encounter *Michael*, a Roman officer, who had signalized himself on several occasions, received a wound, of which he died. A few months after, *Simeon* sent into *Thrace* a very numerous army, commanded by *Chaganus* and *Minicius*, with orders to march strait to *Constantinople*. *Romanus*, receiving timely notice of their design, dispatched *Leo*, his brother *Pothus Argyrus*, and one *John*, against them, with all the troops he could assemble. The two armies met in the plains of *Pega*, at a small distance from *Constantinople*, and thereupon a bloody battle ensued, in which the Romans, frightened with the sudden flight of *John*, one of their generals, gave way, and were pursued with great slaughter by the Bulgarians. *Leo* and *Pothus* took refuge in a neighbouring castle; *John* saved himself on board a small vessel; but most of the other officers and soldiers were either cut in pieces, taken prisoners, or drowned in striving to get on board the fleet, which was riding at a small distance from the field of battle. Among the latter was *Alexius* the admiral, and several other officers of the navy. The Bulgarians, now masters of the field, laid waste the country without controul, burnt the imperial palace of *Pega*, and closely besieged *Adrianople*. *Leo*, surnamed *Moraleon*, from his rash and inconsiderate boldness, defended the place with great gallantry, and made several successful sallies; but the inhabitants being in the end obliged by famine to surrender, *Simeon* basely caused *Leo* to be tortured to death ^m.
- b
- c
- d
- e
- f

But in the end
gain a complete
victory.
Year after
Christ 917.

They gain another
victory,
and take Adri-
anople.
Year after
Christ 922.

They besiege
Constanti-
nople.

An interview
between the
emperor and
the king of the
Bulgarians.

* CEDREN. ZONAR. LEO GRAMMAT. in CONST. PORPHYR. in CONST. p. 143. ZONAR. CEDREN. ubi supra.

† GLYCAS. in CONST. p. 87.

* GLYCAS.

A peace con-
cluded.

Simeon is
overthrown by
the Chrobati,
and dies.
Year after
Christ 928.

Peter, his son
and successor,
marries the
grand-daugh-
ter of the em-
peror Roma-
nus.

Bulgaria sub-
dued by the
Roffi
Year after
Christ 971.

to the Eternal Judge for the christian blood he had already shed; expostulated with a him, that, being a christian, he should delight in the slaughter of those, who pro-
fessed the same religion; exhorted him to join those, with whom he was already
united by the same faith, and, putting an end to such unnatural wars, turn his arms
against their common enemy the *Saracens*. He told him in the end, that, if he was
prompted by the desire of riches to commit every-where such devastations, the trea-
sures of the empire should be opened to him, and leave granted him to take from
thence what wealth he pleased, provided he sheathed his sword, and put an end to
the shedding of christian blood. *Simeon* was so affected with this speech, that he
accepted the terms offered him by the emperor, signed the treaty, and, having
received many rich presents from *Romanus*, he returned home, not suffering his men b
to commit the least disorder in the provinces through which they passed. *Simeon*,
having thus concluded a peace with the *Romans*, turned his arms against the *Chrobati*,
a neighbouring nation; but he was by them overthrown, with the loss of his whole
army. He did not long outlive this misfortune, but died of grief a few days after.
He left three sons behind him, viz. *Michael*, whom he had by his first wife, *Peter*
and *John*, his children by his second wife. He had obliged his eldest son, whom
he disliked, to take the monastic habit some years before his death. He was therefore
succeeded by *Peter*, to whom, as he was yet under age, *George Sufurbulus*, his mother's
brother, was appointed guardian. The neighbouring nations no sooner heard of the
death of *Simeon*, than they resolved to fall jointly upon the *Bulgarians*, by whom c
they had been incessantly harassed during the late king's reign. At the same time a
dreadful famine raged in *Bulgaria*, the corn having been consumed by incredible mul-
titudes of locusts. *Sufurbulus* therefore, fearing the *Romans*, encouraged by their
present calamities, might join the neighbouring nations against them, advised the
young prince to invade their dominions first with the whole strength of his kingdom,
which, he said, would make way for an advantageous treaty, and prevent them from
joining their other enemies. Pursuant to this advice, *Peter* broke into *Macedon* at
the head of a powerful army, destroying all with fire and sword; but when he heard,
that *Romanus* was marching against him, he dispatched a monk to the emperor, with
proposals for a peace, which he desired might be strengthened and confirmed by d
more strict alliance, if the emperor thought fit to give him his grand-daughter in
marriage. This overture was very acceptable to *Romanus*; so that, after several
negotiations and conferences between the ministers of the two princes in the city of
Mesembria, not only a peace, but a marriage, was concluded between the young
king of the *Bulgarians*, and *Mary* the daughter of *Christopher*, the emperor's son.
The articles being agreed on, *Peter* repaired to *Constantinople*, where he was splendidly
entertained by *Romanus*, and, with great solemnity, married to his grand-daughter
by *Stephen* the patriarch. The king of the *Bulgarians* was scarce returned home, when
a conspiracy was discovered, carried on against him by *John* his brother, and several
other persons of distinction. All who were privy to it, were put to death; but the e
king contented himself with confining his brother to a castle, whence, with the assist-
ance of the emperor's ambassadors, he made his escape to *Constantinople*. Soon after,
Michael his brother, quitting the monastic habit, laid claim to the crown, and was
joined by great numbers of *Bulgarians*; but he dying, his followers, abandoning
their native country, broke into the *Roman* dominions, and, ravaging *Macedon* and
Greece, advanced as far as *Nicopolis*; which city they took, and settled there. Upon
the death of *Romanus*, the king of the *Bulgarians* sent ambassadors to *Constantinople*,
to renew with his successor *Nicephorus Phocas* his alliance with the empire, delivering
up his two sons *Borises* and *Romanus* as hostages; but the king dying soon after, they
were sent home, where, with much difficulty, they got the better of a powerful faction, f
headed by the four sons of one of the chief lords of that country. In the year 970.
the *Russi* or *Roffi*, who inhabited the present *Podolia*, broke into *Bulgaria*, under the
conduct of their king *Spendoslabus*, and, having ravaged the country, and burnt
several towns, they returned home loaded with booty. The ensuing year they pur-
sued their ravages, and, having put the *Bulgarians* to flight who attempted to oppose
them, and, in the pursuit, taken *Borises* and *Romanus*, the two sons of *Peter*, prison-
ers, they resolved to settle in *Bulgaria*, finding it a country far more pleasant and
fertile than their own. In this resolution they were confirmed by one *Calocyrrus*, a

^a Idem ibid.

^c CEDREN. p 183.

- a Roman fugitive, who engaged to resign *Bulgaria* to them, to enter into a strict alliance with their nation, and to pay them annually a considerable sum, provided they raised him to the imperial throne. The *Russi*, well acquainted with the late revolutions of the empire, and the low ebb to which the *Roman* power was reduced, thought it would be no difficult matter to effectuate what *Calocyrrus* proposed. Accordingly, having drawn to their assistance the *Patzinacæ*, a *Sarmatic* nation, with the *Hunns* or *Hungarians*, and armed such of the conquered *Bulgarians*, as they thought they might safely trust, they entered *Thrace* with an army of three hundred and eight thousand men, and, having ravaged that province, sat down before *Adrianople*, where they were soon after defeated, and most of them cut in pieces, by *Bardas Sclerus* with a body of twelve thousand *Romans*, as we have related elsewhere p. Such of the *Rossi* as escaped the general slaughter, returned into *Bulgaria*; whence they were afterwards driven back to their ancient seats by *John Zimisces*, then emperor. But of the war which that prince made on the *Rossi*, till they consented to abandon *Bulgaria*, we have spoken at length in our *Roman* history, to which we refer the reader q.

Who are driven out by John Zimisces emperor, to whom the Bulgarians submit.

THE *Bulgarians*, being thus delivered from the yoke under which they had groaned some years, readily submitted to *Zimisces* their deliverer. But their submission lasted no longer than his life; for no sooner did they receive the news of the emperor's death, revolting from the *Romans*, they invested with supreme power four brothers, *David*, *Moses*, *Aaron*, and *Samuel*, called *Cometopoli*, because they were the children of an eminent count among them. Of the family of *Peter* none was left, whom they could prefer. His two sons *Borises* and *Romanus* had been taken prisoners by *Zimisces* in his war with the *Rossi*, and brought by him to *Constantinople*, whence they both made their escape upon that prince's death. But *Borises*, in passing through a wood in a *Roman* dress, was killed by a *Bulgarian*, who mistook him for a *Roman*. *Romanus* indeed was alive, but an eunuch, and consequently incapable of ascending the throne. Of the four brothers, whom we have just mentioned, *David* died soon after he was invested with the sovereign power; *Moses* was killed in the siege of a place called *Serræ*; and *Aaron*, being suspected of favouring the *Romans*, and keeping a private correspondence with them, was murdered by *Samuel*, with all his children,

They revolt, and are governed by four brothers.

- d *Blackobstblabus* excepted, who was saved by *Kadomer* the son of *Samuel*. *Samuel*, who was a warlike prince, and a man of a restless temper, having thus got the whole power into his own hands, made frequent inroads into the *Roman* territories, returning home with an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives; nay, while *Basilus*, the successor of *Zimisces*, was engaged in a civil war with *Bardas Sclerus*, who had assumed the purple, *Samuel*, laying hold of that opportunity, over-ran not only *Thrace* and *Macedon*, but likewise *Thessaly*, *Greece*, and *Peloponnesus*, in which provinces he committed unheard-of ravages, burnt several cities, took others, and among the rest *Larissa*, the inhabitants whereof he transplanted, with their whole families, into *Bulgaria*, incorporated such of them as were able to bear arms among his troops, and employed them against the *Romans*. *Basilus* therefore, highly provoked against the *Bulgarians*, had no sooner put an end to the civil war, than he resolved to employ the whole strength of the empire against them. Pursuant to this resolution, having drawn together all his forces, he left *Constantinople*, without acquainting even his own generals with his design; and, putting himself at the head of his army, he entered *Bulgaria* through the country lying near *Rhodoptes* and the river *Eurus*, leaving *Leo Melissenus* behind him to secure the streights, while he, by a short cut through woods and marshes, advanced to *Sardica*, by the *Bulgarians* called *Triaditza*, with a design to lay siege to that important place; but as he was making the necessary preparations for the attack, *Stephen*, the commander of the western forces, and an irreconcilable enemy to *Leo Melissenus*, coming to him in the dead of the night, assured him, that *Leo* intended to usurp the sovereign power, and with that design was marching, with all the troops under his command, to the imperial city. The emperor, alarmed at this account, and at the same time apprehending the enemy might seize on the passes abandoned by *Leo*, and cut off his retreat, immediately ordered the army to march. They no sooner began to move, than *Samuel*, rushing down from the neighbouring mountains, where he had kept the whole time, fell with great fury upon them in their retreat, and turned it into a precipitous and disorderly flight. All their baggage was taken, with the imperial robes and diadem; great

They commit great ravages in the Roman provinces.

The emperor Basilus invades their country.

Russ is obliged to return with great loss. Year after Christ 987.

q Univ. hist. vol. vi. p. 585.

q Ibid. p. 586.

numbers of the soldiers, and some officers of distinction, were cut in pieces; but the emperor with much-ado escaped to *Philippopolis*, where he found *Leo* carefully attending his duty, and guarding the post, which had been committed to his care. The emperor, though highly provoked, and indeed with a great deal of reason, against *Stephen*, the author of so much mischief, contented himself with reviling him only in words, till he began to defend what he had done; and then *Basilus*, no longer able to command his temper, leaped from his seat, and, taking hold of him by his locks and beard, pulled him down to the ground.

The Bulgarians
make new in-
roads into the
empire.

THE two following years, the emperor was diverted, by intestine broils, from pursuing the war against the *Bulgarians*; and *Samuel* their king, taking advantage of these disturbances, harassed, with daily incursions, the neighbouring provinces. But tranquillity was no sooner restored to the empire, than *Basilus* began to make vast preparations both by sea and land, with a design intirely to subdue, or utterly extirpate, that restless and turbulent nation. In the first place, he took a progress into *Thrace* and *Macedon*, and, having visited the frontiers on that side, and left a strong garrison in *Thessalonica*, under the command of *Gregorius Taronitas*, to restrain the *Bulgarians*, he returned to *Constantinople*, to hasten the military preparations. In the mean time *Samuel*, approaching *Thessalonica* at the head of a numerous army, made himself master of the place, after having, by a stratagem, killed the governor, and taken his son prisoner. Elated with this success, he crossed the *Peneus*, and, having over-run all *Thessaly*, *Boeotia*, and *Attica*, he penetrated into the very heart of *Peloponnesus*, destroying all with fire and sword in the provinces through which he passed. Hereupon the emperor dispatched *Nicephorus Uranius* against him, with the flower of the army, who, leaving his heavy baggage at *Larissa*, passed with incredible expedition the *Pharsalian* plains, and the river *Apidanus*, arrived at the *Spercheius*, and encamped on the banks of that river opposite to *Samuel*. The river was then so swelled, that *Samuel*, believing the *Romans* could not pass it, lay with great security on the other side. However, *Uranius*, having fought with indefatigable pains, and at length found out, a ford, passed the river in the dead of the night, and, falling upon the *Bulgarians* while they lay asleep, without the least apprehension of danger, made a dreadful havock of them before they had time to repair to their arms. *Samuel*, and his son *Romanus*, were dangerously wounded, and must unavoidably have fallen into the conqueror's hands, had they not kept themselves concealed the whole day among the dead bodies, and in the night stole away to the mountains of *Ætolia*, and, keeping the tops of those mountains, to mount *Pindus*, and thence into *Bulgaria*. Upon his return home, he found his daughter enamoured to such a degree of *Asotes* the son of *Gregory*, late governor of *Thessalonica*, who had been taken prisoner, as we have related above, that she declared she was determined to destroy herself, unless she was allowed to marry him. *Samuel* complied with her desire, and, as soon as the nuptial solemnity was over, sent his new son-in-law, with his wife, to reside at *Dyrrhachium*, appointing him governor of that important place; but he had not been long there, when, hearing that the emperor's galleys were cruising on the coast, he laid hold of that opportunity to return to *Constantinople*, where both he and his wife, whom he had easily persuaded to accompany him, were kindly received and preferred by the emperor, he to the dignity of *magister*, and she to that of *zosta*, whose province it was to take care of the imperial wardrobe. *Asotes* brought letters with him to the emperor from *Chryselius*, one of the chief officers in *Dyrrhachium*, wherein he promised to deliver the city into the hands of the *Romans*, on condition the emperor conferred the dignity of patrician on him, and his two sons; but, so far as we can conjecture from *Cedrenus*, whose text is strangely maimed in this place, the delivering up of the city was prevented by the death of *Chryselius*. However, the emperor became master of the place not long after; but in what manner, we are not told. The following year the emperor entered *Bulgaria* in person by the way of *Philippopolis*, and, having taken there several castles and strong-holds, he detached from *Mosynopolis* part of his army, under the command of *Theodoracranus* a patrician, and *Nicephorus Xiphias* protospaschian, against the *Bulgarian* cities beyond mount *Hæmus*. By these were reduced the *Great* and the *Little Peristhlaba*, with *Pliscoba*, and several other fortified places. The ensuing year, *Basilus* in person made a second inroad into *Bulgaria*, by the way of *Thessalonica*, took some cities, burnt a great number of

Basilus in-
vades their
country, and
takes several
strong-holds.

¹ CEDREN. p. 193.

² Idem. p. 194.

a villages, and laid the country waste far and near. The city of *Boraa* was delivered up to him by *Dobromerus*, governor of the place, whom the emperor honoured with the title and rank of proconsul. The city of *Servia*, which was defended by a numerous garrison, under the command of *Nicolas*, made a long and vigorous resistance; but was taken in the end by storm. From *Servia* the emperor returned to *Constantinople*, carrying with him a great number of captives, and among the rest *Nicolas*, governor of the place, whom, for his gallant behaviour, he generously raised to the rank of a patrician. But *Nicolas*, preferring the service of his master to all the honours the emperor could confer upon him, made his escape soon after to *Samuel*, and with him laid siege to *Servia*; which the emperor no sooner understood, than he hastened thither in person, obliged the *Bulgarians* to retire, and, falling upon them in their retreat, took *Nicolas* a second time prisoner, and sent him to *Constantinople*, where he was, by the emperor's orders, kept under close confinement. From *Servia* *Basilus* led his army into *Thessaly*, and there repaired such castles, as had been dismantled by the *Bulgarians*, recovered those that were still held by them, and reunited that province, after it had been some time in their hands, to the empire. The year after, *Basilus*, early in the spring, entered *Bulgaria* anew, and laid siege to *Bodyna*, which held out for the space of eight months; but was in the end taken by storm. As the autumn was already far spent, the emperor, having left a strong garrison in *Bodyna*, marched back with the rest of his troops to *Constantinople*. When he came, on his return home, to the river *Axius*, he found *Samuel*, with all the forces he had been able to assemble, encamped on the opposite bank. But *Basilus*, having discovered a ford, and passed the river in the dead of the night, fell early next morning on the enemy, before they could put themselves in a posture of defence, and gave them a total overthrow. *Samuel's* army being thus defeated and dispersed, *Romanus*, the son of the late king *Peter*, and brother to *Borises*, delivered up to the emperor the city of *Scopiaz*, of which he was governor, and was on that account rewarded with the dignity of patrician. *Samuel*, no longer able to keep the field, placed strong guards in all the passes, to prevent the emperor from penetrating farther into *Bulgaria*. However, *Basilus*, bent upon the intire reduction of the country, forced, not without great loss of men, several passes; but, in the streights of *Cimba Longus*, he had been cut off with his whole army, had not *Nicephorus Xiphias*, governor of *Philippopolis*, marching with a strong detachment through by-ways, and over a steep mountain, fallen unexpectedly on the enemy's rear, and by that means obliged them to abandon their post. Hereupon *Basilus*, entering the streights without opposition, pursued them with great slaughter, though they retired in good order, and, often facing about, skirmished with the *Romans*. In one of these skirmishes the king narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the *Romans* by the valour and conduct of his son, who rescued him when he was already surrounded on all sides, and conveyed him safe to the castle of *Prilapus*, though closely pursued by a body of *Roman* horse. On this occasion the emperor is said to have taken fifteen thousand prisoners, whom, contrary to his custom, he treated with great inhumanity; for he caused their eyes to be put out, and, to every hundred assigning a guide, who had one eye left, sent them in that condition to *Samuel*. The king of the *Bulgarians*, already broken with age, and worn out with misfortunes, was so shocked at this dismal spectacle, that he fell into a swoon; and though he returned to himself again, yet, not able to bear up against so great a calamity, he died two days after.

Their army utterly defeated.

They are defeated anew.

Samuel, king of the Bulgarians, dies of grief.

Samuel was succeeded by his son *Gabriel*, whom he had by a captive of *Larissa*. In the beginning of his reign, the emperor, pursuing the conquest of *Bulgaria*, made himself master of a strong castle named *Matzucius*, and then sat down before *Strumpitza*, a place of great strength. During the siege, he detached *Theophylact*, one of his generals, with a body of chosen men, to reduce the strong-holds among the mountains, and open a way through the woods. *Theophylact* made himself master of several places; but being in the end surprised by the *Bulgarians* in a narrow pass, where he could not draw up his men, he was cut off, with the whole body under his command. The emperor, to whom *Strumpitza* had submitted after a vigorous resistance, hearing of this misfortune, thought it advisable to retreat; and accordingly marched back to *Mosynopolis*, and thence to *Thessalonica*. On his route, he took the castles of *Prilapus*, *Stypeius*, *Melencius*, and *Budena*, and burnt *Buteliana*, the royal

The Bulgarians, under the conduct of Gabriel their new king, cut off part of the Roman army.

* Idem, p. 203, & seq. ZONAR. p. 341.

Gabriel murdered by Bladistblabus who succeeds him.

Basilus reduces several strong-holds.

And puts their king to flight, who is killed soon after.

The chief men among the Bulgarians submit.

palace of the *Bulgarian* kings. During the winter, *Gabriel* was killed, while he was ^a hunting, by *Bladistblabus*, the son of *Aaron*, whose life he had formerly preserved, as we have related above. *Bladistblabus*, being acknowledged king by the *Bulgarians*, immediately acquainted the emperor with the death of *Gabriel*, and his own promotion, acknowledging himself at the same time a subject and vassal of the empire. But *Basilus*, suspecting his sincerity, returned early in the spring into *Bulgaria*, and there made himself master of several strong castles, and fortified towns, in one of which he took some of the principal men among the *Bulgarians*. In the mean time *Bladistblabus* sent a new deputation to the emperor, offering to submit upon what terms he should think proper to prescribe. At the same time the emperor received letters from the *Bulgarians*, owning themselves his subjects and vassals. But *Basilus*, ^b being informed, that neither the king nor his subjects were sincere in their declarations, and that they had made an attempt upon *Dyrrbachium*, hoping to surprise that important place, entered *Bulgaria* anew, and, having laid waste the countries of *Ostrobos*, *Gofens*, and *Pelagonia*, advanced to *Achris*, the place where the *Bulgarian* kings usually resided, which he reduced; and then, leaving part of his army in *Pelagonia*, to awe the *Bulgarians*, he marched out with the rest to reduce the neighbouring provinces. But he was scarce gone, when *Ibatzes*, a man of great distinction among the *Bulgarians*, and remarkable for his valour, and experience in war, having drawn the *Romans* left by the emperor into an ambuscade, cut them off, with their commanders, all to a man. Hereupon *Basilus*, marching back in great rage, ^c laid several cities in ashes, ravaged the open country with fire and sword, and, having taken a great number of prisoners, ordered their eyes to be put out, and, in that condition, sent them to *Bladistblabus*. On the other hand, the *Bulgarians*, making frequent sallies from the woods, cut great numbers of his men in pieces; inso-much that, his army being greatly diminished, he thought it adviseable to return earlier than usual to *Constantinople*. On his march, he laid siege to the castle of *Per-nicus*; but the garrison making a vigorous resistance, he lay before it eighty days, assaulting it almost every day with his whole army; but, being constantly repulsed with great loss of men, he was in the end obliged to drop the enterprize, and retire. However, thinking he could not, without forfeiting his reputation, drop the war, ^d till he had intirely subdued *Bulgaria*, after having so often invaded it in person, he allowed his army but a short respite; and then, taking the field again, he laid siege to *Castoria*, a fortified town in *Pelagonia*. But in the mean time the king of the *Bulgarians*, having drawn together all the forces he could muster, began to march towards the frontiers of the empire, in order to oblige the emperor to abandon *Bulgaria*, and hasten back to the defence of his own dominions. *Basilus* accordingly, breaking up the siege of *Castoria*, marched against *Bladistblabus*, who, not caring to put the whole to the issue of an engagement, retired at his approach. *Basilus* detached *Constantine Diogenes* in pursuit of the enemy, who put many of them to the sword, took the horses and baggage of the king, with one of his kinsmen, and returned ^e loaded with booty. After this, the emperor took by storm the castle of *Satana*, where he found a great quantity of corn, which he caused to be removed, and then set fire to the place. Having ended the campaign, he returned, according to his custom, to *Constantinople*. He was no sooner gone, than the king of the *Bulgarians* laid siege to *Dyrrbachium*; but the garrison making a vigorous resistance, he was slain in an assault. The *Bulgarians*, who had hitherto defended their country with an unparalleled valour, and maintained their liberties against the whole strength of the empire, in a war which had lasted twenty years and upwards, being now quite disheartened by the loss of their king, sent deputies to the emperor, with offers of a total and unfeigned submission. *Basilus* received them in the most obliging manner, ^f and, hastening into *Bulgaria*, was met on the confines by the governors of thirty-six castles, which they delivered up to him. Their example was followed by most of the chief men of *Bulgaria*, and even by the wife of the deceased king, who, coming to the emperor, with three of her sons, and her six daughters, renounced all claim to the kingdom of *Bulgaria*. She had three other sons by the king; but they had taken refuge on the tops of the *Ceraunic* mountains, whence they were soon after obliged by famine, the emperor having ordered all the passes to be carefully guarded, to come down, and surrender themselves. *Basilus* received them in the most obliging manner imaginable, raised *Profranus*, who seems to have been the eldest, to the dignity of *magister*, and the other five to that of patrician. To the mother, and ^g the

- a the daughters, he allowed a maintenance suitable to their rank, and ever treated them with the utmost respect. At *Acbris*, where the *Bulgarian* kings usually resided, he was received by his new subjects with loud acclamations. There he seized on the immense treasure of the *Bulgarian* princes, and found, among other things of great value, several crowns enriched with pearl, and a great quantity of gold, which he bestowed as a donative upon his soldiers *. There remained now but one man in the whole country capable of raising disturbances, who had not submitted to the emperor. This was *Ibaizes*, a person nearly allied to the royal family, and one who, during the course of the war, had given several instances of his courage, and implacable hatred to the *Romans*. He, refusing to comply with the present posture of affairs, seized on a castle standing on the top of a mountain most difficult of access, and, having fortified himself there, declared, that he was resolved to hold out to the last extremity. But in what manner he was seized in his castle, and brought to the emperor, we have related at length in our *Roman* history †, to which we refer the reader. And now *Basilius*, absolute master of all *Bulgaria*, took a progress through the country, receiving every-where the submissions of his new subjects, and causing several castles to be demolished, lest the *Bulgarians*, seizing on them, should attempt to shake off the yoke. Then, leaving *Bulgaria*, he repaired to *Athens*, and, ascribing the success that had attended his arms to the protection of the virgin *Mary*, he enriched her church in that city with many presents of great value. From *Athens* he returned to *Constantinople*, which he entered in triumph through the *Golden gate*, amidst the loud acclamations of the multitude, the widow of the late king of the *Bulgarians*, with all the princes and princesses of the blood royal, walking before him. This conquest and final reduction of *Bulgaria*, which had been often attempted in vain by other emperors, was effected by *Basilius* in the forty-fourth year of his reign, and of the christian æra 1019.

Bulgaria intire-
ly subdued.
Year after
Christ 1019.

- THE *Bulgarians* bore the yoke patiently for the space of seventeen years, that is, till the year 1036. the second of *Michael IV.* when they revolted on the following occasion: One *Deleanus*, as we read in *Cedrenus*, or *Dolianus*, as *Zonaras* calls him, by birth a *Bulgarian*, but slave or servant to a citizen of *Constantinople*, escaping from his master, fled into *Bulgaria*, and there gave out, that he was the son of *Gabriel*, and grandson of *Samuel*, kings of that country. This he affirmed with such confidence, that the *Bulgarians*, giving intire credit to all he said, and being already weary of the yoke, to which they had lately submitted, received him every-where with joyful acclamations, and proclaimed him king of *Bulgaria*, sacrificing to this new idol all the *Romans*, who had the misfortune to fall into their hands. *Basilius Synademus*, governor of *Dyrrbachium*, no sooner heard of this insurrection, than he marched out against the rebels, with all the troops under his command; but an unseasonable quarrel arising between him and a tribune in the army, named *Michael Democaitas*, the contention was carried to such a height, that the tribune accused *Synademus* at court of high treason; who was thereupon, by the emperor's orders, seized, and sent to *Theffalonica*, to be confined there to close prison. The accuser was preferred to the government of *Dyrrbachium* in his room; but in that command he behaved with such insolence, that the people, no longer able to bear his tyrannical temper, and cruel exactions, rose against him, and drove him out of the town. This they were well apprised the emperor would highly resent, and therefore, despairing of pardon, they openly revolted, and chose for their king one *Teichomer*, a soldier of great reputation among them. This unexpected election very much surprised *Deleanus*, and his adherents; for there were now two powerful factions in *Bulgaria*, the city and territory of *Dyrrbachium* acknowledging *Teichomer*, and the rest of the country *Deleanus*. This, *Deleanus* was well apprised, would occasion the ruin of both, and therefore resolved, by some means or other, to get rid of his new rival; but, as that could not be well effected by force, he had recourse to artifice; and, pretending to be highly pleased with the election of *Teichomer*, he wrote obliging letters to him, congratulating him upon his new dignity, expressed great joy in having him for his colleague, and earnestly intreated him to come and share the sovereignty with him. *Teichomer*, believing him sincere in his professions, went and joined him with all his forces. *Deleanus*, having thus got him, as he thought, into his power, watched his opportunity; and, having called the soldiers together, he told them, that *Bul-*

The *Bulgarians*
revolt, and
chose *Deleanus*
for their king.

The inhabit-
ants of *Dyr-
rachium*
shake off the
yoke, and chose
Teichomer for
their king.

* CEDREN. p. 207, &c. ZONAR. p. 350.

* Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 532.

Who is stoned
to death by the
followers of De-
leanus.

Dyrrhachium,
and the pro-
vince of Nico-
polis, submit to
Deleanus.

He takes Alu-
sianus for his
colleague.

Who is put to
flight with
great slaughter
by the Romans.

Deleanus de-
posed by Alu-
sianus, who
submits to the
emperor.

garia could not, in his opinion, admit of two kings; and that therefore they ought a
either to confirm his election, who was descended from *Samuel*, and remove *Teichomer*, or, if they thought fit, to depose him, and vest *Teichomer* with the whole
power. This speech occasioned, at first, a great contest in the army, which ended
in the choice of *Deleanus*, and the death of *Teichomer*, who was stoned by the soldiery.
Deleanus, having thus got the whole power into his hands, led his army, without
loss of time, towards *Thessalonica*, where *Michael* then was; but, upon the first news
of his approach, the emperor fled to *Constantinople*, leaving all his baggage and trea-
sure behind him, under the care of *Manuel Ibatza*, who was ordered to convey it to
the imperial city. But *Ibatza*, betraying his trust, carried it over to *Deleanus*, whose
party being strengthened by some new accession almost every day, he sent a strong b
body of troops, under the conduct of one *Caucanus*, against *Dyrrhachium*, which was
soon reduced; and dispatched another, commanded by one *Anthemius*, into *Greece*,
at whose approach the province of *Nicopolis*, revolting from the emperor, cut in pieces
his officers, by whom they had been most grievously oppressed, and submitted to
the rebels. In the mean time *Alusianus*, the second son of *Aaron*, and brother to
Bladislabus the last king of *Bulgaria*, who, submitting with the rest of his country-
men to *Basilus*, had been raised by him to the rank of patrician, retiring privately
from *Constantinople*, returned into his native country. He had been accused of some
illegal proceedings by the inhabitants of *Theodosiopolis*, of which city he had been
appointed governor by *Basilus*. Hereupon *John*, the emperor's brother, who ruled c
with an absolute sway, and bore an irreconcilable hatred to *Alusianus*, not only pre-
vailed upon *Michael* to forbid him the court, but obliged him, before his cause was
heard, to pay a great sum of gold, and, what provoked him most, forced a beautiful
woman from him, for whom he had a great passion. *Alusianus*, not knowing how
far the emperor, at the instigation of his brother, might carry his resentment, retired
privately from *Constantinople*, and, in the disguise of an *Armenian*, got safe to *Ostro-*
bus, where *Deleanus* lay encamped with his army. Both the soldiery and people
received him with the greatest demonstrations of joy; which did not a little alarm
Deleanus. However, dissembling his fears, and pretending to be no less pleased
with his arrival than the rest, he offered to share with him the sovereignty. *Alusia-* d
nus readily accepted the offer, and, being by all acknowledged as his colleague, in
order to gain the affections of the people and soldiery, he immediately marched, at
the head of forty thousand men, to besiege *Thessalonica*. But *Constantine* the patri-
cian, a person nearly related to the emperor, making a very gallant and vigorous
resistance, *Alusianus*, after having, for six days together, battered the walls with all
sorts of engines, and attempted, with repeated assaults, to make himself master of
the place, was in the end obliged to turn the siege into a blockade, hoping the garri-
son would be soon forced by famine to submit. But the besieged, making a general
and unexpected sally, cut fifteen thousand of the *Bulgarians* in pieces, and obliged
the rest to break up the siege, and save themselves by a precipitous flight. This defeat e
increased the jealousies, which the two competitors had already conceived of each
other, *Deleanus* ascribing the overthrow to treachery, and *Alusianus*, upon the sense
of his late misfortune, apprehending that his rival would lay hold of the first oppor-
tunity to stir up the people and soldiery against him: thus each in private began to
meditate the ruin and destruction of the other. But *Alusianus* was in the end before-
hand with his colleague; for, having invited him to an entertainment, he encouraged
him to drink till he was quite intoxicated, and then caused his eyes to be put out.
After this, distrustful of his own interest, and well acquainted with the fickle temper
of the *Bulgarians*, he wrote to the emperor, offering to submit, and return to his
duty, provided *Michael* would grant him his pardon, and such a reward as his service f
might be thought to deserve. The emperor readily complied with his request, con-
ferred on him the dignity of *magister*, and sent him to *Constantinople*. *Michael* had
already resolved to march in person into *Bulgaria*, and employ the whole strength
of the empire against the rebels, saying, it was a shame for him, who had added
nothing to the empire, to suffer any part of it to be lost. Upon the submission there-
fore of *Alusianus*, he led his army, without loss of time, into *Bulgaria*, though he
was then so ill of a dropsy, that all about him thought every day would prove his
last. However, being resolved not to let slip so favourable an opportunity of attack-
ing the *Bulgarians*, while destitute of a leader, he could by no means be prevailed
upon to drop the enterprize. Upon his first entering *Bulgaria*, *Deleanus* fell into his g
hands,

- a hands, whom he immediately sent to *Thessalonica*; then, penetrating farther into the country, he dispersed some *Bulgarians*, who began to assemble, received the allegiance of the chief men of the country, and, having taken *Manuel Ibatzes*, of whom we have spoken above, he returned with him and *Deleanus* in triumph to *Constantinople*. From this time the *Bulgarians* continued subject to the emperors of *Constantinople*, whom they powerfully assisted both against the *Latins* and the *Turks*, and were on that account allowed to chuse a king of their own nation, who nevertheless owned himself a vassal of the empire. In 1206. *John*, king of *Bulgaria*, marching against *Baldwin*, the first emperor of the *Latins* in *Constantinople*, while he was besieging *Adrianople*, defeated his army with great slaughter, relieved the city, and, having taken the emperor himself prisoner, carried him to *Ternova*, at that time the capital of *Bulgaria*. There he caused his hands and feet to be cut off, and then ordered him, thus maimed, to be thrown into a neighbouring valley, where he lay in the utmost agony for three days, and then expiring, was devoured by the wild beasts and birds of prey. In 1275. *Stephen*, the fourth king of *Hungary*, overcame in a great battle *Cea* prince of *Bulgaria*, and, having cut his whole army in pieces, obliged the *Bulgarians* to acknowledge him for their king. Hence *Stephen* and his successors were styled kings of *Hungary* and *Bulgaria*, which title passed, with the kingdom of *Hungary*, to the princes of the house of *Austria*, as we shall hereafter relate more at length. With the assistance of the *Greek* emperors they shook off the *Hungarian* yoke, and in 1369. under the conduct of *Sasmenos* their king, they attempted the recovery of *Adrianople*, taken by the *Turks*; but were utterly defeated by *Amurat* I. who had no sooner settled his affairs in *Asia*, than, provoked against the *Bulgarians* for their late attempt, he turned his arms against them, and, entering *Bulgaria* with a numerous army, made himself master of several strong holds, and obliged *Sasmenos* to purchase a peace, by yielding to him the far greater part of his kingdom, and promising to hold the rest as his vassal and tributary. But *Bajazet*, who succeeded *Amurat*, invading *Bulgaria* without the least provocation, made an absolute conquest of the whole country in 1396. and reduced it to a province of the *Turkish* empire, in which state it has continued ever since. We shall now, in compliance with our plan, proceed to the history of the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*, from *Theodoric* to their expulsion by *Narses*; of the exarchs of *Ravenna*, till driven out by the *Lombards*; and of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, to *Desiderius* their last king, taken prisoner by *Charlemagne*. These three different histories will afford us matter for the following chapter, and with them we shall close the antient history, or the history of the antient nations.

7 CEDREN. p. 210—214. ZONAR. p. 353—360.

C H A P. XV.

The history of the Ostrogoths in Italy, the exarchs of Ravenna, and the Lombards in Italy.

S E C T. I.

The history of the Ostrogoths in Italy, to their expulsion by Narses.

- c IN the foregoing chapter, we brought *Theodoric* king of the *Ostrogoths* into *Italy*, and there placed him on the throne of *Odoacer*. We shall now give the reader a succinct account of this excellent prince's reign, whom we must not look upon as an intruder or usurper, but as the lawful sovereign of the countries he held, especially of the kingdom of *Italy*; for when he first imparted to *Zeno* his design of invading that country, the emperor not only approved of the undertaking, but encouraged him to it, and, recommending to his protection the senate and people of *Rome*, dismissed him loaded with rich presents. During the course of the war, *Theodoric* sent distinct accounts of all that passed to the emperor, who was highly pleased with the success that

that attended his arms; nay, when he was informed, that *Theodoric* only wanted *Ra-* ^a
venna to be intire master of *Italy*, he advised him to lay aside the *Gotbic* dress, and
 assume the royal diadem, mantle, and other ensigns of majesty; which was acknow-
 ledging him king of *Italy*^a. Upon the reduction of *Ravenna*, which happened in
 the second year of the reign of *Anastasi*, the successor of *Zeno*, he was by the new
 emperor acknowledged for a just and lawful prince; for though the *Goths*, as we
 read in the anonymous of *Valesius*^b, upon the death of *Odoacer*, proclaimed him anew
 king of all *Italy*, without the consent and approbation of the emperor, yet *Anastasi*
 approved of what they had done, as is manifest from the letters he wrote to him, and
 from *Theodoric's* answer to them, which have been transmitted to us by *Calpurnius*.
 Besides, when *Theodoric* undertook the conquest of *Italy*, the western empire was at ^b
 an end; *Spain* was held by the *Vandals*, the *Visigoths*, and the *Sueves*; *Gaul* by the
Franks and *Burgundians*; *Britain* by the *Saxons*; and *Italy* left a prey to the *Heruli*,
 the *Rugians*, and other barbarous nations. While the last-mentioned country, which,
 for so many ages, had given law to the world, was thus groaning under the yoke of
 the barbarians, the emperors of the east being no-ways in a condition to afford it
 the least relief, *Theodoric*, with their consent and approbation, undertook the great
 work, and having, at his own charges, and with troops of his own nation, driven
 out the tyrant, he was, with loud acclamations, received by the people as their king
 and deliverer. The only person, who had then any claim to *Italy*, was the emperor
 of the east, and both *Zeno*, and his successor *Anastasi*, acknowledged *Theodoric* king ^c
 of that country, not only allowing him to wear the royal ensigns, but transferring to
 him all their claims and rights, as we read in *Procopius*, a writer no-ways favourable
 to the *Goths*, not to mention *Jornandes*, or *Ennodius* the holy bishop of *Pavia*, who
 affirm the same thing, but may perhaps be thought biassed in favour of *Theodoric*,
 the former being a *Goth* by nation, and the latter a great admirer of *Theodoric*, on
 account of his eminent virtues, which he celebrated in a panegyric, that has reached
 our times. Hence, when the *Goths*, upon their being attacked by the emperor *Justi-*
nian, had recourse to the *Franks*, they told them, among other things, that they
 might expect the same treatment from the emperors, which the *Goths* now met with,
 since they made war upon them, alleging, that *Theodoric* had invaded *Italy*, which ^d
 belonged to the *Romans*; whereas he had not taken that country from them, but
 from *Odoacer*, and had been, even by them, owned lawful king of *Italy*, till the
 power of the *Goths* being at a low ebb, the emperor thought himself in a condition
 to strip them of what had been yielded to them by his predecessors^e. But to return
 to *Theodoric*: Tho' he was master of all *Italy* and *Sicily*, and likewise of *Rhetia*, *No-*
ricum, *Dalmatia*, *Liburnia*, *Istria*, and great part of *Suevia*, *Pannonia*, and *Gaul*, and
 governed *Spain*, as guardian to his young nephew *Amalaric*, yet he did not assume
 the title of emperor, but contented himself with that of king, either out of respect
 to the emperors of the east; or because he reckoned the title of king, denoting an inde-
 pendent authority, more honourable than that of emperor; or perhaps because *Odo-* ^e
acer, whom he succeeded, had taken no other. Be that as it will, *Theodoric*, having
 no enemy to contend with after the death of *Odoacer*, sheathed his sword, and applied
 himself wholly to the establishing of good order throughout his new dominions. He
 retained the same laws, the same magistrates, the same polity, and the same distri-
 bution of provinces. Military honours, for the most part, he conferred on the *Goths*,
 but preferred the *Romans* alone to civil employments. Hence the *Romans*, that is,
 the antient inhabitants of *Italy*, were highly pleased with his government; and *Gela-*
sius, bishop of *Rome*, wrote a letter to him, congratulating him upon his happy ad-
 ministration. He distributed the *Goths* among the fortified places, with their cap-
 tains, who, in time of war, commanded them, and governed them in time of peace. ^f
 As for the *Romans*, they were governed by the same magistrates, as they had been
 under the emperors; but with this difference, that by the emperors was sent a *confu-*
larius, a *praeses*, a *corrector*, into each province, to whom, in all suits, recourse was
 to be had from the most remote parts; whereas the *Goths* sent, besides the above-
 mentioned magistrates, others of an inferior rank to every small village, who, by
 administering justice there, delivered the people from the great trouble, and vast ex-
 pences, they had been at, in the *Roman* times, when the power of deciding contro-
 versies was vested in the supreme magistrate alone. The *Goths* were, as appears

He retains the
 same laws and
 magistrates.

^a JORN. de reb. Get. p. 698.

^b PAUL in dissert. hypat. de consulib. p. 300.

^c AGATH. l. i. p. 48.

from

a from *Cassiodore*, no less scrupulous in the choice of these inferior magistrates, than of the greater officers, employing only persons of known integrity, and acceptable to the people, and allowing no appeals to other tribunals, but in cases of manifest injustice. Of these inferior magistrates some were called *cancellarii*, others *canonicarii*, *comites referendarii*, &c. *Petrus Pontinus* wrote a book of the dignities of the Gothic court^d; but, as *Grotius* well observes^e, he might have saved himself that trouble, since they are minutely described in the sixth and seventh books of *Cassiodore*.

As *Theodoric* made no alteration in the laws, magistrates, or form of government, except that which we have just mentioned, so he contented himself with the same b tributes and taxes, which had been levied by the emperors; but was far more ready than they had ever been to remit them on occasion of any public calamity. Thus, he remitted to the inhabitants of *Campania* the tribute they usually paid, upon their representing to him, that they had suffered much by an eruption of mount *Vesuvius*. The letter or order which he sent on this occasion to *Faustus*, *consularis* or governor of *Campania*, has been transmitted to us by *Cassiodore*. In that letter he tells *Faustus*, that the inhabitants of *Campania*, having suffered greatly, had petitioned him for relief; that he was ready to grant them their request, provided he were rightly informed of the misfortune, and knew how to judge of the damage they had sustained. He commands him to send some person of known integrity into the territories of *Nola* and *Naples*, to view the lands, and take an estimate of the loss, that he might know c how to make a proportionable allowance out of the tribute^f. It was probably on this occasion that the *Neapolitans* erected, in their great forum or market-place, a statue to *Theodoric*, which is said to have afterwards presaged the end of the government of the Goths in Italy (M). In like manner *Theodoric* exempted the inhabitants of *Sipontum* in *Puglia* from all taxes for the space of two years, upon their representing to him, that their lands had been laid waste by the *Vandals* of *Africa*, who were constantly making descents on the coasts of Italy^g.

He not only forgave, but preferred to the first employments, several *Italians*, or, as they were still called in his time, *Romans*, who had stood by *Odoacer* to the last^h; but such as had once declared for him, and afterwards revolted to the enemy, he d punished according to the *Roman* law, taking from them the power of making testaments. But, in the third year of his reign, he was prevailed upon by *Laurentius* and *Epiphanius*, the one bishop of *Milan*, the other of *Pavia*, to forgive them, and publish a general pardon. Upon his becoming master of Italy, he did not treat the natives as those of the other *Roman* provinces were treated by the barbarians, who conquered them. These stripped the ancient proprietors of their lands, estates, and possessions, dividing them among their chiefs, and giving to one, as it happened in *Gaul*, conquered by the *Franks*, a province, with the title of duke; to another a frontier country, with the title of marquis; to some a city, and the title of count; to others a castle or village, with the title of baronⁱ. But *Theodoric*, who piqued him- e self upon governing after the *Roman* manner, and observing the *Roman* laws and institutions, left every one in the full enjoyment of his ancient property; for the feudal tenures, dukedoms, counties, &c. were not introduced into Italy by the Goths, but by the *Lombards*, as we shall relate hereafter. As to religion, *Theodoric* held, as all the Goths did, the tenets of *Arius*, but allowed his subjects to profess, without molestation, the faith of the council of *Nice*; nay, he gave free liberty to the Goths them-

He contents himself with the taxes paid to the emperors.

He allows the natives to enjoy their estates and possessions.

His religion and piety.

^d PETR. PONTIN. de dignit. Goth. aulæ. var. l. iv. ep. 50.
^e Idem, l. ii. ep. 37.
Cod. de agric. & cens. l. ii. CONNAN. in com. jur. civ. l. ii. tit. c. Leo OSTIENS. in chron. COSSIN. glossat. in notis, c. 6. num. 532.

^g GROT. in proleg. ad hist. Goth. v. 46.

^h Idem ibid. ep. 16.

^f CASSIOD.

ⁱ LOYSEAU de sign. c. 3.

(M) This statue was made of small pebbles of various colours, and so artfully joined together, that they represented *Theodoric* to the life. While he was still alive, the head of the statue fell, and broke to pieces; and soon after *Theodoric* died. He was succeeded by *Athalaric* his grandson, in the eighth year of whose reign, the belly of the statue, all on a sudden, fell of itself; and a few days after news was brought to *Naples* of the death of *Athalaric*. Not long after, the genitals dropped off; and an account was brought of the unhappy and undeferved

end of *Amalasuntha*, the daughter of *Theodoric*, and mother of the late king. But when *Justinian* declared war against the Goths, the thighs and feet of the statue fell to the ground; from which event the *Romans* concluded, that the empire of the Goths in Italy was at an end, and that they would be soon driven out, as it happened. This presage, says *Procopius*, from whom we have borrowed the whole account, greatly encouraged the emperor's troops, and gave them certain hopes of victory (1).

(1) *Procop. bell. Goth. l. i.*

His equity and justice.

His moderation, temperance, &c.

His generosity in ransoming his captive subjects.

selves to renounce, if they pleased, the doctrine of *Arius*, and embrace the catholic faith. He suffered none to be chosen for the government of the church but persons of known probity ^k. A great schism arising in his time, he used his utmost endeavours to restore the church to its former tranquillity, which in the end he effected, by causing a council to be assembled. Several edicts, both of *Theodoric* and his successor *Atalaric*, have been transmitted to us by *Cassiodore*, prohibiting and annulling all simoniacal elections and ordinations of bishops ^l. Thus the ecclesiastic policy was never better observed, nor more deserving men preferred to the government of the church, than in the time of *Theodoric*, and the *Gothic* kings his successors, though they all held the tenets of *Arius*, their nation having been first instructed in the christian religion by *Arian* teachers, sent them by the emperor *Valens*. *Theodoric*, ^b though an *Arian*, is highly commended for his piety by *Ennodius* bishop of *Pavia*, a most zealous stickler for the faith of *Nice*, as are the *Goths* in general by *Salvianus*, the catholic bishop of *Marseilles*, who ascribes their errors, not to them, but to those who first instructed them ^m. *Theodoric* is no less commended by all the writers of those times for his equity, moderation, and the tender regard he had for the welfare of his subjects, than for his piety and religion. He made good what he promised to the natives of *Italy* when he first took upon him the title of king, viz. that his conduct and behaviour should be such, that they should all wish they had come sooner under the government of the *Goths*. He not only appointed persons of great learning, known integrity, and unblemished characters, to administer justice, but often heard ^c causes himself, pronouncing sentence according to the strictest rules of justice and equity. He took upon himself the trouble of settling the prices of all necessary commodities, and assizing weights and measures: in imposing tributes, he had a particular regard to the condition and circumstances of those, who were to pay them, and was ever ready to remit them upon any remonstrance, that to him seemed reasonable. If his soldiers at any time wronged the country-people on their march, he never failed to send money to the bishops to make good the losses they had sustained. He paid ready money, not only for the necessary provisions of the army, but for the materials which he employed in building ships, fortifying his camps, &c. To the poor he was most liberal and generous, and, in a manner, made it his chief study, as *Cassiodore* ^d assures us, to relieve the widows and orphans. His moderation, temperance, chastity, called by *Ennodius* sacerdotal modesty, and other eminent virtues, are celebrated both by that writer and by *Cassiodore*, with such encomiums, that, if they were not greatly prejudiced in his favour, we must conclude him to have been one of the best and greatest princes, that ever swayed a sceptre. *Procopius* himself, tho' by nation a *Greek*, and secretary to the emperor *Justinian*, who made war upon the *Goths*, and in the end drove them out of *Italy*, could not forbear admiring and extolling the royal virtues of *Theodoric*.

As to the history of his reign, his first care, after he became sole master of *Italy*, was to repeople *Liguria*, in some places quite destitute of inhabitants, who had been ^e carried into captivity by the *Burgundians*, as we have related in the history of that people ^f. As the other provinces of *Italy*, exhausted by long wars, and frequent irruptions of the barbarous nations, could not spare any of their inhabitants, *Theodoric* resolved to ransom, at his own expence, all the *Ligurians*, who were kept captives among the *Burgundians*. Accordingly he dispatched *Epiphanius* to *Gundebald* their king, by whom, he well knew, that prelate was held in the greatest veneration, with a sufficient sum for the redemption of the captives. But *Epiphanius*, with his christian eloquence, and pious exhortations, persuaded *Gundebald* to set at liberty, without ransom, such of the *Ligurians*, as, through fear or famine, had delivered themselves up to the *Burgundians*; but for those who had been taken in battle, the king insisted upon a small sum, by way of ransom, lest he should disoblige his soldiers, by remitting what was their due, and taking from them the price of their lives and fortunes. This *Epiphanius* readily paid, *Avitus* bishop of *Vienne*, and *Syagria*, a lady of great piety, generously contributing towards it. The holy prelate, on his way home, passed with his captives through *Geneva*, where he prevailed upon king *Godigisles* to follow the example of his brother *Gundebald*, and set at liberty, without ransom, all the captives belonging to him, and to the royal family. With this numerous multitude *Epiphanius* returned in a kind of triumph to *Theodoric*, who

^k CASSIOD. l. viii. ep. 14. ^l Ibid.

^l Idem, l. ix. ep. 19.

^m SALVIAN. de gubern. Dei, l. v.

ⁿ Idem

^f PROCOPI. bell. Goth. p. 67.

^g Univers. hist. vol. vii. p. 484.

a generously relieved the most indigent, and sent them all back to their respective homes¹. Thus *Ennodius*, who attended *Epiphanius* on this occasion.

WHILE *Theodoric* was thus wholly intent upon the establishing of good order throughout his dominions, and promoting the welfare of his new subjects, a war broke out between him and the emperor *Anastasius* on the following occasion: One *Mundo*, by nation a *Goth*, flying from the *Gepidae*, says *Jornandes*, withdrew to the deserts beyond the *Danube*, and, having assembled there a considerable number of robbers and others, who, for their crimes, had been obliged to abandon their native soil, he made himself master of a tower, named *Herta*, on the *Danube*. From thence he made frequent incursions into the neighbouring countries, and the rich booty he

War between him and Anastasius.
Year after Christ 493.

b carried off drawing great numbers of abandoned people to him, he assumed the title of king, and caused himself to be acknowledged as such by his followers. His arrogant conduct highly provoked the emperor, who thereupon ordered *Sabinianus*, son to the great commander of that name, and general of the troops in *Illyricum*, to march against him. *Mundo* had either submitted to, or entered into an alliance with, *Theodoric*, then master of *Pannonia*, and great part of *Illyricum*. Hearing therefore, that *Sabinianus* was marching against him with ten thousand men, and a great number of waggons, loaded with arms and provisions, he had recourse to *Pitzia*, one of *Theodoric's* generals, then residing at *Sirmium*. *Pitzia*, without loss of time, marched in person to his assistance, at the head of two thousand foot, and five hundred horse,

c and, joining *Mundo's* forces, engaged the *Romans* in the neighbourhood of *Margus*, now *Galambecz*, in *Servia*, according to *Sanfon*, cut most of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to take refuge, with their general, in the castle of *Nator*. *Mundo*, owning himself indebted to *Theodoric* for his preservation, submitted to him, says *Jornandes*, and became his subject². *Anastasius*, to be revenged on *Theodoric*, sent the following year a fleet, with eight thousand men on board, under the command of *Romanus*, to ravage the coasts of *Italy*. These, landing in the neighbourhood of *Tarentum*, were soon driven on board their ships by the *Goths*; but nevertheless they carried off a considerable booty, and returned with it to *Anastasius*, who, in this war, acted, says *Jornandes*, more like a pirate than a prince³. But *Theodoric*, who had

The Romans defeated.

d formed a design of conquering *Gaul*, held by the *Franks* and *Burgundians*, and reuniting it to the empire of *Italy*, being well apprised, that he could not put this project in execution so long as he was at variance with the emperor, wrote letters to *Anastasius*, wherein he expresses, without betraying the least fear or meanness, his desire of renewing the peace, and living in friendship with the empire⁴. He soon after dispatched ambassadors to *Constantinople*, by whose means a peace was, in the end, concluded between the two princes. However, *Theodoric* was, for some time, diverted from pursuing his favourite scheme by the troubles and divisions that arose in *Rome* about the election of a bishop to that see; for, upon the death of pope *Anastasius*, two persons were chosen by two different factions to succeed him, viz. *Symmachus*, supported by *Fauftus*, and *Laurentius* by *Festus*. As the patrons of the two competitors were persons of great authority in the senate, and interest among the people, their division and obstinacy occasioned a kind of civil war in *Rome*, and several on both sides lost their lives in the quarrel. At length both parties had recourse to *Theodoric*, who, following the example of the late emperors, had fixed his residence at *Ravenna*. That prince, after having heard with great patience and attention the contending parties, prudently ordained, that he should be acknowledged as lawful bishop, who had been first elected, and had had the greatest number of voices. Hereupon *Symmachus*, who had been first chosen, and by a great majority, was confirmed in his see. But some of the partizans of *Laurentius* not acquiescing to

A peace concluded between Anastasius and Theodoric.

e such an equitable decision, *Theodoric*, to heal the divisions of the church, was in the end obliged to summon a council, and, to appease the troubles in *Rome*, to take a journey thither in person; which he readily did, having a great desire to see that once celebrated metropolis of the world. He made his entry with such pomp and magnificence, as had not been seen for many ages, and was received by the senate and people with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable. He was welcomed in the senate by the celebrated *Boetius*, who, on that occasion, made an eloquent speech, setting forth the eminent virtues of *Theodoric*. To which the king answered in a most obliging manner, declaring, that he should ever have the greatest respect

Theodoric goes to Rome.

¹ ENNOD. in vit. Epiph. p. 366—369.
de Theod. p. 309.

² JORN. ibid.

³ JORN. rer. Goth. c. 58. p. 599. MARC. CHRON. ENNOD.
Idem de reg. c. 48. p. 655.

⁴ CASSIOD. l. i. ep. 1.

for that august body, and omit nothing that could contribute to their grandeur. ^a From the senate he proceeded to the circus, and there made a speech to the people, wherein he expressed his sincere desire of their welfare and prosperity, confirmed to them all the privileges they had enjoyed under the emperors his predecessors, and assured them of his protection. He spent several days in viewing the antiquities of the city, which he could not sufficiently admire. He declared, that, tho' he expected to see wonderful things, the stateliness and magnificence of the public buildings had far surpassed his expectation. He was grieved to see the walls in some places quite ruined, and contributed large sums for the repairing of them, and of some other decayed buildings. On the day of his entry, he made a grand entertainment for the senate, and gave a largess of corn to the people. Before he left *Rome*, he com- ^b posed the affairs both of the church and state in the best manner he could, and declared, upon his departure, that he was sorry he could not fix his residence in such an august city, the safety of the state obliging him to reside, as his predecessors had done, at *Ravenna*, where he was near at hand, and ready to put a stop to the irruptions of the barbarians, who, on that side, broke into *Italy*. He was scarce returned, when news was brought him, that the *Bulgarians* had made an irruption into *Pannonia*, and, advancing as far as *Sirmium*, had surprised that city. Hereupon he dispatched *Petza* with a considerable army against them, who, in one campaign, recovered *Sirmium*, and drove them quite out of *Pannonia*. To the government of that province *Theodoric* raised one *Colosseus*, a comes or count. From the copy of his commission, ^c which has been transmitted to us by *Cassiodore*, it appears, that the power of those governors extended both to civil and military affairs, and that the prince conferred that power on them, by girding them with a sword ^w. In the same writer is a letter written by *Theodoric*, and directed to all the barbarians and *Romans* inhabiting *Pannonia*, wherein he acquaints them, that he had appointed *Colosseus* to be their governor, and requires them to obey him as such.

His war with
the Burgun-
dians.

Theodoric, having thus settled his affairs at home, resolved to attempt the execution of the project, which he had formed from the very beginning of his reign, which was, as we have hinted above, to drive the *Burgundians* and *Franks* out of *Gaul*, and reunite that country to *Italy*. His design was to begin with the *Burgundians*, and, ^d after having reduced them, to fall upon the *Franks*. But as the *Burgundians* were then a powerful nation, and masters of all the passes in the *Alps*, *Theodoric*, entering into an alliance with *Clovis* king of the *Franks*, prevailed upon him to attack the *Burgundians* on one side, while he attempted to enter their country on the other. Of the conduct of *Theodoric* in this war, we have spoken above ^x, and therefore shall only add here, that he acquired on this occasion the city of *Marseilles*, and its territory, with all the countries lying between the *Durance*, the *Alps*, the *Mediterranean*, and the *Lower Rhône*. Some years after, a war breaking out between *Clovis* and *Alaric* king of the *Visigoths* in *Gaul*, *Theodoric*, putting himself at the head of his army, marched to the assistance of the latter; but *Clovis* having in the mean time killed *Alaric* in ^e battle, and defeated his army, the king of the *Ostrogoths*, jealous of the growing power of the *Franks*, ordered his troops to join him from all parts, and, entering *Gaul*, obliged the *Franks*, who had laid siege to *Carcaffone*, to abandon the enterprize, and retire. The following year, the *Franks* besieged the city of *Arles*; but the siege was raised, and the *Franks* defeated with great slaughter, by the army which *Theodoric* had sent to the assistance of his countrymen, under the conduct of one *Hibba*, distinguished with the title of count. A peace was soon after concluded between *Theodoric* and *Clovis*, whereof one of the articles was, that the *Franks* should keep the countries which they had taken from the *Visigoths*, *Theodoric* having attempted in ^f vain, as we read in *Procopius*, to recover them ^y. *Amalaric*, the grandson of *Theodoric*, was, at this time, king of the *Visigoths*; but as he was yet under age, *Theodoric*, who was his guardian, exercised the same authority in the young prince's dominions, as he did in his own. In virtue of this peace, the *Ostrogoths* continued masters of the province they held before, lying between the *Alps*, the *Mediterranean*, the *Rhône*, and the *Durance*, and appropriated to themselves the city of *Arles* for the charges they had been at in this war. These countries *Theodoric* transmitted to his posterity; but could make no farther conquests in *Gaul*, being opposed by the *Franks*, who were become very powerful in that country.

And Clovis
king of the
Franks.

He is guardian
to Amalaric
king of the Vi-
tigoths.

^w Idem, l. iii. ep. 23.

^x P. 572.

^y Procop. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 12.

Amalaric,

- a *Amalaric*, the grandson of *Theodoric* by his daughter *Theodegotba*, had succeeded his father *Alaric* in the kingdom of the *Visigoths*; but as he was only five years old when his father was killed by *Clovis*, as we have hinted above, his subjects, scorning to be governed by an infant, revolted from him, and raised to the throne *Gaselic*, the son of *Alaric* by a concubine. Hereupon *Theodoric*, who was guardian to the young prince, dispatched *Hibba*, or, as some call him, *Ilba*, into *Gaul* with a numerous army, to drive out the usurper, and restore *Amalaric* to the throne. Upon his approach, *Gaselic* fled into *Spain*, and from thence, hearing that *Hibba* was marching after him, he crossed the *Streights*, and took refuge in the court of *Thrasimund*, king of the *Vandals* in *Africa*, who, either pitying his condition, or thinking it high time to give a check to the overgrown power of the *Ostrogoths*, received him in a friendly manner, though he had married the sister of *Theodoric*. After he had continued some time in *Africa*, he passed from thence privately into *Gaul*, and, having gained over some of the leading men among the *Visigoths*, he in the end discovered himself, and, being supplied with money by *Thrasimund*, he levied an army, and re-entered *Spain*; but, being met and overcome in battle by *Hibba* about twelve miles from *Barcelona*, he fled back into *Gaul*, and there died of grief, four years after he had been declared king. Some authors write, that upon his death *Theodoric* caused himself to be acknowledged king of the *Visigoths* in *Spain*, and that he went into that country. It is true, that to all the synods, which were held at this time in *Spain*, the name of *Theodoric* is prefixed, and the years of his reign. But nevertheless the best and most credible authors suppose *Amalaric* to have been king, and that *Theodoric* governed only as his guardian. As for *Theodoric's* expedition into *Spain*, we cannot persuade ourselves, that such a remarkable event would have been passed over in silence by *Cassiodore*, and the other writers, who have so minutely described that prince's actions. Some *Spanish* writers add, that, at *Toledo*, *Theodoric* married a woman of the race of the ancient *Spaniards*; that he was prevailed upon by her to restore to the natives their liberty; and that of this marriage was born *Severianus*, the father of *Leander* and *Isidore*; a story no less repugnant to truth than chronology. *Theodoric*, according to the best writers, did not go himself into *Spain*, as we have observed above, but appointed one *Theudas* to govern that country during the minority of his grandson *Amalaric*.

Whom he restores to the throne.

He forces the Alemans to pay tribute.

- THE king of the *Ostrogoths*, having settled the affairs of his grandson in *Spain*, turned his arms against the *Alemans*; but all we know of this war is, that he in the end obliged them to submit to an annual tribute^a, and subdued the inhabitants of *Suevia*; for, in one of his letters directed to them, he acquaints them, that he had appointed one *Fridelad* to be their governor, and strictly enjoined him to restrain thefts and robberies, which were very frequent among them. Hitherto *Theodoric* had governed with such prudence, equity, and moderation, that he deserved to be proposed as a pattern to all princes; but some think, that these, and his other eminent virtues, were sullied by his putting to death the celebrated *Boetius*, and his father-in-law *Symmachus*. *Boetius* was by rank a patrician, had been at least twice consul, and was descended from one of the most ancient and illustrious families of *Rome*; for some derive his pedigree from the celebrated *Manlius Torquatus*. His family had been ennobled in latter times by his great-grandfather *Anicius*, and by several other persons, who had discharged, with great applause, the first employments both civil and military. We are told, that strangers came to *Rome* from distant countries, on purpose to behold the splendor and magnificence of the *Anician* family, which had engrossed, if *Zosimus* is to be credited, the whole wealth of *Rome*^b. But *Boetius* was still more remarkable for his morals and learning, than for the splendor and antiquity of his family. In his younger years he studied at *Athens*, where the study of philosophy had been restored, and spent in that university near eighteen years. He examined there, with great application, the grounds of the different sects and opinions, and, so all the rest, preferred the sect of the *Peripatetics*, to which he intirely addicted himself. Till his time, the name of *Aristotle*, the founder of that sect, was scarce known to the *Latins*; but the works of that great philosopher being translated by him, and illustrated with learned comments in the *Latin* tongue, the *Peripatetic* philosophy began to be, and has been ever since, in great vogue. Besides *Aristotle*, *Boetius* translated into the *Latin* tongue several other *Greek* writers, viz.

^a LUCAS TUDENS. p. 68.

^b AGATH. p. 302.

^c ZOS. p. 245.

Pythagoras, Ptolemy the astronomer, *Nicomachus, Euclid, Plato, Archimedes, &c.* He ^a not only excelled all his contemporaries in profane learning, but likewise in the knowledge of the holy scriptures, and was, as we read in *Cassiodore*^c, the greatest divine, as well as the greatest philosopher, of his time. The book he wrote of the Trinity against *Nestorius* and *Eutyches* sufficiently shews how well he was versed in the scriptures. As for his morals, he is highly commended on that score by all the writers of those times. He was impartial in the administration of justice, and employed the great power he had at court in protecting the innocent, relieving the needy, and procuring the redress of such grievances, as gave just occasion of complaint. His espousing, against the great men at court, the cause of those who were unjustly accused or oppressed, gained him many enemies, who, in the end, com- ^b passed his ruin, by suborning three infamous men to accuse him of high treason. These were *Basilus, Optilio, and Gudentius*, of whom the former had been, for his misdemeanour, dismissed the king's service, and the other two, for their crimes, condemned to banishment. They accused *Boetius* of attempting to raise the power of the senate above that of the king, and preventing an informer from bringing an impeachment of treason against the senators. *Theodoric*, though well acquainted with the infamous characters of the accusers, yet upon their deposition, which is very surprising, ordered, without further inquiry, the person, of whom he had hitherto entertained the highest opinion, to be put under arrest, and soon after confiscated his estate, and banished him to *Pavia*, where he wrote his wonderful book *de consolatione*. ^c *Symmachus*, father-in-law to *Boetius*, 'a man of extraordinary parts and learning, and who had, with an unblemished character, discharged the first employments, was likewise banished to *Pavia*, as privy to the supposed treason of *Boetius*. They had not been long there, when, to the great surprize of all, an order came from *Ravenna* for their execution, their enemies at court having persuaded the king, who was stricken in years, and grown jealous of his power, that he would never be safe so long as they were alive. They were accordingly both beheaded in *Pavia*; and of the head of *Boetius* no less wonderful things are related by *Martianus*, who wrote his life, than those which every one must have read or heard of the famous *St. Dennis*. The cruel and unjust sentence was scarce put in execution, when *Theodoric*, ^d returning, in a manner, to himself, and reflecting on his rash conduct in an affair, that required the utmost circumspection, was affected with such sorrow, that his grief may be said to have equalled, if not exceeded, the injustice of the sentence. Not long after, the head of a large fish being served up while he was one night at supper, the injustice of the sentence he had lately pronounced occurring to his mind, he fancied the head of the fish to be the head of *Symmachus*, threatening him in a ghastly manner. Hereupon, seized with horror and amazement, he was carried from the table to his bed-chamber, where, reflecting anew on his cruelty and injustice to two such eminent and deserving men, he died a few days after of grief, this being the first and last wrong any of his subjects had ever received at his hands^d. Thus *Procopius*, condemning ^e *Theodoric* for the injustice of the sentence pronounced against those two great men, and at the same time commending him for the equity by which he had been governed on every other occasion, during the whole course of his long reign. His putting them to death, without making the necessary inquiries in a matter, that required the greatest circumspection, favours, without doubt, both of rashness and cruelty; but his sincere sorrow, and unfeigned repentance; are undeniable testimonies of his mercy and good-nature. However that be, it is certain, that *Italy* never enjoyed more happy days than under his government, not even in the height of its greatness. He is perhaps the only prince, who, having obtained a kingdom by force and violence, preserved it with mildness and moderation; which two virtues eminently appeared ^f in all his actions and councils, and rendered him no less dear to his new subjects, than if he had been of their own race, and born among them. Tho' he was himself an *Arian*, and had the power in his hands, yet he was so far from persecuting the orthodox, that, on the contrary, he favoured them no less than those of his own persuasion, extending his protection to both parties, and allowing to all full liberty to profess which of the two religions they pleased. Those therefore are greatly mistaken, who imagine, that *Boetius* was put to death on account of the book he wrote on the Trinity, and inscribed to his father-in-law *Symmachus*. *Jornandes* takes

Symmachus
and *Boetius*
beheaded at
Pavia.

Theodoric re-
pent.

^c *CASSIOD.* l. ii. ep. 4.

^d *PROCOR.* hist. Goth. p. 232.

- a no notice of what we have related above of the head of the fish, upon the authority of *Procopius*; but supposes *Theodoric*, stricken in years, to have died quietly. His death ^{He dies.} happened on the second of September in the year 526. the thirty-fourth of his reign, ^{Year after} and seventy-second of his age. He had three daughters by *Audefleda* the sister of *Clovis*, viz. *Ostrogotha*, *Theodogotba*, and *Amalasuntha*. *Ostrogotha* was married to *Sigismund* king of the *Burgundians*, by whom she had *Sigeric*, who, after his mother's decease, was put to death by his father *Sigismund* in the year 522. as we have related in the history of the *Burgundians*. *Theodogotba* was married to *Alaric II.* king of the *Visigoths*, who in 507. was killed in the battle of *Vouglé*, as we have related elsewhere¹; but he left a son behind him by *Theodogotba*, viz. *Amalaric*, whose dominions *Theodoric* governed to the day of his death, as guardian to the young prince his grandson. *Amalasuntha*, the youngest of the three princesses, was married in 515. to *Eutbaric Cilleca*². *Eutbaric* was the son of *Viteric*, and grandson of *Beremund*, descended from the family of the *Amali*, who, leaving *Scythia*, as we read in *Jornandes*, came into *Gaul*; and, being honourably entertained by *Vallia* king of the *Visigoths*, he settled there. His grandson *Eutbaric*, from *Gaul*, removed into *Spain*, where he became well known to the officers of *Theodoric*, who governed that kingdom during the minority of *Amalaric*. *Theodoric*, hearing him much commended, expressed a great desire to see him; which satisfaction he no sooner had, than, being taken with his engaging behaviour, and extraordinary qualifications, he resolved to give him in marriage his daughter *Amalasuntha*, the more as he was of *Theodoric's* own family, viz. that of the *Amali*, and consequently by his birth not unworthy of such a match. The nuptials were accordingly celebrated with the utmost magnificence, and two years after he was raised to the consulship by his father-in-law; on which occasion the emperor *Anastasius* presented him with the *tunica palmata*, and adopted him for his son; an honour which the late emperors used to confer on persons of distinguished merit. *Eutbaric* went to *Rome*, to enter there upon his office, and was received by the senate and people with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable, every rank and degree of people in that great metropolis striving to outdo each other in honouring one, whom they expected to see in a short time on the throne.
- c On the other hand, *Eutbaric* made it his chief study to oblige both the senate and people, discharging his office with great care, and diverting the city with most magnificent shows, having, for that effect, procured out of *Africa* such wild beasts, as had never before been seen at *Rome*. From *Rome* *Eutbaric* returned to his father-in-law at *Ravenna*, where, by his generosity, condescension, and obliging behaviour, he gained the affections both of the *Romans* and *Goths*. Every one expected to find in *Eutbaric* a second *Theodoric*; but, to the great grief of all, *Eutbaric* died before his father-in-law, leaving behind him a son, named *Athalaric*, ten years old; so that *Theodoric* had at his death two grandsons, the children of two of his daughters, viz. *Amalaric* king of the *Visigoths*, and *Athalaric* the son of *Amalasuntha*. To the former *Theodoric*, at his death, delivered up all the countries in *Gaul* and *Spain* belonging to the *Visigoths*, which he had governed, with a no less absolute sway than his own; ever since the death of *Alaric II.* The latter, though the son of the younger daughter, he appointed to succeed him in the kingdom of *Italy*, and in all his other dominions. *Theodoric*, says *Jornandes*, being stricken in years, and near his end, assembled the chief men among the *Goths*, and, in their presence, declared *Athalaric*, the son of *Eutbaric* by his daughter *Amalasuntha*, his successor, charging them to obey him as such, to respect the senate and people of *Rome*, and, above all, to cultivate the friendship of the emperor of the east. *Theodoric* died soon after; but as *Athalaric* was then only eight years old, as we read in *Procopius*³, or ten, as *Jornandes* will have it⁴, his mother *Amalasuntha* took upon her the administration, a prince's highly commended by all the writers of those times, for her piety, religion, wisdom, and learning. *Theodotus*, who succeeded *Athalaric*, and by whom she was afterwards put to death, in a letter which he wrote in her behalf to the *Roman* state, styles her the glory of princes, the flower and ornament of his family, the Solomon of women, a princess endued with every good quality becoming her sex, well versed in the Latin, in the Greek, and in many other languages, and thoroughly acquainted with every branch of learning⁵. However, she was not free from ambition; but strove by all means to

He declares
Athalaric his
heir.

Amalasuntha
takes upon her
the administration.

¹ Vide p. 585.
p. 143.

² Vide p. 575.
¹ *Procop. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 1.*

³ *Fest. Cassiod. ad ann. 515.*
⁴ *Jorn. ibid.*

⁵ *Jorn. de reb. Get.*
⁵ *Cassiod. l. x. ep. 4.*

maintain, even after her son's death, that power, which she had exercised during a his life, as we shall see anon.

She writes in
her son's name
to the emperor,
and to the se-
nate and people
of Rome.

Theodoric was no sooner dead, than *Amalasuntha*, mindful of his last advice, wrote in the young prince's name, both to *Justin* then emperor, and to the *Roman* senate, acquainting them with his accession to the throne. In the letter to the emperor, the young prince, after telling him, that his grandfather had, before his death, appointed him his heir and successor, goes on thus: "You formerly honoured in your august city my grandfather with the dignity of consul; you sent into *Italy* to my father the *tunica palmata*, and, to attach him the more to you, you adopted him for your son, tho' he was almost of the same age with yourself. The name of son will suit me better than it did him. I shall acknowledge so great a favour, by causing your name to be no less respected, and your authority to be no less obeyed, in my dominions, than they are in your own. With this view I have dispatched ambassadors to you, hoping you will honour me with your friendship, upon the same conditions upon which your glorious ancestors granted theirs to my grandfather." From this letter it is manifest, that the kings of the *Ostrogoths* acknowledged in the emperors of the east a superiority of rank, but not of jurisdiction; and consequently that *Zeno*, when he sent *Theodoric* to drive *Odoacer* out of *Italy*, renounced in his behalf whatever claim the empire of the east had to that country. At the same time *Amalasuntha* dispatched ambassadors to *Rome* with letters from the young prince, both to the senate and people, acquainting them, that his grandfather was dead; that, on his death-bed, he had declared him his heir and successor, and that, as such, he had been acknowledged both by the *Goths* and *Romans*, that is, the *Italians*, who had sworn obedience to him. He desires them to follow the example of his other subjects, telling them, that he had sent count *Sigismer*, and others, to receive their oath of allegiance, and at the same time to bind himself by the like tie to maintain sacred and inviolable all the rights, privileges and immunities, which had been granted them by his grandfather. He closes his letter to the senate, by encouraging them to ask boldly whatever they thought might any-ways contribute to the safety and splendour of their illustrious and venerable body. In his letter to the people, he promises to cherish the *Goths* and *Romans* alike, and to maintain them equally in the possession of their rights and privileges, making no other distinction, than that the *Goths* should undergo the toils and dangers of war, while the *Romans* enjoyed a profound peace within the walls of their own city. In the end of his letter he tells them, that, by the mutual oaths of the prince and people, the memory of *Trajan's* excellent government was renewed, who, at his entering upon the consulship, swore himself, and received the oaths of the senate and people ^P. He wrote two other letters, the one to *Tiberius præfetus prætorio* of *Gaul*, wherein he exhorts him, and his other subjects in that country, to pay the same respect and obedience to him, which they had paid to *Theodoric*, promising on his side, upon oath, to protect them in the full enjoyment of all their ancient rights and privileges (N). The other letter he wrote to *Victorinus* their bishop, intreating him to maintain, with his example and precepts, peace and tranquillity among those, whom Providence had committed to his care. He ends the letter with begging his prayers, that the Heavenly King would be pleased to con-

^Q Idem, l. viii. ep. 1.

^P Idem ibid. ep. 2, 3.

(N) The provinces in *Gaul*, belonging to the *Gothic* nation, were thus divided by *Theodoric* between *Athalaric* and *Amalaric*: the former had that part, which lay beyond the *Rhône* next to *Italy*; and the latter the countries lying on the opposite side of that river, and extending to the confines of the *Franks*, which we have described in the history of that people. *Athalaric* kept the city of *Arles*, which had belonged to the kingdom of *Alaric* II. and consequently ought to have been yielded to *Amalaric*. The other places, which he retained, had been taken by his grandfather *Theodoric*, at different times, from the *Burgundians*. Whether he gave the *Visigoths* an equivalent for that important place, formerly the seat of the *præfetus prætorio* of *Gaul*, we are not told. The *Rhône* being fixed as the bound-

ary between the two nations, it was agreed, that such of the *Ostrogoths* as had settled in the countries that were to be held by the *Visigoths*, and such of the *Visigoths* as had settled in the provinces that were to be kept by the *Ostrogoths*, should have full liberty, either to continue where they were, or to retire into the countries subject to their respective princes (1). Hence it appears, that the *Visigoths* and *Ostrogoths*, who were originally but two tribes of one and the same nation, were not yet blended together, though they had, for the space of twenty years and upwards, promiscuously inhabited the same country. It was in virtue of a particular convention, that they were to be deemed citizens of the tribe to which they did not originally belong, though they dwelt with their wives and families in the same country.

(1) *Procop. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 13.*

- a firm to him his earthly kingdoms, to humble his enemies, to forgive his sins, and to preserve and maintain what he had so bountifully and liberally bestowed upon his ancestors⁹. Such was the beginning of the reign of *Athalaric*, or rather of *Amalasuntha*. She retained the same form of government, the same laws, the same magistrates, and the same disposition of provinces, not suffering the least alteration to be made during the minority of her son, and governing with such prudence, that *Theodoric* was scarce missed, either by the *Goths* or *Romans*. Her chief care was to bring up her son after the *Roman* manner, and to have him, from his tender years, instructed by the ablest men of those times in religion, virtue, and learning. She was herself, as we have hinted above, well versed in all the branches of literature, and consequently a great encourager of learned men; as appears from the letters she wrote to the senate in the king's name, expostulating with them for neglecting to pay the public professors their salaries in due time, and commanding them to be paid punctually for the future. *Arts*, says she in her letter, *are nourished and maintained by rewards, and it is a heinous crime to defraud the teachers of youth of any thing due to them, who ought rather to be further encouraged by an augmentation of their stipend*. She orders them to be paid every half year, adding, that men of learning must not depend upon the humours of others; that they must not be diverted from their studies by solicitous thought; and that it is a shame, that players, whose business is only to please and amuse, should be so amply rewarded, and those neglected, who form the manners of youth, instruct them in the liberal sciences, and render them capable of serving their country¹. *Amalasuntha* was so far from invading the rights and properties of her subjects, that, on the contrary, she restored to the children of *Boetius* and *Symmachus* the estates, which had been confiscated in the preceding reign. She took great care to secure the *Romans* against the avarice and rapaciousness of the great men among the *Goths*, who, looking upon *Italy* as a conquered country, were for enriching themselves at the expence of the natives. To her nephew *Amalaric* she gave up that part of *Gaul*, which, with respect to *Italy*, lay beyond the *Rhône*; but retained what lay on the other side of that river. To the *Visigoths* she remitted the impositions, which had been laid on them by *Theodoric*, and restored the treasure of the kings of the *Visigoths*, which, by her father's order, had been conveyed from *Carcassone* to *Ravenna*². In the mean time *Justin* having taken his nephew *Justinian* for his partner in the empire, *Amalasuntha* no sooner heard of his promotion, than she dispatched ambassadors to the new emperor, congratulating him upon his accession to the imperial dignity, and begging a continuance of that friendship and alliance, which had long subsisted between the two nations³. What she desired was readily granted, as is manifest from the good understanding that passed between the two princes so long as *Athalaric* lived, and from the coins stamped at this time by the king of the *Ostrogoths*, on one side of which is to be seen the image of *Justinian*, and on the other the name of *Athalaric*⁴.
- c WHILE *Amalasuntha* was thus governing with the greatest justice, equity, and prudence, and taking all the necessary precautions for the safety of her son, and the welfare of his dominions, the great men among the *Goths*, not able to bear, that their young prince should be brought up after the *Roman* manner, began to exclaim against learning, as an enemy to valour; only fit for soft and effeminate princes, and no-ways becoming the king and leader of such an active and warlike nation as theirs. The princess took no notice of these groundless complaints; but having one day chastised her son, and he happening to go, with the tears yet in his eyes, into a room, where some *Gothic* lords were assembled, they took from thence occasion to complain more loudly of the queen, (so she is called by most writers) as if she designed to remove her son, and reign in her own right; they exclaimed, with more boldness than ever, against the learned education of the young prince; alleged the example of his grandfather, who, tho' utterly ignorant of letters (O), was a warlike and victorious prince; and

She governs with great prudence.

Her care for the education of her son.

She encourages learning.

Her justice and equity.

The Goths dissatisfied with Amalasuntha.

⁹ Idem ibid. ep. 4. 5. &c.

² Idem, l. ix. ep. 1.

³ Procop. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 13:

⁴ Cassiod. l. viii. ep. 1.

⁵ Vide BARON. ad ann. 527.

(O) We are told by some writers, that *Theodoric* was quite illiterate, nay, and incapable of learning either to read or write; that, notwithstanding the great pains he took, he could never learn to write
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the four first letters of his name, which he therefore caused to be cut on a thin plate of gold. This plate he placed on the paper, and his hand being directed by the letters, which were cut quite thro', signed his
B C

and concluded, that his grandson must be brought up in the same manner, if he ^a would be attended with the same fortune. They therefore desired *Amalasuntha* to dismiss the pedants her son had about him, and give him such companions of his own age, as might, by their conversation, make the customs of his nation familiar to him, and incline him to govern according to their own laws. This they demanded with so much warmth and importunity, that, apprehending greater evils, she thought it advisable to comply with their request. And now the youth, free from all restraint, and seduced by wicked companions, abandoned himself to all manner of lewdness and debauchery, adding to his other vices that of undutifulness to the best of mothers, and unnaturally abandoning her in a faction, which had the arrogance to command her to retire from court; but the queen, exerting her authority, picked out three of ^b the ringleaders of the party, and confined them to the most remote parts of *Italy*. These, maintaining a private correspondence with their friends and relations, never ceased, by their means, to stir up the people against her; insomuch that *Amalasuntha*, apprehending the faction might in the end prevail, wrote to the emperor *Justinian*, begging leave to take refuge in his dominions. The emperor readily complied with her request, offering her a noble palace at *Epidamnus*, now *Durazzo*, for her habitation; but the princess having in the mean time caused the three ringleaders of the faction, whom she had banished, to be put to death, and no new disturbances arising thereupon, she did not accept of the emperor's offer, but remained at *Ravenna*, governing the dominions of her son with her usual prudence and equity. ^c

She causes some of them to be put to death.

In the mean time *Atalaric* having, by his debaucheries and riotous life, contracted a lingering distemper, *Amalasuntha*, apprehending that, upon his death, she would be in great danger, most of the chief men among the *Goths* being highly incensed against her, resolved to save herself, by delivering *Italy* into the hands of the emperor; and accordingly began to treat with his ambassadors about the manner of putting her design in execution. But her measures were all defeated by the untimely death of her son, which happened in the eighth year of his reign, and threw her into new difficulties. Her design for delivering up *Italy* to *Justinian* was not yet ripe for execution; on the other hand, she was well apprised, that the *Goths* would not suffer her to reign after the death of her son, but would chuse a new king in his room. ^d Having therefore long deliberated with herself how she should act at so critical a conjuncture, she resolved in the end to raise one to the throne herself, hoping that the person, so advanced by her favour, would be contented with the title, and, out of gratitude, suffer her to enjoy the supreme power without controul. With this view, she cast her eyes on *Theodatus* her cousin, the son of *Amalafrida*, sister to king *Theodoric*, and consequently descended from the illustrious family of the *Amali*. He was a man of great learning, as appears from the letter, which *Amalasuntha* wrote to the senate, acquainting them with his accession to the throne, well skilled in the doctrine of *Plato*, thoroughly versed in ecclesiastic learning, and a perfect master of the *Latin* tongue ^e; but utterly unacquainted both with civil and military matters, timorous, indolent, covetous to the greatest degree, destitute of all honour and probity, and capable of committing the vilest actions, when pushed on by his own passions, or by those of others. He had lived hitherto in *Tuscany*, where he had large possessions; but, not satisfied with them, he had not only encroached upon his neighbours, but seized on some lands belonging to the crown. These *Amalasuntha* had obliged him to restore, and likewise restrained him, by her authority, from injuring his neighbours, which had rendered him her implacable enemy; insomuch that he privately agreed with the ambassadors, who had been sent from *Constantinople* to the bishop of *Rome*, to betray *Tuscany* to the emperor, upon his paying him a cer-

She designs to deliver up Italy to Justinian.

Atalaric dies. Year after Christ 533.

Amalasuntha takes Theodatus for her colleague.

^w CASSIODOR. l. x. ep. 3.

his name (2). But this is no-ways consistent with what we read in *Ennodius*, viz. that *Theodoric* was brought up, not among the barbarians, but in the heart of *Greece*, which, in return for the pains she had taken to instruct him, promised herself his protection; that she was overjoyed to see the progress he made when yet a child; that his predecessors had preferred ignorance to learning; but that he, agreeable to his polite education, had shewed himself the

patron and encourager of letters; that, under him, ingenuity flourished in all its branches; and that he not only admired and rewarded it in others, but thought it an ornament worthy of himself. Thus *Ennodius*, in the panegyric he pronounced before *Theodoric* (3), which would have been deemed a satire, rather than a panegyric, had *Theodoric* been that illiterate prince he is described in the abstracts of *Valesius*.

(2) *Vales.* excerpt. p. 669.

(3) *Ennod.* in panegyric. *Theod.* p. 290.

a tain sum, and raising him to the dignity of a senator. However, *Amalasuntha*, imagining that so signal a favour, as her advancing him to the throne, would reconcile him to her, offered to take him for her colleague, on condition he suffered her to enjoy and exercise her former power. This *Theodatus* promised upon oath to do, and was thereupon declared by the queen her colleague^a. The letters, that were written on this occasion to the *Roman* senate by the queen, in commendation of *Theodatus*, and by *Theodatus*, in commendation of the queen, are still to be seen in *Cassiodore*^b. He acknowledges himself intirely indebted to her for his new dignity, and, extolling her kindness to him, adds, that he is at a loss how to make a suitable return for such a high and undeserved favour. But the unhappy princess
b was soon sensible of her mistake in assuming for her colleague a person, who had been formerly her declared enemy, and was destitute, as she must have known, of all honour and probity. For he had scarce mounted the throne, when, unmindful of the honours she had done him, and the promises he had made, and solemnly confirmed with an oath, he suffered himself to be wholly governed by the friends and relations of those, who, by the princess, had been put to death for their crimes; and, because she took the liberty to remind him of what he had promised, he caused her to be conveyed from *Ravenna* into *Tuscany*, and there confined her to an island in the middle of the lake of *Bolsena*. As he had reason to believe, that the emperor, who had a great value and regard for *Amalasuntha*, would resent this treatment, he
c obliged her to write to him, that no injury or injustice had been done her. This letter he sent to *Constantinople*, with one which he wrote himself, filled with heavy complaints against *Amalasuntha*. The emperor was so far from giving credit to what *Theodatus* urged against her, that he openly espoused her cause, and wrote a most affectionate letter to her, comforting her in her distress, and assuring her of his protection. But, before the letter reached her, the unhappy princess was, with the consent, if not by the order of *Theodatus*, barbarously strangled in the bath by the friends of those, whom, in the reign of her son, she had deservedly put to death for raising disturbances in the state. Some writers tell us, that the unhappy queen was dispatched by *Theodatus* at the instigation of the empress *Theodora*, who, jealous of
d the love the emperor shewed her, began to apprehend he might one day forsake her for the queen of the *Goths*^c. Be that as it will, *Justinian*, highly provoked against *Theodatus* for the murder of a person for whom he had the greatest esteem and veneration, and being at the same time desirous of reuniting *Italy* to the empire, resolved to make war upon the *Goths*, his troops being just then returned from *Africa*, which they had reduced by driving from thence the *Vandals*.

She is confined by him to an island in the lake of Bolsena.

And there put to death. Year after Christ 534.

Justinian resolves to make war on the Goths.

Justinian, to facilitate the enterprize, used his utmost endeavours to induce the *Franks* to join him, acquainting them with the motives that had prompted him to undertake that war. The *Goths*, says he in the letter which he wrote to their princes, have not only seized on *Italy*, which belongs to us, but, without the least provocation, offered us such insults as we cannot in honour dissemble. This is what induces us to take arms against them; and it is but just, that you should lend us what assistance you can against a nation that bears as great enmity to you as to us, the more as we are both of the same persuasion, and equally abhor the doctrine of *Arius*, which they profess^a. To the letter the emperor added, says *Procopius*, a large sum, promising to the princes of the *Franks*, especially to *Theodebert*, a considerable subsidy, to be paid them as soon as they should begin hostilities^b. The *Franks* received the money, and, entering into an alliance with the emperor, promised to assist him to the utmost of their power; but, instead of performing their promise, while *Justinian*'s arms were employed against the *Goths*, *Theodebert*, who was deemed the head of the royal
e family of the *Franks*, being the son of *Theodoric*, or, as they call him, *Tbierri*, the eldest son of *Clovis*, seized on several cities in *Liguria*, on the *Alpes Cottiae*, and great part of the province of *Venice*, for himself. Of this treachery *Justinian* afterwards complained by his ambassador *Leontius* to *Theodebald*, the son and successor of *Theodebert*^c (P). But to leave that treacherous nation, and return to *Justinian*: Having resolved

The treachery of the Franks.

^a JOAN. rer. Get. p. 143. PROCOPI. l. i. c. 4. anecdot. p. 71. ^b Idem ibid. l. i. c. 5.

^c CASSIODOR. l. x. ep. 3. & 4. ^d Idem ibid. ^e Idem, l. iv. c. 24.

^f PROCOPI.

(P) *Justinian*, says *Procopius*, no sooner received news of the death of *Theodebald*, who, without any regard to his alliance with the *Romans*, had seized

on several towns in *Tuscany*, on the *Alpes Cottiae*, and on part of *Liguria*, than he dispatched the senator *Leontius* to *Theodebert*, the son and successor of the deceased

Sicily reduced
by Belisarius.
Year after
Christ 535.

resolved to make war upon the *Goths*, and drive them, if possible, out of *Italy*, he named *Mundus* and *Belisarius* for his generals. *Mundus*, then commander of the troops in *Illyricum*, was ordered to march into *Dalmatia*, which was subject to the *Goths*, and attempt the reduction of *Salona*, the better to open a passage into *Italy*. *Belisarius* was to make a descent upon *Sicily*; for which purpose a fleet was equipped, on board of which were four thousand legionaries, three thousand *Isaurians*, three hundred *Mauritanians*, and two hundred *Hunns*. *Belisarius* was vested with the supreme command, and an absolute authority. His instructions were to pretend a voyage to *Carthage*, but to make an attempt upon *Sicily*, and, if he thought he could succeed in the attempt, to land there, otherwise to sail directly for *Africa*, without discovering his intentions. *Mundus*, without much ado, made himself master of *Salona*; and *Belisarius*, landing without opposition in *Sicily*, reduced that island with more expedition than he himself expected. *Palermo* held out for some time, the *Goths*, who depended upon the strength of the place, which was deemed impregnable by land, defending it with great resolution; but *Belisarius* attacking it by sea, the garrison was forced to surrender upon articles; so that *Belisarius* entered the city on the last of *December* of the present year 535. *Belisarius*, now master of *Sicily*, from *Messina*, without loss of time, passed over to *Reggio*, which opened its gates to him. From *Reggio* he pursued his march to *Rome*, the provinces of *Abrutum*, *Lucania*, *Puglia*, *Calabria*, and *Samnium*, readily submitting to him. The city of *Naples* endured a siege; but *Belisarius's* men having entered it through an aqueduct, it was in the end taken and plundered ^a (Q).

Theodatus,

^a Idem ibid.

deceased king, to persuade him to join the *Romans* against the *Ostrogoths*, and to evacuate the places in *Italy*, which the *Franks* had taken, and still held, in defiance of the treaty concluded between them and the emperor. *Leontius*, in the audience he had of that prince, addressed him thus: There is no prince, to whom unforeseen misfortunes have not happened, and disappointments, which he did not expect; but the conduct of the *Franks* towards the *Romans* is perhaps surprising beyond any thing that ever happened before. It is well known, that the emperor no sooner resolved to make war on the *Goths*, than he imparted his resolution to your nation. He did not take the field till he had entered into an alliance with your predecessor, and engaged him by a large sum, which was paid before-hand, to act, in concert with him, against the *Goths*, as a common enemy. But he, instead of fulfilling his engagements, acted, to the great surprize of the emperor, more like an enemy than an ally, seizing on several countries belonging to the empire, to which he had not the least claim. I do not mention this, added the ambassador, to reproach your nation with what is past, but to the end that, by a quite contrary conduct, you may, for the future, deserve to be ranked amongst our true friends and allies (1). *Justinian* had but too much reason to complain of the *Franks*, but perhaps not more than other princes, who, since his time, have relied on their friendship.

(Q.) The city of *Naples* held out, as we read in *Procopius*, twenty days. The castle in the suburbs submitted upon terms, as soon as *Belisarius* appeared with his army before it. But *Theodatus* having taken care to put a strong garrison into the city, and they appearing resolved to defend it to the utmost, *Belisarius*, apprehending the difficulty of the enterprize, attempted first to gain them by the offer of most advantageous and honourable terms. They sent out one *Stephanus* to treat with the *Roman* general, who, returning into the city, acquainted the citizens with the conditions offered them by *Belisarius*, and, with many arguments, endeavoured to persuade them not to reject such offers. But *Passtor* and *Aclepiodotus*, two orators greatly attached to, and perhaps well paid by, the *Goths*, in order to cross and defeat

the treaty, advised the inhabitants to demand such terms, as they imagined *Belisarius* would never grant. But the general, contrary to their expectation, complying with their request, and the citizens being thereupon ready to open their gates to the *Romans*, the two orators, with their deluding eloquence, persuaded them to change their resolution, since it was uncertain, said they, which side might in the end prevail; and *Belisarius* could not blame them for their fidelity, but, on the contrary, if they thus tamely submitted, would despise them as traitors and cowards, for abandoning and betraying their old friends. *Belisarius*, finding he could by no offers prevail upon them to submit, began to batter the city, and made several assaults; but was constantly repulsed with great loss. In order to oblige them by other means to surrender, he cut the great aqueduct, which supplied the city with water; but this inconvenience was easily remedied by the wells within, which sufficiently furnished them with water. Hereupon *Belisarius*, finding the siege would continue longer than he expected, and oblige him to attack *Rome* in the winter, resolved to abandon the enterprize, and had already ordered his army to begin their march; when an *Isaurian*, curiously viewing the structure of the aqueduct, observed, that if a passage, which was cut through a rock, were but a little enlarged, some soldiers might easily get through it, and surprise the city. He acquainted the general with his observation, who, being highly pleased with it, ordered some *Isaurians* to widen the passage, which they did by firing the rock, to avoid by that means all noise. When every thing was ready, *Belisarius* sent for *Stephanus*, whom we have mentioned above, told him, that he was sure he should, in a very short time, be master of the city, and therefore advised him to persuade his fellow-citizens to prevent, by a timely submission, the impending evils. But the inhabitants giving no ear to what *Stephanus* said, and desiring the *Romans* from the walls, *Belisarius* ordered *Magnum*, general of the horse, and *Ennes*, commander of the *Isaurians*, to enter the aqueduct in the dead of the night with about six hundred men, some lights, and two trumpets, to strike terror into the city, and give the

(1) *Procop. bell. Goth. l. iv. c. 24.*

- a** *Theodatus*, who was an utter stranger to military affairs, and had a great aversion to war, alarmed at the unexpected success of the emperor's arms, began under-hand to treat of a peace with an ambassador sent by the emperor for that purpose. In a private conference with him, the king agreed to renounce all pretensions to the island of *Sicily*, to send the emperor yearly a crown of gold weighing three hundred pounds, to supply him with three thousand men when required, to put no senator or ecclesiastic to death, or confiscate their estates, without the emperor's consent, nor to advance any to the dignity of senator or patrician, but to petition him to confer such honours on those who deserved them. In all acclamations, *Justinian's* name was to be first mentioned. Whenever a statue was erected to *Theodatus*, a statue was to be likewise erected to the emperor, and placed on the right-hand. No coin was to be stamped with the image of *Theodatus* alone, but that also of *Justinian*, which was always to hold the most honourable place. These proposals, which plainly betrayed the meanness of his spirit, were sent by *Theodatus* to *Constantinople*. But apprehending the emperor, not satisfied with them, might pursue the war, he dispatched an express to the ambassador, now as far on his journey as *Albania*, recalling him for farther orders and instructions. These were to resign the kingdom to *Justinian*, and content himself with a pension suitable to his quality; but he obliged both the emperor's ambassador, and *Agapetus* bishop of *Rome*, whom he sent on his own behalf, to bind themselves by a solemn oath not to mention this proposal, till they found the emperor would not accept of the former. The emperor rejected, as was expected, the first proposals with scorn; whereupon the ambassadors shewed him the second signed by the king, who, in his letter to the emperor, told him, among other things, that, being unacquainted with war, and addicted to the study of philosophy, he preferred his quiet to a kingdom. *Justinian*, transported with joy, and imagining the war already ended, answered the king in a most obliging manner, extolling his wisdom, and adding to what he demanded the greatest honours of the empire. The agreement being confirmed by mutual oaths, lands were assigned to *Theodatus* out of the emperor's domain, and orders dispatched to *Belisarius* to take possession of *Italy* in his name. In the mean time a body of *Goths* entering *Dalmatia*, with a design to recover *Salonæ*, *Mundus* sent out his son, with a small party, to observe their motions; but the youth, unadvisedly engaging a detachment from their army far superior in number to his own, was slain, and most of his men cut in pieces. To revenge the death of his son, *Mundus* marched against the enemy with all the forces under his command, engaged them, and put them to flight; but his men falling into confusion in the pursuit, the *Goths*, facing unexpectedly about, renewed the fight, killed *Mundus* himself, and in their turn put the *Romans* to flight, disheartened with the death of their leader. Upon this defeat, the *Romans*, abandoning *Salonæ*, and all *Dalmatia*, returned home; which *Theodatus* no sooner understood, than, elated with so small an advantage, he refused with great haughtiness to comply with the articles of the treaty, which he had lately signed; nay, because the emperor's ambassador, by name *Peter*, a man of great address and experience, expostulated with him for his breach of faith, he told him, that it was not an unusual thing to put even ambassadors to death, when they did not shew that respect, which is due to crowned heads. The ambassador answered, That it was his duty to execute his master's orders, and that he would utter what he had been enjoined to say, whether pleasing or displeasing. Hereupon *Theodatus* put a strict guard upon the ambassador; at which *Justinian* being

Theodatus proposes terms for an accommodation.

He offers to resign the kingdom to Justinian.

The Romans defeated, and Dalmatia recovered by the Goths.

general notice of their success. These, having got into the city, in spite of the many difficulties they met with, advanced silently to the walls; and having killed the guards on the north side, where *Belisarius* stood with his men ready for the attack, they gave the signal with their trumpets; which *Belisarius* hearing, ordered part of his men to scale the walls, and the rest to approach the gates, which being opened to them by those who got over the walls, the whole army entered, and made themselves masters of the city. Great slaughter was made at first of the unhappy inhabitants by the *Massegetes*, who, without regard to sex, age or condition, put all to the sword they met with, not sparing even those, who had taken sanctuary in the churches;

but *Belisarius*, riding about, restrained their rage, giving them leave to seize on the effects, but commanding them to spare the lives, of the inhabitants. He caused all those, who had been taken prisoners, to be set at liberty; and taking the Gothic garrison, consisting of eight hundred men, into the emperor's pay, he incorporated them among his own troops (1). *Belisarius* is highly commended by *Procopius* for his clemency towards the citizens, though others, but writers of no great authority, tell us, that he put most of the citizens to the sword; that he neither spared churches, priests, nor holy virgins; and that he was severely reprimanded for his cruelty by *Sylvester* bishop of *Rome* (3).

(1) *Idem*, l. i. c. 10.

(3) *Vide Baron. ad ann. 534. & 536.*

The Goths
anew driven
out of Dalmatia.

highly provoked, he dispatched *Constantianus*, an officer of great valour and experience, into *Illyricum*, with orders to raise forces there, and enter *Dalmatia*. At the same time he wrote to *Belisarius*, commanding him to pursue the war with the utmost vigour. *Constantianus*, having, pursuant to his orders, raised an army with great expedition in *Illyricum*, entered *Dalmatia*, made himself master of *Salona*, and obliged the *Goths*, with their general, by name *Grypus*, to abandon that province. As for *Belisarius*, he now drew near to *Rome*, having reduced all the provinces that compose the present kingdom of *Naples*. Hereupon the chief men among the *Goths*, finding their king took no one step to avert the impending ruin of their nation, assembled without his consent; and, not despairing of being able to conclude a peace with *Belisarius*, they dispatched ambassadors to him, representing the injustice of the war, the just claim they had to *Italy*, and the moderation and equity with which they had hitherto governed that country. As the ambassadors laid great stress on *Theodoric's* taking *Italy*, not from the *Romans*, but from the barbarians, to whom it was become a prey, and on their king's being prompted and encouraged to that enterprize by the emperor himself, *Belisarius*, disliking the conditions they offered, answered surlily, That *Theodoric* had been sent indeed by *Zeno* to rescue *Italy* out of the hands of the barbarians, but not to keep it for himself, since it was the same thing to the emperor, so long as it was not restored to the empire, whether it was held by the *Goths* or the *Heruli*: that whoever detains the goods, that are not his own, against the will of the owner, is no less guilty, than he who takes them by force. He concluded, that he would hearken to no terms, nor sheath his sword, till *Italy* was reunited to the empire, to which it belonged.

Theodatus deposed, and Vitiges chosen in his room.

THE *Goths*, finding *Belisarius* unalterably bent upon driving them out of *Italy*, and, on the other hand, amazed at the cowardice and stupidity of their prince, who made no warlike preparations, as if he either intended to betray *Italy* to the emperor, or, despairing of success, had laid aside all thoughts of defending it, assembled at *Regeta*, a place about thirty-five miles from *Rome*, and having there, with one consent, deposed *Theodatus*, chose and proclaimed *Vitiges* king in his room. *Vitiges* was not descended from an illustrious family among the *Goths*; but had distinguished himself by his valour in several wars, especially in that, which *Theodoric* had waged with the *Gepidæ*. *Jornandes* writes, that he had been formerly armour-bearer to *Theodoric*. Upon his accession to the throne, he married *Matefuenta*, the daughter of *Amalasuntha*, and grand-daughter of *Theodoric*, who, despising him on account of his birth, though in every other respect worthy of the crown, is said to have maintained a private correspondence with the *Romans*, and was even suspected of attempting to betray him into their hands; for she had been averse to the match from the very beginning, and was, in a manner, forced by the king to give her consent. *Theodatus*, who was then at *Rome*, hearing the *Goths* had chosen a new king, fled from thence towards *Ravenna*. But *Vitiges* dispatched one *Optaris* after him, with orders to bring him back dead or alive. *Optaris* had been highly disoblinded by him, and therefore, pursuing him with great expedition, he soon overtook him, and, putting him to death, brought back his head to the new king. Such was the end of this cowardly, ungrateful, and covetous prince, after he had reigned about three years. Several of his coins have reached our times, on which he is called *Theodatus*, *Theodatus*, and *Theodabathus*. He left a son, by name *Theudegiclus*, whom *Vitiges* caused to be first imprisoned, and afterwards to be put to death. And now the new king, having no competitor, applied himself wholly to the re-establishing of the affairs of the *Goths*. He began with writing a circular letter, wherein he exhorted his countrymen to exert their antient courage, and defend with their usual bravery, against all unjust invaders, the countries which belonged to them by right of conquest. From the place where he was chosen, he marched to *Rome*; but not thinking himself strong enough to defend that city against *Belisarius*, who was marching towards it, he resolved to remove to *Ravenna*, where he might, with more ease, reinforce his army, and make the necessary preparations for taking the field. Upon his departure, he obliged the pope, the senate, and the people, to take an oath of fidelity; and then, leaving four thousand *Goths* for the defence of the city, he set out for *Ravenna* with several senators, whom he took with him as hostages for the rest. Being arrived at *Ravenna*, he assembled the *Goths* from all parts, and, having raised a considerable army, he

Theodatus murdered. Year after Christ 537.

^a PROCOF. l. i. c. 7, 8, 9.

^f JORN. p. 144.

^b PROCOF. l. ii. c. 10.

^c Idem, l. i. c. 11.

^d Vide BARON. ad ann. 534, 537. BANDUR. p. 404.

encamped

a encamped under the walls of that city. In the mean time *Belisarius*, having garrisoned *Naples*, *Cumæ*, and the other strong places in *Campania*, approached *Rome*. As he drew near, the inhabitants, dreading the treatment which the *Neapolitans* were said to have met with, and awed by the reputation of so renowned a general, resolved, notwithstanding the oath they had so lately taken, to open their gates to the emperor's army. Accordingly, they dispatched one *Fidelius* to invite *Belisarius* to come and take possession of their city, assuring him, that he should meet with no opposition. *Belisarius* no sooner received this invitation, than he advanced to the gates of the city; which being opened to him, he entered *Rome* on the ninth or tenth of December of the year 537. and taking possession of it in the emperor's name, reunited

b it to the empire, sixty years after it had been taken by *Odoacer*, and thirty-four after it had submitted to *Theodoric*. The Gothic garrison, finding they could not make head at the same time against the emperor's army and the citizens, retired by the *Porta Flaminia*, while *Belisarius* entered by the *Porta Asinaria*. *Leudaris*, governor of the city, who staid behind, was sent, together with the keys, to the emperor. *Belisarius*, now master of the city, applied himself to the repairing of the walls and other fortifications, filled the granaries with corn, which he caused to be brought from *Sicily*, and stored the place with all manner of provisions, as if he were preparing against a siege; which gave no small uneasiness to the inhabitants, who chose rather, that their city should lie open to every invader, than be liable to the many

c miseries and calamities attending a siege. While *Belisarius* was thus employed at *Rome*, *Pitzas*, governor of *Samnium*, submitting to him, delivered up great part of that country, with the city of *Benevento*. Other cities, viz. *Narnia*, *Spoleto*, and *Perusia*, revolting from the *Goths*, received Roman garrisons, as did most cities in *Tuscany* ^{Several other cities submit to him.}.

Belisarius enters Rome.

Several other cities submit to him.

Vitiges raises a powerful army.

He gains over the Franks.

Vitiges marches to Rome.

In the mean time *Vitiges* lay not idle at *Ravenna*, but, having raised an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, resolved to march directly to *Rome*, and engage *Belisarius*, or, if he declined engaging, to lay siege to the city. But apprehending that the *Franks*, who were in confederacy with the emperor, might fall upon him at the same time, with the consent and approbation of the great men among the *Goths*,

d he dispatched ambassadors to their three kings, *Theodebert*, *Childebert*, and *Clotarius*, offering to yield to them whatever the *Ostrogoths* held in *Gaul*, and besides to pay them a considerable sum, provided they joined him against the emperor. The *Franks*, notwithstanding their alliance with *Justinian*, hearkened with their usual treachery to the proposal, and signed the treaty, the articles whereof were immediately executed by *Vitiges*, who paid them the sum agreed on, and ordered *Martias*, who commanded a chosen body of *Ostrogoths* in *Gaul*, to deliver up to the *Franks* the cities he held there, and return with the forces under his command into *Italy*. The three princes divided equally among them both the money and the cities yielded to them by the *Ostrogoths*. But when they were to execute on their side the articles of the

e agreement, they declared, that the engagements they had lately entered into with *Justinian* not allowing them to make open war upon the *Romans*, they could not, by any means, send an army of *Franks* to the assistance of the *Ostrogoths*; but they would cause a body of troops, raised in the countries which they had subdued, to join them. Accordingly they sent, not immediately, but the following year, ten thousand *Burgundians*, subdued by them a few years before, who, upon their entering *Italy*, declared, pursuant to their private instructions, that they came of their own accord, without so much as asking leave of the kings of the *Franks*, to whom they paid no regard ¹. Thus early the *Franks* began to sport with the most solemn treaties, and elude them with quibbles and equivocations, as their descendants are

f well known to do to this day. *Vitiges* was no sooner joined by *Martias*, and the troops returned from *Gaul*, than he began his march to *Rome*, and pursued it with great expedition, not attempting to reduce any of the towns on the road, which, he knew, were well provided and fortified. *Belisarius*, being informed of his march, dispatched messengers to *Constantianus* in *Tuscany*, and to *Bessas*, by nation a *Goth*, but of the emperor's party, in *Umbria*, ordering them to join him with all possible expedition, with the troops under their command; for his army consisted only of five thousand men, the rest being employed in garrisoning the many towns that had submitted. At the same time he wrote to the emperor, acquainting him with the danger he was

¹ PROCOPIUS, l. i. c. 15.

² Idem, l. iii. c. 13. & l. ii. c. 12.

A bloody encounter between him and Belisarius.

Rome besieged by Vitiges.

in, and pressing him to send into *Italy*, without loss of time, the necessary supplies (R). *Constantianus* joined him, pursuant to his orders, and soon after *Belisarius*, who, falling in with part of the enemy's vanguard, killed a considerable number of them, and put the rest to flight. *Belisarius* had built a fort upon a bridge about a mile from *Rome*, and placed a strong garrison in it, to dispute the passage with the enemy; but the garrison, seized with a panic at the approach of so numerous an army, abandoned their post in the night, and fled into *Campania*; so that *Vitiges* early next morning passed over great part of his army, and marched on, without opposition, till he was met by *Belisarius*, who, knowing nothing of what had happened, came very early, attended by a thousand horse, to view the ground near the bridge. He was greatly surprised, when he beheld the enemy marching up against him. However, lest he should heighten their courage by his flight or retreat, he stood his ground, and received the enemy at the head of his small body, exposing himself, without his usual prudence and discretion, to the greatest dangers. Had he been killed, *Rome* must have fallen; and therefore he is deservedly blamed for thus exposing his own person, since on him the safety of all depended; but this perhaps is the only occasion, on which his conduct favoured of rashness and temerity. Being known by some fugitives, and discovered to the enemy, they all aimed at him alone, and directed their whole force against him; which made his own men the more solicitous to defend him; so that the whole contest was, for some time, about his person. In the end the *Goths* were driven back to their camp, which the *Romans* attempted to force; but they met there with such a vigorous resistance, that they soon abandoned the enterprise, and retired with precipitation to a neighbouring eminence, whence they were forced down by the enemy, put to flight, and pursued to the very gates of the city. Here they were in greater danger than ever; for those within, fearing the enemy should, in that confusion, enter with them, refused to admit them. The general himself cried out earnestly to them, telling them who he was, and commanding them to open the gates; but as they had been informed by those who first fled, that he was slain, and they could not distinguish him, his face being covered with blood and dust, they gave no ear to what he said. In this extremity, having encouraged his men, who were now driven into a narrow compass, to make a last effort, he put himself at their head, and attacked the enemy with such fury, that the *Goths*, imagining fresh troops were sallying out upon them, began to give ground, and, being vigorously pushed by *Belisarius*, retired in the end to their camp. Upon their retreat, *Belisarius*, not thinking it adviseable to pursue them, entered the city, where he was received with loud acclamations of joy. A few days after, *Vitiges*, approaching the city, invested it on all sides, and, in order to distress the garrison and inhabitants for want of water, ordered the aqueducts, which had been built by the *Roman* emperors at an immense charge, to be broken down. On the other hand, *Belisarius* omitted nothing for the defence of the city: the useless multitude he sent out; took care to have those, who remained, supplied with all necessaries; to prevent tumults, listed a great number of artificers, who, together with his soldiers, were to watch night and day on the ramparts; placed *Moors* in the night, with dogs, round the ditch, to give the alarm when the enemy approached; fortified the aqueducts where they opened into the city, &c. The citizens of *Rome*, concluding from thence, that *Belisarius*

(R) His letter to the emperor was couched in the following terms: "I have left *Sicily*, and, landing in *Italy*, pursuant to your orders, with the army under my command, have reduced great part of that country, and reunited *Rome* itself to your empire. But as I have been obliged to leave numerous garrisons in the many strong places that have submitted to your arms, the army is reduced to five thousand; whereas the enemy is advancing full march against us with an army an hundred and fifty thousand strong. I therefore earnestly intreat you to cause, with all convenient speed, such supplies of men and arms to be sent to us, as may enable us to face so powerful an enemy. If they prevail, we must abandon *Italy* to them, and the city of *Rome*, which, above all others, has exerted its zeal for your majesty's service. At the

approach of your army, the citizens, with great joy, returned to their duty, at the risk of their lives and fortunes. To abandon them therefore to the mercy of a provoked enemy, would be highly ungrateful; and, on the other hand, it is a difficult task, if not altogether impossible, to defend so large a city against such a powerful army without a numerous garrison. As for myself, I am indebted to your majesty for my life, and therefore shall not suffer myself to be driven from hence while alive; but the death of *Belisarius* will no ways redound to your glory." Upon the receipt of this letter, the emperor ordered *Valerianus* and *Martinus* to assemble, with all possible expedition, a body of troops to be transported into *Italy*; and, in his answer to *Belisarius*, assured him, that he should, in a short time, receive the necessary supplies (4).

- a *farius* was resolved to hold out to the last extremity, began to assemble in a tumultuous manner, and rail at the general as one, who, without the least regard to the public calamities, was obstinately bent upon defending a place no-ways tenable. *Vitiges*, being acquainted with the discontent and complaints of the citizens, to heighten them, and drive the inhabitants, if possible, to an open rebellion, dispatched ambassadors to the senate, assuring them of his favour and protection, and at the same time offering a safe retreat to *Belisarius*, whom the ambassadors, in the presence of the senate, upbraided with temerity and presumption. The senate and people would have willingly hearkened to the king's proposals; but, being awed by the presence of *Belisarius*, they dared not express their real sentiments; so that the ambassadors
- b were dismissed without an answer. Hereupon *Vitiges* resolved to pursue the siege with the utmost vigour; which he did accordingly, shewing himself an able commander, both in the contriving of his military engines, and his disposing the attacks. *Belisarius* made a no less vigorous defence, repulsing the enemy in their repeated attacks, and sallying frequently out upon them with such success, that, in seven months time, *Vitiges* is said to have lost above forty thousand men; which provoked and incensed him to such a degree, that he caused the *Roman* senators to be put to death, whom, in the beginning of the war, he had carried with him to *Ravenna*. In the mean time a small, but seasonable supply of sixteen hundred horse arrived from the emperor, consisting of *Hunns*, *Slavonians*, and *Antæ* dwelling beyond the *Danube*.
- c As these were all archers on horseback, they did great execution; for we are told, that, in three sallies, under the conduct of *Belisarius* and their two leaders *Martinus* and *Valerianus*, they killed about four thousand *Goths*. The *Romans*, elated with this success, were for putting the whole to the issue of a general engagement. This *Belisarius* opposed with all the arguments his reason and long experience could suggest; but he was in the end obliged, by the importunities both of the soldiers and citizens, to gratify them, and venture a battle. Having therefore exhorted them to render successful, by their valour, that scheme, which he had been put upon by their forwardness, he marched out with his small army, and fell upon the *Goths* with such resolution, that the *Romans* at first promised themselves certain victory; but being
- d in the end overpowered with numbers, they were obliged to betake themselves to a precipitous flight. The *Romans* lost on this occasion several brave officers, and among the rest *Principius* and *Tarmutus*, of whom the former was killed in the field of battle; and the latter, being rescued out of the enemy's hands by his brother *Ennes*, and carried by his men into the city on a target, died two days after of his wounds. The *Romans*, having obliged *Belisarius* to give the enemy battle, are defeated.
- e The *Romans*, now satisfied by their own experience, that it was not safe to engage the enemy's whole army, contented themselves with sallying out upon them in small parties, in which sallies they were generally attended with success, cutting in pieces great numbers of the aggressors. In the mean time *Belisarius* received advice, that a supply of money to pay the army was already landed in *Italy*. In order therefore to get it conveyed safe into the city, he marched out at the head of his army, as if he designed to try the fortune of a second battle. Hereupon the *Goths*, uniting into one body, abandoned the place, through which he had appointed the treasure and its convoy to pass; by which means it got safe into the city. By this stratagem one evil was successfully removed; but the besieged laboured under others more fatal and pernicious, a famine and plague, which made a dreadful havock in the city; in-
Rome afflicted with a famine and plague. so much that the citizens, no longer able to bear their calamities and misfortunes, would have forced the *Roman* general to venture a second battle, had he not, with great confidence, assured them, that he daily expected great supplies from the emperor; that a vast army was on full march to join him; that a mighty fleet was already
- f arrived, such a fleet as no *Roman* eye had ever beheld; for it covered the shores of *Campania*, and the *Ionian* gulf. To give weight and authority to what he said, he dispatched *Procopius* the historian to *Naples*, with orders to head the troops, which he pretended to be already arrived in that city: and truly a considerable supply did
Belisarius receives supplies from the emperor. at length arrive at *Naples*, at *Otranto*, and other ports, viz. three thousand *Ipsaurians*, eight hundred *Thracian* horse, and thirteen hundred horse of other nations. These, in their march through *Campania*, were joined by five hundred men newly raised in that country, and, marching close to the shore, arrived at *Ostia*, whence they marched to *Rome*, which they entered by the *Ostian* gate, while the enemy's forces were employed against *Belisarius*, who had sallied out with the greatest part of the garrison at the *Flaminian* gate on the opposite side of the city, to give his supplies an opportunity
- g

The deplorable
condition of the
Goths.

Rimini taken
by the Romans.

The Goths
raise the siege
of Rome.
Year after
Christ 538.

Vitiges besieges
Rimini.

The Romans
take Milan.

Narſes arrives
in Italy with
freſh ſupplies.

nity of entering without loſs or oppoſition. The *Goths* hearing of the arrival of a theſe troops, and their numbers being ſaid to be far greater than they really were, as is uſual on ſuch occasions, they began to deſpair of ever being able to maſter the city, the more as they laboured under as great hardſhips as the beſieged themſelves, the famine and plague making a dreadful havock in their army, which was now greatly reduced. They therefore began now to think of abandoning the enterprize, and retreating upon the beſt terms they could obtain. Accordingly, they ſent three deputies into the city to treat with *Belifarius*; but the only thing they could obtain, was a ceſſation of arms for three months, during which time they might ſend embafſadors to the emperor, who ſhould be allowed to return home unmoleſted, even after the expiration of the truce. No further mention is made of the embafſadors; but, as the ſiege was continued after the expiration of the truce, it is plain from thence, that they did not ſucceed in their negotiations at *Conſtantinople*. During the truce, *Belifarius* ſent out of *Rome* as many of his forces as he could ſpare, under the command of one *John*, an officer of great experience, with orders to intercept the enemy's convoys as ſoon as the truce was expired, and attempt ſuch places as they thought they could reduce without great loſs. Theſe, entering *Picenum*, which ſupplied the army before *Rome* with provisions, laid waſte that province far and near, and, approaching *Rimini*, killed *Ulitheus*, uncle to *Vitiges*, attempting to oppoſe them, and made themſelves maſters of that city. *Vitiges* had, in the mean time, made ſeveral attempts upon *Rome*; but tho' all his efforts, and the many ſtratagems he made uſe of to get into the city, were defeated by *Belifarius*, he ſtill purſued the ſiege with great obſtinacy, till news was brought him of the taking of *Rimini*; which alarmed him to ſuch a degree, as that city was but a day's journey from *Ravenna*, that he immediately broke up the ſiege, after it had laſted a year and nine days, and by day-break retired in good order. *Belifarius* did not let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of annoying the enemy, but, falling upon their rear as they were paſſing the bridge on the *Tiber*, cut great numbers of them in pieces, while others, ſtruck with a panic, threw themſelves into the river, and were drowned ^m.

FROM *Rome* *Vitiges* marched ſtrait to *Rimini*, being reſolved, at all events, to force that important place out of the enemy's hands. *Belifarius*, not doubting but that was his deſign, took care to have ſuch ſupplies put into the city as could be ſpared, diſpatching *Ildeger* and *Martinus* with a thouſand horſe, and ordering them to draw the foot out of *Ancona*, and march with them to *Rimini*. His orders were executed with ſuch expedition, that *Vitiges*, on his arrival before the town, found it in a condition to hold out for a long time. However, he inveſted it on all ſides, and began to batter it with a great number of engines; but being repulſed with great loſs in ſeveral attacks, he reſolved to reduce it by famine. *Belifarius*, to make a powerful diverſion, and oblige the king to raiſe the ſiege, ſent a ſtrong detachment, under the conduct of *Mundilas*, to ſurpriſe *Milan*; which he took without oppoſition, and, in a ſhort time, made himſelf maſter of all *Liguria*, the enemy's forces being all employed before *Rimini*. *Vitiges*, hearing that *Milan* was fallen into the enemy's hands, diſpatched *Uraia*, his ſiſter's ſon, at the head of a ſtrong detachment, to recover that important place, and the reſt of *Liguria*. *Uraia*, being joined by the ten thouſand *Burgundians*, of whom we have ſpoken above, ſent by *Theodebert* king of the *Franks*, laid cloſe ſiege to *Milan*, and, in a ſhort time, reduced it to the laſt extremity. While *Vitiges* was thus buſied in the ſiege of *Rimini*, and *Uraia* in that of *Milan*, *Belifarius*, leaving a ſmall gariſon in *Rome*, marched towards the former place, with a deſign to cut off the communication between the *Goths* before *Rimini* and thoſe in *Auximum*, now *Oſimo*, a ſtrong town held by them. On his march, he made himſelf maſter of *Tudera* and *Cluſium*, and, at the latter place, received intelligence, that the celebrated *Narſes* was arrived from *Conſtantinople* in *Picenum* with freſh ſupplies, viz. with five thouſand *Romans*, and two thouſand *Heruli*. They were all commanded in chief by *Narſes*, and, under him, the *Romans* by *Juſtin*, the general of *Illyricum*, and by *Narſes* the *Armenian*. The *Heruli* were headed by three of their countrymen, *Viſigandus*, *Aloetbes*, and *Phanetbeus*. Upon this intelligence, *Belifarius* marched into *Picenum*, and the two armies joined at *Firmum*, now *Fermo*, where a council of war was held, wherein they deliberated, whether it was moſt expedient for the emperor's ſervice to beſiege *Auximum*, or relieve *Rimini*. If they marched

^m PROCOF. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 17—29. & l. ii. c. 1—10. JORN. p. 144.

- a to *Rimini*, *Belisarius* apprehended, that the enemy from *Auximum* would harass and lay waste the neighbouring country, which had submitted to the *Romans*. On the other hand, it was thought unreasonable to suffer the besieged to perish for want of assistance. As *Narses* had a great kindness for *John*, who was shut up in the place, he earnestly pressed *Belisarius* to deliver him from the imminent danger both he and the garrison were in. *Belisarius* at first refused to comply with his request; but a messenger seasonably arriving with letters from *John*, wherein he declared, that, unless he was relieved in seven days, he must deliver up the town, *Belisarius* agreed to march to his relief. Having therefore left a thousand men at *Firmum*, under the command of *Aratius*, to awe the garrison of *Auximum*, he divided his army into
- b three bodies, whereof one was embarked on a great number of vessels, another marched along the shore under the conduct of *Martinus*, and the third was led by *Belisarius* himself, and by *Narses*, over the mountains. This division of the forces had the desired effect; for *Vitiges*, seeing a great fleet appear, and at the same time two armies, which, from the many fires they made in the night, he concluded to be very numerous, broke up the siege, and fled in such haste, that the greatest part of the baggage was left behind. The confusion of the *Goths* was so great, that, had not the garrison been extremely feeble for want of sustenance, they might have easily cut them off in their disorderly retreat, and at once put an end to the war^a. After this success, jealousies began to arise between *Belisarius* and *Narses*, which were carried to such a height, that the latter, refusing to obey the former, required, that the army might be divided, that each of them might command a separate body, and act independently of one another, it being reasonable, that they should both have their share in the glory of conquering *Italy*, and reuniting it to the empire. This gave great uneasiness to *Belisarius*, who, apprehending that the dividing of the army might prove highly prejudicial to the emperor's service, alleged many reasons against it; but, finding *Narses* obstinate, he produced the emperor's letter to him, wherein *Justinian* declared, that he had not sent *Narses* into *Italy* to command the army, but to serve under *Belisarius*, and, with the rest of the officers, to obey and execute his orders in all things relating to his service, and the welfare of the state. *Narses*,
- d laying hold of the last words of the letter, endeavoured to prove, that what *Belisarius* proposed was repugnant to the good of the state, and consequently that he was not obliged to obey him. This animosity and misunderstanding between the two generals bred such a division in the army, that *Belisarius* having undertaken the siege of *Urbium*, *John*, with several of the chief officers, and great part of the forces, encamped at a distance from him, and, before he began to batter the place, withdrew with *Narses* in the night, and returned to *Rimini*. However, *Belisarius*, thinking he could master the place without them, prepared for an assault; but as he was marching up to the walls, the besieged, to the great surprize of the *Romans*, desired to capitulate, and, upon promise of indemnity, opened their gates, and submitted.
- e This unexpected submission was owing to their want of water; for the only fountain the *Goths* had in the city failed all on a sudden, which unforeseen accident obliged them to submit to the best terms they could obtain. *Narses*, who lay idle at *Rimini*, greatly surprized at this sudden success, and looking upon the reduction of the place as a reflection upon himself, (for he had been persuaded by *John* that it was impregnable) to redeem his reputation, dispatched *John*, with part of the forces that had followed him, against the city of *Cesena*; but, the garrison making a vigorous resistance, *John*, retiring from before it in the night, surprized *Forum Cornelii*, now *Imola*, and, by degrees, reduced all *Æmilia*, the *Goths*, disheartened with so many losses, not daring to venture an engagement. As for *Belisarius*, from *Urbium* he marched to
- f *Urbiventum*, at a small distance from *Rome*. As the place was well fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison, under the command of *Albilas*, an officer of great reputation among the *Goths*, *Belisarius*, after several unsuccessful attacks, sat down before it, with a design to reduce it by famine; which he did accordingly, after the besieged had for some time fed upon grass, and skins soaked in water. And now the season being far advanced, both *Belisarius* and *Narses* retired with their respective corps to winter-quarters^b.

ALL this while *Milan* was closely besieged by the *Goths* and *Burgundians*. *Mundilas*, who commanded in the town, acquainted *Belisarius* with the deplorable condi-

^a Procop. l. ii. c. 10—13.

^b Idem ibid. c. 13, 14.

Milan taken by
the Goths, and
the citizens
massacred.

Vitiges en-
gages Chosroes
in his quarrel.

Auximum be-
sieged by Beli-
sarius, and
Fesula by Cy-
prius.

tion to which the city was reduced, who thereupon ordered *Martinus* and *Uliaris* to ^a march with a considerable body to their relief; but these two generals, advancing as far as the *Po*, encamped on the banks of that river, and, tho' earnestly solicited by their distressed friends to hasten to their assistance, they continued there, excusing themselves to *Belisarius*, and pretending in the letter they wrote to him, that the *Goths* and *Burgundians* in *Liguria* being too strong for them, they did not think it adviseable to proceed farther, till they were joined by more forces. Upon the receipt of this letter, *Belisarius* ordered *John* and *Justin* to join them with all expedition; which they refused to do, till they received the like orders from *Narses*, to whom *Belisarius* immediately wrote on that subject, desiring that the public might not suffer by their unseasonable emulation. *Narses*, convinced of the reasonableness of this ^b remonstrance, wrote to *John*, commanding him to obey the general's orders; but, during these delays, the *Romans* in *Milan* being reduced by famine to the last extremity, *Mundilas* was forced by his own men to accept the terms offered him by the *Goths*, who promised to let the garrison retire unmolested. Thus was *Milan* surren-
dered to the enemy, who, in breach of the articles agreed on, made *Mundilas* and the garrison prisoners of war, demolished the city, put all those to the sword who were able to bear arms, to the number of three hundred thousand, and, making the women slaves, gave them as a reward to the *Burgundians*. *Reparatus*, a prefect, and officer of great distinction, was cut in pieces, and his mangled body thrown to the dogs. *Bergantinus*, with a few more, escaped, and, passing through *Venetia* ^c and *Dalmatia*, brought the melancholy news of this disaster to the emperor at *Constantinople*. *Martinus* and *Uliaris* returned with shame and disgrace to *Rome*, while the *Goths*, encouraged by this success, pursued their good fortune, and reduced all *Liguria*. *Belisarius* acquainted the emperor with what had passed, who, ascribing the loss of *Milan* to the disagreement between him and *Narses*, recalled the latter, and confirmed the former in the supreme command, which he had conferred upon him in the beginning of the war ^p. The recalling of *Narses* was a great disappointment to *Vitiges*, who had promised himself many advantages from the disagreement of the generals; but finding his hopes defeated, and concluding, from the prepara-
tions *Belisarius* was making during the winter, that he intended to march against him ^d early in the spring with all his forces, and besiege him in *Ravenna* itself, he was greatly perplexed what measures he should take to avert the impending storm, or to whom he should recur for assistance. He knew there was no depending upon the *Franks*, by whom he had been lately deceived, and who, he was well apprised, would, under some pretence or other, elude the most solemn treaties and engagements. He therefore had recourse to *Vacis* or *Varis* king of the *Lombards*, whom he endeavoured to draw to his assistance with the offer of a large sum; but finding him unalterably steady to the alliance he had lately concluded with the emperor, he was advised to send ambassadors to *Chosroes* king of *Persia*, to try whether he could persuade that prince to invade the *Roman* territories; for such an enemy, said his counsellors, would ^e make a powerful diversion, oblige the emperor to recal *Belisarius*, and make him lay aside all thoughts of extending his dominions in the west, since the security and defence of the eastern provinces were of far greater consequence both to his interest and reputation. *Vitiges*, highly pleased with this advice, found two *Ligurian* priests, who undertook the journey to the *Persian* court, and, arriving safe there, persuaded *Chosroes* to make war upon the empire, by remonstrating to him, that, if he continued unactive, and suffered the *Goths* to be destroyed, and *Italy* reunited to the empire, the *Romans*, by that accession, would recover their antient power, which they would not fail to employ against him, being still prompted by the same ambition, which had proved so fatal to his predecessors ^q. *Vitiges* was overjoyed, when, ^f upon the return of the ambassadors, he understood, that *Chosroes* was resolved upon a rupture. However, he received no great advantage from it; for, though it put a stop to the progress of the emperor's arms in *Italy*, and obliged him to recal *Belisarius*, this did not happen till the unhappy *Vitiges* was taken prisoner, and almost all *Italy* brought under subjection to the emperor; for *Belisarius*, pursuing the war with great vigour while the ambassadors of *Vitiges* were negotiating at the *Persian* court, sat down with eleven thousand men before *Auximum*, the metropolis of *Picenum*, and at the same time sent a strong detachment, under the command of *Cyprian*, one of

^p Idem, l. iii. c. 25.

^q Idem ibid. c. 22.

- a his lieutenants, to reduce *Fesulæ*, which, together with *Auximum*, opened a passage to *Ravenna*, whither he intended to follow *Vitiges*, who, from *Kimini*, had retired to that city. As *Auximum* was strong by its situation on a high and steep hill, and defended by a numerous garrison, it made a vigorous defence; but *Belisarius* allowing the besieged no respite, they were, after some time, reduced to such straits, that they dispatched messengers to *Vitiges*, threatening to surrender, unless they were speedily relieved. Hereupon the king dispatched *Uraia*, with a strong body of *Goths*, to their assistance, assuring them, that, in a short time, he himself would follow with his whole army. *Uraia*, having passed the *Po*, advanced into the neighbourhood of *Auximum*; but finding all the avenues to the city well guarded, he
- b encamped at the distance of seven miles from the *Romans*.

IN the mean time the treacherous *Franks*, thinking both nations sufficiently weakened by their mutual hostilities, resolved to attack both, and decide the dispute, by seizing on the country for which they disputed. Accordingly *Theodebert*, unmindful of the oaths he had taken both to the *Romans* and *Goths*, passed the *Alps* at the head of an hundred and fifty thousand, as we read in *Procopius*, or, as *Jornandes* will have it, two hundred thousand men, and entered *Liguria*. As no hostilities were committed by them on their march through that country, the *Goths* concluded, that they were coming to their assistance, and therefore took care to supply them with what provisions they could spare. Thus they passed the *Po* without opposition, and,

c having secured the bridge, marched strait to the place where a body of *Goths* were encamped, who, looking upon them as friends, admitted them into the camp. But they were soon convinced of their mistake; for the *Franks*, falling unexpectedly upon them, drove them with great slaughter from their camp, and seized on their baggage and provisions. A body of *Romans*, that lay at a small distance from the *Goths*, under the command of *John* and *Martinus*, observing the sudden flight of the *Goths*, and concluding that they had been defeated by *Belisarius*, flew to join him, when the *Franks*, falling unawares upon them, treated them as they had done the *Goths*. As the *Romans* were not able, in that confusion, to recover their camp, they fled into *Tuscany*, and thence dispatched a messenger to *Belisarius*, with an account of their

d misfortune. The *Franks*, thus become masters of both camps, found in them good store of provisions, and a considerable booty; but the provisions being soon consumed by their numerous army, and the country round about quite exhausted, they were obliged, by the famine that began to rage among them, and the diseases that were occasioned by their unwholesome food, and are said to have swept off one third of their army, to give over all thoughts of advancing farther into the country, or making any conquests in *Italy*, which thus early became, as it is now styled, *the tomb of the French*. At the same time *Belisarius*, fearing the *Franks* might in the end be persuaded by the *Goths* to join them, wrote to *Theodebert*, expostulating with him in a friendly manner for his breach of faith, and telling him, that the emperor's affairs

e were not in such a desperate condition, as to render him incapable of resenting in due time, as he ought, affronts of this nature. *Theodebert*, moved with this letter, but more with the opprobrious language of his men, openly reviling him for suffering them to starve in a barren and impoverished country, decamped with such of them as were able to march, and, passing through *Liguria*, where he destroyed *Genoa*, and several other places, he returned home loaded with booty.

The Franks invaded Italy. Year after Christ 539.

And fall both upon the Goths and Romans.

They return home loaded with booty.

Auximum holds out with great obstinacy.

ALL this time the two garrisons of *Auximum* and *Fesulæ* held out with incredible resolution. The former, being reduced to the utmost extremity, resolved once more to solicit the king for relief; but, not being able to send any messenger out of the town, which was closely blocked up on all sides, they corrupted with a large sum a

f soldier in the *Roman* army, who was placed near the walls, to prevent the inhabitants from cutting the grass that grew there, the only food they now had, to carry a letter to the king, wherein they acquainted him with the condition to which they were reduced. The king returned answer, That, without fail, they should be relieved in a few days, and, with friendly words, encouraged them to bear but a little while longer their hardships, which he might call his own, since he felt them no less than they. The besieged were so encouraged with this answer, that they rejected all the offers made them by *Belisarius*. But, finding the king did not come to their relief, they dispatched the same soldier to him a second time, acquainting him, that, unless

¹ PROCOPIUS, l. ii. c. 25. GREG. TUR. hist. l. iii. c. 32. MAR. AVENT. chron. ad ann. 539.

they were relieved in five days, they should be obliged to surrender. The king ^a replied as he had done before, giving them hopes of a speedy relief. *Belisarius* in the mean time, who was well acquainted with the streights to which they were reduced, in order to discover what encouraged them to hold out with so much obstinacy, appointed some of his men to watch those, who came out of the town to gather grass, and to take, if possible, some of them prisoners. They had the good luck to surprise one, who, being brought before the general, owned to him, that, by means of one of his men, they had corresponded with the king, who had assured them, that they should be speedily relieved. Hereupon the soldier, by name *Barcensiris*, by nation a *Bessian*, was seized, and, upon his confessing the fact, delivered up to be punished by his countrymen, who condemned him to be burnt alive. *Belisarius*, ^b finding them still obstinate, marched in person, at the head of a strong detachment, to demolish an aqueduct, which was near the walls, and supplied them with water. The besieged, sallying out to defend it, though quite spent with famine and hardships, made a great havock of his men; but were in the end, after a most obstinate dispute, driven back into the city. On this occasion *Belisarius* was in imminent danger of his life; but one of his guards saved him with the loss of his own hand. After all, the *Romans* found the aqueduct so strongly built, that they could not by any means demolish it; but *Belisarius* caused all the springs to be poisoned, hoping thereby to oblige them to surrender. The garrison in *Fesulæ* held out against ^c *Cyprian* with no less obstinacy; but in the end, despairing of relief, they surrendered upon terms. Hereupon *Cyprian*, leaving part of his army in the town, with the rest brought the inhabitants before *Auximum*, where *Belisarius* shewed them to the besieged, who, concluding from the surrender of that place, that the king was incapable of relieving them, desired to capitulate, offering to deliver up the town, on condition they might enjoy their lives and effects. This the general was inclined to grant; but the soldiers opposed it, declaring, that the wealth of the city was the due reward of their wounds, and the many toils and dangers they had undergone in the siege. At length it was agreed on both sides, that the soldiers should have one half, and that the other should remain to the inhabitants, who were to take an oath of allegiance to the emperor. Upon these terms the gates were opened to the *Romans*, who took ^d possession of the city in the emperor's name.

Fesulæ surrenders.

And at last *Auximum*.

Ravenna besieged by *Belisarius*.

Belisarius did not continue long at *Auximum*, but marched from thence with his whole army to *Ravenna*, which he invested on all sides, both by sea and land, to prevent the importation of provisions. The place was defended by a very numerous garrison, commanded by the king in person, who exerted all his courage and bravery in the defence of the metropolis of his kingdom; but *Belisarius* pursuing the siege with incredible vigour, and great success, the kings of the *Franks*, especially *Theodebert*, alarmed at the progress of the emperor's arms, and not doubting but, if *Italy* were united anew to the empire, he would fall next upon them, dispatched ambassadors to *Vitiges*, offering to assist him with an army of five hundred thousand men, on ^e condition he would share the country with them. *Belisarius*, informed of this negotiation, in order to defeat the ambitious views of the *Franks*, sent ambassadors to *Vitiges*, to put him in mind of the perfidy of the *Franks*, of which he had but a very fresh instance, and to assure him, that the emperor, on whom he might depend, was ready to grant him very honourable terms. The king, by the advice of the great men about him, rejected the proposals of the *Franks*, and shewed himself inclined to come to an agreement with the emperor. In the mean time *Belisarius*, to bring the king to his own terms, bribed with a large sum a citizen of *Ravenna* to set fire to a magazine of corn, which was the chief dependence of the besieged. This was done with such secrecy, that they knew not whether they ought to impute it to chance, or ^f to design. They began to distrust each other, and some to conclude, that Heaven itself fought against them. At the same time *Belisarius* detached one *Thomas* with a body of troops against the *Goths* inhabiting the *Alpes Cottiae*, who, at his approach, submitted, with *Sisigis* their leader. Of this *Uraia* receiving intelligence while on his march to the relief of *Ravenna* with four thousand men, he changed his resolution, and went to attack *Thomas*, hoping to surprise him; but *John* and *Martinus*, who lay encamped on the banks of the *Po*, suspecting his design, marched against him, and obliged him to retire into *Liguria*, where he continued, expecting better fortune.

* PROCOPI. l. ii. c. 27.

* Idem ibid.

- a *Vitiges*, upon his rejecting the offers of the *Franks*, had dispatched ambassadors to *Constantinople*, to conclude a peace with the emperor upon the best terms they could obtain. These now returned, and with them two senators, *Dominicus* and *Maximinus*, sent by *Justinian* to conclude a peace upon the following terms, viz. that the coun-
 try beyond the *Po*, with respect to *Rome*, should remain to the *Goths*; but that the
 rest of *Italy* should be yielded to the emperor; and the royal treasure of the *Goths*
 should be equally divided between him and the king. These conditions *Vitiges* and
 the *Goths* embraced with great joy; for they were already reduced to great straits.
 But *Belisarius*, not able to bear, that he should be thus bereft of the glory of ending
 the war, and carrying *Vitiges*, as he had lately done *Gelimer* king of the *Vandals*,
 b captive to *Constantinople*, peremptorily refused to sign the treaty, and pursued the
 siege with more vigour than ever, without hearkening to the complaints of his officers
 and soldiers, who were quite tired with the length of the siege: he only obliged such
 of the officers as were of opinion, that the town could not be taken, to express what
 they said in writing, that they might not deny it afterwards. The great men among
 the *Goths*, finding that *Belisarius* refused to obey the instructions he had received
 from *Constantinople*, and to sign the treaty, concluded from thence, that he designed
 to revolt from the emperor, and conquer *Italy* for himself. On the other hand,
 being weary of *Vitiges*, and unwilling to submit to *Justinian*, who, they apprehended,
 would transplant them into *Thrace*, or some other barren country, they privately
 c agreed among themselves to declare *Belisarius* emperor of the west, and accordingly
 dispatched a messenger to him, assuring him, that they were ready to swear allegiance
 to him. *Belisarius* abhorred in his heart the name of usurper; but nevertheless, to
 forward the surrender of the city, and put an end to the war, he pretended to accept
 of the offer, after having acquainted the chief officers of the army with all that passed,
 lest they should imagine, that he really designed to usurp the kingdom of *Italy*, and
 thereupon revolt from him. In the mean time *Vitiges*, having discovered the plot,
 and finding himself no ways in a condition to defeat it, commended the resolution
 of the *Goths*, and even wrote to *Belisarius*, encouraging him to take upon him the
 title of king, and assuring him of his assistance. Hereupon *Belisarius* pressing the
 d *Goths* to perform their promise, ambassadors were dispatched to him from the chief
 men of the *Gothic* nation, requiring him, before they acknowledged him for their
 king, to swear, that he would treat the *Goths* with humanity, and maintain them in
 the enjoyment of all their antient rights and privileges. This oath *Belisarius* took,
 and was thereupon by the *Goths* proclaimed king of *Italy*, and admitted into *Ravenna*.
 He behaved with great moderation towards the *Goths* in the city, not suffering his
 soldiers to do them any injury; but seized on the royal treasure, and secured the
 person of the king. The *Roman* army, when it entered *Ravenna*, appeared so incon-
 siderable, that the *Gothic* women, in beholding it, could not forbear spitting in their
 husbands faces, and reviling them as cowards. *Procopius*, from whom we have copied
 e this account, and who was an eye-witness of the triumphal ingress of *Belisarius* into
Ravenna, tells us, that he was thence convinced, that, in human affairs, success does
 not depend on multitudes of men, or their valour or strength, but that some higher
 and greater power steers, governs and directs all things to the pre-ordained ends *.

In the mean time *Cbofroes* invading with a mighty army the *Roman* dominions in
 the east, *Justinian*, looking upon the *Persian* war as of far greater consequence than
 the *Gothic*, recalled *Belisarius* to take upon him the management of it. It was believed
 by some, that the jealousy, which, at the instigation of the court sycophants, the
 emperor, say they, began to entertain of *Belisarius*, prompted him to recal this gen-
 eral. *Procopius* writes, that he was accused to the emperor by the other generals, as
 f if he aspired at the sovereignty of *Italy*; that the emperor gave no credit to such
 calumnies; but nevertheless recalled him, because he wanted a general of his abilities
 to conduct the *Persian* war *. Be that as it will, *Belisarius*, in compliance with the
 emperor's orders, began, as soon as he received them, to prepare for his departure,
 to the great surprize of the *Goths*, who could not persuade themselves, that, to obey
 the emperor, he would relinquish a crown. They did all that lay in their power to
 divert him from his resolution and intended journey, but to no purpose; for *Belisa-*
rius, inviolably attached to the service of his master, having settled affairs in the
 best manner he could, set out for *Constantinople*, carrying with him *Vitiges*, and his

Terms proposed
by the emperor.

Belisarius re-
suses to sign
them.

He is by the
Goths declared
emperor of the
west.

He is admitted
into *Ravenna*.
Year after
Christ 540.

He is recalled
by *Justinian*.

He returns to
Constanti-
nople, with the
king and the
royal treasure.

* *Idem*, l. ii. c. 29.

* *Idem* *ibid.* c. 30.

wife *Matefuenta*, several of the *Gothic* nobility, and the royal treasure. He was ^a received by the emperor without the least tokens of distrust, who nevertheless did not ordain him a triumph, as he had done on his return from the conquest of *Africa*. *Vitiges* the emperor treated with all the respect due to his rank, and conferred on him the dignity of patrician. The king died two years after, and, upon his death, *Justinian* married *Matefuenta* to *Germanus* his own nephew. The other great men among the *Goths*, whom *Belisarius* brought with him to *Constantinople*, attended that general to the *Persian* war. It is remarkable, that the emperor caused the royal treasure of the *Goths* to be exposed to the view of the senate; but would not shew it, as he had done that which *Belisarius* had brought out of *Africa*, to the people, fearing perhaps to heighten his reputation among the multitude, by whom he was already ^b almost adored. Upon the departure of *Belisarius*, the chief men among the *Goths* dwelling beyond the *Po*, in a great assembly, resolved to raise one of their own nation to the throne, in the room of *Belisarius*. Accordingly, they applied themselves first to *Uraia*, the nephew of *Vitiges*; but he, out of respect to his uncle, not caring to take upon him the title of king during his life-time, declined the burden; but at the same time advised them to make choice of *Ildebald*, at that time governor of *Verona*, a man of great address, and experience in affairs both civil and military, and nephew to *Theudis* king of the *Visigoths*, who, in all likelihood, would espouse his cause. The *Goths*, pleased with the advice of *Uraia*, sent immediately for *Ildebald*, and proclaimed him king. The new prince undertook, and not without success, the re-esta- ^c blishing of the *Gothic* affairs in *Italy*. He had at first no more than a thousand men; but the *Goths* flocking to him from all parts, and with them great numbers of discontented *Romans*, his army in a short time grew very considerable. The *Romans* were highly displeased with the conduct of *Alexander*, who, from his clipping the coin, was nicknamed *Forficula*. He had been sent into *Italy* by the emperor, to state the accounts of the army, in which office he disobliged both the soldiers and officers to such a degree, that they became very ill affected to the emperor, and great numbers of them, finding themselves defrauded, not only of the rewards they expected, but even of the pay that was due to them, abandoned the emperor's service, and fled over to the *Goths*. Besides, *Bessas*, *John*, and *Constantianus*, whom *Belisarius* had ^d appointed to command the troops in *Italy*, disagreeing among themselves, nothing of any moment was undertaken by them. However, *Vitalis*, governor of *Venetia*, having drawn together what troops he could, and taken into the emperor's pay a considerable body of *Feruli*, took the field, and, marching against *Ildebald*, met him in the neighbourhood of *Tarvisium*, where, in the battle that ensued, most of *Vitalis*'s men were cut in pieces, and he, with the few that escaped, obliged to save himself by a precipitous flight. After this victory, *Ildebald* made himself master of the whole province of *Venetia*: but he did not live long enough to improve his victory farther; for a contest arising between his queen and the wife of *Uraia*, the king, giving ear to the complaints of his wife, first accused *Uraia* of maintaining a private correspondence ^e with the emperor, and afterwards, with the utmost treachery and ingratitude, caused him to be murdered. As, by the murder of so worthy a man, he incurred the displeasure of the whole nation, one of his guards, by name *Vilas*, a *Gepid* by nation, whom he had disobliged, by giving in marriage to another a woman whom he passionately loved, resolved to lay hold of this opportunity to revenge the injury. Accordingly, while the king was one day feasting the nobility, attended by his guards, *Vilas* gave him such a blow on the neck with his sword, that his head dropped on the table while he yet held the meat between his fingers ^f.

Ildebald chosen king.

He gains a victory over the Romans.

He causes Uraia to be murdered.

And is murdered himself. Year after Christ 541. Eraric chosen king.

Ildebald being thus dispatched, the leading men among the *Goths*, without loss of time, chose *Eraric*, by birth a *Rugian*, to succeed him. The *Rugians* were a *Gothic* ^f nation; but their tribe differed in manners and customs from that of the *Ostrogoths*, whence the people and soldiery were, with much-ado, brought to acknowledge him for king, though they knew him to be a man of great valour, and experience in war. In the beginning of his reign, with the consent and approbation of the *Goths*, he dispatched ambassadors to the emperor, to sue, as he pretended, for a peace, upon the same terms that had been formerly offered to *Vitiges*, viz. that the *Goths* should hold all the provinces beyond the *Po*, and the *Romans* the rest of *Italy*. But the ambassadors had private instructions to acquaint the emperor, that *Eraric* was ready to

^a PROCOPIUS, l. iii. c. 1. JORN. de reb. Get. p. 95. MARCELL. ad ann. 540.

^f PROCOPIUS, l. ii. c. 20.

- a deliver up *Italy* to him, upon condition he paid him a certain sum, and raised him to the dignity of a patrician^c. This private negotiation was not known till after the king's death. However, the *Goths*, generally discontented with the government of their new king, began to think of deposing him, and raising another to the throne. They cast their eyes on *Totila*, nephew to *Ildebald*, a person of extraordinary merit, and one who had eminently distinguished himself in war. He commanded at that time the *Goths* in *Tervisium*, and, upon the news of his uncle's death, had sent to *Constantianus*, who governed for the emperor in *Ravenna*, offering, upon assurance of indemnity, to deliver up to him both the place and the garrison. *Constantianus* readily accepted the offer, and, having promised upon oath to perform the articles,
- b a day was appointed for the surrender of the place. But in the mean time a messenger from the chief men among the *Goths* arriving at *Tervisium*, acquainted *Totila* with the design they had formed of deposing *Eraric*, and raising him to the throne. *Totila* frankly discovered to them the agreement he had made with *Constantianus*; but told them at the same time, that he was willing to accept of their offer, provided they dispatched *Eraric* before the day appointed for the surrender of the place. Upon the return of the messenger, the *Goths* fell immediately upon *Eraric*, and, having murdered him after a short reign of five months, with one voice declared *Totila* king^a. He is murdered, and Totila proclaimed king. Year after Christ 542.
- THE emperor, informed of the death of *Eraric*, of the promotion of *Totila*, and of the distracted state of affairs in *Italy*, sharply reprimanded his officers, who com-
- c manded there, ascribing the whole to their indolence and bad conduct. Hereupon they assembled in *Ravenna*, where it was agreed in a council of war, that siege should be laid forthwith to *Verona*, at that time the chief city of the *Goths*, and, upon the reduction of that place, the whole army should march against *Totila*, who was at the head of a small body in *Picenum*. Pursuant to this plan, the army, consisting of about twelve thousand men, marched, under the command of eleven generals, of whom *Constantianus* and *Alexander* were the chief, and, arriving in the neighbourhood of *Verona*, encamped within seven miles of that city. *Marcianus*, a man of great interest in the country, and well affected to the emperor's service, had engaged a citizen of *Verona* to betray the place. A centinel, privy to the plot, was to open
- d one of the gates in the night, and admit a party of *Romans*, who were to secure the gate, till the rest of the army came up. This was a dangerous undertaking, there being a strong garrison in the town, and the safety of those, who were to be sent on the party, depending intirely on the fidelity of the centinel. The service was therefore, to the great disgrace of the *Roman* name, declined by all the *Romans*, but with great joy undertaken by one *Artabanes* an *Armenian*, who, advancing at the head of one hundred men, was admitted within the gate, which he secured with some of them, while others killed the centinels on the walls, and made themselves masters of the adjoining houses. *Artabanes* immediately acquainted the generals with his success, requiring them to hasten the march of the army; but the commanders, being advanced within five miles of the place, ordered the army to halt, till they had settled among themselves in what manner the plunder of so wealthy a city was to be divided. This occasioned great disputes; so that the night was spent before they could agree. In the mean time the *Goths*, who, hearing that the *Romans* were masters of one gate, had fled out at another, and retired to a high rock not far from the city, discovering from thence the small number of the *Romans* in the town, and the army yet at a distance, returned into the city by the same gate they had gone out, and, falling upon the *Romans*, obliged them to abandon the gate, and fly to the battlements, where they defended themselves with unparalleled valour. By this time the commanders, having agreed about the plunder of the city, approached the gates; but,
- f finding them shut, they shamefully retired, though their companions, overpowered with numbers, earnestly called out for their assistance. *Artabanes* therefore, and such of his men as were still alive, seeing themselves thus basely abandoned, and despairing of succour, leaped down from the walls. Those who fell on the stones were killed by the fall, or rendered incapable of saving themselves by flight; but *Artabanes*, with a few more, having the good luck to pitch upon the ground, got safe to the camp, where he upbraided the commanders with their ill conduct, and want of courage. The *Romans*, after this disappointment, having passed the *Po*, marched to *Faventia*, now *Faenza*, where they were met by *Totila* at the head of his small army, consisting

The Romans
make an as-
sault upon
Verona:

But are dis-
appointed.

^a Idem, l. iii. c. 2.

^c Idem ibid.

A single combat.

The death of Artabanes a valiant officer.

The Romans defeated.

The Romans defeated anew.

Tuscany, and several other provinces, recovered by the Goths. Year after Christ 543.

only of five thousand men. Hereupon the *Roman* generals having called a council ^a of war, *Artabanes* advised them not to despise the enemy, though far inferior to them in number, but to fall upon them before the whole body had passed the river *Lamone*, on which stands the town of *Faventia*. But the commanders disagreeing among themselves, as it generally happens when they are equal in power, *Totila* passed the river without opposition; so that the two armies approached each other in order of battle. While they stood thus drawn up, waiting the signal, one *Valiaris*, a *Goth* of a gigantic size, and proportionable strength, advancing before the ranks, challenged any *Roman* to a single combat. *Artabanes* accepted the challenge, and, at the first encounter, ran him through the right-side with his lance; but imagining, as the *Goth* did not fall immediately, that the wound was not mortal, he gave him a ^b second wound in the belly, when the head of *Valiaris's* lance, which stood upright, falling upon *Artabanes's* neck, unfortunately cut one of the arteries. The brave champion however, not apprehending any danger, rode back to the army; but, as the blood could not be stopped, he died three days after, to the great grief of all the emperor's true friends, who, from his experience, courage, and prudence, promised themselves great things. He had served first with great reputation in the *Persian* army; but, being taken prisoner by *Belisarius* in the castle of *Sisaurum*, with all the *Persians* under his command, and sent to *Constantinople*, he offered his service to the emperor, who sent him, with the *Persians* he had formerly commanded, to his army in *Italy*, where he distinguished himself, as we have related, in an eminent manner. ^c The single combat was succeeded by a general engagement, in which the *Romans*, confiding in their numbers, behaved at first with great bravery. But three hundred *Goths*, who had been ordered by *Totila* to pass the river at some distance, falling unexpectedly upon their rear, pursuant to their orders, they began to give ground, imagining that body to be far more numerous than it really was. Hereupon *Totila* charging them in front with new vigour, they first fell into great confusion, and then betook themselves to a precipitous flight. The *Goths* pursued them with great slaughter, took a great number of prisoners, and all their ensigns, and obliged the few, who had the good luck to make their escape, to take refuge, with their commanders, in the neighbouring towns ^b.

Totila, to improve this victory, marched without loss of time to *Florence*, and ^d invested that city; but a considerable army being sent from *Ravenna* to the relief of the place, *Totila* thought it advisable to raise the siege, and retire to *Micole*, a town about a day's journey from *Florence*. The *Romans*, leaving a small garrison in the town, pursued them with the rest of their forces; and it was agreed, that one of the commanders, marching with all possible expedition after them, should keep them in play till the others came up. The lot fell upon *John*; but unseasonable disputes arising among the commanders, and a report being spread, that *John* was killed by one of his own men, the army halted; and in the mean time *John* being forced to engage the enemy with his own troops only, he was utterly defeated. When news of this defeat was brought to the army, seized with a sudden panic, they all dispersed, ^e every one shifting for himself in the best manner he could. *Totila* treated the prisoners he took in this and the former engagement with so much humanity, that most of them entering into his service, his army was by that means considerably increased. The following year, the eighth of the *Gothic* war, *Totila*, taking the field early in the spring, made himself master of all the strong places in *Tuscany*, and, marching from thence into *Campania* and *Samnium*, reduced and dismantled the strong town of *Beneventum*, and laid siege to *Naples*; during which several detachments from his army took *Cumæ*, and recovered all *Brutia*, *Lucania*, *Apulia*, and *Calabria*, where they found considerable sums, which had been gathered for the emperor. The *Goths* having thus seized on the tributes, and the money that had been levied to pay ^f the army, the emperor's troops were reduced to great straits, and thereupon began to mutiny, and refuse to take the field; so that *Constantianus* lay idle at *Ravenna*, *John* at *Rome*, *Bessas* at *Spoletum*, *Justin* at *Florence*, and *Cyprian* at *Perugia*, the places to which they had fled after the late defeat. The emperor, informed of the bad situation of his affairs in *Italy*, ordered a considerable fleet to be equipped, and a great number of forces to be raised, committing both to the conduct of *Maximinus*, whom he honoured with the title of *præfectus prætorio* of *Italy*; but as he was a man quite

^b Idem, l. iii. c. 9.

^c Idem ibid. c. 10.

- a unacquainted with military affairs, naturally timorous, and pointed *Demetrius* to command under him, who had formerly as general of the foot. *Demetrius*, to retrieve the reputation of *Italy*, resolved to attempt the relief of *Naples*, already reduced to *With this view*, leaving *Maximinus* on the coasts of *Epirus*, he sailed the fleet to *Sicily*; and there, as he had but a small number of forces assembled a great many vessels, with a design to terrify the enemy, who conclude, that so considerable a fleet had a proportionable army on board; but failing him after he had put to sea, instead of sailing directly to *Naples*, he altered his course to *Rome*, in order to raise soldiers, and then return to *Naples*; but the Romans refusing to serve against the victorious king of the *Goths*, he was obliged either to lie idle, or to attempt the relief of *Naples* with the few troops he had brought with him. The latter expedient he chose; but *Totila*, having timely notice of his design, manned with incredible expedition a great number of light vessels, which, unexpectedly falling upon him as he was riding at anchor on the coast of *Naples*, took or sunk every ship of his fleet, and made all on board prisoners, except a few, who betook themselves to their boats, among whom was *Demetrius* himself. The besieged being greatly disheartened by this loss, *Conon*, who commanded in *Naples*, dispatched a messenger to *Maximinus*, acquainting him with the deplorable condition to which the city was reduced, and earnestly pressing him to hasten to their relief. *Maximinus* was already advanced as far as *Syracuse*; but could not be persuaded to stir from thence for some time. At length, being threatened with the emperor's displeasure, importuned by repeated messages from the besieged, and openly reviled for cowardice by the soldiers, he sent the fleet to *Naples* under the command of others; but, indulging his natural timidity, staid himself behind. As the fleet put to sea in the depth of winter, it was, by a violent storm, driven ashore near the enemy's camp, who sunk the ships, and, without resistance, made what slaughter they pleased of the seamen and soldiers. Few of them escaped being either taken or killed. Among the prisoners was *Demetrius*, who, after the loss of his own fleet, had gone aboard that of *Maximinus*. *Totila* ordered him to be led, with a rope about his neck, to the town wall, and there obliged him to exhort the inhabitants to surrender, by assuring them, that they were to expect no further succours, and that all hopes of relief were lost with the navy. At the same time *Totila* offered them honourable terms, upon condition they submitted immediately; which they did accordingly, and were treated by him with the utmost humanity. As they had been pinched with a long famine, *Totila*, apprehending they might endanger their lives by indulging at first their ravenous appetites, placed guards at the gates to prevent their going out, taking care at the same time to supply them sparingly with provisions, but increasing their allowance every day. Being thus, by degrees, restored to their former strength, he ordered the gates to be set open, and gave every one full liberty to stay, or retire to what place he thought fit. He treated *Conon* and the garrison in a most friendly and obliging manner; for, upon their pretending to return to *Constantinople*, he supplied them with ships; and having discovered, that their real design was to sail to *Rome*, and reinforce the garrison of that city, which he intended in the next place to besiege, he was so far from punishing them as they expected, or even upbraiding them for thus imposing upon him, that, on the contrary, the winds not proving favourable for a long time, he furnished them with horses, waggons, and provisions, and ordered a body of *Goths* to escorte them to *Rome*. He dismantled *Naples*, as he had done *Beneventum*, not caring to weaken his army by garrisoning the many strong-holds that submitted to him.
- f *Totila*, now master of *Naples*, and most of the fortresses in those parts, began to turn his thoughts upon *Rome*. In the first place, he wrote a letter to the senate, whom he earnestly desired to draw over to his party, taxing them in gentle terms with the ingratitude they had shewn to the family and nation of the great *Theodoric* and *Amalasuntha*. He advised and intreated them to return to their duty; put them in mind of the treatment they had met with from the emperor and his officers; and concluded by assuring both them and the people of his favour and protection; provided they returned to their allegiance. *John*, who commanded in *Rome*, would not suffer the senate to answer this, or receive more letters from *Totila*, who never,

thelefs found means to convey other papers into the city, which were poffed up by a night in the moft frequented places. The *Arian* priefts were fufpected of holding a private correpondence with the *Goths* and their king, who profefled the fame doctrine, and on that account were banifhed *Rome*. *Totila*, finding his letters and manifeftoes had no effect on the fenate and people of *Rome*, refolved to purfue other methods; and accordingly, having fent a detachment into *Calabria* to reduce *Otranto*, which had not yet fubmitted, he marched, with the reft of his forces, againft the towns in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. The city of *Tibur*, now *Tivoli*, about eighteen miles from *Rome*, was betrayed to him by one of the inhabitants; and, upon his entering it, he put all the citizens to the fword, together with their bifhop. Several other ftrong-holds in that neighbourhood he took by ftorm; fo that *Rome* was, in a manner, blocked up by land, all communication with the neighbouring country being cut off. The emperor, greatly perplexed at the bad news he received daily out of *Italy*, and unwilling to lofe *Rome*, which was now in imminent danger of falling anew into the enemy's hands, refolved to call *Belifarius* out of *Persia*, notwithstanding the fuccefs that attended him there, and fend him again into *Italy*. Accordingly he wrote to *Belifarius*, ordering him to repair forthwith to *Italy*, and to take upon him the command of his armies in that country. *Belifarius* no fooner received this order, than, leaving *Comagene*, where he then was, he fet out for the weft. In his way through *Thrace*, he raifed above four thoufand men at his own expence, and, arriving with them at *Salona*, he difpatched from thence *Vitalius*, general of *Illyricum*, with a body of troops to the relief of *Otranto*, at whose approach the *Goths* retired; fo that the town was reinforced with frefh fupplies both of men and provisions. As for *Belifarius* himfelf, he embarked in *Dalmatia*, and came by fea to *Ravenna*, whence he fent feveral parties againft the cities of *Emilia*; but without fuccefs, though they defeated a fmall body of troops difpatched by *Totila* to drive them out of that province. After this, they threw themfelves into *Auximum*, then befieged by the *Goths*; but finding there were not fufficient provisions in the place to maintain fo numerous a garrifon, they refolved to fally out, and march to *Pifaurus*, now *Pefaro*, which ftood at a fmall diftance, and was ftill held by the *Romans*. In their retreat, two hundred of them were flain by the befiegers; but the reft reached *Pifaurus*, whither *Totila* purfued them, hoping to take the place by ftorm; but, being vigorously repulfed by the garrifon, he returned to the fiege of *Auximum*; and at the fame time, finding that *Belifarius* was not in a condition to take the field, he fent out detachments to befiege *Firmum* and *Afculum*, two places of great importance in the province of *Picenum*. *Belifarius*, chiefly concerned for *Rome*, appointed *Biffas* governor of that city, and fent *Artafiris* a *Persian*, and *Barbation* a *Thracian*, men of valour, and great experience in war, to command under *Biffas*, ftrictly injoining them to make no fallies, in cafe the town was befieged. Being himfelf utterly unable to relieve the befieged towns, or put a ftop to the progrefs of the *Goths*, he difpatched *John* to *Conftantinople*, with a letter to the emperor, wherein he acquainted him with the fituation of his affairs in *Italy*, telling him at the fame time, that, being deftitute of men, arms, and money, it was impoffible for him to profecute the war. *Juftinian*, upon the receipt of this letter, ordered new levies to be made, the veterans being all employed againft the *Persians*. But in the mean time *Totila*, purfuing his good fortune, took feveral ftrong-holds and cities of great confequence, viz. *Firmum*, *Afculum*, *Auximum*, *Spoletum*, &c. and at length approached *Rome*, which he invefted on all fides. As he drew near the city, *Artafiris* and *Barbation*, contrary to the exprefs command of *Belifarius*, made a fally, thinking they fhould furprife the *Goths*; but they were themfelves taken in an ambufcade, and, moft of their men being cut in pieces, they narrowly efaped falling into the enemy's hands. The town had not been long befieged, when *Belifarius* was informed, that a confiderable number of troops, fent by the emperor, were in full march to join him. Hereupon *Belifarius*, committing the care of *Ravenna* to *Juftin*, marched with a fmall body of forces to *Epidamnus*, where he met them. Soon after, *Narfes* the eunuch arrived with fome auxiliary troops raifed among the *Heruli*, and commanded by *Phelimuth*, and other leaders of their own nation. With part of this reinforcement *Belifarius* failed to the port of *Rome*, which he was mighty defirous of relieving; and fent the reft, under the command of *John*, into *Calabria*, with orders to drive the *Goths* out of thofe parts, and then join him in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. *John* took fome places; but, being afraid to pafs by the city of *Capua*, or to make any attempt upon it, though

*Belifarius fent
again into Italy*

*Auximum,
Firmum, and
Afculum, be-
fied by the
Goths.*

*Rome befieged
by Totila.*

defended

- a defended only by three hundred *Goths*, he did not, pursuant to his orders, join *Belisarius* at the time appointed ^e. In the mean time *Rome* being so closely blocked up, that no provisions could be imported either by land or water, a dreadful famine began to rage in the city. The unhappy citizens, having consumed every thing that could give them any nourishment, and even the grass that grew near the walls, were in the end obliged to feed on their excrements. Several, to avoid the calamities they groaned under, laid violent hands on themselves. In this extremity they flocked in great multitudes to *Bessas* their governor, earnestly intreating him to supply them with food, and, if that was not in his power, either to give them leave to go out of the town, or to deliver them from their miseries by putting them to death. *Bessas* replied, That to supply them with food, was impossible; to let them go, unsafe; and to kill them, impious. To raise their drooping spirits, he assured them, that an army was hourly expected from *Constantinople*, which, under the command of *Belisarius*, would oblige the *Goths* to abandon the siege, and retire ^f. *Vigilius*, bishop of *Rome*, sent from *Sicily*, where he then was, several ships laden with corn, to relieve the city; but they were all intercepted by the enemy, who, after the reduction of *Naples*, kept a great number of vessels constantly cruising between *Sicily* and *Rome*. In the end, *Bessas* suffered such of the citizens as were willing to retire, to go out of the city, upon their paying him a sum of money; but most of them either died on the road, or, falling into the enemy's hands, were by them cut in pieces. *Belisarius*, well apprised of the miserable condition to which the besieged were reduced, used all possible means to relieve them; but fortune, or rather Providence, seemed to fight against him; for his attempts, however well concerted, proved all unsuccessful; which gave him so much uneasiness, that he fell into a fever, and was thought, for some time, to be in great danger. In the mean time the besieged, no longer able to bear the miseries with which they were afflicted, and despairing of relief, began to mutiny, and press *Bessas* to come to an agreement with *Totila*; which he refusing to do, four of the *Isaurians*, who guarded the *Porta Asinaria*, letting themselves down from the wall by ropes fastened to the battlements in the dead of the night, while their companions were asleep, went to *Totila*, and undertook to receive his army into the city. The king with great joy embraced the overture, and, sending four *Goths* of great strength, intrepidity, and resolution, into the city with the *Isaurians*, he silently approached the gates with his whole army; which being opened by the *Isaurians*, with the assistance of the four *Goths* within, he entered the city at the head of his troops. Upon the first alarm, *Bessas*, with the other commanders, and most of the soldiers, fled out at another gate. Such as remained behind, took sanctuary in the churches, whither the inhabitants likewise fled. *Totila*, who had kept his men under arms all night, and united in a body, through fear of an ambuscade, finding he had nothing to apprehend, went early in the morning to *St. Peter's* church, to return thanks for the success of the enterprize. His men, in their way, killed six-and-twenty soldiers, with about sixty of the inhabitants; and this is all the blood that was shed; for *Pelagius* the deacon, throwing himself at his feet when he entered the church, with the book of the gospels in his hand, earnestly intreated him to spare the inhabitants. *Totila*, highly provoked against the inhabitants, refused at first to comply with his demand; but was in the end prevailed upon to forbid his *Goths*, under the severest penalties, to put any, either of the citizens or soldiers, to death. However, he gave them full liberty to plunder the city, which they did for several days together, stripping the inhabitants of all their wealth, and leaving nothing in their houses but the naked walls. Thus many persons of great distinction, and among the rest *Rusticiana*, the widow of *Boetius*, and daughter of *Symmachus*, a matron of exemplary piety, were reduced to beg their bread from door to door. In the house of *Bessas* they found an immense treasure, which he had scandalously amassed during the siege, by selling to the people, at an exorbitant price, the corn that had been stored up for the use of the garrison. The *Goths* were for putting *Rusticiana* to death, because she had persuaded, as they pretended, the *Romans* to pull down the images, and destroy the statues, of *Theodoric*, to revenge, by that means, the death of her father and husband. But *Totila*, taking her and all the women under his protection, secured them against the cruelty and insolence of the soldiery ^g. Thus was *Rome* recovered by the *Goths* in the year of the christian æra 547. the twentieth of *Justinian's* reign, and the

A great famine
in Rome.

Rome betrayed
to Totila.
Year after
Christ 547.

He spares the
inhabitants;
but plunders
the city.

^e PROCOPI. l. iii. c. 9, 10.

^f Idem ibid. c. 17.

^g Idem ibid. c. 20.

twelfth of the war. *Totila*, according to the most probable opinion, entered *Rome* a on the seventeenth of *January*.

He upbraids
the senate, but
spares them.

Totila, now master of the capital of *Italy*, sent for the senate, and putting them in mind of the favours they had received from the *Goths*, and the severe treatment they had met with from the emperor and his officers, he bitterly reproached them for behaving so ungratefully to their benefactors, and, in the transport of his passion, threatened to make them all slaves; but his anger soon asswaging, he pardoned them at the intercession of *Pelagius*, and dismissed them untouched. Soon after, he dispatched *Pelagius*, and one *Theodorus* a *Roman* orator, as his ambassadors to *Justinian*, with letters full of respect, in which he desired to live in peace and amity with him, as *Theodoric* had done with *Anastasius*, promising, in that case, to respect him as his father, and to assist him, when wanted, with all his forces, against any other nation whatsoever. On the contrary, if the emperor rejected his offers, he threatened to level *Rome* with the ground, to put the whole senate to the sword, and carry the war into *Illyricum*. The emperor returned no other answer, than that he referred the whole to *Belisarius*, who had full power to manage all things of that nature as he pleased. *Totila*, provoked at this answer, and at the defeat of a body of troops, which he had sent to open a passage into *Lucania*, resolved to demolish *Rome*, so as not to leave one stone upon another. Accordingly he began with the wall, of which he threw down a third part, and was ready to set fire to the most stately and beautiful buildings of the city, when he received a letter from *Belisarius*, dissuading him from the resolution he had taken. *Belisarius* laid great stress on the grandeur and majesty of that antient city, which being raised to such a height of fame and greatness by the industry and valour of so many celebrated and eminent men, posterity would look upon him, who destroyed it, as an enemy to mankind, since he deprived them of so many monuments of the worth and merit of their ancestors. He added, that if, in the end, the *Goths* should prove victorious, he would never forgive himself for destroying the most beautiful city in his dominions, nay, the most beautiful and magnificent in the whole world. On the other hand, if, in the course of the war, fortune should happen to abandon him, he would, by preserving so favourite a city, highly oblige the conqueror, who would not fail to make him a suitable return; whereas, by demolishing it, he would preclude himself from all favour. *Totila*, having seriously considered the contents of this letter, and weighed, with attention, the arguments alleged by *Belisarius*, resolved to follow his advice, and, laying aside all thoughts of destroying *Rome*, he marched with his army into *Lucania*. The senate he carried with him, and the rest of the inhabitants, with their wives and children, he sent, under a strong guard, into *Lucania* before him, not leaving a single inhabitant in *Rome*. Being arrived in *Lucania*, he reduced all that country, and then marched with his army towards *Ravenna*^b. Upon his departure, *John* seized on *Tarentum*, which he fortified with a ditch cut through the isthmus. The city of *Spoletum* was likewise recovered by the *Romans*, being betrayed to them by one *Martianus*, a *Roman* soldier, who pretended to be a deserter. *Belisarius* had continued all this time at *Portus*, about ten miles from *Rome*; but being informed, that *Totila* had bent his march towards *Ravenna*, and being mighty desirous of recovering once more the capital of

He is diverted
by *Belisarius*
from destroying
the city; but
carries with
him all the in-
habitants.

Rome regained
and fortified by
Belisarius.

Totila returns
against it.

Italy, he led his small army thither; and, finding the city quite destitute of inhabitants, and a third part of the walls levelled with the ground, he undertook the re-peopling of the place, and began to repair the walls. He cleared the ditch round the city, which had been filled up by *Totila*, and, for the present, contented himself with heaping huge stones, one upon another, in the many breaches, which he had made in the wall. The whole work being finished in the space of twenty-five days, and the city supplied with great store of provisions, which *Belisarius* took care to have imported by water, the antient inhabitants, who had been dispersed up and down *Italy*, returned in flocks, and were kindly received by *Belisarius*, who restored to every one his own house and possessions, and promised an immunity from taxes to such as were willing to settle there. Upon this news, *Totila* hastened back to *Rome*, not doubting but, at his approach, *Belisarius* would abandon the place, and return to *Portus*, which was strongly fortified; but finding, contrary to his expectation, that the *Roman* general was determined not to quit the city, but to defend it to the last, he encamped at a small distance from the walls, and early next morning advanced

a in battle-array, and began the attack with incredible fury. The *Romans*, animated by the example of their general, defended themselves with no less valour and intrepidity; so that the fight lasted from morning to night, when the *Goths*, who had lost a great number of men, returned to their camp. The assault was renewed the three following days; but *Totila*, being constantly repulsed with great loss, abandoned the enterprize, and retired to *Tibur*, where he continued for some time, leaving *Belisarius* at full leisure to complete the fortifications of *Rome*; which he did accordingly, and once more sent the keys of the city to the emperor. But the *Goths*, who had hitherto extolled their king, and, equalling him to the greatest heroes of antiquity, had accounted themselves happy in the choice, began to complain loudly of his conduct, and, with great liberty, to blame him for not having either intirely demolished *Rome*, or left a strong garrison in it, to prevent its falling anew into the enemy's hands. The whole army grew so discontented, that, when he prepared to march to the siege of *Perugia*, they betrayed a great reluctance to follow him thither, till, in a set speech, he made an apology for his late conduct, ascribing his bad success, not to any want of foresight or neglect on his side, but to the inconstancy of fortune, which in all human affairs, but more especially in matters of war, bears a chief sway. Having thus regained the esteem and affection of his soldiers, he left *Tibur*, and, marching with his whole army to *Perugia*, he sat down before that city. Upon his departure, *John*, who had continued in those parts, being master of *Otranto*, hastened into *Campania*, and there set at liberty the *Roman* senators and their wives, after having routed a strong party of *Goths*, that had been left by *Totila* to guard them. Hereupon *Totila*, to be revenged on *John*, rising from before *Perugia*, hastened, over mountains, and through by-ways, into *Apulia*, where he then was; but, falling unadvisedly upon him in the night, the *Romans*, by favour of the darkness, made their escape, with the loss of no more than an hundred men, and got safe into *Taranto*. This was a great oversight in *Totila*; for, as his army was ten times their number, had he waited with patience till day-light, he might have surrounded them, and cut them off to a man. In the mean time *Belisarius*, having received from *Constantinople* a supply of twelve hundred men, sailed with them for *Sicily*, being informed, that *Totila* designed to pass over into that island, which was then quite unguarded. But *Totila*, instead of making any attempt upon *Sicily*, invested with his whole army *Rusciana*, a city of great strength in *Calabria*. Hereupon *Belisarius*, leaving *Sicily*, sailed to *Otranto*, where he received a second supply from *Constantinople* of two thousand foot, under the command of *Valerianus*. He then ordered *John* to join him with the body he commanded; and, having assembled a great number of transports, he set sail for *Rusciana*, with a design to relieve that place; but, finding the *Goths* drawn up on the shore, and ready to receive him, he abandoned the enterprize, and returned to *Rome*, sending *John* and *Valerian*, with part of the forces, to lay waste *Picenum*, and by that means oblige *Totila* to raise the siege of *Rusciana*. But the king of the *Goths*, pursuing the siege with more vigour than ever, detached two thousand horse into *Picenum*, who, being joined by the *Goths* in that province, obliged the *Romans* sent by *Belisarius* to retire. In the mean while the garrison of *Rusciana*, being reduced to great streights, and despairing of relief, submitted to *Totila*, who, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance they made, treated them with great humanity, receiving such of them as were willing to serve under him into his army, and suffering the rest to retire unmolested whither they pleased. Only *Chalazar*, who had formerly broken his word to him, he put to death, after having caused his hands and privy parts to be cut off¹.

DURING these transactions in *Italy*, the *Persians* having gained considerable advantages over the *Romans*, *Justinian* was easily persuaded by *Antonia*, the wife of *Belisarius*, to recal her husband, and employ him anew against that nation. *Belisarius* therefore left *Italy*, having rather lost the reputation he had gained by his former expedition, than acquired a greater; for, during the five years he commanded against *Totila*, he scarce performed any thing worthy of notice, being, as it were, in a perpetual flight, and sailing from one sea-port to another². *Procopius*, in his books of the *Gothic* war, which were published while *Justinian* and *Belisarius* were yet alive, lays the whole blame on fortune; but, in the *anecdota* or secret history, he, or some other writer, charges him with several mistakes, and besides, accuses him of levying

¹ Idem ibid. c. 23, 24.² Idem ibid. c. 24, 25.

vast sums on the inhabitants of *Ravenna*, of *Sicily*, and of all the places that had submitted to the *Romans*, on pretence of punishing them for having once sided with the *Goths*. He adds, that *Herodian*, governor of *Spoletum*, not being able to supply him with the money he required, renounced his allegiance to the emperor, and delivered up the place to the *Goths*, having no other means to redeem himself from the importunity of the avaricious and ever-craving commander. The same writer ascribes the misunderstanding between him and *John*, which greatly retarded the emperor's service, to *Antonia*, the general's wife, who, to ingratiate herself with the empress *Theodora*, the declared enemy of *John*, pressed her husband to dispatch him by some means or other; which *John* being apprised of, declined, as much as he could, joining or assisting him. But to return to *Totila*: Upon the departure of *Belisarius*, he returned before *Perugia*, which he took by storm; but, according to his custom, spared both the inhabitants and the garrison. And now the *Franks*, who had long continued quiet, concluding the *Goths*, as well as the *Romans*, to be greatly weakened by such a long and destructive war, thought it high time to lay hold of the opportunity, and, breaking into *Italy*, to seize, without distinction, on the countries belonging to both. In the very beginning of the war, the *Ostrogoths*, as we have related above, not able to make head at the same time against the *Romans* and the *Franks*, attempted to gain over the latter to their party, by yielding to them the provinces they held in *Gaul*. This *Justinian* was so far from opposing, that, on the contrary, carefully avoiding to give the *Franks* the least pretence of making war upon him, he solemnly confirmed them in the possession of the countries the *Goths* had yielded to them, renouncing in their behalf all claims to the said countries. Thus, adds our historian, the kings of the *Franks*, whom he commonly styles *Germans*, became masters of *Marseilles*, an ancient colony of the *Phocæans*, and of the other maritime towns, with the sea itself. And now, continues *Procopius*, they preside at the equestrian combats in the city of *Arles*, and coin the gold, which they draw from the mines of *Gaul*, not with the image of the emperor, as they have done hitherto, but with their own¹. Thus the *Franks* became lawful sovereigns of the countries formerly held by the *Ostrogoths* in *Gaul*, and behaved as such, according to the observation of *Procopius*, by presiding at the equestrian sports in *Arles*, at that time the capital of *Gaul*, and coining gold with their own images. But no favours, no grants, could make the *Franks* forget their natural treachery, or stand to their engagements, when they had the least prospect of advantage from their acting contrary to them. The *Ostrogoths* had yielded to them the rich countries, which they held in *Gaul*; *Justinian* had transferred to them the claim and title he had to those countries. By their treaty with the *Goths*, they were to assist them against the *Romans*; by their treaty with the *Romans*, they were to stand neuter; and both treaties they equally observed; for, thinking both nations greatly weakened by so long a war, they laid hold of that opportunity to fall upon both; and accordingly, entering the province of *Venetia*, belonging partly to the *Romans*, and partly to the *Goths*, they seized it for themselves. In the mean time *Totila*, having received a reinforcement of six thousand *Lombards*, commanded by *Ildiges*, one of their princes, resolved to march to *Rome*, and once more attempt the reduction of that city. *Belisarius* had left there three thousand chosen men, under the command of *Diogenes*, an officer of great experience, and known valour, who held out, for a considerable time, against the repeated assaults of the enemy. *Totila* invested the city on all sides, and, from the very beginning of the siege, made himself master of *Portus*; so that, all communication being cut off both by sea and land, he hoped to reduce the garrison in a short time by famine. But against this evil *Diogenes* wisely provided, by causing corn to be sowed within the walls; so that the town would, in all likelihood, have held out till the arrival of the promised succours from *Constantinople*, had it not been betrayed a second time by the *Isaurians*. One of the gates was guarded by a body of that nation, who, being discontented for want of their pay, which they had not received for some years, and hearing that their countrymen, who had formerly betrayed the city, had been preferred and enriched by the *Goths*, resolved to follow their example; and accordingly, some of them having first had a private conference with *Totila*, they opened, at the time agreed on, the gate which they guarded, and received him, with his whole army, into the city. As *Totila* had caused the trumpets to sound at the opposite

The Franks
make them-
selves masters
of Venetia.

Rome besieged
by Totila.

And betrayed
to him a second
time by the
Isaurians.
Year after
Christ 550.

¹ Idem ibid. c. 33.

- a gate, pretending to attack the city on that side, the garrison hastened thither; so that he met with no opposition. When the inhabitants found the town was taken, they fled out at the opposite gate towards *Centumcellæ*, the only strong place held by the *Romans* in that neighbourhood; but great numbers of them, and likewise of the soldiers who took the same route, were cut off by the *Goths*, whom *Totila* had placed in ambushes on the road, not doubting but they would fly that way. *Diogenes* escaped with a slight wound; but *Paul* a *Cilician*, whom *Belisarius* had appointed to command under him, retired with a body of four hundred horse to *Adrian's* tomb, and possessed himself of the bridge leading to *St. Peter's* church, now *Ponte Santi' Angelo*. There they defended themselves with incredible valour against the enemy's whole army, till they had no provisions left; when they resolved to sally out, and either open themselves a way through the midst of the enemy, or die in the attempt. Having taken this resolution, they embraced and took leave of each other, as ready to die; which *Totila* hearing, and dreading the effects of such a desperate resolution, thought it adviseable to offer them terms. Accordingly he let them know by a messenger, that, upon their delivering up their horses and arms, and swearing never to serve more against the *Goths*, he was ready to grant them leave to return to *Constantinople*; but that, if they chose rather to stay in *Italy*, and serve under him, they should have all their effects restored to them, and be treated upon the same footing with the *Goths*. They chose at first to return to *Constantinople*; but afterwards, changing their mind, they listed themselves among the troops of *Totila*. Only *Paul*, and one *Mindus* an *Isaurian*, begged leave to return home; which *Totila* not only granted, but allowed them a safe conduct, and money to bear their charges. About three hundred more of the garrison, who had taken sanctuary in the churches, abandoning their asylum, submitted to *Totila*, upon his promising to spare their lives. He was formerly bent upon destroying *Rome*, as we have hinted above, but diverted from it by *Belisarius*. Now he made it his chief study to embellish the city, repairing, at a great expence, what he had formerly destroyed. He recalled the senate, and restored them to their antient rank and splendor, invited the citizens to take possession of their estates, supplied the city with plenty of provisions, and, peopling it with *Goths* and *Italians*, exhibited the *Circensian* games, after the manner of the *Roman* emperors, and presided at them in person. This, so different from his former conduct, was owing to the answer given him by the king of the *Franks*, when he asked his daughter in marriage, viz. that he would not dispose of his daughter to any but a king; and that *Totila* ought not to be looked upon as such, since he was not able to preserve the capital city, but had been obliged to demolish part of it, and abandon the rest to the enemy^m. And now *Totila*, once more master of *Rome*, dispatched ambassadors to *Constantinople*, with proposals for a peace, offering, upon the emperor's relinquishing *Italy* to him, to assist him as a faithful ally against any other nation whatsoever. But *Justinian* was so far from hearkening to the overture, that he would not even admit the ambassadors to his presence. Hereupon *Totila*, determined to pursue the war with more vigour than ever, having left a strong garrison in *Rome*, marched with the rest of his army to *Circumcellæ*, now *Civita Vecchia*, which he invested; but *Diogenes* making a vigorous resistance, it was agreed between him and *Totila*, that he should acquaint the emperor with his situation, and that if, by a time prefixed, he received no relief, the place should be delivered up, and thirty hostages were given. After this, he passed with his army into *Sicily*, and, in his passage, made an attempt upon *Rhegium*; but finding the place strongly garrisoned, he left part of the army to block it up, in order to reduce it by famine; and with the rest crossed over into *Sicily*, after having made himself master of *Tarentum*. As he was embarquing his forces, news was brought him, that *Ariminum* had been betrayed to the *Goths* he had left in *Picenum*. Having crossed the streights, he landed without opposition at *Messina*; but, not being able to reduce that city, he laid waste the neighbouring country, destroying all with fire and sword. In the mean time the garrison of *Rhegium*, being reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions, submitted upon terms, and delivered up the city to the troops left by *Totila* before itⁿ.

He repairs what he had formerly destroyed.

He takes Tarentum, and passes over into Sicily.

Justinian, alarmed at the progress *Totila* made, forgave *Artabanes*, who had lately conspired against him, and sent him into *Sicily*, to defend that island against the *Goths*, and, if possible, to drive them from thence. At the same time he named his

^m Idem ibid. c. 36, 37.

ⁿ Idem ibid.

Germanus appointed general in Italy.

He dies.

Syracuse taken, and all Sicily reduced by Totila.

Narses appointed to command in Italy.

Ancona besieged by the Goths.

nephew *Germanus* general against the *Goths* in *Italy*, allowing him a large sum to raise a troops in *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, whence he was to march into *Italy* with *Pbilimuth* commander of the *Heruli*, and *John* then general of *Illyricum*. As *Germanus* was a man of a generous temper, and greatly beloved by the soldiery, he soon raised a very considerable army, not only the *Romans*, but the barbarians, flocking to him from all parts. With this army, the best the emperor had ever sent into *Italy*, he hoped to add to the reputation, which he had lately acquired against the *Vandals* in *Africa*, the glory of driving the *Goths* out of *Italy*, and reuniting that country to the empire. This, he thought, he might the more easily accomplish, as he had married *Mata-suntha*, the daughter of *Amalasuntha*, and grand-daughter of *Theodoric*, who, he hoped, would draw great numbers of the *Goths* over to his party; for he designed to take her with him into *Italy*. The *Goths* were greatly dispirited, when they heard, that a general of consummate experience, universally beloved by the soldiery, and so nearly allied to *Theodoric*, whose memory they adored, was to command against them. On the other hand, the *Romans* began to take courage anew, and such of them as had been dispersed by their frequent defeats, assembling in one body on the borders of *Istria*, waited his arrival there. And now *Germanus*, having drawn together all his forces in the neighbourhood of *Sardica*, ordered them to be ready within three days to march into *Italy*. But Providence had otherwise disposed of affairs; for *Germanus* was suddenly seized with a violent distemper, which, in a few days, put an end to his life, and all his great designs. The emperor, upon the news of his death, which gave him the utmost concern, ordered *Justin*, the son of *Germanus*; and *John*, who had married his daughter, to lead the army into *Italy*. But as the winter approached, and they wanted ships to convey the troops thither by sea, they marched into *Dalmatia*, and there put them into winter-quarters, taking up their own in *Salona*. In the mean time *Totila*, having laid waste great part of *Sicily*, sat down with his army before *Syracuse*; but *Liberius*, whom *Justinian* had sent with a squadron to protect that coast, having forced his way into the haven, relieved the garrison with a considerable supply both of men and provisions. However, *Totila* pursued the siege with great vigour, though valiantly opposed by the *Romans* within, who, hearing that *Artabanes* was coming to their relief with a mighty fleet, would hearken to no terms. But the fleet being dispersed on the coast of *Calabria* by a violent storm, and *Artabanes* driven to the island of *Malta*, where, with much difficulty, he saved himself, *Liberius*, despairing of relief, abandoned *Syracuse* to the enemy, and conveyed the garrison by sea to *Palermo*. And now *Totila*, having no enemy in *Sicily* to oppose him, intirely reduced that island, and, leaving four strong garrisons in it to awe the inhabitants, he returned to *Italy*, loaded with booty. Early in the spring, *Justin* and *John*, who had passed the winter in *Salona*, having drawn together their forces, set out on their march to *Ravenna*. But in the mean time the *Slavi*, passing the *Danube*, either at the instigation of *Totila*, or prompted by a desire of booty, broke into the *Roman* provinces, committing every-where unheard-of cruelties. This greatly retarded the march of the army, the *Roman* generals being obliged to send strong detachments against them; which in the end obliged them to repass the *Danube*, and return home. But, before the two generals reached the confines of *Italy*, they received orders from the emperor to proceed no farther, but to wait the arrival of *Narses*, whom he had appointed commander in chief of all his forces in those parts with an absolute and uncontrouled authority. But, while *Narses* was making the necessary preparations for his intended expedition, *Totila*, having equipped a fleet of three hundred galleys, sent them to pillage the coasts of *Greece*, where they got an immense booty. They made a descent upon the island of *Corfu*; and, having laid it waste, they sailed to *Epirus*, where they surprised and plundered the cities of *Nicopolis* and *Anchialus*, and took upon the coast many ships, and some among the rest laden with provisions for the army of *Narses*. At the same time *Totila* blocked up the city of *Ancona* by sea and land, and by that means soon reduced it to great streights; which *Valerianus*, who was then in *Ravenna*, being well apprised of, he acquainted *John*, who, pursuant to the emperor's orders, was waiting the arrival of *Narses* in *Dalmatia*, with the condition the city was in, earnestly soliciting him to hasten to the relief of the only place the emperor had in those parts, and promising to join him with all the forces under his command. *John* had been ordered not to stir

• Idem ibid. c. 39.

† Idem ibid. c. 40.

- a from *Dalmatia* till the arrival of *Narfes*; but, venturing on this occasion to disobey his orders, he put the flower of his army on board forty vessels, and sailed with them to *Ancona*, where *Valerianus* joined him with a Squadron of twelve ships more. Upon their appearing before *Ancona*, the *Goths*, having manned forty-seven of their best ships, sailed out against them; whereupon an engagement ensued, in which the *Goths*, quite ignorant of sea affairs, were utterly defeated, thirty-six of their ships being taken or sunk, with all the men on board, and the rest driven ashore, where they were set on fire by the *Goths* themselves, lest they should fall into the enemy's hands. The *Goths*, after this defeat, broke up the siege, and, retiring in great haste, left their camp, and part of their baggage, to the *Roman* generals, who, having reinforced the garrison, returned, *Valerianus* to *Ravenna*, and *John* to *Salonæ*. At the same time *Artabanes*, having assembled his fleet, which, as we have related above, had been dispersed by a storm, landed in *Sicily*, and, every-where driving out the *Goths*, recovered all the castles held by them in that island. These losses disheartened the *Goths*, and *Totila* himself, to such a degree, that he once more dispatched ambassadors to *Constantinople*, offering to yield *Sicily* and *Dalmatia* to the emperor, to pay an annual tribute for *Italy*, and to assist the *Romans* as a faithful ally in all their wars. But *Justinian*, bent upon driving the *Goths* out of *Italy*, ordered the ambassadors to return home, without suffering them to appear in his presence ^a.
- b *Totila*, finding *Justinian* would hearken to no terms, began to levy new forces and make vast preparations both by sea and land. Having equipped a considerable fleet, he sent it against *Corseca* and *Sardinia*, both which islands were soon reduced. On the other hand, the city of *Croton* in *Calabria*, which had been long besieged by the *Goths*, was relieved by the garrison of *Thermopylae* in *Greece*, conveyed by sea into *Italy*. But now *Narfes* drew near at the head of a formidable army, bringing with him an immense treasure to supply the wants of the troops, and to pay the emperor's forces in *Italy* their arrears, which had been due ever since the beginning of the war. His army consisted not only of *Romans* levied by him in *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, but of barbarians, who had flocked to him from all parts. Besides, *Auduin* king of the *Lombards*, sent him a body of five thousand chosen men; *Philimuth*, prince of the *Heruli*, joined him with three thousand of his countrymen; *Aruth*, another prince of the same nation, came to his assistance at the head of a chosen body of veterans. A great number of *Gepidae*, *Hunns*, *Persians*, &c. cheerfully followed his banner, some in acknowledgment of his former favours, (for he had been always kind to the barbarians) and others in expectation of spoil and booty; for they were all convinced, that the *Goths* could not make head against so numerous an army, commanded by a general of great valour, and consummate experience. *Narfes*, on his entering *Dalmatia*, was joined by *John*, and the army under his command; but being advanced as far as the confines of *Venetia*, the *Franks*, who, as we have related above, had seized on that province, refused him a passage; so that, not caring, at so critical a conjuncture, to provoke that nation, by the advice of *John*, who was well acquainted with those parts, he changed his route, and, marching along the sea-coast, he got safe, with his whole army, to *Ravenna*, where he was joined by the remainder of the *Roman* forces, under the command of *Valerianus* and *Justin*. Having staid nine days in *Ravenna* to refresh his army, and appointed *Justin* governor of that city, he began his march towards *Rome*. Being arrived at *Ariminum*, *Ufdrilas*, governor of the place, sallied unexpectedly out upon him with part of the garrison, as he was looking for a ford, attended by a small guard; but a party of *Heruli* coming seasonably up, put the *Goths* to flight, and killed *Ufdrilas* in the pursuit. The *Romans* might have easily made themselves masters of the city, the garrison being greatly disheartened by the death of their governor; but *Narfes*, pursuing his main design, and avoiding every thing that could retard it, proceeded on his march, the *Goths* suffering him to pass the river undisturbed. He left the *Via Flaminia*, being informed, that a strong body of *Goths* guarded the narrow pass in the mountains called *Petra Periusa*, now the *Furlo*, and, turning to the left, pursued his march towards *Rome*. In the mean time *Totila*, having assembled all his forces in the neighbourhood of that city, marched through *Tuscany* towards the *Apennine*, and, having reached that mountain, encamped at a village called *Tagiria*, with a design to give the *Romans* battle upon the first advantage that offered. He had scarce formed his camp, when *Narfes* came to

Who are defeated by sea, and forced to raise the siege.

The *Goths* make themselves masters of *Corseca* and *Sardinia*.

Narfes arrives with a great army in *Italy*.

^a Idem, l. iv. c. 23.

He is met by
Totila.

The Goths de-
feated.

And Totila
killed.

incamp on the same mountain, at a small distance from the place, which was me- a
morable for the defeat of the *Gauls* by *Camillus*, and was called *Busta Gallorum*, because
the *Gauls* slain by him were buried there. *Narfes*, upon his arrival, dispatched a
messenger to *Totila*, advising him not to contend with the whole strength of the em-
pire, commanding the messenger at the same time, if he found *Totila* bent upon war,
to bid him appoint a day for a pitched battle. *Totila*, without betraying the least
fear, told the messenger, that the dispute must be decided with the sword; and that,
eight days after, he would not fail to meet the *Roman* general. *Narfes*, suspecting
some design in this delay, made the necessary preparations, as if he were to fight
the day following: and acted therein very wisely; for the next day *Totila* advanced
with his whole army in order of battle. *Narfes* had in the night detached fifty men b
to seize on an eminence at a small distance; which they did accordingly. But *Totila*,
equally desirous to gain it, sent several detachments of horse, one after the other, to
dislodge them. The *Romans* stood their ground, and, being animated by the example
of their leader, named *Paul*, who behaved with unparalleled bravery, they conti-
nually repulsed the enemy, and obliged them in the end to give over the attempt,
though far superior to the *Romans* in number, and supported by fresh supplies. While
both armies stood in battle-array, waiting the signal, a *Goth*, by name *Cocas*, who
had formerly served in the emperor's army, advancing before the ranks, chal-
lenged any on the *Roman* side to a single combat. The challenge was readily
accepted by one *Anzelas* an *Armenian*, who slew his insulting adversary at the first c
encounter; and, returning to his companions, was received with joyful shouts by
the whole army, who looked upon his success as an omen of their future victory.
Totila, being informed, that a body of two thousand horse, whom he had long
expected, were near at hand, in order to gain time, desired an interview with *Narfes*;
but, before the place was agreed on where they were to meet, the two thousand horse
joined the army; and then *Totila* drew off his troops, and ordered them to refresh
themselves, as if he did not intend to engage that day, it being already noon; but
soon after, he suddenly led them out against the enemy, hoping, by so unexpected
an onset, to surprise them. But *Narfes*, who suspected his design, and therefore
had kept his men in battle-array, received him with great resolution. Both armies d
fought for some time with a fury hardly to be expressed; but in the end the *Gothic*
horse being put to the rout, and retiring in great confusion among the foot, their
infantry was by that means thrown into such disorder, that they could never after-
wards rally. *Narfes*, observing the enemy's army thus disordered, encouraged his
men to make a last effort; which the *Goths* not being able to withstand, they betook
themselves to flight, leaving six thousand of their men dead on the spot. *Totila*,
finding the day irrecoverably lost, fled, attended only by five horsemen; but was
pursued, and mortally wounded, by a commander of the *Gepidae*, named *Asbades*.
However, he continued his flight till he arrived at a place called *Capra*, where he
halted, and had his wound dressed; but he expired soon after, and was privately
buried by those who attended him in his flight. As *Asbades*, who gave him the mor- e
tal wound, did not know him, the report of his death was not believed by the *Ro-*
mans, till a *Gothic* woman having discovered the place where he was buried, they
opened the grave, and viewed the body. Thus *Procopius*. But other writers tell
us, that *Totila* was mortally wounded in the engagement; that he withdrew to have
his wound dressed, but died under the cure; and that his men missing him, and con-
cluding he was killed, betook themselves to a precipitous flight. *Totila* is highly
commended by all the writers of those times, not only for his valour, but for his
humanity, temperance, moderation, and, above all, for his justice and equity. Upon
his accession to the throne, he found the affairs of the *Goths* in a most deplorable con-
dition; but brought them, in the eleven years he reigned, almost to the same state, f
in which *Theodoric* had left them. *Totila*, says *Paulus Diaconus*, though a *Goth*, lived
with the *Romans* like a father with his children, without making the least alteration
in their laws, or form of government. *Procopius*, though a *Greek*, and consequently
no friend to the *Goths*, could not help extolling, on several occasions, his mildness
and clemency to the vanquished. The same writer often commends him as a great
lover of justice and equity. In the many cities he reduced, he took particular care,
that no affront should be offered to the women; and even put to death one of his

* Idem ibid. c. 28, 29.

* EVAGR. l. iv. c. 24. NICETIN. l. xvii. c. 13.

- a officers for abusing the daughter of a *Roman* in *Calabria*, though he was a man of known valour, and the whole army interceded in his behalf: his estate, which was very considerable, he bestowed on the woman, to make some amends for the affront that had been offered her. In short, all the writers who speak of *Totila*, represent him as a person endued with every good quality becoming a prince.

SUCH of the *Goths* as had the good luck to escape the swords of the *Romans*, fled over the *Po*, and assembling at *Ticinum*, now *Pavia*, chose *Teia* for their king. He was deservedly esteemed one of the most valiant men of their nation, and had, on several occasions, distinguished himself in a most eminent manner. His first care was to assemble the *Goths*, who, after the late defeat, had taken refuge in the several strong-holds beyond the *Po*. Having secured the treasure, which his predecessor had left in *Pavia*, he endeavoured to draw the *Franks* to his assistance by the offer of a large sum, and by representing to *Theodebald* their king, that, if the *Romans* once recovered *Italy*, they would, in the next place, attempt, under some specious pretence, to drive them out of *Gaul*, to which they had no better claim, than the *Goths* had to *Italy*. The speech, which the ambassadors of the *Goths* made on this occasion to *Theodebald*, has been transmitted to us by *Agathias*¹, and is well worth perusing. But the *Franks*, says *Procopius*, could not be prevailed upon to lend the *Goths* any assistance, chusing rather to seize on *Italy* for themselves, than to employ their arms in securing it either to the *Goths*, or the *Romans*².

- b In the mean time *Narfes*, informed that the *Goths* had raised *Teia* to the throne, and that he was assembling his countrymen beyond the *Po*, detached *Valerianus*, with part of the army, to watch their motions, and prevent, if possible, their uniting, while he himself marched with the rest towards *Rome*. On his march, he made himself master of *Narnia*, *Spoletum*, and *Perugia*; and then, approaching *Rome*, invested it with his whole army. *Totila*, before the arrival of *Narfes* in *Italy*, had burnt great part of the city; and, not having a sufficient number of men to guard the whole circuit of so large a place, he had surrounded with a new wall that part of it near *Adrian's* tomb, which seemed to him the most strong and defensible. Into this, as we may call it, fortress or castle, the *Goths* retired with their best effects, at the

- d approach of *Narfes*, leaving but a small number of men to defend the walls where they seemed weakest; so that the *Romans*, by the help of scaling ladders, got into the city without opposition. Then *Narfes* marched against the castle, which held out for some time; but the garrison, despairing of relief, surrendered in the end upon a promise from *Narfes*, that their lives should be spared. Thus was *Rome* once more recovered by the *Romans*, and the keys sent again to the emperor. And now the *Goths*, despairing of being able to maintain themselves in *Italy*, vented their rage on the *Roman* senators, killing them where-ever they fell into their hands. Such of that body as had been confined by *Totila* to *Campania*, and were now returning to *Rome*, upon the report, that the city was in the emperor's hands, were all murdered

- e by the *Goths* quartered in those parts. *Totila*, upon his leaving *Rome* to march against *Narfes*, had taken with him, as hostages, the children of the principal *Romans*, to the number of three hundred, and sent them beyond the *Po*; and now *Teia*, finding them there, ordered them all to be put to the sword. At the same time *Ragnaris*, a *Goth*, who commanded in *Calabria*, cut in pieces fifty *Roman* soldiers, who had been delivered to him as hostages. *Teia*, during the siege of *Rome*, had conveyed the best part of the royal treasures to the castle of *Cumæ*, and secured it there with a strong garrison. Hereupon *Narfes* detached from *Rome*, where he continued to repair the ruins in the walls, a strong detachment to besiege *Cumæ*, and at the same time another to attempt the reduction of *Centumcellæ*. But *Teia*, fearing the royal treasure might fall into the enemy's hands, resolved at all events to relieve the city of *Cumæ*, where it was lodged. Pursuant to this resolution, he drew together all his forces, and, passing the *Po*, bent his march through *Tuscany*. *Narfes*, informed of the route he had taken, detached the greater part of his army to keep him at bay, till *Cumæ* had submitted. But he, avoiding the nearest way, and fetching a great compass by the sea-coast, got, without meeting the enemy, into *Campania*. Hereupon *Narfes*, recalling his forces, marched with his whole army into *Campania*, with a design to oblige the *Goths*, if they attempted the relief of *Cumæ*, to come to a general engagement. Both armies encamped at the foot of mount *Vesuvius*, being parted by

¹ AGATH. l. i. p. 27.² PROCOPI. l. iv. c. 34.

the river *Draco*, now *Sarno*, and continued there two months, *Narſes* not daring a either to paſs the river, the *Goths* being maſters of the bridge, or retire, left they ſhould relieve the city of *Cumæ*. But at length *Narſes* having erected on his ſide of the river ſeveral wooden towers, whence the *Goths* were galled with continual ſhowers of arrows, and, by a fleet ſent him from *Sicily*, cut off their communication with the ſea, they were forced, through want of proviſions, to abandon their camp, and retire to a neighbouring mountain, by *Procopius* called *Mons Laſtarius*. Thither *Narſes* followed them; but, not thinking it ſafe to attack them, he made himſelf maſter of all the avenues leading to the mountain, and by that means reduced them to ſuch ſtreights, that they reſolved in the end to put the whole to the iſſue of a battle.

Purſuant to this reſolution, they came down unexpectedly upon the *Romans*, and b *Atuly battle* gave a beginning to one of the moſt bloody battles, if *Procopius* is to be credited, that ever was fought. The *Goths*, like men in deſpair, exerted their utmoſt efforts; and the *Romans* choſe rather to die on the ſpot, than ſhamefully yield to an enemy ſo much inferior to them in number. During the action, *Teia* gave moſt ſurpriſing proofs of his valour and conduct, ſuch as equalled him, in the opinion of *Procopius*, to the moſt renowned heroes of antiquity. Being well apprized, that the whole lay at ſtake, and that the fate of *Italy* depended upon the ſucceſs of that day, he placed himſelf in the firſt rank, to encourage his men by his example. The *Romans*, diſcovering him, and knowing that his death would put an end to the diſpute, and, in all likelihood, to the war, directed their whole force againſt him, ſome attacking him c with their ſpears, and others diſcharging at him ſhowers of darts and arrows, which he received on his ſhield, killing in the mean time great numbers of the enemy, who, with all their efforts, were not able to make him retire, or yield one inch of ground. When his ſhield was ſo loaded with darts, that he could not eaſily wield it, he called for another, and, renewing the fight, made a great ſlaughter of the *Romans*. Thus he ſhifted his ſhield three times; but, in the third change, having left his breaſt expoſed, he was, in that moment, wounded with a javelin, and inſtantly died of the wound, falling in the place where he had ſtood from the beginning of the battle, and upon heaps of the enemy, whom he had killed with his own hand. The *Romans*, d ſeeing him fall, cut off his head, and, fixing it upon a long pole, carried it about, expoſed to the view of the *Goths*, not doubting but, diſheartened at that ſight, they would yield in the end, and retire. But, notwithſtanding the death of their king, they continued the fight, till night coming on, both armies were obliged to retire. Early next morning they engaged anew, and fought with unparallelled bravery, till night again parted them. The third day, the *Goths*, deſpairing of being able to overcome the *Romans*, ſo much ſuperior to them in numbers, reſolved to come to an agreement with them; and accordingly ſent deputies to *Narſes*, offering to lay down their arms, provided ſuch of them, as choſe to live in *Italy*, were allowed to enjoy their eſtates and poſſeſſions without moleſtation, as ſubjects of the empire; and thoſe, e who were willing to retire elſewhere, were ſuffered to carry with them all their goods and effects. Theſe terms being readily agreed to by *Narſes*, and the other commanders of the army, the *Goths*, laying down their arms, either repaired to their reſpective dwellings in *Italy*, or, abandoning that country, retired with their effects elſewhere, after having promiſed never to bear arms againſt the *Romans*. Thus ended the dominion of the *Goths* in *Italy*, in the twenty-fixth year of *Juſtinian's* reign, the eighteenth of the *Gothic* war, and of the chriſtian æra 553. after they had reigned ſixty-four years in that country from *Theodoric* to *Teia*.

The *Goths* ſub-
mit to the em-
peror.

The end of their
dominion in
Italy.
Year after
Chriſt 553.

The *Franks*
enter *Italy*.

SUCH of the *Goths* however, as had been left by *Teia* in the ſtrong-holds, reſuſing to ſtand to the agreement made by their countrymen, had recourſe to the *Franks*, f who, thinking this a favourable opportunity of ſeizing on *Italy* for themſelves, promiſed to aſſiſt them againſt the *Romans* to the utmoſt of their power. Accordingly, they entered *Italy*, notwithſtanding their alliance with the emperor, to the number of ſixty thouſand men, moſt of them the ſubjects of *Theudebald* king of *Metz*, under the conduct of the two brothers *Lautbaris* and *Bucilin*, giving out, that they were come to aſſiſt the *Goths*, but with a view to make themſelves maſters of *Italy*, with the aſſiſtance of thoſe whom they pretended to protect. *Narſes*, informed of their march, reſolved to reduce, if poſſible, before their arrival, ſuch towns as were ſtill held by the *Goths*. Having therefore left part of his army before *Cumæ*, which city

* PROCOPI. l. iv. c. 34. 35.

- a *Teis* had committed to the charge of his brother *Aligern*, who refused to deliver it up to the *Romans*, even after the agreement, he marched into *Tuscan*, where the cities of *Volaterra*, *Pisa*, *Fesula*, and several others, submitted to him; but *Lucca* held out with great obstinacy, the *Goths* there expecting to be relieved by the *Franks*. But the march of their pretended allies being retarded by the troops, which *Narjes* had sent to dispute with them the passage of the *Po*, the city, after three months siege, was obliged to submit. By this time *Aligern*, being reduced to great straits in *Cuma*, began to consider with himself, that if the *Franks*, who were coming to his assistance, should in the end drive the *Romans* out of *Italy*, the *Goths* would be no gainers by their victory, since it was not to be doubted, but the *Franks*, whose treachery was well known, instead of reinstating the *Goths*, would secure the country in dispute to themselves. He therefore judged it more reasonable to deliver it up to the ancient owners, than to strangers; and accordingly, opening the gates to the *Romans*, he put them in possession of the town, and the royal treasure of the *Goths*. There were still remaining seven thousand *Goths*, who, being headed by one *Regnares*, had seized on a strong-hold near *Capua*, called *Cassinum*. Against them *Narjes* marched with his whole army; but, finding he could not storm the place without great loss of men, he resolved to reduce it by famine. The *Goths*, who had laid up great store of provisions, held out all winter; but, early in the spring, *Regnares* demanded a conference with *Narjes*; which being granted him, he insisted upon such unreasonable terms, that the general dismissed him with indignation. This *Regnares* resented to such a degree, that, having gained a hill near the walls, he let fly an arrow at *Narjes*, with a design to kill him; but, having missed his aim, the general's guards sent a shower of arrows after him, with one of which being mortally wounded, he was carried by his own men into the castle, where he died two days after. The besieged, disheartened by the death of their leader, submitted, upon promise that their lives should be spared. *Narjes*, being admitted into the place, spared their lives, agreeable to his promise; but, to prevent their raising any further disturbance in *Italy*, he sent them all to *Constantinople*. As for the *Franks*, who had entered *Italy* under the conduct of *Leutharis* and *Bucelinus*, their numerous army was intirely destroyed, partly by the sword, and partly by sickness, as we shall relate at length in a more proper place; so that now all *Italy* was anew brought under subjection to the emperor, and united to the eastern empire, some of the *Goths* retiring elsewhere, but most of them remaining in *Italy*, where they continued to enjoy, pursuant to their agreement with *Narjes*, the lands and possessions which they held there. *Narjes*, who had delivered that country from the dominion of the *Goths*, was appointed by *Justinian* to govern it as a province of the eastern empire, which he did, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants, till the year 568. when he was recalled by the emperor *Justin II.* the successor of *Justinian*, at the instigation of his wife *Sophia*, and *Longinus* was sent to govern *Italy* in his room. As *Longinus* introduced a new form of government, we shall, in a few words, acquaint the reader with the alterations he made, and then proceed to the history of the *Lombards*, with which that of the exarchs, the successors of *Longinus*, is inseparably interwoven. The provinces of *Italy* had, ever since the time of *Constantine the Great*, been governed by *consulares*, *correctores*, and *præsides*, no alteration in the government having been made, either by the emperors who succeeded *Constantine*, or by the kings of the *Goths*. But *Longinus*, being sent to succeed *Narjes* with an absolute power and authority, suppressed those magistrates, and, in their room placed, in each city of note, a governor, whom he distinguished with the title of duke. The city of *Rome* was not more honoured than any other; for *Longinus*, having abolished the very name of senate and consuls, appointed one to govern that metropolis with the title of duke, common to the governors of the other cities. For himself, he took the title of *exarch*, which, by the *Greeks*, was given to those who presided over a diocese, and consequently over the many provinces, of which the diocese was composed. Thus likewise in the ecclesiastic hierarchy, which was formed upon the model of the civil government, the bishop, who was put over one single province, was styled metropolitan; but he, who governed a diocese, and consequently several provinces, was distinguished with the title of *exarch*. This title was adopted by the successors of *Longinus*, who, residing, as he had done, at *Ravenna*, were thence called the *exarchs* of *Ravenna*. They governed all *Italy*, naming and

Several cities held by the Goths submitted to Narjes.

Seven thousand Goths besieged in Cassinum.

They deliver up the place to Narjes.

Narjes recalled, and Longinus sent in his room.

Year after Christ 568.

The beginning of the exarchate.

The names of
the exarchs.

removing the dukes at their pleasure, and to them the people had recourse in all matters of moment. *Longinus* was sent by *Justin* to govern all *Italy*; but great part of that country, in the first year of his government, was seized on by the *Lombards*, called in by *Narses*, as we have related at length elsewhere^a. This magistrate maintained the power and authority of the emperors of the east in *Italy* for the space of an hundred and eighty-three years, that is, from the year 568. when *Longinus* was sent into *Italy*, to the year 751. when *Eutychius*, the last exarch, was driven out, and *Ravenna* taken by *Astulphus* king of the *Lombards*. The exarchs, who governed *Italy* during this time, were in all seventeen, viz. *Longinus*, *Zamaragdus*, *Romanus*, *Callinicus*, *Zamaragdus*, *Joannes Lernigius*, *Eleutherius*, *Isaaci*, *Theodorus*, *Olympius*, *Theodorus*, *Joannes*, *Theophylactus*, *Joannes Tyzocopus*, *Scholasticus*, *Paulus*, and *Eutychius*^b. But as the *Lombards* were the only people that invaded *Italy* during their time, and with whom they waged war in defence of that country, we cannot, without repeating the same things, separately deliver their respective histories; and therefore shall now, pursuant to our plan, resume the history of the *Lombards*, in which the reader will find whatever has been transmitted to us concerning the exarchs, till the taking of *Ravenna* by *Astulphus*, and the end of the exarchate.

^a Vide p. 618.

^b SCALIG. isagog.

SECT. II.

The history of the Lombards, from the death of Clephis, to Desiderius, taken captive by Charlemagne.

The Lombards
break into
Gaul.

Receive a great
overthrow from
the Franks.

The Saxons and
Lombards dis-
agree.

The Saxons re-
turn home, and
are most of
them cut off by
the Suani.

IN the foregoing chapter, we have delivered the history of the *Lombards*, from their first original to the death of *Clephis*, the successor of *Alboin*, and second king of *Italy*^a, and shall now proceed to the history of the other princes of that nation, to *Desiderius* their last king, taken captive by *Charlemagne*. The *Lombards*, upon the death of *Clephis*, who had treated them with great cruelty, resolved to be no more governed by kings; and accordingly chose none for the space of ten years, but, during that time, lived subject to their dukes, as we have related elsewhere^b. The most powerful among these dukes, uniting their forces, entered *Gaul*, and committed there dreadful ravages. *Contran*, king of *Orleans*, dispatched a considerable army against them, under the conduct of *Amalus* a patrician, who engaged them, but was cut off with the greater part of the army. After this victory, the *Lombards* ravaged *Burgundy* without controul, made a dreadful slaughter of the *Burgundians*, who attempted to oppose them, and then returned home, enriched with an immense booty. Encouraged with this success, they returned soon after, and, laying the country waste, advanced as far as *Ebrodunum* or *Ambrun*, where they were met by *Ennius*, called also *Mummulus*, at the head of a strong body of *Burgundians*, who cut them off almost to a man^c. About this time, that is, about the year 578. the *Saxons*, who, as we have related elsewhere^d, had attended the *Lombards* into *Italy*, and were, by an agreement with *Alboinus*, to share with him his future conquests, falling out with their old friends and allies, resolved to quit *Italy*, and return to their own country. They pretended to live quite independent of the *Lombards*, and in a distinct body; which the *Lombards* not consenting to, they left *Italy* with their wives and families, and took their route homewards through *Gaul*. But *Mummulus*, one of *Contran*'s captains, meeting them on the confines, killed a great number of them, took many prisoners, and forced the rest to repass the *Alps*. However, they returned anew, and having, with a considerable sum, purchased a passage of *Mummulus*, who met them at the *Rhône*, they returned to their antient seats; but found them possessed by the *Suani*, who, unwilling to quarrel with them, offered them two-thirds of the lands. This offer being rejected with indignation by the *Saxons*, a bloody battle was fought, in which twenty thousand *Saxons* were killed, and on the side of the *Suani* only four hundred and eighty. The *Saxons*, who remained alive, being about six thousand in number, renewed the battle; but were again defeated, and obliged to submit to the terms, which the *Suani* were pleased to grant them^e. But to return

^a Vide supra, p. 614—622.

^b Vide supra, p. 622.

^c GREG. TUR. l. iv. c. 36.

^d Vide

upra, p. 619.

^e PAUL. DIAC. de gest. Long. l. iii.

- a to the *Lombards*: Three of their dukes, viz. *Amo*, *Zaban*, and *Rhodanus*, notwithstanding the overthrow their countrymen had lately received in *Gaul*, broke anew into that country, and, dividing themselves into three bodies, laid it waste far and near. But *Mummulus*, falling upon them before they could unite their forces, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to quit their booty, and return through by-ways into *Italy*. Thither a party of *Franks* followed them, who made themselves masters of a strong-hold in the neighbourhood of *Trent*, and, having killed *Ragilo*, who came to oppose them, pillaged the country to the very gates of *Trent*. But *Euin*, duke of that city, sallying unexpectedly out against them, cut most of them off, with their leader *Gbarammicbis*, and pursued the rest to the *Alps*, which they passed, leaving their booty behind them, and returned home^d. At the same time the *Lombards* extended their conquests in *Italy*, and, having defeated the forces of the exarch *Longinus*, reduced the cities of *Sutri*, *Bommarzo*, *Orta*, *Todi*, *Amelia*, *Perugia*, *Luccoli*, and several others of less importance. But in the mean time *Tiberius*, who had succeeded *Justin*, dying, *Mauritius*, who was chosen in his room, alarmed at the progress the *Lombards* made in *Italy*, resolved to put a stop to their victories, and, if possible, to drive them quite out. With this view, he recalled *Longinus*, whom he judged no-ways equal to such an undertaking, and sent *Zamaragdus* in his room, a person of great prudence, and well skilled in military affairs. *Zamaragdus* landed at *Ravenna* with a considerable army in the beginning of the year
- c 584. and, taking the field early in the spring, made himself master of *Broxillus*, now *Brissello*, a place of great strength on the *Po*. He likewise prevailed upon *Droctulf*, an officer of great experience, to revolt from the *Lombards*, who had raised him, though by nation a *Suevian*, to the rank of a duke, and to bring over with him a considerable number of men. At the same time *Mauritius*, concerting other measures to deliver *Italy* from the yoke of the *Lombards*, had recourse to *Childebert* king of the *Franks*, and, with a large sum, prevailed upon him to engage in the war against the *Lombards*. This confederacy, and the vast preparations made both by *Zamaragdus* and *Childebert*, alarmed the *Lombards* to such a degree, that, apprehending they should not be able to withstand two such powerful enemies, so long as they
- d continued divided, as it were, into so many petty kingdoms, they resolved to restore their antient form of government, to submit anew to the authority of one single person, and to commit to him the whole management of so dangerous a war. Pursuant to this resolution, they assembled in 585. and, with one voice, raised *Autbaris*, the son of *Clephis*, to the throne. *Autbaris*, with his valour and prudence, so established the kingdom of the *Lombards*, that, in spite of the utmost efforts of the *Roman* emperors, it lasted for the space of two hundred years. He had no sooner mounted the throne, than he undertook the recovery of *Brissello*, being resolved, as it was a place of the utmost importance, to force it, by all means, out of the enemy's hands. But *Droctulf*, who was in the town, and expected, if he were taken, to be
- e treated with the utmost severity by the *Lombards*, made such a vigorous defence, that the siege continued a long time; but the garrison being in the end reduced to great straits, *Droctulf* found means to withdraw in the night, and repair to *Ravenna*, with such of his men as were able to follow him. *Autbaris*, being thus master of the place, dismantled it, that it might no longer serve as a place of refuge to the enemy, in case it should fall again into their hands. After the reduction of *Brissello*, he put his troops into winter-quarters, the season being already far advanced, and employed himself till the following spring, partly in settling the affairs of the kingdom, and partly in making the necessary preparations for the ensuing campaign^e. In the first place, he took upon him the name of *Flavius*, and ordered it to be used, in imitation
- f of the *Roman* emperors, by all the *Lombard* kings his successors^f. In the second place, considering that the dukes, who, for the space of ten years, had ruled with an absolute sway over their respective dukedoms, would not willingly part with all their authority, he allowed them to continue in their governments; but obliged them to contribute one moiety of their revenues towards the maintenance and support of his royal dignity, suffering them to dispose of the other as they pleased. He reserved to himself the supreme dominion and authority, and took an oath of the dukes, that, in time of war, they would readily assist him to the utmost of their power. Tho' he could remove the dukes at his pleasure, yet he deprived none of their dukedoms,

The Lombards
defeated them
in Gaul.

They extend
their conquests
in Italy.

The royal au-
thority restored
among them,
and Autbaris
made king.
Year after
Christ 585.

He retakes
Brissello.

His conduct to-
wards the
dukes.

^a GREG. TUR. *ibid*.^c PAUL. DIAC. *ibid*. c. 7.^f *Idem*, l. iii. c. 8.

The origin of
fiefs in Italy.

except in cases of treason, nor gave them to others, but when their male issue failed ^a. And this was the origin of the fiefs in Italy. Some have imagined, that fiefs were first introduced by the Lombards, and, in imitation of them, adopted by other nations. But they are therein certainly mistaken, since it is manifest from *Aimoinus* ^b and *Gregory of Tours* ^c, that fiefs had been introduced into Gaul by the Franks some years before the reign of *Autbaris*, who first established them in Italy. *Gregory of Tours* tells us, that in the year 574. that is, eleven years before *Autbaris* was raised to the throne, king *Guntan* deprived one *Erpon* of his dukedom, and created another in his room ^d. *Paulus Æmilius* and *Cujacius* observe, that, when dukedoms were first instituted in Gaul, the king removed the dukes at his pleasure; but that a custom afterwards obtained, that they were not to be removed, unless convicted of treason, or some other enormous crime. At last the kings, by an oath, confirmed them in the dukedoms, which at first they held only during pleasure ^e. Thus were fiefs first introduced by the Franks into Gaul, and a few years after by the Lombards, in imitation of the Franks, into Italy ^f. However, it must be owned, that fiefs, in some degree, owe their origin to the Roman emperors, who, for the greater security of the frontiers of the empire, used to grant to the officers and soldiers lands on the confines, as a reward for their long service. By this grant, which was called *beneficium*, the soldiers were encouraged to defend, with all their might, the frontiers of the empire, since they defended, at the same time, their lands and estates ^g. All the customs and laws, which were afterwards introduced and published concerning fiefs, are owing to the Lombards, who gave them a certain and regular form; so that, among all other nations, successions, acquisitions, investitures, and every thing else relating to fiefs, were regulated by the customs and laws of the Lombards. Hereupon a new body of laws sprung up, which were called *feudal laws*, and still are in some provinces of Italy, especially in the present kingdom of Naples, the chief part of the jurisprudence. But to return to *Autbaris*: Having settled matters with the dukes in the manner we have related above, he enacted several wholesome and seasonable laws against theft, rapine, murder, adultery, and other crimes, which, at that time, prevailed among his subjects. He was the first of the Lombard kings, who, renouncing paganism, embraced the christian religion; and his example was followed by most of his subjects. But as they were all instructed by *Arian* bishops, they continued long infected with that heresy; which occasioned great disputes between them and the orthodox bishops of the cities subject to them. ^d

He embraces
the christian re-
ligion.

Childebert,
king of the
Franks, enters
Italy; but is
persuaded by
Autbaris to re-
tire.

Autbaris, having settled the affairs of his kingdom during the winter, received news early in the spring, that *Childebert* king of the Franks had, pursuant to his agreement with the emperor *Mauritius*, passed the Alps at the head of a powerful army. Hereupon, being well apprised, that he had not sufficient strength to withstand him in the field, he ordered his dukes to provide their cities with strong garrisons, and to wait on their walls the arrival of the enemy, sending at the same time ambassadors to *Childebert*, with rich presents, to sue for peace. This conduct was attended with the wished for success; for *Childebert*, considering it would prove a very tedious and difficult undertaking to lay siege to so many cities, accepted the presents sent him by *Autbaris*, and returned home. Of this the emperor *Mauritius* loudly complained, and, reproaching *Childebert* with breach of faith, insisted upon his returning the money he had received, viz. fifty thousand *solidi*, for making war on the Lombards, if he did not, within a time prefixed, perform his engagements. Hereupon *Childebert*, unwilling to return the money, and, on the other hand, thinking himself bound in honour to perform some remarkable service in favour of his ally worthy of so large a sum, raised a far more numerous army than he had before; and, having supplied them with every thing necessary for the expedition, he ordered them to march, under the conduct of his best generals, into Italy. *Autbaris* had formerly, as we have related above, declined coming to a battle, and, acting only defensively, had kept his troops within the fortified towns. But now, considering, that if he should have the good luck to crush so powerful an enemy, other nations, as well as the Franks, would be thereby deterred from invading his dominions, he resolved to alter his conduct, and meet the enemy in the open field. With this view, he drew together all the forces he

He returns;
but his army is
intirely de-
seated.

^a Idem ibid. *Strom. de reg. Ital.* l. i. *Regin.* l. i. p. 517.
TUR. l. iv. c. 45.

^b Idem, l. vii. c. 32. & l. x. p. 19.

^c *PAUL. ÆMIL.* de reb. Franc. l. i. & *CUJAC.* de feud. in princ. p. 38.

^d *MOLIN.* in consuet. Paris tit. de feud. num. 13.

^e *Lamprid.* apud *LOYSEAU* des offices, l. i. c. 1. num. 104.

^f *AIMOIN.* l. i. c. 14.

^g *PAUL. ÆMIL.* de reb. Franc. l. i. &

^h *GREG.*

ⁱ *VIDE*

had,

- 1 had, and, having encouraged them with a seasonable speech, he marched in quest of the enemy, and offered them battle. The challenge being readily accepted by the *Franks*, a bloody engagement ensued; in which both armies fought with a fury hardly to be expressed; but the *Franks* were in the end utterly defeated. The *Lombards* pursued them in their flight with great slaughter, and obliged such of them as had the good luck to escape, to take refuge among the barren mountains, where most of them perished with hunger and cold; so that very few of them got safe to their own country. *Childebert*, to revenge the loss of this army, sent another, twenty thousand men strong, under the conduct of *Anduald*, *Oto*, and *Cedinus*, three generals of known valour, and long experience in war. *Oló* laid siege to a strong castle called *Blisio*, where he was killed with an arrow, and most of his men cut off in a sally by the besieged. *Cedinus* took some strong-holds in *Cisalpine Gaul*, now *Lombardy*. And *Anduald*, advancing as far as *Verona*, laid some open places in ashes, carrying with him the inhabitants into captivity; contrary to the articles of the treaty between him and the emperor. But in the mean time distempers beginning to rage among the *Franks*, occasioned by the hot season, and want of provisions, and the *Lombards* keeping, as they had done formerly, within their fortified towns, the generals of the *Franks* thought it advisable to return home, lest the *Lombards* should fall upon them, after their army had been considerably weakened by the distempers that daily swept off great numbers. On their return, they were reduced to such straits, that they were forced first to sell their clothes, and at last their arms, to purchase provisions. *Autharis*, thus delivered from all fear of so powerful an enemy, resolved to employ his whole strength in subjecting such provinces of *Italy*, as were still held by the *Romans*. He had already made himself master of all the hither *Italy*, except the dukedom of *Rome*, and the exarchate, which was at that time governed by *Romanus*, who had succeeded *Zamaragdus*, and comprised the present *Bolognese*, *Romagna*, the duchy of *Urbino*, and great part of *Picenum*, now *La Marca*. The provinces, which make up the present kingdom of *Naples*, were still in the hands of the *Romans*, the chief cities being governed, according to the form of government which *Longinus* had introduced, by their dukes, who were all immediately under the exarch. But the most powerful among them, viz. the dukes of *Naples*, *Surrento*, *Amalfi*, *Taranto*, and *Garni*, despising the exarchs, ruled almost with an absolute way; which has induced some to imagine, that these cities were absolutely free; whereas nothing is more certain in history, than that they acknowledged the emperor for their sovereign, tho' they often refused to obey the exarch. As these provinces lay at a great distance from *Pavia*, the royal seat of the *Lombards*, and could receive speedy succours by sea, in case they were attacked, the emperors kept but small garrisons in the cities, being obliged to employ all the forces they could spare in the *Persian* war, which lay heavy upon them at the same time. Of this *Autharis* was well apprised, and therefore, leaving *Rome* and *Ravenna* behind him, which were defended by numerous garrisons, in the spring of the year 589. he appointed his troops to rendezvous at *Spoleto*, and, pretending to march elsewhere, turned all on a sudden, and entered *Samnium*, which province, together with the city of *Benevento*, he reduced almost without opposition. Encouraged with this success, he over-ran all *Calabria*, and, advancing as far as *Rhegium* on the farthest point of *Italy*, he rid into the sea, and striking with his lance a pillar, that stood near the shore. Thus far, said he, shall the bounds of the *Lombards* extend. This pillar was still standing in the days of our historians, and known by the name of *Autharis's pillar*. *Autharis*, on his return into *Samnium*, reduced that province to a dukedom, appointing *Zoto*, or *Zotto*, first duke of *Benevento*, which he made the metropolis of *Samnium*. Thus to the two famous dukedoms of *Prinli* and *Spoleti* was added a third, which, in process of time, became as much superior to the other two, as they exceeded the other dukedoms of *Italy*. Some authors, and among the rest *Camillus Peregrinus*, are of opinion, that the dukedom of *Benevento* was founded before the time of *Autharis*; but all agree, that *Zotto* was the first who governed that city and province with the title of duke. This dukedom, by degrees, extended its limits, so as to comprise the far greater part of the present kingdom of *Naples*. *Autharis*, after the reduction of *Samnium*, resolved to carry the war into the exarchate and the dukedom of *Rome*; but, apprehending he might be diverted anew by *Childebert* king of the *Franks* from pursuing his conquests,

Italy invaded
anew by the
Franks.

Who return
home with
great loss.

Autharis re-
duces Sam-
nium and the
city of Bene-
vento.

The first duke
of Benevento.

⁹ GREG. TUR. l. iv. c. 47. PAUL. DIAC. l. iii. c. 9. ibid.

² CAM. PER. in dissert. de duc. Benevent. dissert. 1.

⁹ PAUL. DIAC. l. iii. c. 16.

⁹ Idem

*Autbar's dies.
Year after
Christ 590.*

*Agilulf chosen
king.
Year after
Christ 591.*

*Arechis second
duke of Bene-
vento*

*Agilulf em-
braces the ca-
tholic faith.*

*Some dukes re-
bel; but are
reduced by Agi-
lulf.*

he thought it adviseable to conclude a peace, if possible, with so troublesome and powerful an enemy. Accordingly, he dispatched ambassadors to *Guntran*, uncle to *Childebert*, hoping, by his mediation, to lay the foundations of a lasting peace with the king of the *Franks*. *Guntran* readily interposed; but *Autbaris* did not live to see the success of the mediation, being in the mean time taken off by poison. He died in *Pavia* on the thirteenth of September 590. after having reigned about six years; but the author of his death was never known^a. *Autbaris* had married *Theudelinda*, the daughter of *Garibald*, king of the *Boioarians*; but, as he had no children by her, the *Lombards*, upon the news of his death, assembled in *Pavia* to chuse a new king; but, not being able to agree among themselves in the choice, they referred the whole affair to *Theudelinda*, having first settled among themselves, that the person she should chuse among the dukes for her husband, should be invested with the royal dignity; so great was the opinion they had of the wisdom and prudence of that excellent princess, who, to shew herself worthy of the confidence they reposed in her, after having consulted the wisest men of the nation, by their advice, bestowed herself and the kingdom on *Agilulf* duke of *Turin*, a person of extraordinary merit, and nearly related to the late king. Her choice being applauded by the whole nation, *Agilulf*, after his marriage, was crowned king of the *Lombards* in a full assembly held at *Milan* in the month of May 591. b

In the first year of his reign died *Zotto*, the first duke of *Benevento*, of whom we find nothing in history worthy of notice, except his plundering and destroying the famous monastery of *Monte Casino*, built about sixty years before by *St. Benedict*, and already wonderfully enriched with the donations of several princes^c. Upon his death, *Agilulf* appointed *Arechis*, cousin to *Gilulphus* duke of *Friuli*, to succeed him in the dukedom of *Benevento*. The dukes, according to the regulations introduced by *Autbaris*, could only in cases of treason be deprived of their dukedoms; and, upon their death, they were succeeded by their male issue, if the king judged them capable of so great a command. If the duke died without issue male, the king was at full liberty either to chuse another in his room, or to suppress the dukedom: and truly several dukedoms were suppressed by the present king, the dukes having attempted to shake off all dependency, and to usurp an absolute power in their respective districts. d
The example of *Agilulf* was followed by his successors, who, declining to appoint new dukes in the room of those who died without issue male, reduced, by degrees, the dukedoms to a very small number. During the government of *Arechis*, which lasted for the space of fifty years, that is, from the year 591. to 641. the bounds of the dukedom of *Benevento* were greatly extended; for, at that prince's death, they reached on one side to the city of *Naples*, and on the other to *Sipontum*, at the foot of mount *Garganus* in *Apulia*. But to return to *Agilulf*: He was, soon after his election, persuaded by *Theudelinda*, who had been brought up in the catholic religion, to renounce the errors of *Arius*; and his example was followed by great numbers of his subjects, some of them abjuring paganism, and others the doctrine of *Arius*, to embrace the orthodox faith. Hence *Theudelinda* is highly commended by *Gregory the Great*, who inscribed to her the four books of the lives of the saints, which he had composed. She had done all that lay in her power to induce *Autbaris*, her first husband, to profess the catholic faith; but to no purpose, that prince refusing to quit the religion in which he had been brought up^e. *Agilulf*, in the third year of his reign, was forced to turn his arms against his own countrymen; for two of the dukes, viz. *Minulf* duke of the island of *St. Julian*, and *Gaidulf* duke of *Bergamo*, revolting from him, claimed an absolute authority in their respective districts. *Agilulf* marched against them, and, having found means to get *Minulf* into his power, he put him to death, because he had formerly revolted to the *Franks*, and joined *Childebert* in the irruption he made into *Italy*. As for *Gaidulf*, he besieged him in the city of *Pergamo*; but, upon his suing for peace, and submitting, he received him again into favour. About the same time *Ulfaris*, another duke, but of what place, we are not told, refusing to acknowledge the authority of *Agilulf*, raised great disturbances, which were quelled not without bloodshed; but *Ulfaris* not only obtained his pardon, but was confirmed by the king in his dukedom^f. While the arms of *Agilulf* were thus employed against the rebellious dukes, *Romanus*, who, as we have related above, had succeeded *Zamagadus* in the exarchate, laying hold of so favourable an opportunity, broke the truce

^a PAUL. DIAC. l. iii. c. 18.

^c PAUL. DIAC. l. vi. c. 2.

^d GREG. MAG. dialog. l. ii. c. 17. Abb. DE NUCE chron. Calia. l. i. c. 2.

^e Idem, l. iv. c. 14.

which

- a which he had lately made, and surprised several cities belonging to the Lombards. The exarch sur-
prises several
cities. Hereupon the king, drawing together all his forces, marched against the exarch, who, at his approach, retired to *Ravenna*, leaving small garrisons in the towns he had taken. Upon his retreat, *Agilulf* easily recovered the cities he had seized. Only Which are re-
covered by
Agilulf. the city of *Perugia* held out for some time, being defended by *Maurisus* duke of the place, who had delivered it up to the *Romans*; but in the end the city was forced to surrender. *Maurisus* attempted to make his escape, but was taken, and, by the king's order, put to death². From *Perugia* *Agilulf* marched into the *Roman* dukedom, and, having laid it waste, encamped with his army at a small distance from the city; but *Theudelinda*, at the earnest request of *Gregory the Great*, then bishop of
- b *Rome*, prevailed upon her husband to grant a peace to the inhabitants of that city, and retire³. The prisoners taken by the Lombards on this occasion, were all ransomed by *Gregory the Great*, the other catholic bishops generously contributing to so good a work⁴. *Paulus Diaconus* takes no notice of the ravages committed by the Lombards in the dukedom of *Rome*; but supposes them to have returned to *Pavia* after the taking of *Perugia*. However, from the letters of *Gregory the Great*, who flourished at that time, it is manifest, that they invaded the *Roman* dukedom, and laid it waste with fire and sword, for several months together. From a letter of this bishop to the empress *Constantina* it appears, that the inhabitants of those parts suffered more The emperor's
subjects oppress-
ed by his officers from the emperor's officers, than from the Lombards themselves; that the *Coriscans*
- c in particular were loaded with such taxes, as obliged them to sell even their children, in order to raise money for the collectors; and that thereupon they repaired in great numbers to the Lombards in *Italy*, leaving the island, in a manner, desolate. In *Sicily* one *Stephen*, sent from *Constantinople* to guard the coasts of that island, committed such rapines, so many acts of violence and injustice, as hardly could be contained, says our prelate, in one volume. He therefore earnestly intreats the empress to acquaint her husband with these grievances, that, by speedily redressing them, he may avert the judgments, that must otherwise fall upon him and his family. He concludes his letter by telling her, it were far better *Italy* should want supplies of money, than that they should be raised in so scandalous a manner; and that the emperor's
- d ministers, being at so great a distance from their master, promised themselves impunity, though guilty of the greatest extortions; and therefore defeated all his endeavours for concluding a peace with the Lombards, which, they knew, would take away all pretence of levying such heavy taxes⁵. A peace however was soon after concluded, by means of the holy prelate, between *Agilulf* and the exarch *Callinicus*, who, upon the death of *Romanus*, had been sent from *Constantinople* to succeed him. At the same time *Theodebert*, the successor of *Childebert*, was in the end persuaded, not only to conclude a peace, but to enter into an alliance, with the king of the Lombards. Agilulf con-
cludes a peace
with the Ro-
mans and
Franks. This peace with the *Romans* and *Franks* proved very seasonable; for soon after, three Three dukes
rebel; but are
overcome by
Agilulf, and
put to death. of his dukes, rebelling, raised great disturbances in the kingdom, and gave rise to a
- e civil war. These were *Zangrulf* duke of *Verona*, *Gaidulf* or *Gandulf* duke of *Bergamo*, and *Warnecaut* a third duke, but of what place, we are not told. *Agilulf*, marching against them, gave them a total overthrow; and, having taken them prisoners, he ordered them all three to be put to death, in order to deter, by their punishment, the other dukes from following their example. While he was yet engaged in this domestic war, the exarch *Callinicus*, with a manifest breach of treaty, which had been lately concluded, surprised the city of *Parma*, in which he found a considerable treasure, and took the king's daughter, and her husband *Godescalc* prisoners. This breach of faith in the exarch provoked the king of the Lombards to such a degree, that he resolved to pursue the war, which had been thus begun by the *Romans*, with
- f the utmost vigour, and not to lay down his arms, till he had driven them, if possible, quite out of *Italy*. Pursuant to this resolution, he entered into an alliance with *Cba-gan* king of the *Avars*, who was to make a powerful diversion in *Thrace*, while *Agilulf* carried on the war in *Italy*. The king of the Lombards, having raised a considerable army, and finding, that the exarch declined meeting him in the field, marched from *Milan*, where his troops had assembled, to *Cremona*, which city he invested on all sides. The *Roman* garrison made a vigorous resistance; but, despairing of relief, they were obliged, after having held out for a month, to deliver up the place, which, by the king's orders, was levelled with the ground. The war with
the Romans
renewed. From *Cre-* From whom
Agilulf takes
several cities.

² Idem ibid.³ GREG. MAG. l. iv. ep. 33. & l. vii. ep. 30.⁴ Idem ibid.⁵ Idem, l. iv. ep. 33.

mona he led his army, reinforced by a body of *Sclavi* sent him by his ally the king ^a of the *Avars*, against the cities of *Padua* and *Mantua*, which were both taken, plundered, and laid in ashes, the garrisons being allowed to retire to *Ravenna*, and the inhabitants to what place they thought fit. While *Agilulf* thus pursued his conquests in *Italy*, *Cbagan*, breaking into *Thrace*, committed dreadful ravages there; and, having over-run both that province, and all *Mæsia*, approached the imperial city with his numerous army; which alarmed the inhabitants to such a degree, that they thought of quitting *Europe*, and retiring with their best effects to *Chalcedon*, and other places in *Asia*. But in the mean time *Cbagan* was obliged to return home by a plague, which broke out in his army, and carried off seven of his sons in one day. Upon his departure, he offered to release all his prisoners, of whom he had twelve thousand, ^b at a crown a head; but his offer being rejected by *Mauritius*, who was a prince of a narrow, parsimonious temper, *Cbagan*, in great indignation, caused all the captives to be put to the sword. During this war died the exarch *Callinicus*, who had first begun it, as we have related above; and in his room was sent *Zamaragdus* to govern *Italy* a second time, with orders from the emperor to set at liberty the king's daughter, with her husband, and to restore the whole treasure, that had been seized by his predecessor in the city of *Parma*. By this obliging behaviour, *Agilulf* was so far won, as to grant the *Romans* a truce from the month of *September* till the following *April* ^b.

A truce with
the Romans.

Agilulf takes
his son *Adalwald*
old for his col-
league.
Year after
Christ 605.

Ferrara embel-
lished by *Agil-*
ulf.

The *Hunns*
break into the
dukedom of
Friuli.

Forum Julii
betrayed to
them.

Their cruelty to
the inhabi-
tants.

DURING the truce, *Agilulf*, having assembled the chief men of the nation at *Milan*, ^c declared, in their presence, his son *Adalwald*, or, as others call him, *Aldonald*, yet an infant, his colleague, and caused him to be crowned in the open circus with great solemnity. After this, the peace was renewed with *Theodebert* king of the *Franks*, whose ambassadors were present at the inauguration of the young prince, and a perpetual league concluded between the two nations. And now the truce with the *Romans* being expired, the *Lombards* began hostilities anew, seizing on two important posts, viz. *Orbitum* and *Balneoregium*; but the exarch, with twelve thousand solidi, prevailed upon the king to restore them, and to renew the truce for a whole year, which the king employed in embellishing and fortifying *Ferrara*, till that time an inconsiderable village, but conveniently situated on the *Po*, and on that account ^d surrounded by *Agilulf* with walls, and beautified with several stately buildings; by which means it became, by degrees, one of the most considerable cities in those parts, and has continued as such ever since. In the mean time the truce between the king and the exarch expiring, *Zamaragdus* prevailed upon the king to renew it for three years longer. But, notwithstanding this truce, the inhabitants of *Italy* did not enjoy the tranquillity they had promised themselves; for *Cacanus* king of the *Hunns*, leaving *Pannonia*, made a sudden irruption into the dukedom of *Friuli*, destroying all with fire and sword. Hereupon duke *Gilulf*, having drawn together what forces he could, marched out against him; but, in the battle that ensued, he was overpowered by the enemy, and cut off, with most of his men. *Cacanus*, elated with this victory, ^e laid siege to *Forum Julii*, the metropolis of the dukedom, which was betrayed to him by *Romilda*, the deceased duke's widow, upon his promising to marry her; for she is said to have been greatly taken with the comeliness of the young prince in seeing him from the walls; but he, instead of performing his promise, caused her to be put to an ignominious death, after having abused her himself, and caused her to be in like manner abused by several of his soldiers, to gratify, as he said, her vicious inclination. The duke's sons, *Tato*, *Caco*, *Rodoald*, and *Grimoald*, found means to make their escape on horseback; but the latter, being yet a child, was overtaken by some of the enemy's horse, and delivered to the custody of one of them, while the others pursued the rest. But while the *Hunn* rid before him leading his horse, he all on a ^f sudden gave him such a blow on the head with his sword, that he left him dead on the spot, and then riding full speed, overtook his brothers, and, together with them, reached a neighbouring castle. The *Hunns*, upon their departure, carried with them all the inhabitants who had fallen into their hands, giving out, that they designed to allot them lands in *Pannonia*; but, having reached the confines, they put all the men to the sword, and carried the women and children into captivity ^c. While the *Hunns* were thus ravaging the dukedom of *Friuli*, great disturbances happened in *Ravenna*; for *Joannes Lemigius*, who had been sent by the emperor *Heraclius* to succeed *Zama-*

^b Idem ibid.

^c Idem ibid.

- a *ragdus* in the exarchate, levying heavier taxes on the people than they had formerly paid, the multitude, rising all on a sudden, broke into the palace, and there tore the exarch to pieces, together with the judges, whom he had called together for the administration of justice. When news of this mutiny was brought to *Naples*, *Joannes Compositus*, who governed that city for the emperor with the title of duke (S), thought he could not have a more favourable opportunity of shaking off all dependence, and making himself absolute lord of the city committed to his charge. Accordingly, he caused himself to be acknowledged by the inhabitants for their prince, and provided the city with a strong garrison, not doubting but forces would be soon dispatched against him either from *Ravenna* or *Constantinople*. And truly *Heraclius*, upon the first notice he had of the murder of the exarch, and the rebellion of the duke, appointed *Eleutherius* his chamberlain, a person highly esteemed for his prudence and valour, to succeed *Lemigius* in the exarchate, injoining him to appease the mutiny in *Ravenna*, and then march, with all the troops under his command, against *Compositus*, the rebellious duke of *Naples*. *Eleutherius*, arriving at *Ravenna*, punished with death such as he found guilty of the murder of his predecessor; and, having thus quelled the tumult, he set out on his march for *Naples*, with all the troops he could assemble. He took his route through *Rome*, where he was received with high demonstrations of joy by the inhabitants, who were greatly attached to the emperors, and bore an utter aversion to the *Lombards*. From *Rome* the exarch pursued his march to *Naples*, where he was, for some time, vigorously opposed by the garrison; but having in the end made himself master of the city, he put the duke to death, and, appointing another in his room, he returned to *Ravenna* (T). During these disturbances, *Agilulf* died in the twenty-fifth year of his reign. He was the first of the *Lombard* kings who embraced the catholic faith; and his example being followed by great numbers of his subjects, the *Lombards*, by that means, became less odious to the inhabitants of *Italy*, and their government more tolerable. By the advice of his queen *Theudelinda*, he rebuilt the churches, which had been ruined in the former wars, repaired the monasteries, and enriched both with large possessions, there being few

^a Idem, c. 34. ANASTAS. bibliothec. in Deusdedit. CAMIL. PEL. in dissert. de duc. Benevent. p. 33.

(S) The present kingdom of *Naples* was, at this time, held partly by the *Romans*, and partly by the *Lombards*. The dukedom of *Benevento* was governed by its own duke, who was subject to the king of the *Lombards*; *Apulia*, *Calabria*, *Lucania*, the country of the *Bruttii*, the dukedoms of *Naples*, *Gaeta*, *Surrento*, *Amalfi*, and other smaller dukedoms, were governed by their dukes, according to the new polity introduced by *Longinus* the first exarch. These dukes were subject to the exarch, and he to the emperor. The dukedom of *Naples* had at first very narrow bounds; for it comprised only the city of *Naples*, and its territory. But it was greatly enlarged by the emperor *Mauritius*, who added to it the islands of *Ischia*, *Nisida*, and *Procida*, and afterwards the cities of *Cume*, *Stabia*, *Surrento*, and *Amalfi* (1); which were comprised under the dukedom of *Naples* till the time of pope *Adrian* and *Charles the Great*, as is evident from a letter of that pope quoted by the learned *Camillus Pellegrinus* (2). This dukedom being, by such additions, become a province, the name of *Campania* was given it, and the duke took the title of *dux Campaniæ*, or duke of *Campania*; which title *Gregory the Great* often bestows on *Scolasticus* and *Gudiscalcus*, dukes of *Naples* (3). This dukedom held out against the *Lombards*, after they had reduced almost all the cities in that part of *Italy*; nay, it was never by them intirely subdued, but only obliged to pay a yearly tribute to the dukes of *Benevento*, who, in process of time, became very powerful. The dukes, who governed *Naples*, were usually appointed by the emperor himself; but, up-

on urgent occasions, the exarch was impowered to name a new duke. Thus *Eleutherius*, having put *Compositus* to death, appointed another in his room; and several years before, the duke of *Naples* being dead, and the two dukes of *Benevento* and *Spoleto* uniting their forces, with a design, as was supposed, to fall upon the dukedom of *Naples*, *Gregory the Great*, apprehending that, if the *Lombards* made themselves masters of that dukedom, they would easily reduce the rest of *Italy*, and *Rome* itself, wrote to *John* bishop of *Ravenna*, earnestly intreating him to represent to the exarch the danger that dukedom was in, and prevail upon him to lend, without loss of time, a new duke (4).

(T) Some modern writers tell us, that *Compositus* not only made himself master of *Naples*, but likewise of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and several other cities, with their territories; that he caused himself to be acknowledged king of the countries he had usurped; that he was first crowned with an iron crown at *Bari*, and afterwards with a golden crown at *Naples*. They add, that the *Norman* princes, who reigned in *Naples*, following his example, were first crowned at *Bari* with an iron crown, and afterwards at *Palermo* with a crown of gold (5). But it is plain from history, that *Compositus* was never master of *Apulia* or *Calabria*, which at this time were held by the *Lombards*; and that he only seized on the city of *Naples*, and its territory, being taken and put to death by *Eleutherius* before he had time to make himself master of other places (6).

(1) *Greg. Mag. l. ix. ind. 4. ep. 53.*

(3) *Greg. Mag. l. ii. ind. 11. ep. 1, 2, & 15.*

hist. Bar. p. 12.

(6) *Faul. Diac. l. iv. c. 20.*

(2) *Camill. Pellegrin. dissert. de finib. duc. Benevent. p. 32.*

(4) *Idem, l. ii. indic. 10. ep. 32.*

(5) *Beutill.*

churches or monasteries in his dominions, which could not shew some monuments of a his piety and munificence^a.

Adalulf suc-
ceeds his father
Agilulf in the
kingdom of the
Lombards.
Year after
Christ 615.

Agilulf was succeeded by his son *Adalulf*, whom he had taken some years before for his colleague, as we have related above. As he was yet very young, he suffered himself to be intirely governed by his mother *Theudelinda*, who applied herself wholly to works of piety and religion; so that, during his reign, the *Lombards* enjoyed a profound tranquillity. But great disturbances happened in the exarchate; for *Eleutherius* the exarch, elated with the success that had attended him against the duke of *Naples*, and forgetting that virtue and moderation, which till then had recommended him to the esteem of the emperor, and all the *Romans*, began to entertain thoughts of usurping the sovereignty of *Italy*. The great distance between him and the emperor, the authority he had in those parts, and the war with the *Saracens*, in which the emperor was then engaged, offered him, he thought, a favourable opportunity of accomplishing his design. Having therefore, in the first place, gained the affection of the soldiery by several popular acts of condescension, but above all by paying them their arrears, which had been long due, he resolved to set out for *Rome* with his whole army, and cause himself to be acknowledged there king of *Italy*. He was encouraged to this by the news he received of the death of *Desjdedis* bishop of that city; for he thought, that, while the people were busied in the election of a successor, he might, with great ease, seize on the city, and then influence the election, so as to have one of his own friends raised to the see. But on his march he was informed, that *Boniface*, the fifth of that name, was already elected; which obliged him to alter his measures: for having commanded the army to halt, he made them a plausible speech, inveighing against the disorders and abuses which then prevailed, promised to redress them to their satisfaction, and assured them of his favour and protection. Having by this speech attached them, as he imagined to his interest, he openly assumed the title of king, telling them at the same time, that he was marching to *Rome*, in order to be invested there, as in the most proper place, with the ensigns of royalty. The army was not a little surprised at the conduct of their general; but did not however openly oppose it till some days after, when, arriving at *Luceoli*, they began to mutiny, and, no longer looking upon *Eleutherius* as their general, but as a traitor and usurper, they slew him, and, sending his head to the emperor at *Constantinople*, returned to *Ravenna*^b.

Eleutherius
the exarch
takes upon him
the title of king.

But is killed by
the soldiery.

The treachery
of Gregory, one
of the emperor's
officers.

Heraclius appointed *Isaacius*, a patrician, to govern *Italy* in his room. In the beginning of his administration, one *Gregory* a patrician, who governed for the emperor those parts, which bordered on the duchy of *Friuli*, pretending great kindness for *Tato*, who in that dukedom had succeeded his father *Gisulf* or *Gilulf*, killed by the *Hunns*, as we have related above, invited the youth to *Optigerium*, where he resided, in order to adopt him there, as he pretended, for his son. *Tato*, not suspecting the least treachery, readily complied with the invitation, taking with him his second brother *Caco*, and several other persons of distinction. But they had no sooner entered the town, than *Gregory*, having caused the gates to be shut, ordered his men to fall upon them. The two brothers and their followers defended themselves for some time with great courage, killing great numbers of the aggressors; but being pursued from street to street, overpowered with multitudes, and quite spent, they were in the end all cut off. *Gregory*, by this inhuman piece of treachery, hoped to make himself master of the whole duchy, the two remaining brothers, *Rodoald* and *Grimoald*, being yet very young. But their uncle *Grafulf*, informed of what had happened, hastened to *Forum Julii*, and, taking upon him the administration, ordered matters so, that *Gregory* thought it adviseable to make no further attempts. *Grafulf* kept the dukedom for himself, and the two brothers *Rodoald* and *Grimoald*, not thinking themselves safe while in his power, fled to *Archis* the second duke of *Beneventum*, by whom they were kindly received, and entertained in a manner suitable to their rank^c. This happened, according to some, during the exarchate of *Eleutherius*, and soon after the death of *Agilulf*^d. In the eighth year of *Adalulf*'s reign, one *Eusebius* was sent by the emperor *Heraclius*, with the character of ambassador, to conclude a lasting peace with the king of the *Lombards*, and to settle other affairs of great importance. He, having gained the confidence of the king, either of his own head, or in compliance with his private instructions, presented him, as he came out of the bath, with a draught, which soon

^a PAUL. DIAC. l. vi. c. 2.

^b Idem, l. iv. c. 15.

^c Idem ibid.

^d Vide SIGON. ad ann. 623.

- a deprived him of the right use of his senses, and brought him to a kind of melancholy madness. While he was in this condition, *Eusebius*, pretending that his nobles had entered into a conspiracy against him, advised him to put the most powerful among them to death. The king followed his advice, and immediately caused twelve of the chief nobility to be inhumanly massacred; which alarmed the rest to such a degree, that, taking up arms, they removed both him and his mother *Theudelinda* from the government, and raised to the throne *Ariovald* duke of *Turin*, who had married *Gundeberg* the sister of *Adalwald*. This revolution occasioned great disturbances among the *Lombards*, and rent their kingdom into two parties. *Ariovald* was supported by the nobles, who had deposed *Adalwald*, and all the bishops beyond the *Po*, who earnestly laboured to draw the rest to their party. On the other hand, *Honorius*, bishop of *Rome*, espoused with great zeal the cause of the deposed king, and left no stone unturned to have him restored to the throne, being prompted thereto by the regard he had for *Theudelinda*, to whose piety the catholic religion was highly indebted, and by his aversion to *Arisvald*, who held the tenets of *Arius*, and had been brought up in that persuasion. He found means to gain *Isaaccius* the exarch over to his party, and prevailed upon him to join the friends of *Adalwald* with all the troops under his command. He likewise obliged, with threats and menaces, the bishops who had espoused the cause of *Ariovald*, to abandon that prince, and declare for *Adalwald*. But, in spite of the utmost efforts both of the pope and the exarch, *Ariovald* maintained himself on the throne; and *Adalwald* dying seasonably, some say of poison, an end was put to the domestic troubles, that threatened the kingdom of the *Lombards* almost with utter destruction^b. *Theudelinda* was so affected with the misfortunes of her son, that she fell into a consumption, which, in a short time, brought her to her grave. She was a princess no less commendable for her exemplary piety, than for the excellent endowments of her mind, and worthy, on account of both, to be ranked among the most illustrious women mentioned in history. *Ariovald* reigned nine years after the death of *Theudelinda*, during which time the *Lombards* enjoyed a profound tranquillity both at home and abroad. Only some disturbances happened in the royal family, which gave the king no small uneasiness. One of the chief lords at court, by name *Adalulf*, having solicited the queen, with whom he was passionately in love, to comply with his unlawful desire, and his proposal being rejected by her with the utmost indignation, the lover, apprehending she would discover the whole to her husband, resolved to be before-hand with her, and prepossess the king against the virtuous princess. Accordingly, pretending great zeal for his safety, he assured him, that the queen was conspiring against his life with *Tato* duke of *Etruria*, who was to marry her after his death. Hereupon *Ariovald*, transported with rage and jealousy, without further inquiry, ordered the innocent queen to be kept under close confinement in the castle of *Amellum*, where she continued, till *Cletair* king of the *Franks*, pitying her condition, expostulated with her husband for thus treating one of the royal blood of the *Franks*, and stripping her of her dignity, upon the deposition of a single evidence. *Ariovald* replied, That he was fully convinced of her guilt; whereupon the ambassadors of the *Franks*, pursuant to their instructions, proposed the trying of the cause by a single combat between the accuser and one of the queen's friends, according to the custom that then prevailed among the *Lombards*, and most of the northern nations. As the king could not well reject this proposal, *Adalulf* was obliged to enter the lists against one *Pillo*, by *Paulus Diaconus* called *Carell*, who having with great ease overcome the accuser, the queen was released, and restored to her former dignity^c. Not long after, *Ariovald* died; and, as he left no issue male behind him, the dukes assembled, upon the news of his death, to chuse another in his room; but not being able to agree in the choice, they resolved to pay the same regard to *Gundeberg*, which they had formerly paid to *Theudelinda*, allowing her to chuse whom she pleased for her husband, and their king. Hereupon *Gundeberg* made choice of *Rotbaris* duke of *Brescia*, a person equal in every respect to that sublime station, but tainted with the *Arian* heresy; whence, in his time, there were two bishops in most cities of *Italy*, the one catholic, and the other *Arian*^d. He is no less commended by the writers of those times for his equity and moderation, than for his valour and prudence, and was the first who gave written laws to the *Lombards*. His example was followed by the other kings his successors; so that, in process of time,

Adalwald deposed, and Ariovald chosen in his room. Domestic troubles amongst the Lombards.

Adalwald dies.

And Theudelinda. Year after Christ 627.

Disturbances in the royal family.

Ariovald dies, and Rotbaris is chosen in his room. Year after Christ 636.

^b PAUL. DIAC. l. iv. c. 15.

^c Idem ibid.

^d Idem ibid.

Rotharis the
first lawgiver
among the
Lombards

a new volume of laws appeared, called the *Longobard laws*, which prevailed in all the provinces subject to that nation, that is, all over *Italy*, except the exarchate of *Ravenna*, and dukedoms of *Rome*, *Naples*, *Gaeta*, and *Amalfi*, and the maritime cities of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Lucania*, which continued subject to the emperors, the *Lombards* being masters of all the other cities and provinces. The *Lombards* had no written laws till the time of *Rotharis*; but had been governed by customs handed down to them by tradition. *Rotharis* therefore, in imitation of the *Romans* and *Goths*, undertook the publishing of written laws; and to those he enacted, many were added by the succeeding princes. The incomparable *Grotius* prefers the method, which the *Lombards* followed in making laws, to that which was practised by the *Romans* themselves. Among the latter the emperor was the sole lawgiver; so that whatever pleased him, had the force of a law. But the *Lombard* kings did not assume that power to themselves, since their laws were enacted in public assemblies, convened for that purpose, after they had been maturely examined, and approved of by all the lords of the kingdom. From these assemblies were excluded the ecclesiastic order, and the people; so that the legislative power was lodged in the king and the nobles alone¹. *Rotharis*, the first lawgiver among the *Lombards*, having summoned, in the year 643. a general diet in *Pavia*, enacted, with the approbation of his nobles, several laws, which he caused to be committed to writing, and inserted in an edict. This edict, containing no fewer than three hundred and eighty-six laws, was published in the eighth year of king *Rotharis*'s reign, that is, in the year 644. in all the provinces under his dominion, especially in the dukedom of *Benevento*, which was reputed at this time, as it had greatly extended its bounds, the best part of the kingdom of the *Lombards*. The example of *Rotharis* was followed by the other *Lombard* kings his successors, especially by *Grimoald*, *Luitprand*, *Rachis*, and *Aistolfus*; but the laws of *Rotharis* far exceeded in number those of the other princes (U). The reign of

¹ Grot. in proleg. ad hist. Goth.

(U) To the laws of king *Rotharis*, comprised in the above-mentioned edict, is prefixed the following preface: "Here begins the edict, which, with the advice of my principal judges, I have composed, I, in the name of God, king *Rotharis*, the seventh king of the nation of the *Lombards*, in the eighth year of my reign, and thirty-eighth year of my age, the second indiction, and, since the coming of the *Lombards* into the province of *Italy* under *Alboin*, at that time, by divine clemency, king, the seventy-sixth. Given at *Pavia* in the palace. How great our care and anxiety is, and has ever been, for our subjects, the following decree sufficiently declares." He then says, that he thought it incumbent upon him to make those laws, in order to relieve the poor from the oppression they groined under, and to restrain the insolence of the rich, and of men in power, that every one might live in peace, and enjoy his property undisturbed. He declares, that these, and no other laws, should, for the future, be in force, reserving however to himself the power of adding such other laws to them, as should be approved of by the wise men of the nation. He orders all controversies, that were not yet decided, and such as should arise after the twenty-second day of *November*, the day of the publication of the edict, to be determined according to the laws comprised in it; but at the same time forbids the causes already decided to be re-examined, and orders the parties to acquiesce to the sentence given by proper judges. He concludes by declaring, that no other copy or copies should be of any authority, but such as were written, revised, or approved of, by *Ansfald* his notary, to prevent, by that means, litigious persons from taking advantage of the mistakes, to which writers or copyists are liable (1). In the famous monastery of the *Benedictines* at *Cava*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, is still to be seen, amongst other monuments of antiquity,

an ancient manuscript in *Lombard* characters, containing, besides this edict of *Rotharis*, the laws of the other *Lombard* kings, and those likewise of the *French* and *German* emperors, who were kings of *Italy*. In the edict of *Rotharis*, after the preface, come the titles of each chapter, and then the chapters or laws, in all three hundred and eighty-six, according to the order of the preceding chapters. To the laws of *Rotharis*, and of the other *Lombard* kings his successors, the *Roman* laws in the end gave way. *Justinian* indeed had taken care to have the volumes of his laws spread all over *Italy*, and, annulling all other laws, had ordered them alone, and the *novelle constitutiones*, to be observed. But, in spite of all the pains he had taken to establish them, their authority ended in *Italy* almost with his life; for that country being in great part reduced by the *Lombards* in the reign of *Justin*, the successor of *Justinian*, the *Roman* laws were only observed in such places, as continued subject to the emperor, that is, in the exarchate of *Ravenna*, in the dukedom of *Rome*, in the small dukedoms of *Naples*, *Gaeta*, and *Amalfi*, and in some maritime towns of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Lucania*. The *Lombards*, to the reign of *Rotharis*, were governed only by their ancient customs. As for the natives of *Italy* subject to the *Lombards*, they were allowed to retain the *Roman* laws, but such only as were contained in the *Theodosian* code, which was in greater repute among the *Lombards*, than the *Justinian* code. The former therefore, and the compendium made by order of *Alaric*, were the only books that had any authority, either among the *Lombards*, or the *Visigoths*, at this time masters of *Spain*. In *Rome* the popes strove with all their power and might to maintain the authority of the *Justinian* laws, having much at heart the interest of the emperors, to whom they chose rather to live subject, than to the *Lombards*. Their zeal for the service of the emperors was, as the

(1) Vide *Sigom. de reg. Ital.* l. ii. ann. 643.

a of king *Rotharis* is not only memorable for the laws that prince enacted, but for the conquests he made; for, not thinking himself bound by the treaty, which his predecessor had concluded with the exarch, he broke all on a sudden into the *Alpes Cottiae*, and having, almost without opposition, made himself master of that province, he led his army against the cities of *Opitergium*, now *Oderzo*, and *Treviſo*, which he easily reduced, with all the cities in the province of *Venetia*, till that time held by the Romans. *Iſuaccius*, then exarch, alarmed at this sudden and unexpected invasion, drew together all his forces; but not having been able to assemble them in time to cover the above-mentioned places, he broke with great violence into the dominions of the Lombards, laying them waste with fire and sword. *Rotharis* was then busied in the siege of *Perugia*; which city he had no sooner reduced, than he marched with his whole army in quest of the exarch, whom he met on the confines of *Æmilia*, and offered him battle. The exarch accepted the challenge; so that an engagement ensued, in which the Romans were utterly defeated, eight thousand of them being killed on the spot, and the rest obliged to save themselves by a precipitous and disorderly flight. From this time to the reign of *Luitprand*, no acts of hostility passed between the exarchs and the kings of the Lombards, the latter being satisfied with their new conquests, and the former glad to enjoy unmolested the territories that remained under the dominion of the emperors^m.

He reduces the Alpes Cottiae, and several cities.

Gives the exarch a total overthrow. Year after Christ 638.

ABOUT this time *Mauritius*, who had been, by *Heraclius*, appointed duke or governor of *Rome*, taking advantage of the distracted state of the empire, occasioned by the usurpation of *Heracleon*, and the invasion of the *Saracens*, usurped the sovereignty of the city committed to his charge. But an end was soon put both to his life and usurpation; for the exarch *Iſuaccius* was no sooner informed of what had passed at *Rome*, than he dispatched against the usurper one of his officers, a person of great authority, with a considerable sum of money, and at the head of his best troops. This commander, marching up to the walls of the city, caused a declaration to be read, wherein *Mauritius* was declared a rebel, and not only a pardon promised, but a considerable gratuity, to all who should quit the traitor, and return to their duty. Upon this encouragement, *Mauritius* was abandoned by all his troops, and forced, as he had no other resource, to take sanctuary in a church; but he was dragged from thence, and, by an order from the exarch, beheaded, after he had been for some time kept in chains. Not long after, *Iſuaccius* died, and *Theodorus Calliopa* was sent by the emperor to succeed him in the exarchate. *Theodorus* governed *Italy* with great applause for the space of seven years, that is, from the year 643. to 650. when *Olympius* was appointed exarch in his room. *Olympius* gained several advantages over the *Saracens* in *Sicily*, and at last drove them out of that island; but died in the third year of his exarchate, being quite spent and worn out by the toils and fatigues he underwent in that expedition. Upon his death, the emperor *Constantinus II.* sent *Theodorus Calliopa* to govern *Italy* once more. In the second year of the exarchate of *Olympius*, that is, in 652. died king *Rotharis*, after he had governed the Lombards for the space of sixteen years with such prudence, equity, and moderation, that he was deservedly esteemed the most illustrious prince of his age. He himself professed the doctrine of *Arius*, but allowed his subjects full liberty to embrace which of the two religions they liked best; and therefore took care, that, in all the cities of his kingdom, there should be constantly two bishops, the one catholic, and the other *Arian*.

Rebellion in Rome suppressed by the exarch.

King Rotharis dies. Year after Christ 652.

IN the fifth year of the reign of king *Rotharis*, that is, in 641. died *Arechis* the second duke of *Benevento*, after he had governed that dukedom for the space of fifty years, and so enlarged it at the expence of the Romans, that on one side it reached to *Naples*, and on the other to *Sipontum* in *Apulia*ⁿ. He was succeeded by his son *Aio*, whom he had taken for his partner in the government five months before his death^o.

Arechis the second duke of Benevento dies.

Aio his son succeeds him; but is killed by the Scævionians.

^m PAUL. DIAC. l. iv. c. 44.

ⁿ Vide PAUL. ÆMIL. de reb. Franc. p. 132.

^o PAUL. DIAC. l. iv. c. 15.

learned *Pietro Giannone*, a most impartial writer, rightly observes, nothing at the bottom but self-interest. As the emperors lived at a great distance, they could not easily discover or defeat the design the popes had of making themselves, by degrees, masters of *Rome*; whereas, if the Lombards had once got possession of that city, they must have laid aside all thoughts of ever usurping the sovereign autho-

rity over the metropolis of *Italy*. Hence *Rome* was no sooner threatened by the Lombards, than the popes, pretending great zeal for the emperor's service, solicited succours with great earnestness, both from the emperor and the exarch. By this means they preserved *Rome*, not for the emperors, but for themselves, as we shall relate hereafter.

Aio

Aio was a man of very slender parts, and sometimes, as *Paulus Diaconus* insinuates, ^a distracted in his mind; which that writer ascribes to a potion given him by the *Romans*. The father therefore, sensible of the incapacity of his son, recommended him on his death-bed to *Rodoald* and *Grimoald*, the sons of *Gisulf* duke of *Friuli*, who, as we have related above, had fled to him, and were now in the flower of their age. These *Arechis* looked upon as his own children, and therefore appointed them by his last will to succeed in the dukedom, in case his son should die without issue male. While *Aio* governed the dukedom, the *Sclavonians*, passing by sea from *Dalmatia*, which they had seized, into *Italy*, landed at *Sipontum*, and laid waste great part of *Apulia*. They dwelt originally on the banks of the *Borysthenes*, now the *Nieper*, in *European Sarmatia*, and from thence advancing to the *Danube*, they passed that river ^b in the reign of *Justinian*, and made themselves masters of that part of *Illyricum*, which lies between the *Drave* and the *Save*, and is to this day from them called *Sclavonia*. Upon their landing in *Apulia*, they encamped in the neighbourhood of *Sipontum*, and surrounded their camp with deep ditches, which they covered with branches of trees, laying some earth and green turf over them. As *Apulia* was for the most part subject at that time to the duke of *Benevento*, *Aio*, hearing of their invasion, marched against them with what troops he could assemble, without waiting the return of *Rodoald* and *Grimoald*, who were then absent. But, having attacked their camp, he fell into one of the above-mentioned ditches, and was there slain by the enemy, after he had governed the dukedom five months with his father, and one year alone. *Rodoald*, hearing what had happened, assembled with incredible expedition a considerable body of forces, and, falling upon the enemy before they had the least intelligence of his march, he gave them a total overthrow, and drove them quite out of the dukedom. Having thus revenged the death of *Aio*, he took, together with his brother *Grimoald*, possession of the dukedom, pursuant to the last will of *Arechis*, who had appointed them to succeed himself and his son ^c. These two princes governed jointly for the space of five years, during which time they laid siege to *Surrento*, still held by the *Romans*; but the inhabitants, encouraged by *Agapitus* their bishop, made such a vigorous resistance, that the *Lombards*, after having attempted in vain to take the place by storm, raised the siege, and returned home. *Rodoald* died in *Benevento*, in the year 647. but his brother *Grimoald* held the dukedom sixteen years ^d after his death, and is said to have gained several victories over the *Neapolitans* and *Romans*, and to have greatly extended the bounds of his dukedom. After he had governed the dukedom five years with his brother, and sixteen alone, he possessed himself of the throne, and reigned nine years more over the whole nation of the *Lombards*, as we shall relate anon.

Who are defeated by Rodoald the fourth duke of Benevento.

Grimoald, the fifth duke, enlarges the dukedom.

Rotharis succeeded by his son Rodoald.

Who is murdered.

Aripert chosen king.

He divides the kingdom between his two sons Partharist and Gundebert, who quarrel.

Gundebert invites Rodoald duke of Benevento to his assistance.

BUT to return to the *Lombard* kings: *Rotbaris* was succeeded by his son *Rodoald*, who, as he was a prince of a peaceable disposition, performed nothing which authors have thought worth transmitting to posterity. He was tainted, as his father had been, with the *Arian* heresy, which occasioned some religious contests between him and the orthodox bishops; but these disturbances were soon appeased. ^e He had reigned four years with his father, but scarce reigned one after his father's death, being killed by a *Lombard*, whose wife he had debauched. He had married *Gundeberg* the daughter of *Agilulf* and *Theudelinda*; but, as he had no children by her, the *Lombards*, upon his death, assembled, in order to chuse a new king, when the choice fell on *Aripert* or *Aribert*, the son of *Gundoald*, and brother of *Theudelinda*. The only thing we find recorded of him in history, is his building in *Pavia* the oratory of *St. Saviour*. He died, after he had reigned, according to *Paulus Diaconus*, nine years, though *Sigonius* allows him but five at most. He left two sons behind him, *Partharist* and *Gundebert*, between whom he most imprudently divided his kingdom. *Partharist*, the eldest, chose *Milan* for the place of his residence, and *Gundebert* *Pavia*. But the latter, not satisfied with the part allotted him, began to quarrel with his brother; and, being pushed on by his ambition, and encouraged by the evil counsellors about him, he resolved in the end to drive his brother from the throne, and make himself master of the whole kingdom. He was well apprised, that he could not accomplish this with his own strength; and therefore he dispatched *Garibald* duke of *Turin* as his ambassador to *Grimoald* duke of *Benevento*, at that time by far the most powerful of all the *Lombard* dukes, inviting him to his assistance, and promising

^a Idem ibid.

^b Vide CAMIL. PEL. in dissert. duc. Benev. p. 54. & UGHEL. de archiepif. Surrent. p. 34.

^c PAUL. DIAC. l. iv. c. 18.

- a to give him his sister in marriage, if he succeeded in the undertaking. But the duke of *Turin*, acting quite contrary to his instructions, instead of persuading *Grimoald* to assist his master, advised him to lay hold of the present opportunity, and to decide the controversy between the two brothers, by driving them both out, and seizing on the kingdom for himself. He told him, That the two brothers were young, rash, and unexperienced; that the affairs of the *Lombards* required a prince of prudence, valour, and experience; and that the disagreement between the two princes would, in all likelihood, end in the ruin of the whole nation. *Grimoald*, being naturally of an active and ambitious temper, was easily persuaded to follow the advice of the ambassador; and accordingly, having raised a considerable army, he marched at the head of it towards *Pavia*, leaving his son *Romuald* to govern the dukedom in his absence. Being advanced as far as *Placentia*, he dispatched *Garibald* to acquaint the king with his arrival. The inconsiderate prince received the news of his approach with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable; and, being at a loss where he should lodge and entertain his supposed friend and ally, *Garibald* told him, that his own palace was the only proper place for the reception of a person, to whom he had promised his sister in marriage. He added, that, if he did not repose an intire confidence in *Grimoald*, or had the least suspicion of treachery, he ought, for his greater safety, to receive him with armour under his royal robes. The king put on armour accordingly, and the duke, with unheard-of treachery, returning to *Grimoald*, advised him to be upon his guard, since the king was coming to meet him in armour, no doubt with a design to murder him. *Grimoald* could not persuade himself, that the king had any such design, till they met, when, upon their embracing each other, he found, that *Gundebert* was really in armour; and, not doubting in the least but that it was with a design to murder him, in order to be before-hand with him, he drew his sword that instant, and killed the unhappy prince on the spot. Upon his death, he seized on the royal palace, and the treasures lodged there, causing himself to be acknowledged king of the *Lombards* in his room. *Gundebert* left a son named *Rambert* or *Reginbert*, who was privately conveyed away, and brought up with great care by the friends of the deceased king, *Grimoald* making no great inquisition after him, as he was but an infant. *Partbarit* no sooner heard of his brother's fate, than, abandoning *Milan* in the utmost confusion, he fled to *Chagan* king of the *Avars*, and took refuge in his court. He left his queen *Rodolind*, and his son *Cunibert*, yet an infant, to shift for themselves; so that they both fell into the hands of *Grimoald*, by whom they were sent to *Benevento*, and kept under confinement in that city. The inhabitants of *Milan*, finding themselves abandoned by their king, opened their gates to *Grimoald*, who, having taken possession of that important place, marched from thence to *Pavia*, where, in the latter end of the year 662. he was with one voice proclaimed by the people king of the *Lombards*. To gain the affection of the *Lombards*, and by that means establish himself more firmly in his new kingdom, to the great joy of the whole nation, he married *Gundebert*, sister to the two unhappy young princes. He then sent back his army to *Benevento*, having first distributed considerable sums amongst them, but kept with him some of his most trusty friends, whom he raised to the first employments of the kingdom.

Who murders him, and seizes on the kingdom.

Grimoald proclaimed king. Year after Christ 662.

Partbarit driven from the court of *Chagan*.

THE new king, though confirmed in the power he had usurped by the general consent of the nation, yet, reflecting on the fickleness and inconstancy of the multitude, did not think himself safe, so long as *Partbarit*, his competitor, resided at the court of the king of the *Avars*, at that time a powerful prince. He did not doubt but the banished king would watch all opportunities of attempting the recovery of his paternal kingdom, and would, in such an attempt, be seconded by great numbers of the *Lombards*. To prevent therefore the disturbances that would thence ensue, he dispatched ambassadors to *Chagan*, complaining of the protection he had given to his rival, and threatening to make war upon him, if he not did forthwith banish him his dominions. The king of the *Avars*, though greatly affected with the misfortunes of the unhappy prince, yet did not think it advisable to engage in a war for his sake; and therefore, to avoid it, commanded him to quit his dominions. *Partbarit*, seeing himself thus abandoned by his friend and ally, and not knowing where to find an asylum, resolved, in that desperate condition, to throw himself upon the honour and generosity of his greatest enemy. Accordingly, he dispatched one of

* Idem ibid. & c. 19.

He recurs to
Grimoald, who
receives him
kindly.

his trusty friends, by name *Unulf*, to acquaint *Grimoald* with his resolution, and ^a obtain leave for him to reside at *Pavia*. *Grimoald*, highly pleased with the confidence the unfortunate prince reposed in him, and glad of such an opportunity to shew his generosity, complied with the request, and ordered a house to be got ready for him in *Pavia* every way fit for his reception. Upon his arrival, he received him with the greatest demonstrations of friendship and kindness; but observing, that the multitude attended his entry with unusual marks of joy, and that persons of distinction flocked to him night and day, and seemed, in a manner, to respect him still as their prince, he began to be apprehensive, lest they should attempt to restore him to the throne. This jealousy increased daily, and at length wrought upon him so far, that, after some time, he placed a guard upon him; and his fears, by degrees, getting ^b

But afterwards
orders him to be
put to death.

the better of his generosity, he one day sent private orders to the guard to dispatch him the following night. These orders, however private, did not escape the vigilancy of his trusty friend *Unulf*, who, acquainting *Partbarit* with them, advised him to change cloaths with him, and, thus disguised, to attempt his escape. *Partbarit* followed his advice, and, having by that means deceived the centinels, he passed the *Tesino* undiscovered, and finding, on the other side the river, horses and guides provided for him by the care of *Unulf*, he escaped first to *Hassa*, thence to *Turin*, and at last into *Gaul*.

He makes his
escape.

Grimoald, being informed the next morning of what had happened, was so far from punishing *Unulf*, that, on the contrary, he bestowed the highest commendations upon him for his unshaken fidelity, leaving it to his choice either to ^c stay at home, or follow his master. *Clotaire III.* then king of the *Franks*, was so touched with the misfortunes of *Partbarit* and his family, that the following year he sent a powerful army into *Italy* to replace him on the throne. *Grimoald*, well apprised that he was far inferior in strength to the *Franks*, had recourse to the following stratagem: at their approach he pretended to fly, leaving his camp well stored with all manner of provisions, especially with wine. Hereupon the inconsiderate *Franks*, instead of pursuing the enemy, began to plunder the camp; and, finding in it great plenty of provisions, they abandoned themselves to eating and drinking, which when they had done to excess, they betook themselves to rest, without the least apprehension of an enemy. But *Grimoald*, returning in the dead of the night, fell upon them ^d while they lay fast asleep, and made such a dreadful havock of them before they could betake themselves to their arms, that few of them were left alive to carry home the news of their defeat.

The Franks
espouse his
cause.

But receive a
total over-
throw.
Year after
Christ 663.

Grimoald, thus happily delivered from one war, was soon involved in another. Hitherto the emperors, neglecting the affairs of *Italy*, seemed to have laid aside all thoughts of reuniting it to the empire, being well satisfied if they could but keep the few provinces and cities they held there, viz. the exarchate of *Ravenna*, the dukedom of *Rome*, and those of *Naples*, *Gaeta*, and *Amalfi*, with some cities of *Calabria* and *Brutium*. But *Constantine*, the son of *Constantine*, and grandson of *Heraclius*, having settled the affairs of the empire rent into parties and factions, resolved to ^e employ his whole strength in driving the *Lombards* quite out of *Italy*. Pursuant to this resolution, he caused a powerful fleet to be fitted out in *Sicily*; and, not satisfied with appointing the best officers he had to command in this expedition, he left *Constantinople*, and, coming into *Italy*, put himself at the head of his army. Some writers tell us, that, having murdered his brother *Theodore*, he was so haunted with ghastly spectres, and terrible dreams, that, being no longer able to bear the sight of the place where the murder had been committed, he left *Constantinople*, and repaired to *Italy*, hoping to find there some relief for his tormented conscience. Others ascribe his departure from the imperial seat to the hatred, which the *Constantinopolitans* bore him, on account of his having embraced the tenets of the *Monothelites*; and ^f add, that he designed to transfer the seat of the empire from *Constantinople* to *Rome*. But the most credible writers, and among the rest *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, and *Paulus Diaconus*, ^g suppose him to have undertaken his journey into *Italy* upon no other account, but to drive the *Lombards* quite out of that country. Be that as it will, he landed at *Tarentum* in the spring of the year 663, and thence marched directly to *Benevento*, being joined on his march by the troops in the dukedom of *Naples*. This unexpected invasion with a very considerable army, commanded by the emperor in person, struck the *Lombards* of *Benevento* with such terror and consternation, that

The expedition
of the emperor
Constantine into
Italy.

^a PAUL. DIAC. L. v. c. 2—5.

^b Vide SIGON. de regn. Ital. ad ann. 663.

^c PAUL. DIAC. L. v. c. 4.

- a they abandoned several places in *Apulia*, and among the rest *Luceria*, which *Constans* destroyed. From *Luceria* the emperor marched to *Acerenza*; but not being able to take it by storm, on account of its strong situation, he pursued his march without loss of time to *Benevento*, and invested the place with his whole army. *Romuald*, the son of *Grimoald*, at that time duke of *Benevento*, immediately dispatched *Gesuald*, who had been his guardian, to acquaint his father with the danger he was in, and to solicit succours. In the mean time the *Lombards* not only repulsed with great vigour the *Romans* in their repeated assaults, but killed great numbers of them in the sallies they daily made. *Grimoald* no sooner heard, that the city was besieged, than he assembled, with incredible expedition, all his forces, and, putting himself at their head, he marched to the relief of his son. He dispatched back *Gesuald* to give him notice, that, in a very short time, he should be relieved, and to encourage him to hold out till his arrival. But *Gesuald* was unfortunately taken by the *Romans*, as he was attempting to get into the besieged city, and carried before the emperor, to whom he ingenuously owned, that he was sent by the king to acquaint the besieged, that he was in full march, and already very near, with a powerful army to relieve them. The emperor, perplexed, and greatly alarmed at this news, resolved to conclude a peace with *Romuald*, that he might retire unmolested to *Naples* before the arrival of the king. But, in order to obtain better conditions, he commanded *Gesuald* to go to the walls, and tell *Romuald*, that his father could not possibly come to his relief, threatening to put him to a cruel death, if he refused to obey. *Gesuald* promised to do as he required; but when *Romuald* appeared upon the walls, with undaunted courage, and a loud voice, that the *Romans* there present might likewise hear, *Take courage*, he cried, *and banish all fear; for your father is near at hand with a powerful army to relieve you. This night he will reach the river Sangro. I earnestly recommend to you my dear wife and children; for I am in the hands of a perfidious enemy, who this moment will put me to death.* The emperor, highly provoked at this generous and bold action, instantly caused his head to be cut off, and with an engine to be thrown into the town, where it was taken up, and carried to *Romuald*, who, having kissed it with great affection, and bathed it with his tears, caused it, together with the rest of the body, which was soon after found, to be interred with the utmost pomp and magnificence. In the mean time the emperor, hearing the king of the *Lombards* was within a short march of him, raised the siege, and began, in great haste, his march to *Naples*. But *Misula* duke of *Capua*, meeting him at the river *Calore*, cut off great numbers of his men, and obliged the rest, together with the emperor, to save themselves by a precipitous flight. To revenge this disgrace, *Saburrus*, one of the emperor's generals, engaged to give the *Lombards* a total overthrow, and put *Grimoald* himself to flight, provided he were allowed but twenty thousand men, with an unlimited command. *Constans* having granted him his request, he encamped at the pass of *Formia*, now, as is generally supposed, *Mola di Gaeta*, with a design to cover the emperor's march, who intended to visit *Rome*, and, when he was out of danger, to go in quest of the enemy. In the mean time *Grimoald*, arriving with his army at *Benevento*, and being there informed of the boasting engagement of *Saburrus*, resolved to march directly against him, and offer him battle; but his son *Romuald* earnestly intreating him to suffer him to command the army in his room, he complied with his request, and detached the young prince with the flower of his army, who, meeting *Saburrus* in the neighbourhood of *Formia*, fell upon him with great intrepidity. The *Romans*, animated by the example of their leader, who behaved very gallantly, made a vigorous stand; so that the victory continued a long time doubtful. But, while both armies were fighting with the utmost fury, a *Lombard*, by name *Amelongus*, engaging a *Roman* horseman, first struck him from his horse, and then, lifting him up on the point of his spear, held him over his head in the sight of the *Roman* army; which struck them with such terror, that they began to give ground, and, being vigorously pressed by the *Lombards*, they abandoned in the end the field of battle, and betook themselves to a precipitous flight. *Romuald*, having pursued them for some time with great slaughter, returned to the field of battle, and from thence to *Benevento*, which he entered in a kind of triumph, being met at the gates by the king his father, and received with loud acclamations by the inhabitants, as the deliverer of his country*. In the mean time *Constans*, arriving at *Rome*, was received

He takes some places, and besieges Benevento.

He raises the siege, and is defeated in his retreats.

The Roman army utterly defeated by Romuald. Year after Christ 663.

* Idem ibid.

there with extraordinary marks of honour, no emperor having, for a long time, set ^a his foot in that city. He spent twelve days in visiting, or rather in plundering, the remarkable places of that great metropolis; for he stripped her of all her most valuable ornaments in gold, silver, brass, and marble, not sparing even the coverings of churches, which he caused to be conveyed by sea into *Sicily*, in order to transport them from thence to *Constantinople*. He himself went by land to *Naples*, and from thence to *Rhegium*, where his army was a third time defeated by the *Lombards*. From *Rhegium* he crossed over into *Sicily*, and fixed his residence at *Syracuse*, where he was murdered in the bath by his own people in 668. so that the inestimable wealth and plunder, which he had brought from *Rome*, being left in *Sicily*, was, soon after his death, seized by the *Saracens*, and carried to *Alexandria* ^v. After his departure from *Italy*, the *Lombards*, wholly intent upon improving their late victories, made them- ^b selves masters of *Bari*, *Tarento*, *Brindisi*, and all the places in the country now known by the name of *Terra d'Otranto*, which were added to the dukedom of *Benevento*. *Grimoald*, to reward *Mitula* duke of *Capua*, who had defeated the *Romans* in their retreat from *Benevento*, gave him his daughter in marriage, and at the same time appointed him to succeed the late duke *Zotbo* in the dukedom of *Spoletum*; which two dukedoms he governed for many years.

The Lombards
make them-
selves masters
of several cities.

WHILE *Grimoald* was employed against the *Romans* in the dukedom of *Benevento*, *Lupus* duke of *Friuli*, taking advantage of his absence, oppressed his people in a most enormous manner, and, not satisfied with the wealth, which, by heavy taxes, he ^c extorted from them, he broke into the territories of the *Venetian Lombards*, and there plundered the church of *Aquileia* of all its rich ornaments. For this the king, upon his return to *Pavia*, resolved to call him to a severe account; which he apprehending, renounced his allegiance to *Grimoald*, and openly revolted. *Grimoald* was deter- ^d mined at all events to punish him with exemplary severity; but being unwilling to lead his *Lombards* against their countrymen, or suffer them to imbrue their hands in the blood of each other, he employed *Chagan* king of the *Hunns* to make war upon him, who broke into his territories the following year at the head of an infinite multitude, and laid them waste far and near. This *Lupus* did not tamely suffer; but, drawing together what forces he could, he marched against the *Hunns*, and, engaging them four days successively, made a dreadful havock of the undisciplined multi- ^d tute; but, in the fifth engagement, his men being tired out, and quite spent, they were, after a most obstinate dispute, in which *Lupus* himself was killed, overpowered, and put to flight. Upon the death of *Lupus*, and the defeat of his army, *Chagan* over-ran the whole country, and laid it waste without controul. But *Grimoald*, who had employed the king of the *Hunns* only to punish the rebellious duke, sent embas- ^e sadors to put him in mind of their agreement, and require him to retire with his forces, since there was no further occasion for them in the dukedom of *Friuli*, or the territories of the *Lombards*. *Chagan* answered plainly, That he would not quit a country, which he had conquered with his arms, and the blood of so many of his subjects. *Grimoald*, provoked at this answer, resolved to drive him out by force; ^e and accordingly marched against him at the head of a very considerable army; but as it was far inferior in numbers to that of the *Hunns*, in order to make it appear more numerous than it really was, he mustered his troops in the presence of *Chagan's* embas- ^f sadors, and made the same men pass thrice before him in different cloathing. By this device they appeared to be treble the number they really were; and such they were by the ambassadors represented to the king, who thereupon, in great fear, retired to his own dominions ². Upon the retreat of *Chagan*, *Warnefrid*, son to the deceased duke, attempted, with the assistance of the *Slavonians*, to possess himself of his father's dukedom; but *Grimoald*, having defeated the *Slavonians*, and killed *Warnefrid*, appointed one *Welcar* to succeed *Lupus* in the dukedom of *Friuli*; and at the same ^f time married *Theodorata*, the daughter of *Lupus*, to his son *Romuald*, duke of *Benevento* ³. About this time *Alczecus*, one of the princes of the *Bulgarians*, abandoning his own country, entered *Italy* with a body of his countrymen, and, repairing to *Pavia*, offered his service to *Grimoald*, who, thinking he might prove very service- ^h able to his son against the *Romans*, sent him to *Benevento*, in which dukedom several cities were allotted to him and his followers, as we have related elsewhere ^h.

The duke of
Friuli revolts.

He is killed by
the Hunns.

Welcar ap-
pointed duke of
Friuli.

² Idem ibid. & *Pagide consulib.* p. 348.
c. 21. ³ Vide supra, p. 624.

⁴ PAUL. DIAC. l. v. c. 17—20.

⁵ Idem ibid.

- a** AND now *Grimoald*, having no wars on his hands, and no enemy to fear, applied himself wholly to the arts of peace. The laws of king *Rotharis*, which had been published twenty-four years before, were by this time become familiar, not only to the *Lombards*, for whom they had been made, but likewise to the natives of *Italy*, who chose to follow them, though they had never been forbidden the use of the *Roman* laws; but these laws, in process of time, proving, as it generally happens, defective, and some of them being thought too severe, *Grimoald*, in the sixth year of his reign, undertook the revising of the edict of *Rotharis*, and, in a general diet held in the year 668. with the consent and approbation of his nobles, repealed some laws, enacted others in their room, and published a new edict^c, containing eleven chapters, which is still to be seen in the above-mentioned code lodged in the monastery of *Cava*. *Grimoald*, having thus performed all the duties of an excellent prince, was, to the great grief of the *Lombards*, unexpectedly snatched away by the following accident: he had been let blood in one of his arms, and as he was, nine days after, bending a bow, the vein opened, and, all possible means for closing it proving ineffectual, he bled to death^d. He was a prince of uncommon parts, and in every respect equal to the high station to which he was raised. Though he had been brought up in the principles of *Arius*, he renounced the errors of that heresiarch, and embraced the catholic religion, yielding to the arguments of *John* bishop of *Bergamo*, a prelate of great piety and learning. The example of *Grimoald* was followed by the kings his successors, who all professed the catholic religion; so that *Arianism* was, in a short time, forsaken by the whole nation of the *Lombards*. He died in the year 672. the ninth of his reign, leaving behind him, besides *Romuald* duke of *Benevento*, another son, by name *Garibald*, to whom, though yet very young, he bequeathed on his death-bed the kingdom of the *Lombards*. From his excluding *Romuald*, authors conclude that prince to have been his illegitimate son. Be that as it will, *Garibald* did not long enjoy his new dignity; for he had scarce mounted the throne, when *Partbarit*, who was still in *Gaul*, hearing of the death of his rival, hastened into *Italy*, and, being received with extraordinary joy by great numbers of *Lombards*, he advanced, attended by crowds of followers, to *Pavia*, and was there received by the inhabitants, and the great men of the nation, as their lawful sovereign, *Garibald* having withdrawn to his brother in *Benevento*, after a short reign of three months, *Partbarit*, thus restored to the throne, recalled his wife *Rodelinda*, and his son *Cunipert*, who, ever since his expulsion, had been in exile at *Benevento*. Having reigned alone in great peace and tranquillity for the space of eight years, in the latter end of the year 680. he took his son *Cunipert* for his partner in the kingdom, and reigned with him ten years more. During their joint reign, *Alachis* duke of *Trent*, openly revolting, assumed the title of king of the *Lombards*. Hereupon *Partbarit*, marching against him with all his forces, besieged him in his own city; but *Alachis*, sallying out with the flower of his troops, obliged the king to raise the siege, and save himself by flight. However, *Alachis*, finding himself abandoned by the greater part of his men, who refused to bear arms against their lawful sovereign, thought it advisable to submit, upon promise of pardon; which *Partbarit* granted him, at the earnest request of his son *Cunipert*, who had a great friendship for the duke, with whom he had been brought up from his infancy; nay, the young prince, in order to win him by kindness, not only prevailed upon his father to take him anew into favour, but to create him duke of *Brescia*, adding that dukedom to the dukedom of *Trent*. The king on that occasion told his son, That, by his good offices, he did not so much oblige a friend, as strengthen an enemy; but nevertheless he could not help complying with his request. Some time after, *Partbarit* died, a prince highly commended by our historian for his piety, justice, moderation, and above all for the great care he took of the poor^e. Three years before his death, *Deodorus Calliopa* the exarch was recalled, and one *John* sent to govern *Italy* in his room. *Alachis*, duke of *Trent* and *Brescia*, was no sooner informed of the death of *Partbarit*, than, unmindful of the favours he had received at the hands of *Cunipert*, he resolved to drive him from the throne, and place the crown upon his own head, agreeable to what *Partbarit* had foretold his son, while he was studying to gain him by kindness. The rebellious duke, having drawn into the conspiracy two brothers, *Aldo* and *Granso*, the two most considerable citizens of *Brescia*, and several other *Lombards*, while the king was

Grimoald corrects the edict of Rotharis.

Grimoald dies. Year after Christ 672.

Garibald succeeds; but is driven out by Partbarit.

Who takes his son Cunipert for his partner.

Partbarit dies. Year after Christ 690.

Alachis duke of Trent revolts, and drives Cunipert from the throne.

^c PAUL. DIAC. l. v. c. 12. & SIGON. de regn. Ital. l. ii. ad ann. 668.

^d Idem, l. v. c. 36.

^e PAUL. DIAC. l. v. c. 33.

Cunipert re-
stored.

War between
him and Ala-
chis.

Alachis killed,
and his army
defeated.

Cunipert dies.
Year after
Christ 703.

absent, seized on the royal palace of *Pavia*, and took upon him the title of king. ^a Hereupon *Cunipert*, who was quite unprovided, not imagining the duke could be guilty of such treachery and ingratitude, fled to an island in the lake *Larius*, now *Lago di Como*, and there fortified himself in the best manner he could. In the mean time the usurper, behaving in a most despotic and tyrannical manner, highly disobliterated all his subjects, even those to whom he was chiefly indebted for the crown he wore. As he was one day telling money in his closet, he happened to let a piece drop, which the son of *Aldo*, who was present, officiously took up, and gave him. The tyrant, in receiving it, *Your father*, said he, *has many such pieces, which, ere it be long, shall be all mine.* As the son of *Aldo* was but a child, the tyrant was not upon his guard; but the boy, remembering what he said, upon his return home, told it ^b to his father, who concluding from thence, that his death, and the ruin of his family, would be the reward of all his services, if he did not, by some means or other, prevent them, consulted with his brother *Granso*, and his other friends, about deposing the usurper. They all agreed to seize on the city of *Pavia*, and recal their lawful sovereign the first time *Alachis* should go out to take the diversion of hunting. This they did accordingly, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants, especially of the clergy, whom the tyrant had chiefly disobliterated. *Alachis*, finding upon his return the gates shut against him, and *Cunipert* possessed of the royal palace, fled into *Istria*, and, having raised a considerable army there, he returned at the head of it, not doubting but he should be able to drive *Cunipert* anew from the throne. The king, ^c hearing of his return, drew together all his forces, and, meeting the usurper in the plains of *Coronata*, he challenged him to a single combat, in order to save the lives of many innocent men, who must otherwise perish; but, *Alachis* refusing the challenge, the two armies began to prepare for a general engagement. While they were drawn up, and *Cunipert* ready to charge the enemy, one *Zeno*, a deacon of the church of *Pavia*, greatly attached, as were all the ecclesiastics, to the king's person, and firmly persuaded, that the welfare of the church depended upon his safety, with the greatest earnestness imaginable, begged leave to put on his armour, and counterfeit his person: *If I perish*, said he, *the loss will be small; but upon your safety depends the welfare both of the church and state.* The king being, with much-ado, prevailed upon by the ^d tears and intreaties of his friends to accept the proposal, *Zeno* put on his armour, and appeared in it so like the king, whom he resembled in shape and stature, that he could hardly be distinguished from him; so that, when the two armies joined battle, *Alachis*, mistaking him for the king, engaged him with the utmost fury, and, having with great ease overcome and slain him, in the greatest transports of joy imaginable, he ordered his head to be cut off, and exposed to the view of both armies on the point of a spear; but, finding it was the head of a priest, and not of the king, his joy was succeeded by a violent rage and passion, in which he vowed to emasculate all the ecclesiastics, in case he obtained the victory. In the mean time *Cunipert*, ^e observing that his men, disheartened with the report of his death, began to give ground, shewed himself to them, and, by shewing himself, encouraged them to such a degree, that, returning to the charge, they renewed the fight with fresh vigour. However, *Cunipert*, to avoid the effusion of blood, sent a second time to *Alachis*, inviting him to decide the quarrel by a single combat; but he, declining anew the challenge, the two armies fought with the utmost fury, till, *Alachis* being slain, his men, disheartened by his death, fled in the utmost confusion. Most of them were cut off in the flight, and the rest drowned in the *Adige*. The army of the dukedom of *Friuli*, which *Alachis* enticed to his party, while they were marching to the assistance of the king, withdrew in the beginning of the battle, scrupling either to fight ^f against him, to whom they had sworn allegiance, or against their lawful sovereign. *Cunipert*, after this victory, which put an end to the civil war, returned in triumph to *Pavia*, having first caused the deacon *Zeno* to be interred with the greatest pomp and solemnity. He afterwards built, in honour of St. *George*, a magnificent monastery in the field where the battle had been fought. *Cunipert*, having thus happily suppressed so dangerous a rebellion, reigned in great peace and tranquillity till the year 703. when he died, universally lamented; for he was a prince, says our historian, of a most comely aspect, of a sweet temper, engaging behaviour, great courage, and extraordinary piety. He had married *Hermelinda*, a princess of the

^c Idem ibid. c. 38—42.

^d Idem ibid.

- a blood royal of the *Anglo-Saxons*, and had by her one son, named *Luitbert*, to whom he bequeathed the kingdom; but, as he was then an infant, he committed him to the care of *Asprand*, a person of great distinction among the *Lombards*, and highly esteemed for his wisdom. *Luitbert*, or rather *Asprand*, had scarce governed eight months, when *Ragumbert*, duke of *Turin*, taking upon him the title of king, defeated *Asprand* in battle, and caused himself to be acknowledged by the whole nation; but he died the same year, and was succeeded by his son *Aripert*, in whose reign *Luitbert*, assisted by several dukes, attempted the recovery of his paternal kingdom; but he was utterly defeated by the usurper, and taken prisoner, in a battle fought at a small distance from *Pavia*. *Rotbaris* duke of *Bergamo*, who had espoused with great zeal the cause of the king, fled, after the defeat of the army, to his own city, in which he was closely besieged by *Aripert*, who, having in the end made himself master of the place, sent the duke to *Turin*, where he was soon after put to death by his orders. *Luitbert*, his young competitor, met with no better treatment; for he soon after ordered him to be stifled in a bath. As for *Asprand*, whom, above all others, the tyrant was desirous of getting into his power, he fled first to the above-mentioned island in the lake *Larius*; but being informed, that a strong detachment was marching against him, he fled from thence to *Ravenna*, and from *Ravenna* to *Theudebert* duke of the *Boioarii*, with whom he continued for the space of nine years. *Aripert*'s men reduced the island; but, not finding *Asprand* there, they returned to *Aripert*, who, transported with rage at his disappointment, put out the eyes of *Sigibrand* the son of *Asprand*, and at the same time caused the nose and ears of his wife *Theuderata*, and daughter *Aurona*, to be cut off. *Asprand* had another son, by name *Luitprand*; but the tyrant spared him, as he was yet a child, and sent him to his father, Providence reserving him, as our historian observes, for great things^b. *Aripert*, notwithstanding the acts of cruelty he practised in the beginning of his reign, is said to have ruled afterwards with great prudence and equity. He was a great friend to the ecclesiastics, and very liberal to the churches, which he enriched with ample donations. To the church of *Rome* he restored many lands, especially the patrimony of the *Alpes Cottiae*, which had been seized on by king *Rotbaris*. We are told, that he sent the instrument of this donation to the bishop of *Rome* written in golden letters^c (W). In the ninth year

Luitbert succeeds; but is driven out by Ragumbert.

Ragumbert succeeded by his son Aripert.

Who puts Luitbert to death.

His cruelty.

Is liberal to the churches.

^b Idem ibid. c. 18—21. & l. vi. c. 22.

^c Idem, l. vi. c. 28.

(W) The lands and estates, which the churches acquired, not only within the district of their respective cities, but in distant countries, were styled patrimonies, as were likewise the hereditary estates both of princes and private persons, but with this difference, that the prince's estate was called *patrimonium sacrum*, as appears from several constitutions of the *Justinian code* (1). The *patrimonium sacrum* was what we now call the king's domain. As for the churches, so many profuse donations were made to them, both by princes and private persons, that, in process of time, they acquired great estates, which, according to the style of those times, were called *patrimonies*. Thus, in the letters of pope *Gregory the Great*, frequent mention is made, not only of the patrimony of the church of *Rome*, but of the church of *Milan*, *Rimini*, *Ravenna*, and several others. The churches of great cities, such as *Rome*, *Ravenna*, and *Milan*, where the emperor's officers, and other illustrious persons, resided, acquired patrimonies, not only within their own district, but in distant countries; whereas the churches of smaller cities, whose inhabitants had but moderate fortunes, and their estates within their own limits, had no patrimonies out of their districts. The church of *Rome*, above all others, acquired, by degrees, immense patrimonies, not only in *Italy*, but in the most distant provinces of *Europe* (2). In the time of *Gregory the Great*, that church held ample patrimonies in *Sicily*; for *Gregory*, in a letter to *Justin* governor of *Sicily* for the emperor, intreats him to cause the corn of the patrimony of *St. Peter* to be, without delay, conveyed to *Rome*, where there was great scarcity. The

church of *Rome* had likewise a patrimony in *France*, and another in *Dalmatia*, of which the latter was committed to the care of one *Antoninus* a subdeacon, and the former to that of a priest named *Candidus*, whom *Gregory*, in one of his letters, earnestly recommends to queen *Brunichild*, and likewise to king *Childebert* her son. In a letter to *Candidus*, he shews him how the revenues of that patrimony are to be disposed of; nay, from the letters of the same pope it appears, that the church of *Rome* had, in his time, a patrimony in *Africa*; for, in a letter to *Gennadius* exarch of that province, he returns him thanks for taking care of the patrimony of *St. Peter* there, and in particular for sending such as depended upon him to till the lands, which had been abandoned by the tenant's. In *Italy* the patrimonies of the *Roman* church were almost without number. In the province of the *Alpes Cottiae* she had a large patrimony, which was seized, and for a long time possessed, by the *Lombards*; but restored to her by king *Aripert* in the time of pope *John VII.* *Aripert* king of the *Lombards*, says *Paulus Diaconus*, restored the patrimony of the *Alpes Cottiae* belonging to the apostolic see, but for a long time possessed by the *Lombards*, and sent the donation to *Rome* in golden letters (3). This donation was, according to the same writer, confirmed by king *Luitprand*. Other patrimonies were held by the same church, as appears from the letters of several popes, in the exarchate of *Ravenna*, in the dukedom of *Naples*, in the territories of *Salerno* and *Nola*, in the provinces of *Campania*, *Lucania*, *Calabria*, *Abruzzo*, *Liguria*, *Tuscany*, &c. That these patrimonies might be the more respected,

(1) *Cod. Justin.* l. xii.

(2) *Vide Ammirat. in opusc. discept. vii.*

(3) *Paul. Diac.* l. vi. c. 28.

Asprand re-
turns into Italy.

Aripert drown-
ed.

Asprand de-
clared king.

The dukes of
Benevento.

year of his reign, *Asprand* returned into *Italy* at the head of a powerful army, raised a by the duke of the *Boioarii*, who, having espoused his cause with great warmth, resolved to assist him with all his strength in revenging the cruel treatment his wife and children had met with at the king's hands. *Aripert* met him on the confines with an army no ways inferior to his. Hereupon a bloody battle ensued, which lasted till night parted the combatants. The next day *Asprand* was for renewing the fight; but *Aripert*, though he had not lost near so many men as his adversary, yet declining, for reasons unknown to our historian, a second engagement, he left the enemy masters of the field of battle, and retired to *Pavia*. Being pursued by *Asprand*, whose men were no less encouraged by his retreat, than *Aripert's* were disheartened, he abandoned *Pavia*, with a design to pass into *Gaul*, and there hire a new army, b carrying with him for that effect the best part of his treasures; but, attempting to swim cross the *Tesino*, he was drowned in that river. His body was found the next day, and buried with great pomp in the church of *St. Saviour*, founded by *Aripert*, the first of that name. His brother, by name *Guntbert*, fled to the king of the *Franks*, and continued at his court to his death. *Raginbert*, the eldest son of *Guntbert*, governed the city of *Orleans* for the king of the *Franks* in the time of our historian. The throne being vacant by the death of *Aripert*, *Asprand* was placed on it by the unanimous consent of the whole nation; but he dying three months after his accession, his son *Luitprand* succeeded him in the kingdom of the *Lombards*. But, before we speak of his reign, we shall relate what happened till his time, worthy of c notice, in the other provinces of *Italy* subject to the *Lombards*.

In the year 677. died *Romuald* duke of *Benevento*, and was succeeded by *Grimoald* II. his son, to whom he left that dukedom greatly enlarged by the addition of *Taranto*, *Brindisi*, *Bari*, and their territories, which he took from the emperor of the east, as we have related above. *Grimoald* governed, with his brother *Gisulph*, not quite three years; and, upon his death, *Gisulph* held the dukedom alone fourteen years more. All we find recorded of him in history is his laying waste, upon what provocation we know not, the territory of *Rome*. *Gisulph* dying in 694. was succeeded in the

* Idem ibid. c. 35.

the bishops gave them the names of the saints, which each church had in special veneration. Thus the possessions of the church of *Ravenna* were called the patrimony of *St. Apollinaris*; those of *Rome*, *Milan*, *Naples*, &c. the patrimony of *St. Peter*, *St. Ambrose*, *St. Aspremus*, &c. The name of patrimony did not import any sovereignty or jurisdiction; for the pope, as well as the other bishops, held their patrimonies of the prince, in whose state they lay, paying the same taxes and impositions as other subjects. It is true, that, in some places, those who had care of the patrimonies of *St. Peter*, attempted to take the administration of justice into their own hands; but this no prince would suffer, and besides, *Gregory the Great* forbid all attempts and encroachments of that kind, on pain of excommunication (4). In the year 681. the emperor *Constantine Pogonatus* granted an exemption from all tribute for the patrimonies of the *Roman* church in *Sicily* and *Calabria*; and the tribute paid for the patrimonies of the same church in *Lucania* and *Abruzzo* was remitted by *Justinian*, the successor of *Constantine*, in 687. But *Leo Isauricus*, provoked against the bishop of *Rome*, on account of his hindering the imperial edict against the worship of images from being put in execution, first revoked the exemptions granted by his predecessors for the patrimonies in *Sicily* and *Calabria*; and afterwards, as the bishop continued to oppose the edict, he seized on those patrimonies, and ordered the revenues to be paid into the exchequer. The church of *Rome* possessed, as we have observed, several patrimonies in the different provinces of *Italy*, and this gave rise to a great mistake among the writers of later times, who, confounding the patrimonies which the church of *Rome* held

in those provinces with the provinces themselves, have supposed the provinces of the *Alpes Cottia*, of *Sicily* and *Calabria*, the dukedoms of *Benevento* and *Spoleto*, and part of *Tuscany* and *Campania*, to have belonged to the church of *Rome*. Into this mistake several eminent authors have fallen, and among the rest *Scipio Ammiratus*, who, though otherwise a most exact and accurate writer, supposes king *Aripert*, by the donation we have mentioned above, to have restored and confirmed to pope *John VII.* the province of the *Alpes Cottia* (5); whereas it is evident from the words of the historian, that the king restored to the church of *Rome* the patrimony, which she had in that province, and not the province itself, which reached as far as *Genoa*, and comprised a great tract of country, in which were many cities of note, and places of great importance. It is surprising any one should imagine, that the king of the *Lombards* would have divested himself of such a country, and given it to the pope, whom he knew to be greatly attached to the emperors of the east, the implacable enemies of the *Lombards*. But of this subject we shall speak more at length hereafter, on occasion of the many famous donations made to the church of *Rome* by *Charlemagne* and *Lewis the Pious*, where it will appear, that what we read in them of *Naples*, *Benevento*, and *Salerno*, ought to be understood of the patrimonies, which the church of *Rome* had in those dukedoms, and not of the dukedoms themselves, it being certain, that the dukedom of *Benevento* came first under the dominion of the church in the year 1052. by way of exchange made between the emperor *Henry II.* and pope *Leo IX.* for the church of *Bamberg* (6).

(4) Vide *Ant. Mast. man. ad jus can. l. iii. tit. 17.*
(6) Vide *Pietro Giann. hist. civil. di Napoli, l. iv. sect. 4.*

(5) *Scip. Ammirat. opusc. discept. vii.*

- a dukedom by his son *Romuald* II. who ruled twenty-six years, during which time he greatly harassed the *Neapolitans*, and, by a stratagem, made himself master of *Cumæ*, belonging to them. Hereupon *Gregory* II. then bishop of *Rome*, apprehending that metropolis to be in danger, did all that lay in his power to persuade the duke to restore *Cumæ*, offering him even a considerable sum in lieu of it. But his offers, and every other fair means, proving ineffectual, the bishop in the end thundered against him the sentence of excommunication; but finding, that *Grimoald* made no more account of his excommunications; than his offers, he had recourse to *John* duke of *Naples*, whom he advised to attack the city in the night; which he did accordingly, and, having made himself master of the place, he put three hundred *Lombards*, with their gaskald, to the sword, and took five hundred more prisoners, whom he carried with him to *Naples*. As for the city, he sold it to the bishop, as had been agreed on before-hand, for seventy pounds weight of gold¹. *Romuald* died in 720, and was succeeded by his son *Adelai*, who governed only two years, and performed nothing worthy of notice. In the dukedom of *Friuli*, *Welfar*, who had been appointed duke by *Grimoald*, as we have related above, was succeeded by *Landar*, and he by *Rodoald*, in whose absence one *Ansfrid* seized on the dukedom, and soon after, aspiring at the crown, began to make vast preparations for so great an undertaking. But *Cunipert*, who reigned then, being privately acquainted with his design, found means to intercept him as he was going to *Verona*. However, he spared his life, but sent him into banishment, after he had caused his eyes to be put out. In the mean time *Rodoald* dying, his brother *Aldo* succeeded to the dukedom, which he governed, according to our historian, but one year and seven months^m, though *Sigonius* will have him to have held it seven years. *Aldo*, who by *Paulus Diaconus* is styled only protector of the dukedom, was succeeded by *Ferdulf*, who was killed by the *Sclavonians*, with all the nobility of the dukedom, except *Munichis*, who had the good fortune to make his escape. One *Corvulus* was then appointed duke by king *Aripert*, whom he soon disoblinded, and was on that account deposed, and deprived of his sight. In his room was raised to the dukedom one *Pemmo*, who, seeking for the sons of the nobility killed by the *Sclavonians*, brought them up with his own childrenⁿ. During this time died *Mitula*, who had been rewarded by king *Grimoald*, as we have related above, with the dukedom of *Spoleto*, for his gallant behaviour against the emperor *Constans*. He was succeeded by his son *Faroald*, who governed jointly with his brother *Wachilap*^o. To return, after this short digression, to *Luitprand*:
- THAT prince, from the very beginning of his reign, gave great instances of his courage and prudence. He had scarce mounted the throne, when one of his kinsmen, named *Rotharis*, conspiring against him, invited him to a banquet at his house, where he had assassins concealed, who, upon a signal agreed on before-hand, were to rush into the room where the king was, and dispatch him. But *Luitprand*, receiving private intelligence of the treason that was hatching against him, sent for *Rotharis* to the palace, who, finding himself discovered, drew his sword all on a sudden, with a design to kill the king; but he defended himself with great bravery, not shewing the least tokens of fear or surprize, till his guards, coming in at the noise, dispatched the traitor. He sometimes suffered himself to be transported by his courage beyond what was prudent in a prince, on whose safety depended the welfare of his subjects. Thus, being informed that two of his attendants had conspired against his life, and only watched a favourable opportunity of putting their design in execution, he one day walked out with them alone into a thick wood, and there, drawing his sword, he upbraided them with their treachery, and told them, that they now had what they so long wished for, the king alone; and therefore might try, if they pleased, to compass their wicked design. These words, with the king's generosity, and their own guilt, made such a deep impression upon their minds, that they threw themselves disarmed at his feet, and, owning the whole truth, acknowledged themselves unworthy of mercy. The generous prince, however, not only forgave them, but, receiving them into favour, preferred them afterwards to great employments^p. Having thus won his enemies at home by his kindness, and strengthened his interest abroad, by marrying the daughter of the duke of the *Briocarii*, who had received and entertained him and his father in their distress, he applied himself, in imitation of his predecessors *Rotharis* and *Grimoald*, to the making of new laws, for

¹ Idem, l. v. c. 44. & JOAN. DIAC. apud Ughell. de episc. Neap. p. 86.^m PAUL. DIAC. l. v. c. 17.ⁿ Idem ibid. c. 24, 25.^o Idem ibid. c. 30.^p Idem ibid. c. 38.

He publishes a
new edict of
laws.

Disturbances
occasioned in
Italy by the
edict of Leo
Isauricus.

Luitprand in-
vades the ex-
archate.

the better regulation of his kingdom, and administration of justice. Having there-
fore, in the first year of his reign, convened a general diet in *Pavia*, with the con-
sent and approbation of his nobles, and the judges from all parts of his kingdom,
he enacted several laws, which he added to the edicts of *Rotharis* and *Grimoald*. In
the following years he published many others, as occasion required; so that, next to
Rotharis, he ought to be accounted the chief lawgiver of the *Lombards*. His first
edict was published the last day of *February*, in the eleventh indiction, and the first
year of his reign, as appears from the preface prefixed to it (X), and several others
he published the following years; so that his laws amounted in the end to an hun-
dred and fifty-two. But the wisdom this prince shewed in settling his kingdom with
excellent laws, and his other extraordinary parts, were not a little eclipsed by his
unbounded ambition; for, not satisfied with the large and extensive dominions left
him by his predecessors, he undertook to drive the *Romans* quite out of *Italy*; which
in the end occasioned the ruin of the kingdom of the *Lombards* in that country: for
the popes, growing jealous of their too great power, and finding the emperors of the
east incapable of making head against them, or putting a stop to their conquests, had
recourse to a foreign nation, which raised a new empire in *Italy*, upon the ruins of the
kingdom of the *Lombards*, as we shall relate in the sequel of this history. *Luitprand*,
pushed on by his ambition, watched all opportunities of enlarging his dominions at
the expence of the emperors; and in the fifth year of his reign a very favourable one
offered: for *Leo Isauricus*, who at that time reigned in the east, having, by his
famous edict, forbidden the worship of images, and ordered them to be every-where
pulled down, the people were so provoked at that innovation, that, in several places,
they openly revolted, and, falling upon the emperor's officers, drove them out of
the cities. In the east *Germanus*, patriarch of *Constantinople*, opposed the emperor's
design with great warmth; but *Leo* caused him to be deposed, and *Anastasius* to be
raised to that see in his room, ordering at the same time all the images in the impe-
rial city to be pulled down, and publicly burnt. He strictly enjoined his officers in
the west, especially the exarch of *Ravenna*, to see his edict punctually obeyed in their
respective governments. In compliance with these orders, *Scholasticus*, then exarch, be-
gan to pull down the images in all the churches and public places in *Ravenna*; which
incensed the superstitious multitude to such a degree, that, taking arms, they openly
declared they would rather renounce their allegiance to the emperor, than the wor-
ship of images. Thus a kind of civil war being kindled in the city, *Luitprand*
thought he had now a favourable opportunity of making himself master of the seat
of the exarch, not doubting but the conquest of such an important place would be
followed by that of the whole exarchate. Having therefore drawn together all his
forces, he unexpectedly appeared before *Ravenna*, and closely besieged it. The
exarch little expected such a surprize, as a friendly correspondence had been main-
tained for many years between the exarchs and the *Lombard* kings. However, he

¹ Idem, l. vi. c. 58. BERNARD. SACCUS, hist. Ticin. l. ix. c. 5. SIGON. reg. Ital. ad ann. 713.

(X) The preface is couched in the following words: "Whereas our most mighty predecessor, and most eminent king, *Rothar*, published an edict for the *Lombards*, wherein he prudently caused the following words to be inserted; *If the princes of the Lombards, our successors, find any thing superfluous in this edict, they may leave it out, and, with the assistance of God, add what they think wanting*: after him, the most glorious king *Grimoald* accordingly added and left out what to him seemed fit; and we, following his example, and inspired, as we hope, by God, have decreed to be added and omitted such things, as, according to the law of God, seemed to us proper: therefore, in the name of the omnipotent God, I *Luitprand*, the most excellent, the christian and catholic, king of the nation of the *Lombards*, beloved of God, in the first year of my reign, the day before the calends of *March*, in the eleventh indiction, together with all the judges from the parts of *Austria* and *Neustria*, and borders of *Thuscian*, with others of my faithful *Lombards*, and all the people assisting, am pleased with the following regulations, which to us have appeared good, according to

"the fear and love of God." Then follow the six chapters of the edict, whereof the first bears this title *De successione filiarum*. In the fifth year of his reign he published another edict, and a great many more in the following years, which are all to be seen intire in the manuscript code lodged in the monastery of *Cava*, with seven other chapters added to them, under the following titles: I. *De mercede magistris*. II. *De muro*. III. *De amona*. IV. *De opera*. V. *De caminata*. VI. *De furno*. VII. *De puteo*. The laws of *Luitprand* are in all an hundred and fifty-two, as appears from the above-mentioned code; but the compiler of the three books of the laws of the *Lombards* has thought fit to insert in that work only an hundred and thirty-seven of them, viz. forty-eight in the first book, and eighty-nine in the second. As for the third book, it is chiefly composed of those laws, which were made by the emperors who reigned in *Italy*, as successors to the kings of the *Lombards*; for several laws were enacted by them, not as emperors or kings of *France*, but as kings of *Italy*, or of the *Lombards*; and hence the *Lombard* laws were never of any force in *France*, nor the *French* laws in *Italy*.

defended

- a defended the place with such courage and resolution, that *Luitprand*, despairing of success, broke up the siege, and led his army against *Classis* at a small distance from *Ravenna*, which place he took, plundered, and levelled with the ground. The loss of this place, and the severe treatment the inhabitants met with from the king, threw the citizens of *Ravenna* into the utmost consternation; which *Luitprand* being informed of, he resolved to take advantage of their fears, and, returning before *Ravenna* while the inhabitants were thus disheartened, to attempt once more the reduction of that place. Accordingly he led his whole army against it, and, by frequent attacks, tired the inhabitants and garrison to such a degree, that the exarch, finding they could hold out no longer, and despairing of relief, privately withdrew. *Luitprand*, informed of his retreat, attacked the town with more violence than ever, and, having carried it by storm, gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers, who found in it an immense booty, as it had been for a long time the seat of the Roman emperors, of the Gothic kings, and the exarchs. The king stripped it of most of its valuable monuments of antiquity, and caused, among the rest, an equestrian statue of an emperor, of wonderful workmanship, to be conveyed to *Pavia*, where it is to be seen to this day. The reduction of *Ravenna* was followed by the surrender of several cities of the exarchate, which *Luitprand* reduced to a dukedom, appointing *Hildebrand*, his grandson, to govern it with the title of duke, and giving him, as he was yet an infant, *Peredeus* duke of *Vicenza* for his guardian.
- b *He takes and plunders Ravenna. Year after Christ 722.*
- c THE conquest of *Ravenna*, and the greater part of the exarchate, did not a little alarm *Gregory II.* bishop of *Rome*. He was then at variance with the emperor, whose edict against the worshipping of images he had opposed with all his might, and by that means provoked *Leo* to such a degree, that he had threatened to drive him from his see, and send him into exile. However, the pope, no less jealous of the power of the Lombards, than all his predecessors had been, resolved, by some means or other, to put a stop to their conquests. The only prince in *Italy*, to whom he could have recourse, was *Ursus* duke of *Venice*, the *Venetians* making already no inconsiderable figure. To him accordingly he wrote a very pressing letter, conjuring him to assist his worthy son the exarch, and, for the love of the holy faith, to attempt
- d with him the recovery of the exarchate, which the wicked nation of the Lombards had unjustly taken from his sons *Leo* and *Constantine* emperors. *Ursus* and the *Venetians*, moved with the pope's letter, and at the same time greatly alarmed at the growth of so powerful a neighbour, promised to assist the exarch with the whole strength of their republic, and accordingly fitted out a considerable fleet, pretending it was designed for the service of the emperor against the *Saracens*. At the same time the exarch, who had taken refuge in *Venice*, abandoning that place, as it were in despair of bringing the duke over to his party, raised, in the places still subject to the emperor, what forces he was able; and having got together a considerable body, he marched with them towards *Imola*, giving out, that he designed to besiege that
- e city; but turning all on a sudden towards *Ravenna*, as had been agreed on between him and the *Venetians*, he laid siege to it by land, while they invested it almost at the same instant by sea. *Peredeus* defended the town for some time with great courage and resolution, obliging all those, who were able to bear arms, to repair to the walls. But the *Venetians* having, in spite of all opposition, forced open one of the gates on the side of the sea, the city was taken, and *Peredeus* slain, while he was attempting, at the head of a choice body, to drive the enemy from the posts they had seized. As for *Hildebrand*, he fell into the hands of the *Venetians*, who, having thus recovered *Ravenna* to the emperor, returned home, leaving the exarch in possession of the city. *Luitprand* was then at *Pavia*; but the town was taken before he could assemble his
- f troops to relieve it. And now *Gregory* bishop of *Rome*, to whom the recovery of *Ravenna* was chiefly owing, persuading himself, that the emperor would, out of gratitude, give ear to his remonstrances and admonitions, began to solicit him with more pressing letters than ever to revoke his edict against the worship of images; but *Leo*, well apprised, that the bishop, in all the measures he had taken, had been more influenced by a regard to his own interest, than to that of the empire, instead of hearkening to his remonstrances, was still more provoked against him for thus obstinately opposing the execution of his edict. Being therefore resolved at all events to have it observed in *Rome* itself, and, on the other hand, not doubting but the pope
- Ravenna recovered by the exarch and the Venetians.*

* PAUL. DIAC. l. vi. c. 32. & ANAST. bibliothecar. in Greg. II.

* PAUL. DIAC. *ibid.*

Leo and pope
Gregory quar-
rel.

The exarch at-
tempts to get
the pope into
his power,

Who is defended
by Luitprand.

The pope opposes
the emperor's
edict against
images.

Several cities
revolt.

Great distur-
bances in Ra-
venna, and the
exarch mur-
dered.

All Pentapolis,
and great part
of Romagna,
submit to Luit-
prand.

would oppose it to the last with all his might, in order to remove all obstacles, he ^a sent three officers to *Rome*, with private orders either to dispatch the pope, or to take him prisoner, and convey him to *Constantinople*. At the same time he wrote to *Mauritius* duke of *Rome*, secretly injoining him to assist his three officers in their under- taking; but no favourable opportunity offering to put their design in execution, the emperor, in the year 725. recalled *Scholasticus*, and sent *Paul* a patrician into *Italy*, to govern in his room, with private instructions to encourage the above-mentioned officers with the promise of great rewards, and to assure them of his protection. But in the mean time the plot was discovered, and two of the conspirators apprehended by the citizens of *Rome*, and put to death, the third having escaped into a monastery, where he took the monastic habit, and ended his days. Hereupon the exarch, in ^b compliance with the emperor's orders, resolved to proceed no longer by secret plots, but by open force. Accordingly he drew together a considerable body of troops, and set out at the head of them on his march to *Rome*, with a design to seize on the pope, and send him, as he had engaged to do, in chains to *Constantinople*. But, on this occasion, *Luitprand*, though highly provoked against *Gregory* for having stirred up the *Venetians* against him, yet resolved to assist him, and the citizens of *Rome*, against the exarch, in order to keep the balance even between them, and, by assist- ing sometimes the one, and sometimes the other, weaken both. Pursuant to this resolution, he ordered the *Lombards* of *Tuscany*, and those of the dukedom of *Spoleto*, to join the pope, and the inhabitants of *Rome*, who being, by this reinforcement, far ^c superior in strength and number to the exarch, obliged him to return to *Ravenna*, and give over all thoughts of any further attempt on the person of the pope. In the mean time *Leo*, persisting in his former resolution of suppressing throughout his domi- nions the worship of images, sent fresh orders to the exarch *Paul*, strictly injoining him to cause his edict to be put in execution in all the cities of *Italy* under his empire, especially in *Rome*. At the same time he wrote to the pope, promising him his favour and protection, if he complied with the edict, and declaring him, if he continued to oppose it, a rebel, and no longer vested with the papal dignity. But *Gregory* was so far from yielding to the emperor's threats or promises, that, on the contrary, he solemnly excommunicated the exarch for attempting to put the imperial edict in exe- cution; and at the same time wrote circular letters to the *Venetians*, to king *Luitprand*, ^d to the *Lombard* dukes, and to all the chief cities of the empire, exhorting them to con- tinue stedfast in the catholic faith, and to oppose with all their might such a detest- able innovation. These letters made such an impression on the minds of the people in *Italy*, that, though of different interests, and often at war with one another, they all united, protesting they would defend the catholic faith, and the life of the pope in so glorious a cause, at the expence of their own; nay, the citizens of *Rome*, and the inhabitants of *Pentapolis*, now *Marca d'Ancona*, not contenting themselves with such a protestation, openly revolted from the emperor, and, pulling down his statues, they elected, by their own authority, magistrates to govern them during the inter- regnum. We are even told, that, transported with a blind zeal, they were for chusing ^e a new emperor, and conducting him to *Constantinople*, not doubting but the people would every-where join them. But the pope, thinking this resolution unseasonable, and not to be easily put in execution, opposed it; so that it did not take place.

In the mean time the exarch *Paul*, having gained a considerable party in *Ravenna*, began, pursuant to the repeated orders from the emperor, to remove the images, as so many idols, out of the churches. Hereupon the adverse party, supported and encouraged by the pope, flew to arms, and, falling upon the iconoclasts or image- breakers, as they styled them, gave rise to a civil war within the walls of *Ravenna*. Great numbers were killed on both sides; but those who were for the worship of images prevailing in the end, a dreadful slaughter was made of the opposite party, ^f and, among the rest, the exarch himself was murdered. However, the city of *Ravenna* continued faithful to the emperor; but most of the cities of *Romagna* be- longing to the exarchate, and all those of *Pentapolis* or *La Marca d'Ancona*, abhor- ring the emperor as an heretic, submitted to *Luitprand* king of the *Lombards*, who, pretending a great zeal for the catholic religion, took care to improve the discontent of the people to his advantage, by representing to them, that they could never main- tain their religious rights under a prince, who was not only an heretic, but a perfe-

^a ANASTAS. in Greg. II. SIGON. ad ann. 725. MARG. FREHER. in chron. exar. Rav. p. 35. ^b PAUL. DIAC. l. vi. c. 9. REGIN. chronol. l. i. p. 47. SIGON. ad ann. 726.

a curor of the orthodox. In *Naples*, *Exbilaratus*, duke of that city, having received peremptory orders from the emperor to cause his edict to be put in execution, did all that lay in his power to persuade the people to receive it; but, finding all his endeavours thwarted by the bishop of *Rome*, for whom the *Neapolitans* had a great veneration, he hired assassins to murder him. But the plot being discovered, tho' carried on with great secrecy, the *Neapolitans*, highly provoked against the duke, tore both him and his son to pieces, and likewise put to death one of his chief officers, who had composed a libel against the pope *. *Luitprand*, and *Gregory*, at that time duke of *Benevento*, laying hold of so favourable an opportunity to make themselves masters of the dukedom of *Naples*, did all that lay in their power to persuade the *Neapolitans* to submit to them. But the *Neapolitans*, bearing an irreconcilable hatred to the *Lombards*, with whom they had been constantly at variance, rejected every overture of that nature with the utmost indignation, and, continuing stedfast in their allegiance to *Leo*, received from *Constantinople* one *Peter*, who was sent to govern them in the room of *Exbilaratus*. Some writers suppose the *Neapolitans*, in this general revolt of the cities of *Italy*, to have shaken off the yoke with the rest, and to have appointed magistrates of their own election to govern them, in the room of the officers hitherto sent from *Constantinople*, or named by the exarch; but they are therein certainly mistaken, it being manifest from history, that *Peter* succeeded *Exbilaratus* in that dukedom; and that the *Neapolitans* continued to live under the emperors, till they were conquered many years after by the *Normans*, as we shall relate hereafter. In the mean time *Leo*, hearing of the murder of the exarch, and the general revolt of the cities, and not doubting but the pope was the chief author of so much mischief, sent the eunuch *Eutychius* into *Italy*, with the title and authority of exarch, strictly injoining him to get the pope dispatched by some means or other, since his death was absolutely necessary for the tranquillity of *Italy*. The exarch left no stone unturned to get the pope into his power; but a messenger, whom he had sent to *Rome*, being apprehended by the citizens, and an order from the emperor found upon him to all his officers in that city, commanding them to put the pope to death at all events, the pope's friends thenceforth guarded him with such care, that the exarch's emissaries could never afterwards find an opportunity of executing their design. As for the messenger, the *Romans* were for putting him to death; but the pope interposed, contenting himself with excommunicating the exarch †. And now the *Romans*, provoked more than ever against *Leo*, and, on the other hand, unwilling to live under the *Lombards*, resolved to revolt from the emperor, and appoint their own magistrates, keeping themselves united under the pope, not yet as their prince, but only as their head. This they did accordingly, and from these slender beginnings the sovereignty of the popes in *Italy* took its rise, though they did not then, as is commonly supposed by historians, but many years after, become sovereign lords of *Rome* (Y).

The Neapolitans put their duke to death.

Eutychius, the new exarch, attempts to get the pope murdered.

The origin of the pope's temporal power.

Eutychius

* SIGON. ad ann. 726. MAIMS. hist. iconoclast. p. 73.

† FREHER. in chron. exarch. Raven. p. 82.

(Y) The Greek writers, who flourished long after *Gregory*, *Paulus Diaconus*, and *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, tell us, that the *Romans*, revolting from the emperor *Leo*, chose *Gregory* for their prince, and took an oath of allegiance to him. They add, that the pope readily accepted the sovereignty offered him; that he forbade the *Romans*, and the other inhabitants of *Italy*, to pay tribute for the future to the emperor; that he absolved all the subjects of the empire from their oath of allegiance; and finally, that, with great solemnity, he excommunicated and deposed *Leo*. Hence, say the Greek writers, viz. *Theophanes*, *Cedrenus*, *Zonaras*, and *Nicephorus*, the temporal dominion of the popes over *Rome*, and the *Roman* dukedom, took its rise; to which were afterwards added, by *Pepin* and *Charles the Great*, the exarchate of *Ravenna*, *Pentapolis* or the *Marca d'Ancona*, and several other cities of *Italy*. On the other hand, *Paulus Diaconus*, *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, and *Damasceus*, take no notice of the pope's deposing or excommunicating the emperor; of his forbidding tribute to be paid to him; or of his accepting from the rebellious *Romans* the sovereignty

of *Rome*. These writers only say, that he opposed with all his might the edicts of *Leo*; that he prevented them from being received by the people; and that he earnestly exhorted and conjured the emperor to revoke them, and give over, as they style it, such an impious undertaking. *Anastasius*, after having told us, that *Leo* deposed *Germanus* patriarch of *Constantinople* for opposing his edict, and appointed *Anastasius* in his room, adds, that *Gregory* excommunicated the new patriarch, and wrote to the emperor, exhorting him to revoke his edict. Had he likewise excommunicated the emperor, we cannot persuade ourselves, that *Anastasius*, *Paulus Diaconus*, and *Damasceus*, would have passed over in silence such a remarkable incident, it being agreed on by all writers, that no prince or emperor had been excommunicated till that time. As for what *Cedrenus*, *Theophanes*, *Zonaras*, and *Nicephorus*, write of the pope's deposing the emperor, it is evidently false, since *Gregory* acknowledged *Leo* for emperor as long as he lived, as did likewise *Gregory III.* his successor, who wrote several letters to him full of respect; nay, the dates of most of that pope's letters bear

Eutychius failed in his design upon the life of the pope; but, having brought with him from *Constantinople* a good number of troops, he easily quelled the rebellion in

bear the years of *Leo's* reign; and in that, which he wrote to *Boniface*, he gives *Leo* the title of *Most pious, Imperante domino piissimo Augusto Leone imperii ejus XIII* (1). Hence the *French* writers, and among the rest *P. de Marca*, *Nasalis*, and *Du Pin*, maintain, that *Gregory* never excommunicated, or attempted to depose, the emperor *Leo*; that what the above-mentioned *Greek* authors have written on that head, ought to be deemed fabulous; and, that, in so remarkable an incident, the silence of the *Latin* writers, who flourished in times less distant, ought to be of far greater weight with every unbiassed reader, than the authority of the *Greeks*, who, out of their natural aversion to the *Latin* church, have obtruded such fables on the public. But most of our protestant writers seem to give intire credit to the *Greeks*, and by all means will have it, that *Gregory* excommunicated the emperor; that he absolved all his subjects from their allegiance; that he forbade them to pay him the usual tribute; and that, being offered the sovereignty of *Rome* by the rebellious *Romans*, he accepted the offer, and thenceforth took upon him all the state of a temporal prince. *Spanhemius* thinks, that all this was denied by the *French* writers, left, in the reign of *Lewis the Great*, they should seem to acknowledge such a power in the popes (2). The *Italian* writers, even those among them who are most addicted to the court of *Rome*, agree with the protestants in giving credit to the *Greeks*, but with a different view, viz. to shew, that the power of excommunicating and deposing princes was so early exerted by the popes. To conclude, *Theophanes*, *Cedrenus*, *Zonaras*, and *Nicephorus*, say, that *Gregory II.* not only excommunicated the emperor *Leo*, but absolved his subjects from their allegiance, declaring, that they were no longer bound to obey him; that on this occasion the *Romans*, shaking off the yoke, offered the sovereignty of *Rome* to the pope; and that he, accepting the offer, became sovereign lord of that city, and its dukedom. On the other hand, *Paulus Diaconus*, *Anastasius*, and *Damasenus*, who flourished before the *Greek* writers, only say, that the pope opposed the edicts of *Leo*; that he excommunicated both the exarch of *Ravenna*, and the patriarch of *Constantinople*; and that he exhorted the emperor to revoke his edict. Some modern writers give intire credit to the *Greeks*; others, from the silence of the *Latins*, conclude the accounts of the *Greeks* to be fabulous: and such truly they appear to us, since *Gregory*, so long as he lived, acknowledged *Leo* as emperor; and *Gregory III.* his successor, not only wrote respectful letters to him, but dated those he wrote to others by the years of his reign, as we have hinted above. As for the temporal dominion of the popes in *Rome*, we shall shew in a proper place, that it did not begin till several years after; and that their first acquisitions were in the exarchate; that they became afterwards masters of *Pentapolis*, of several places in the *Roman* dukedom, and lastly of *Rome*. As for the famous donation of all *Italy*, said to have been made by *Constantine the Great* in the year 324. to pope *Sylvester*, it is now universally exploded as fabulous. It was indeed formerly defended with great warmth by most of the *Italian* writers, who even maintained in their works, that the emperors, who succeeded *Constantine*, had no title or right to any part of *Italy*, as belonging to the pope, and being the patrimony of *St. Peter*; that from thence the investitures given by the popes took their rise; and that, from that

time, *Italy* began to be disjoined from the empire, and was never afterwards subject to the emperors; nay, *Mattæo d'Affissi*, a civilian of no small account, from this supposed donation, will have the constitutions published by the emperors, the successors of *Constantine*, to be of no force in *Italy*, since those princes had not the power of causing them to be received by the inhabitants of that country, who were no longer subject to them; and several eminent civilians, members of the collateral council in *Naples*, were of opinion, that in *Italy* recourse ought to be had to the canon, and not to the civil law (3). But, in later times, it has been evidently proved by many able writers (4), that this donation was forged in the eighth or ninth century, and then inserted into the decrees of *Gratian*, no mention of it being made by any writer before that time. The many copies of this famous instrument, which are still extant, and widely differ from each other, are so many evident proofs of forgery to every person, who does not delight in darkness, to use the expression of *Pietro Giannone*, and therefore shuts his eyes, lest he should be forced to see. A copy of this supposed donation is still to be seen in the *Vatican* library, but greatly differing from that, which we read in the decrees of *Gratian*. It is related in quite different words by the popes *Melchias*, *Nicholas II.* and *Leo IX.* and quoted by *Petrus Damianus*, *Balsar*, *Juo de Chartres*, *Bursarius*, and *Albericus*, with great disagreement both in words and sense. Besides, who can imagine, that *Eusebius*, and other contemporary writers, who have transmitted to posterity the most minute incidents of *Constantine's* reign, would have passed over in silence this, perhaps the most remarkable of all? This donation is said to have been made by *Constantine* at *Rome*, in the spring of the year 324. and four days after his baptism. But it is evident from history, that *Constantine* was not then at *Rome*, but engaged in a war against *Licinius* in the east; and that, the war being ended, he went the same year to *Thessalonica*, and continued there till the year following (5). He defeated *Licinius* in his third consulship, having *Crispus* for his colleague, who was likewise in his third consulship, as is affirmed by all historians. Now, according to the unanimous consent of chronologers, *Constantine* and *Crispus* were consuls for the third time in 324. and in the spring of that year, the very time when he is supposed to have made that donation, he was at *Thessalonica*, as is manifest from two of his constitutions still to be seen in the *Theodosian* code, the one bearing the following date. *Das. viii. id. Mart. Thessalonica*, *Crispo III. & Constantino III. coss* the other dated thus; *Das. vi. id. Aprilis. Thessalonica. Crispo III. & Constantino III. coss* (6). The latter is directed to *Lucer. Verinus*, that year prefect of *Rome*, as appears from the *notitia* of the prefects of that city, where we read *Crispo III. & Constantino III. coss. Lucer. Verinus prefectus urbi*. From these constitutions, and likewise from the most credible historians, both *Greek* and *Latin*, it has been evidently proved by several writers, that *Constantine* was baptized in *Nicomedia* when he was dying, and not in *Rome* by pope *Sylvester*, to whom he is supposed to have made the above-mentioned donation four days after his baptism: so that, upon the whole, we may conclude *Constantine's* yielding *Rome* to *Sylvester*, and his receiving baptism at the hands of that pope, to be equally fabulous.

(1) *Greg III ep. iii. P. de Marca de con. sac. & imp. l. iii. c. 11. num. 5.* (2) *Spanhem. contra Maimburg. in hist. imag. p. 52.* (3) *Affis. in consil. in pralud. q. 3. num. 2. & q. 20. num. 1. Tappia de jur. reg. l. i. de legib. l. i. num. 6.* (4) *Marca, l. iii. c. 12. & l. vi. c. 6. Schol. stras. antiq. illust. pars. ii. diff. 3. c. 8.* (5) *Vida Zof. l. ii. & anonym. Sirmund.* (6) *Cod. Theod. l. iv.*

- a *Ravenna*, and severely punished the authors of the late disturbances. As for the rebellious *Romans*, he was well apprised he could never reduce them, so long as they were supported by the king of the *Lombards*; and therefore he employed all his art and policy to take off that prince from the party of the *Romans*, and bring him over to his own. *Luitprand*, for some time, withstood all his offers; but *Trajimund* duke of *Spoleto* revolting at this very juncture, the exarch, laying hold of that opportunity, offered to assist the king with all his strength against the rebellious duke, provided he would, in like manner, assist him against the pope and the *Romans*. With this proposal *Luitprand* readily closed, and a league being concluded upon these terms between him and the exarch, the two armies joined, and began their march towards
- b *Spoleto*. At their approach, the duke, despairing of being able to resist two such powers, came out with a small attendance to meet them, and, throwing himself at the king's feet, sued, in that humble posture, for pardon; which *Luitprand* not only granted him, but confirmed him in the dukedom, after he had obliged him to take a new oath of allegiance, and give hostages for his fidelity in time to come. From *Spoleto* the two armies marched, in pursuance of the treaty, to *Rome*, and encamped in the meadows of *Nero*, between the *Tiber* and the *Vatican*. *Gregory* had caused the city of *Rome* to be fortified in the best manner he could; but being sensible, that the *Romans* alone could not long hold out against two such armies, and reflecting on the kind treatment the duke of *Spoleto* had met with upon his submitting to the king, he resolved to follow his example; and accordingly, taking with him some of the clergy, and the principal inhabitants of the city, he went to wait on the king in his camp; and there, with a pathetic speech, as he was a great master of eloquence, softened *Luitprand* to such a degree, that, throwing himself at his feet in the presence of the whole army, he begged pardon for entering into an alliance against him, and, assuring him of his protection for the future, he went with him to the church of *St. Peter*, and there, disarming himself in the presence of his chief officers, he laid his girdle, his sword, and his gantlet, with his royal mantle, his crown of gold, and cross of silver, on the apostle's sepulchre. After this, he reconciled the pope with the exarch, who was thereupon received into the city, where he continued for some
- d time, maintaining a friendly correspondence with the pope. At this time an impostor, taking the name of *Tiberius*, and pretending to be descended from the emperors, seduced a great many people in *Tuscany*, and was by them proclaimed emperor. The exarch resolved to march against him; but, as he had not sufficient forces to oppose the rebels, *Gregory*, who let no opportunity slip of obliging *Leo*, persuaded the *Romans* to attend the exarch in this expedition; by which means the usurper being taken in a castle, his head was sent to the emperor, and the rebellion utterly suppressed. But the emperor still insisting upon his edict against the images being received in *Rome*, the *Romans*, at the instigation of the pope, publicly renounced their allegiance to *Leo*, paid him no more tribute, and withdrew for ever their obedience to the emperors of the east. *Leo*, informed of this revolt, and not questioning but the pope was the author of it, immediately caused all the patrimonies of the church of *Rome* in *Sicily*, *Calabria*, and his other dominions, to be confiscated. At the same time he ordered a powerful army to be raised, with a design to recover the towns that had revolted, to chastise the *Romans* for their rebellion, and, above all, to be revenged on the pope, who had raised all these disturbances, by opposing himself, and persuading others to oppose, the execution of his edict. *Gregory*, greatly alarmed at the warlike preparations that were carrying on throughout the empire, and well apprised, that they were chiefly designed against him and the *Romans*, resolved to recur to the protection of the *French*, the only nation at that time capable of coping with the emperor, and on whom, on account of their zeal for religion, he thought he might depend. The *Lombards* were then very powerful; but, as they wanted to be masters of *Rome*, he did not think it advisable to trust them. The *Venetians*, though zealous in the defence of the pope, were not yet in a condition to withstand the power of the emperor, and, besides, were jealous of the *Lombards*, who watched all opportunities of enlarging their dominions at the expence of their neighbours. As for *Spain*, it was then in a most deplorable condition, being over-run, and almost wholly ruined, by the *Saracens*. The *French* nation was at this time governed by the celebrated *Charles Martel*, who had distinguished himself in a most

An alliance between the exarch and Luitprand.

They besiege Rome.

The pope persuades Luitprand to raise the siege. Year after Christ 729.

Leo resolves to reduce the revolted cities, and to chastise the pope:

Who has re-
course to the
French.
Year after
Christ 731.

eminent manner in the wars of *France* and *Germany*, and had, not long before, gained a signal victory over the *Saracens* in the neighbourhood of *Tours*; whence he was generally reputed the best general, and the greatest hero, of his time. To him therefore *Gregory* sent a solemn embassy, with a great number of reliques, earnestly intreating him to take the *Romans*, and the church, under his protection, and defend them against the attempts of *Leo*. The ambassadors were received with extraordinary marks of honour, and a treaty soon concluded between them and *Charles*, who engaged to march into *Italy* in person, at the head of a powerful army, in defence of the *Romans*, and the church, if they should be attacked either by the emperor, or the *Lombards*. On the other hand, the *Romans* were to acknowledge him for their protector, and confer on him the honour of the consulship, as it had been formerly conferred on *Clovis* by the emperor *Anastasius*, after that prince had defeated the *Visigoths*. The ambassadors returned from *France* loaded with rich presents^a. But *Gregory* did not long enjoy the fruit of their negotiations; for he died the same year 731. and was succeeded by pope *Gregory III.* in whose time some place the above-mentioned embassy. These authors tell us, that *Luitprand*, having defeated *Thrasimund*, who had revolted a second time, invaded, after his victory, the *Roman* dukedom, and laid close siege to *Rome*, being provoked against *Gregory* for receiving and entertaining the rebel; that the pope, finding his prayers and intreaties did not make the same impression on the king, as those of his predecessor, had recourse to *Charles Martel*; and that *Charles* persuaded the king of the *Lombards* to raise the siege, and, contenting himself with four cities only, to leave *Rome*, and the rest of that dukedom, to the *Romans* and the pope^b. Be that as it will, it is certain, that, upon the pope's recurring to *France*, the *French* first began to concern themselves in the affairs of *Italy*, and afterwards, by degrees, made themselves masters of the country, as we shall relate anon.

In the mean time died the emperor *Leo*, and was succeeded by his son *Constantine*, surnamed *Copronymus*, who, treading in the footsteps of his father, renewed his edict against images, and began to prosecute all those, who stood up in their defence; nay, not satisfied with ordering the images to be removed, he went farther, and forbade the invocation of saints, especially of the virgin *Mary*, not suffering any holy days to be kept in her honour, or her assistance to be implored. This edict occasioned new disturbances in *Italy*, and confirmed the *Romans* in the resolution they had taken of separating themselves intirely from the empire, the more as, being now under the protection of *Charles Martel*, they had nothing to fear from the emperor. They therefore drove out of their city such of the imperial officers, as they had hitherto suffered to continue there, and by that means abolished the very shadow of dominion, which the emperor had till this time among them. Soon after the emperor *Leo*, died *Gregory III.* and was succeeded by *Zachary*, who was no sooner elected, than he dispatched a solemn embassy to *Luitprand*, intreating him to restore the four cities, which had been yielded to him upon his raising the siege of *Rome*. *Luitprand* received the ambassadors with extraordinary marks of honour, and seemed inclined to comply with their request; but, as the desired restitution was put off from time to time, *Zachary*, in imitation of *Gregory*, went in person to wait on the king, attended by all the clergy of *Rome*. *Luitprand*, who was then at *Terni*, received him with the greatest respect imaginable, and not only granted him his request, but restored to the church of *Rome* the patrimony in *Sabina*, which had been confiscated thirty years before, and concluded a peace with the *Romans* for twenty years. Towards the latter end of his reign, being impatient of rest, he invaded the exarchate, and, having taken *Cesena*, was making the necessary preparations for besieging *Ravenna*, and bringing that place once more under his dominion. But *Zachary*, for whom the king had the greatest veneration, interpoling, *Luitprand*, at his request, not only laid aside all thoughts of making further conquests, but even restored *Cesena*, and some other places, which he had taken^c. Not long after, *Luitprand* died, in the year 743. the thirty-second of his reign, and was buried with great pomp and solemnity in the church of *St. Adrian* in *Pavia*. *Paulus Diaconus* bestows on him the highest encomiums, and not undeservedly; for he was endued with every good quality becoming a prince^d. He governed with great justice and moderation, treating his subjects as his children, and giving daily instances of his generosity and good-nature,

Luitprand dies.
Year after
Christ 743.

^a Vide append. ad GREG. TUN. p. 15.
^c Idem ibid.

^b SIGON. ad ann. 739.

^d PAUL. DIAC. l. vi. c. 57, 58.

a even to his greatest enemies. He enlarged his dominions by the addition of *Pentapolis*, and the greater part of *Æmia*; and this his thirst after conquests, and his ambition, are the only faults, which the writers of those times have been able to discover in his character. He founded many churches and monasteries, enumerated by *Paulus Diaconus*^d, whereof the vestiges are admired to this day. With his death *Paulus Diaconus* closes his history of the *Lombards* (Z).

Luitprand was succeeded by his grandson *Hildebrand* or *Hildebrand*, whom he had, some years before, taken for his partner in the kingdom. But the *Lombards*, finding him unequal to so great a charge, deposed him, after a short reign of seven months, and in his room raised to the throne *Rachis* duke of *Friuli*, a person highly b esteemed for his piety and eminent virtues*. He ascended the throne in 744. to the unspeakable satisfaction of the whole nation, and, in the beginning of his reign, confirmed the peace with *Zachary* and the *Romans*, which had been granted them by his predecessor. In the second year of his reign, finding the laws of the *Lombards* still defective, notwithstanding the many alterations and additions made by the preceding kings, he resolved to add some new laws to them, and soften the rigour of others. Accordingly, having convened the states in *Pavia*, with their consent and approbation, he published a new edict in 745. and ordered it to be observed throughout his dominions. This edict, containing eleven chapters, is still to be seen in the oft-mentioned code of the monastery of *Cava* in the kingdom of *Naples*^f. Having thus c provided his subjects with excellent laws, and settled the affairs of the kingdom to his satisfaction, though naturally inclined to peace, he turned all on a sudden his thoughts upon war, and, pushed on by an ambition of enlarging his dominions, as his predecessors had done, he raised a considerable army, and, putting himself at the head of it, he first retook several places in *Pentapolis*, which had revolted from him, and then, entering the *Roman* dukedom, laid close siege to *Perugia*. The emperor was at a great distance, and did not mind the affairs of *Italy*. The exarch was not in a condition to defend himself, if attacked, much less to protect his neighbours. *Zachary* therefore, instead of soliciting the assistance either of the emperor or the exarch, resolved to try, whether, by his own authority and character, he could divert the d king of the *Lombards* from pursuing his conquests. As his former journey had proved successful beyond his expectation, he resolved to undertake another. Accordingly, he went in person to the camp of *Rachis*, under the walls of *Perugia*, and, being received by that prince with great marks of respect and veneration, he represented to him, with such force and energy, the punishment that is reserved for those, who unjustly invade the property of others, that *Rachis*, wonderfully affected with his speech, not only raised the siege of *Perugia*, but restored all the places he held in *Pentapolis*; nay, the presence and authority of the bishop made such a deep impression on his mind, that the following year he went to *Rome*, with his wife *Tasia*, and his daughter *Ratruda*, to pay him a visit. Being overcome, while he was in that e city, with the secret force of religion, he renounced his kingdom, and, prostrating himself at the pope's feet, took the habit of *St. Benedict*, and retired to the monastery of *Monte Cassino*, where he spent the remainder of his days, and was honoured after his death by those monks as a saint (A). *Tasia* his wife, and *Ratruda* his daughter, followed

Hildebrand succeeds; but is deposed, and Rachis chosen in his room.

He publishes a new edict of laws.

He invades the Roman dukedom, and lays siege to Perugia.

He raises the siege, and turns monk.

^d Idem ibid.

* Eadem. apud Peregrin. in hist. princ. Longob. p. 5.

^f Idem ibid.

(Z) With the death of *Luitprand*, *Paulus Diaconus* closes his history of the *Lombards*. He was deacon of the church of *Forum Julii*, in the territory of which city his great-grandfather's father settled, when the *Lombards*, his countrymen, first came into *Italy*. He left five sons, who were carried into captivity by the *Avars*, when *Forum Julii* was betrayed to them, as we have related above, by *Romilda* the wife of *Gisulf*. Of the five brothers, one only, by name *Lupicis*, returned to the place of his nativity, where he married, and had a son named *Arechis*. The son of *Arechis*, named *Warnefrid*, had, by his wife *Theudelinda*, *Paul Warnefrid* our historian, commonly called *Paulus Diaconus*, or *Paul the deacon*. He betrays, throughout his whole work,

great partiality for his countrymen, of which the reader will find several instances in the learned *Camillo Pellegrino* (7).

(A) *Giovanni Villani*, in his history of *Florence*, supposes the large statue of brass, which is still to be seen at *Barletta*, a city of *Apulia*, and is called *Arrachio*, to have been erected by the *Lombards* of *Benevento* to this prince (8). *Beatillus* (9), and the abbot *de Nuce* (10), are of the same opinion; for, at this time, the dukedom of *Benevento* extended as far as *Bari*, so that it comprised the city of *Barletta*; and it is not improbable, say they, that the *Lombards* of *Benevento* should, in one of their cities, erect a statue to their king. They were, it is true, immediately subject to their own duke; but both he and

(7) *Camillo. Peregrin. in dissert. fin. ducant. Benevent. ad septentrion. p. 37.*

(9) *Beatillus. hist. di St. Sabino, p. 83.*

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(10) *De Nuce ad Ostiens. l. i. c. 8.*

8 S

(8) *Villan. l. ii. c. 9.*

they

His brother
Asthulphus cho-
sen king in his
room.
Year after
Christ 751.

followed his example, retiring into a monastery of virgins, founded by them at a small distance from *Monte Cassino* &c. The Lombards no sooner heard, that *Rachis* had resigned, than, assembling in *Pavia*, they chose his brother *Asthulphus*, or *Aistulphus*, in his room, a man of great gallantry in the field, and wisdom in council. He raised the kingdom of the Lombards to the highest pitch of its grandeur; which gave occasion to its total ruin, as we shall relate anon. In the beginning of his reign, he confirmed the peace concluded between his brother and pope *Zachary*, who died the following year 752. and was succeeded by *Stephen II.* But *Stephen*, having held the see three days, died on the fourth, and in his room was chosen another named likewise *Stephen*, whom the antients call *Stephen II.* not reckoning his predecessor, who died before he was consecrated; for, in those days, the election alone did not make a pope, but the consecration; and hence this pope is by *Echrempertus*, and *Leo Oghensis*, called *Stephen II.* and not *Stephen III.* but at present it is a settled point in the church of *Rome*, that the pope receives all authority from his election, contrary to what was believed by the antients; and therefore the writers of later times reckon *Stephen*, who lived but three days, and was not consecrated, among the popes, altering by that means the number of the subsequent *Stevens*; so that the second is by them called the third, the third called the fourth, &c. and the ninth called the tenth, which has bred confusion in the history of the church. *Stephen II.* or, as the modern writers call him, the third, three months after his election, dispatched legates to king *Asthulphus*, with rich presents, to confirm the peace, which had been lately granted by that prince to *Zachary*. The king received the new pope's legates with the greatest respect, and not only ratified the peace, but extended it to forty years more. This he did with no other view, but to divert the pope from thwarting the design he had upon the exarchate, which he was resolved to invade, the emperor *Constantine Copronymus* being then engaged in a war with the *Saracens* and *Bulgarians*, and all *Asia* and *Greece* miserably wasted by a dreadful plague. He thought he could not have a more favourable opportunity of subjecting *Ravenna*, and the rest of the exarchate; and therefore, having raised a very considerable army, he marched straight to that city, and closely besieged it. *Eutychius*, who was still exarch, defended the place for some time with great valour; but finding his men quite tired out, and despairing of relief, he at last abandoned it to the enemy, and returned by sea to *Constantinople*. *Asthulphus*, thus become master of the metropolis of the exarchate, reduced, with great ease, the other cities, and all *Pentapolis*, which he added to his kingdom, and, by that addition, raised the power of the Lombards to a higher pitch than any of his predecessors had done. Thus ended the exarchate of *Ravenna*, and with it the splendor of that city, which, ever since the time of *Valentinian*, the emperors had chosen for the place of their residence, as it was afterwards the seat of the *Gotthic* kings, and, upon their expulsion, of the exarchs, who, for the space of an hundred and eighty-three years, maintained the power and authority of the emperors of the east in *Italy*. As the dukes of the other cities of *Italy*, and of *Rome* itself, were under the exarch, who resided at *Ravenna*, the bishops of that see contended for pre-

He confirms the
peace with the
pope.

He invades the
exarchate, and
takes *Ravenna*.

An end of the
exarchate,
which is chang-
ed into a duke-
dom.
Year after
Christ 752.

* Idem ibid. & LEO OSTIENS. CHRON. l. i. c. 8.

they were at the same time subject to the king, the kingdom of the Lombards comprising not only that country, which is now known by the name of *Lombardy*, and the other small dukedoms, but likewise the three famous dukedoms of *Friuli*, *Spoleto*, and *Benevento*. But *Pietro Giannone* alleges two strong arguments against the opinion of *Villani*, and the two above-mentioned writers, who have espoused, without due consideration, his opinion. In the first place, it is altogether improbable, says he, that the Lombards of *Benevento* would have erected such a large and magnificent statue in a town at that time of no account, and situated on the very borders of their dukedom, and not in *Benevento* their metropolis, or in some other city of note, such as *Capua*, *Salerno*, *Bari*, &c. which were all cities of that dukedom. *Villani*, who flourished in the reigns of *Charles II.* of *Anjou*, and *Joan I.* his niece, when *Barletta* was become one of the most considerable

cities of *Apulia*, thinking it had been such in the reign of *Rachis*, and seeing a statue there, called by the natives *Arrachis*, concluded it to be the statue of *Rachis*. The other reason alleged by *Giannone* is, that the prince represented by that statue is dressed after the manner of the *Roman* emperors, has in one hand a cross, in the other a globe, and no beard; whereas the kings of the Lombards are represented, as appears from the ancient code of the monastery of *Cava*, with long beards, military garments, a sceptre in their right-hand, and a crown on their head, none of them having either the cross or the globe. Hence *Giannone* concludes it to be the statue of some *Roman* emperor, perhaps of *Heraclius*, there being some resemblance between that emperor's name and the name, which, time out of mind, has been given to the statue by the inhabitants of *Barletta* (11).

(11) *Piet. Giannone. hist. civil. di Napol. l. v. c. 2. sect. 11.*

cedency even with the bishops of *Rome*. But a period was at the same time put to the exarchate, and to the lustre of that antient metropolis, which was reduced by the *Lombards* to a dukedom; so that, by degrees, it decayed, and, in process of time, came to the deplorable condition in which it is at present. *Marquardus Freberus*, in his chronology of the exarchs of *Ravenna*, writes, that the exarchate lasted for the space of an hundred and seventy-five years^b. But he does not reckon well; for he himself tells us, that it began in 568. and ended in 752. so that, even according to him, it must have lasted an hundred and eighty-three years.

Astulphus, now master of the exarchate, thought he had a just title to all the places depending on it, and consequently to the *Roman* dukedom, and to *Rome* itself. He therefore dispatched a messenger to that city, requiring the inhabitants to acknowledge him for their sovereign, and alleging, in justification of his demand, that the exarchate, which was his by right of conquest, gave him the same power, which the emperors had till then in *Italy* over the inhabitants of *Rome*, and the *Roman* dukedom. At the same time he marched his army towards *Rome*, and, having taken *Narnia*, now *Narni*, he sent from thence to acquaint the pope, that he was determined to plunder *Rome*, and put all the *Romans* to the sword, if they refused to acknowledge him, by paying him yearly a golden *solidus* a head. The pope, alarmed at this severe message, attempted first to divert the king from this resolution by a solemn embassy, at the head of which were the two abbots of *Monte Cassino* and St.

Astulphus invades the Roman dukedom.

Vincentius, who, meeting the king at *Vulturnum*, a city in *Campania*, standing on a river of that name, put him in mind of the peace he had lately concluded with *Stephen* and the *Romans*, and endeavoured, by arguments, prayers, and intreaties, to persuade him not to break it, but to employ his arms elsewhere^c. The two legates had brought rich presents with them for the king; but he, rejecting them, insisted upon his being acknowledged by the pope and the *Romans* for their sovereign. This threw *Stephen* into the greatest perplexity imaginable; for he found the king of the *Lombards* unalterably determined upon the reduction of *Rome*, and the *Roman* dukedom; and, on the other hand, the emperor was no ways in a condition to defend them, or put a stop to the conquests of so powerful and warlike a prince. The pope, upon the first irruption of the *Lombards* into the exarchate, had written pressing letters to the emperor, representing to him the danger *Italy* was in, the disgrace, which, from the loss of the countries he still held there, would, in future ages, redound upon his memory, and the glory, that would accrue to him from preserving so valuable a portion of the empire. But the emperor, instead of an army, sent one *John*, with the character of ambassador, to the king of the *Lombards*, requiring him to restore the places he had already taken, and not to disturb the peace of *Italy*, by attempting the reduction of others. *John* went first to *Rome*, and from thence, attended by *Paul*, the pope's brother, to *Ravenna*, where *Astulphus* then was. The king received the message with the utmost contempt, and dismissed the messengers with great scorn, which they might well have expected. Hereupon the pope sent his brother to *Constantinople*, to acquaint the emperor, that the king of the *Lombards* was not to be restrained by his authority alone, and to intreat him to send a powerful army into *Italy*, without which *Rome*, and the remains of the *Roman* empire in that country, would be irreparably lost. But *Constantine* at that time had no troops to spare, being engaged in other wars; so that the pope, upon the invasion of the *Roman* dukedom, thinking it was in vain to have recourse to him, resolved, after the example of *Zachary* and the two *Gregories*, to recur to the protection of *France*. That kingdom had been transferred some years before from the *Merovingian* to the *Carlovingian* line; and the celebrated *Pepin*, son to *Charles Martel*, was then king. As pope *Zachary* had had a great share in that translation, *Pepin* had promised to protect his see against all its enemies, especially against the *Lombards*. *Stephen* therefore, not doubting but *Pepin* would readily perform what he had promised, dispatched privately a messenger into *France*, to acquaint him with his distress, and the desire he had of conferring with him in person, provided he could do it without danger, and a safe conduct was procured for him from the king of the *Lombards*, who already kept *Rome*, in a manner, blocked up. *Pepin*, glad of the opportunity of obliging the pope, sent immediately two persons of distinction, to beg, in his name, of the king of the *Lombards*, leave for *Stephen* to come out of the city, and go with him into *France*. The two

The pope endeavours in vain to divert him from this invasion.

Pope Stephen presents to Pepin king of France.

^b FREHER. in Leuenclav. tom. i. jur. Græc-Rom.

^c STEBN. ad ann. 753.

He goes in person into France.

embassadors found the *Lombards* in possession of all the castles and strong-holds in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and ready to invest that city. However, *Astulphus* readily complied with their request, and suffered the pope, not only to come safe out of *Rome*, but to repair with them to *France*, where he was received by *Pepin* with the greatest marks of esteem and veneration. He laid before the king the deplorable condition to which he was reduced by the *Lombards*, and, imploring his assistance and protection, he promised, as one good turn deserves another, to employ all the authority of the apostolic see in his behalf. On the other hand, *Pepin* assured him of his assistance, and, having prevailed upon him to stay till the winter was over, and the army ready to march, both he, and his two sons *Charles* and *Carloman*, were in the mean time anointed by him with the holy unction, and, with great solemnity, consecrated in the church of *St. Dennis* kings of *France*. This ceremony, *Pepin* thought, would recommend him to the respect of his subjects, and greatly contribute to the establishing of the kingdom in his person and posterity^k.

Astulphus publishes a new edict.

In the mean time *Astulphus*, not aware of the danger that threatened him, was wholly intent upon publishing a new edict of laws, which is still to be seen in the code of the monastery of *Cava*, and contains twenty-two chapters. The preface prefixed to this edict is couched in the following words: "Having maturely and seriously weighed and examined the laws enacted by my predecessors, I have found many things wanting, and great disorders arising from that want: Therefore, in the fifth year of my happy reign, in the name of God, on the first day of March, the seventh indiction, having called together the chief lords and judges of my kingdom, I have caused to be added to the laws of my predecessors, and to my own, what to me seemed just, and pleasing to God." But while *Astulphus* was busied in making new laws, pope *Stephen* was negotiating in *France* the ruin of him and his kingdom. *Pepin*, upon the arrival of *Stephen* in *France*, had promised to assist him against the *Lombards* with the whole strength of his kingdom, and to drive them out of the exarchate and *Pentapolis*, which were to be restored, as *Pepin* understood, to the emperor, from whom the *Lombards* had taken them. But the pope finding the king ready to gratify him in all his demands, he resolved not to let slip so favourable an opportunity of aggrandizing himself; and therefore insinuated to *Pepin*, that he could not better acquit himself of his obligations to the apostolic see, d consult the welfare of his soul, or reward him for the dangers he had undergone, and the pains he had taken for the safety of *Italy*, and the church, than by granting both the exarchate and *Pentapolis* to *St. Peter*, that is, to himself. As for *Constantine*, the pope pretended he had forfeited all right to those countries, by forsaking the protection of *Italy*, and persecuting the church. *Pepin*, to oblige the pope, not only promised to put him in possession of the exarchate and *Pentapolis*, if he should succeed in driving the *Lombards* out, but confirmed his promise with a solemn oath, which was likewise taken by his two sons *Charles* and *Carloman*^l. When *Pepin* was ready to set out on his march for *Italy*, in order to perform his promise, the pope was taken ill; so that the expedition was put off till the month of *August*. In the mean time the pope, by frequent letters and messages, endeavoured to persuade *Astulphus* to restore what he had taken, conjuring him by the holy mysteries, and the tremendous day of judgment, to prevent, by his compliance, the effusion of christian blood. *Pepin* likewise interposed his good offices, sending three different embassies to the king of the *Lombards*, and earnestly intreating him to content himself with such countries as had been held by the kings his predecessors. But, finding *Astulphus* deaf to his intreaties, he resolved to employ force; and accordingly, putting himself at the head of his army, he marched, attended and spurred on by the pope, towards the *Alps*, sending a party of chosen men before to open the passes. These *Astulphus* attacked with great vigour; but his men being put to flight by the *Frensb*, who had the advantage of the ground, he fled with great precipitation to *Pavia*. *Pepin*, finding the passes clear, crossed the mountains unmolested, and, entering *Italy*, advanced to *Pavia*, where the king had taken refuge, and closely besieged it. *Astulphus*, apprised of the danger he was in, sent one of his chief lords to *Pepin* to sue for peace; which was granted him, upon his engaging, by a solemn oath, to restore the places he had seized in the *Roman* dukedom, the exarchate, and *Pentapolis*, not to the emperor, but to the pope. For the performance of these articles, he delivered up forty hostages^f.

He enters Italy, and besieges *Astulphus* in his metropolis.

The exarchate and *Pentapo* is given by *Pepin* to the pope. Year after *Christ* 754.

^k LEO OSTIENS. l. i. c. 3.

^l SIGON. l. iii. p. 126, 127.

- a to *Pepin*, who sent them into *Thrace*, and soon after followed them thither with his whole army, though in the depth of winter. As for *Stephen*, he returned with great joy to *Rome*, not doubting but *Astulphus* would soon put him in possession of the countries, which he had, by a solemn oath, promised to deliver up to him; but *Astulphus*, without the least regard either to his oath, or the hostages, when he thought the storm blown over by the departure of *Pepin*, instead of delivering up the countries he had seized before, broke unexpectedly into the *Roman* dukedom, and made himself master of several cities, destroying all with fire and sword. At last he approached *Rome* with his army, and closely besieged it, not imagining that *Pepin* would pass the *Alps* a second time. In this extremity, *Stephen* had recourse to his protector,
- b writing to him the three letters that are still extant^m, and couched in the most submissive terms imaginable. *St. Peter*, to whom the donation had been made, is introduced speaking in these letters to the king, his two sons, and all the states of *France*, conjuring them to come to his relief, on pain of being debarred from the kingdom of heavenⁿ. *Pepin*, greatly affected with the pope's letters, and looking upon the breach of faith in the king of the *Lombards* as an affront offered to him, resolved to have recourse anew to arms. Having therefore, with great expedition, assembled his forces, he again set out on his march for *Italy*; which *Astulphus* no sooner heard, than, breaking up the siege of *Rome*, which had lasted already three months, he returned in great haste to the defence of his own country. In the mean time *Pepin*,
- c having defeated, as formerly, the troops that had been sent to defend the passes in the *Alps*, and entered *Italy*, *Astulphus*, whose army was not near so numerous as that of *Pepin*, threw himself a second time into *Pavia*, with the flower of his army. Thither *Pepin* followed him, and invested the city on all sides. In the mean time the emperor *Constantinus Copronymus*, receiving intelligence of the agreement between the pope and *Pepin*, in virtue of which the king was to drive the *Lombards* out of the exarchate, and then deliver it up, not to him, but to the pope, immediately dispatched ambassadors to *Pepin*, to protest against that donation, to convince him, if possible, of the injustice of it, and persuade him to restore to the empire what had been rent from it, and not to the pope, who had no manner of claim to any part of
- d his dominions. The ambassadors went first to *Rome*, and thence to *Marseilles*, where they were informed, that *Pepin* had already passed the *Alps*. Hereupon one of them made privately the best of his way to *Pavia*, where he understood the king then was, leaving the rest at *Marseilles* with the legate, whom the pope had sent with them from *Rome*, and who, as they apprehended, would have thwarted their negotiations. The ambassador, who was immediately introduced to the king, after having extolled, in his master's name, the courage, valour, and conduct, which he had shewn in the present war with the *Lombards*, the common enemy of the empire and *France*, represented to him, that the exarchate, without all dispute, belonged to the empire, from which it had been taken with the greatest injustice, while the emperor was engaged
- e in a war with the *Saracens*; that, since the king had retaken it from the unjust invader, it was agreeable to the rules of equity, that he should restore to the emperor what was his; that the bishop of *Rome* was his subject; and that since he suffered him peaceably to enjoy what had been given him by princes and private persons for maintaining his dignity, he could not usurp the dominions of his sovereign, without being guilty at the same time of high treason, and the most crying injustice. The ambassador concluded his speech by telling the king, that his master, who desired nothing of others but what seemed agreeable to equity, was ready to practise it himself; and therefore would willingly reimburse him all the expences he had been at in the recovery of the exarchate, and other places taken by the *Lombards*. *Pepin*, having heard
- f with great attention what the ambassador said, replied, that the exarchate belonged to the conqueror of the *Lombards*, who had acquired it by right of war, as their forefathers had done; that many places had, of their own accord, submitted to *Luitprand*, the inhabitants having no other means to maintain their religion; that therefore the right of the *Lombards* to those countries was no more to be questioned, than that of the *French* to the countries, which they had taken from the *Romans* and *Visigoths*; that the right which the *Lombards* had was devolved upon him, so that he could dispose of those countries as he thought fit; and he had judged it proper to bestow them on the pope, that the catholic faith might be preserved in its full purity, and

Astulphus besieged a second time in Pavia by Pepin.

The emperor sends ambassadors to claim the exarchate.

Pepin's answer to them.

^m Tom. vi. concil. p. 239. & BARON. ad ann. 755.

ⁿ DU CHESNE hist. tom. iii. p. 705.

Astulphus sub-
miss.

Pepin renews
his donation to
the pope.

And puts him
in possession of
the exarchate,
&c.
Year after
Christ 756.

Whether the
pope was in-
vested with the
sovereignty
over those coun-
tries.

be no longer defiled with the many abominable errors of the *Greeks*; that this was a his firm resolution, which nothing could make him alter; and that he was deter-
mined to maintain, to the last drop of his blood, the pope, and the church, in the
possession of what he had given them. He then dismissed the ambassadors, without
suffering them to reply °; and, pursuing the siege of *Pavia* with great vigour, reduced
Astulphus to such streights, that, being no longer able to hold out, he sent embassa-
dors to sue for peace; which was granted him by *Pepin*, upon his promising to per-
form immediately the treaty made the year before, and, over and above, to deliver
up to the pope the city of *Commachio*, a place at that time of great importance. This
promise was confirmed by a solemn oath, and hostages were given as formerly. *Pepin*
then renewed his donation, whereby he yielded to *St. Peter*, and his successors, the
exarchate, *Æmilia*, now *Romagna*, and *Pentapolis*, now *Marca d'Ancona*, with all
the cities therein, to be held by them for ever; and, having caused a new instru-
ment of the donation to be drawn up, he delivered it, signed by himself, by his two
sons *Charles* and *Carloman*, and by the chief barons and prelates of *France*, to *Fulard*
abbot of *St. Denis*, to be given into the pope's hands. *Fulard*, whom *Pepin* had
appointed his commissary, having received this instrument, went, together with the
commissaries named by *Astulphus*, to all the cities of the exarchate, *Æmilia*, and
Pentapolis; and, taking possession of them in the pope's name, he received hostages,
with whom he repaired to *Rome*, carrying with him the keys, and *Pepin's* donation,
which were laid by the pope on *St. Peter's* sepulchre. *Pepin*, having thus performed
the promise he had made to the pope, left *Italy*, and returned with his army to
France P. The exarchate comprised, according to *Sigonius* q, the following cities,
viz. *Ravenna*, *Bologna*, *Imola*, *Faenza*, *Forlimpopoli*, *Forli*, *Cesena*, *Bobbio*, *Ferrara*,
Commachio, *Adria*, *Cervia*, and *Secchia*, which were all delivered to the pope, except
Faenza and *Ferrara*. *Pentapolis*, or *Marca d'Ancona*, comprehended *Rimini*, *Pesaro*,
Conca, *Fano*, *Sinigaglia*, *Ancona*, *Osimo*, *Umana*, *Jesi*, *Fossombrone*, *Monteferetro*, *Urbino*,
the *Balnesian* territory, *Cagli*, *Luceoli*, and *Eugubio*, with their territories and districts,
as appears from the donation of *Lewis the Pious*, by which *Pepin's* donation was con-
firmed. The pope committed the government of the exarchate to the archbishop of
Ravenna, who thereupon took the title of exarch, not as archbishop, but as an d
officer of the pope, now a temporal prince. Thus was the sceptre added to the
keys, the sovereignty to the priesthood, and the popes enriched with the spoils of
the *Lombard* kings, and the *Roman* emperors. As those countries belonged, with-
out all doubt, to *Constantine* then emperor, some authors have thought, that this
donation was made in his name, and that this gave rise to the fable of the donation of
Constantine the Great r. Be that as it will, from this time the popes left off taking
notice of the years of the emperors in their bulls and letters, as they had done hitherto;
and, depending upon the protection of *France*, they withdrew their obedience to the
emperor, and would be no longer deemed his subjects. The *French*, who pique
themselves upon being the first authors of the popes temporal grandeur, will not e
however allow *Pepin* to have ever invested them with the sovereignty, it being mani-
fest, say they, that the sovereignty remained in *Pepin* and his descendants, and was
exercised by them all over *Italy*. With them most authors agree, and, among the
rest, the learned *Sigonius*. *Petrus de Marca* maintains this opinion, and at the same
time tells us how the popes, by degrees, became sovereigns of *Rome*. The exar-
chate of *Ravenna*, says that writer, being yielded to the pope, the government of
Rome, of course, devolved on him; for the *Roman* dukedom had been always sub-
ject to the exarch: the sovereignty indeed was vested in the emperor, but the admi-
nistration belonged to the exarch; whence the pope, when he became master of the
exarchate, claimed it, and continued to govern *Rome*, not as sovereign, but only f
with the authority that had been vested in the exarch, till the year 876. when the
authority of the emperors, successors of *Charlemagne*, declining in *Italy*, *Charles the*
Bald yielded all his claim to, and sovereignty over *Rome*, to the apostolic see r.
Hence *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, describing the state of *Europe* in his time, that is,
about the year 914. writes, that *Rome* was subject to the pope as its sovereign. It was
upon the declension of the western empire, when it was confined to *Germany* alone, that
the pope, as well as the several princes of *Italy*, assumed the sovereignty, which they

° ANASTAS. in vit. Steph. III. p. 87. P. de MARCA de concord. sacerdot. & imper. l. i. c. 11. num. 5.
P. LEO OSTIENS. l. i. c. 8. ANASTAS. ibid. q SIGON. ad ann. 756. r SPANHEM. de imag. contra
Maimburg. P. de MARCA, l. iii. c. 11. num. 7, 11, 12. CONST. PORPH. de themat. l. ii.

a enjoy to this day, as we shall plainly demonstrate in our modern history. A modern writer has endeavoured to prove, from the coins of the popes, that the *French* emperors were never sovereigns of *Rome*, nor had any authority in that city, but what was granted them by the pope; for, according to him, the senate and people of *Rome*, shaking off the yoke of the emperors of the east, subjected themselves to the pope, and acknowledged him for their sovereign¹. But that writer is, in our opinion, fully confuted by *Le Blanc*, in a treatise which he published on the coins of *Charlemagne*, *Lewis the Pious*, *Lothaire*, and their successors, coined in *Rome*².

b But to return to *Astulphus*: That prince, finding himself constrained to surrender the exarchate, and the other countries, to one who had no more right to them than himself, began to make vast preparations, with a design to retake what he had been obliged to give up, and at the same time to put himself in a condition of withstanding the *French*, who, he did not doubt, would return into *Italy*, and renew the war. But while, in the height of these warlike preparations, he was one day taking the diversion of hunting in a neighbouring forest, he was killed, according to some, by a wild boar, according to others, by a fall from his horse. *Erchempertus* writes, that he was killed with an arrow³. We should perhaps have been able to give a more favourable account of his reign, had *Paulus Diaconus* continued his history; but that

Astulphus dies.
Year after
Christ 756.

c writer, living in the time of *Charlemagne*, the son of *Pepin*, prudently declined writing the history of this and the following king's reign, lest, by relating the transactions of those times, he should disoblige the *French* princes, who, having driven out the *Lombards*, succeeded them in the kingdom of *Italy*. His countrymen were, for the same reason, all silent; so that those events have been transmitted to posterity by such writers only, as were biased in favour of the prevailing party. As the deceased king left no issue male behind him, and his brother *Arachis* had taken the monastic habit, the *Lombard* lords began to assemble, in order to proceed to a new election. But in the mean time *Desiderius*, whom *Astulphus* had raised to the dukedom of *Tuscany*, and besides made him his *comes stabuli*, or master of the horse,

Desiderius
causes himself
to be proclaimed
king.

d caused himself to be proclaimed king by his *Tuscan Lombards*. This *Rachis* no sooner understood, than, repenting of his former resolution, he resolved to quit the monastic life, and resume the purple, being encouraged thereunto by several persons of great authority among the *Lombards*, and by the inhabitants of *Liguria* and *Venetia*, who began to flock to him in great numbers. This gave great uneasiness to *Desiderius*, who thereupon had recourse to the pope, offering him the cities of *Faenza*, *Ancona*, *Secchia*, and *Ferrara*, which had not been restored by *Astulphus*, provided he assisted him at this juncture, and, by his authority, maintained him on the throne.

He is supported
by the pope, to
whom he yields
some cities.

The pope readily closed with the proposal, and, entering into an alliance with *Desiderius*, found means to persuade *Rachis* to continue in the state he had embraced, and lay aside all thoughts of recovering the kingdom, which was held by his friend and ally. *Desiderius*, being thus delivered from the danger that threatened him, surren-

e dered the above-mentioned cities to the pope, pursuant to the agreement. Pope *Stephen* died soon after, that is, on the twenty-sixth of *April* of the present year 757. To him the church of *Rome* is chiefly indebted for the grandeur it still enjoys. He was succeeded by his brother *Paul*, who renewed the alliance with the king of the *Lombards*, but died in the third year of that prince's reign. In his room was chosen *Stephen* the third, or, as the modern writers will have it, the fourth, between whom and *Desiderius* great jealousies arose, which at last came to an open rupture. *Desiderius* having, by his interest, caused one of his intimate friends, named *Michael*, to be chosen by the people and clergy archbishop of *Ravenna*, the pope, not approving the election, drove him from that see. Hereupon the king, to be revenged on the
f pope, caused the eyes of *Christophor* and *Sergius* to be put out. These were two legates sent from *Rome* to demand the restitution of some lands belonging to that church. After this, *Desiderius*, not doubting but the pope would have recourse to the kings of *France*, resolved to be before-hand with them, and gain them over, if possible, to his side. In order to this, he offered his two daughters in marriage to *Charles* and *Carloman*, who, upon the death of their father *Pepin*, had divided the kingdom between them. Pope *Stephen* was no sooner informed of this treaty, than he wrote to the two princes, earnestly intreating them not to enter into any sort of alliance with the king of the *Lombards*, and threatening them with excommunication,

¹ VIGNOLI antiquior. pont. Rom. denar. p. 19.

² Vide LE BLANC. p. 17.

³ ERCHEMP. p. 6.

*Misunderstand-
ing between
him and Char-
lemagne.*

may, and damnation ^a, if they consented to marry his daughters. But *Desiderius* having gained *Bertrade*, the mother of the two princes, the marriages were, by her means, concluded, in spite of the utmost endeavours of the pope to prevent them. This alliance however was but short-lived; for *Charles* soon after divorced his wife, pretending, that she was incapable of bearing children, and married in her room *Ildegarda*, a princess of *Suevia*. His brother *Carloman* dying about the same time, *Berta*, the deceased king's widow, not thinking herself, and the two sons she had by him, safe in *France*, fled to her father in *Italy*, and put herself, and her children, under his protection. *Desiderius*, who was highly incensed against *Charles* for divorcing his daughter, received them with great joy, not doubting but he should, one time or other, be able, by their means, to raise disturbances in *France*; which would both ^b give him the satisfaction of being revenged on *Charles*, and divert that prince from intermeddling with the affairs of *Italy*. In the mean time died pope *Stephen*, and *Adrian I.* was, in the year 772. chosen in his room. He no sooner saw himself raised to the apostolic see, than he sent two legates to conclude a lasting peace with *Desiderius*; and it was agreed, that neither of them should disturb the other in the possession of the countries they held. *Desiderius*, concluding, from this step taken by *Adrian*, that he did not entertain such jealousies and suspicions of the *Lombard* kings, as his predecessors had done, nor was so attached to the princes of *France*, proposed to him the consecrating and anointing the sons of *Carloman* kings, not doubting but that would raise tumults and disturbances in *France*, and at the same time create a misunder- ^c standing between the pope and *Charles*, which would give him an opportunity of recovering the countries taken by *Pepin*, and yielded to the church. The ceremony of anointing, after the example of *Pepin* and his two sons, had been, by degrees, introduced among christian princes, the people deeming those, who were thus anointed, lawful kings. But *Adrian*, who, notwithstanding the peace he had concluded with the *Lombards*, was no less jealous of their power, than his predecessors had been, peremptorily refused to comply with the request of *Desiderius*, being well apprised, that, by granting it, he should incur the displeasure of *Charles*, the only prince capable of protecting him against the *Lombards*. *Desiderius* left no stone unturned to bring the pope into his measures; but, finding he could obtain nothing by fair ^d means, he resolved to employ force. Accordingly, he broke unexpectedly into the exarchate, and, having made himself master of *Ferrara*, *Comacchio*, and *Faenza*, he threatened *Ravenna* itself with a siege. *Adrian*, alarmed at these hostilities, immediately dispatched ambassadors to put the king in mind of the peace lately concluded, and to demand the restitution of the places, which he had taken with an open breach of the late treaty. The king received the ambassadors with the greatest marks of honour, and told them, that he was desirous of treating with the pope in person; and that, if he came himself, nothing should be denied him. But *Adrian*, rejecting the invitation, answered with great haughtiness, That he would never appear before him, unless he restored the cities he had seized. *Desiderius*, highly provoked at this ^e answer, marched his army into *Pentapolis*, and, having there laid waste the territories of *Sinigaglia*, *Monteferetro*, *Urbino*, and *Eugubio*, he approached *Rome*, destroying all with fire and sword, and carrying into captivity such of the inhabitants, as fell into his hands. Hereupon *Adrian* ordered the abbot of *St. Vincent*, attended by twenty monks in great reputation for the sanctity of their lives, to wait upon the king in his name, and earnestly intreat him to restore the places he had taken, and desist from further hostilities. The king received them in a very obliging manner, and assured them, that, if the pope would come in person to confer with him, the cities should be immediately restored, and an end put to all hostilities. Not satisfied with signi- ^f fying to the legate his earnest desire of a private interview with the pope, he sent ambassadors of his own to acquaint *Adrian* therewith, and persuade him, if possible, to comply with his request, since he had matters of the utmost importance to impart to him. But *Adrian*, firm in his former resolution, solemnly protested, that he would never appear before the king, till the towns he had taken were restored; but that, as soon as they were restored, he would meet him in what place soever he should think proper to appoint, in order to settle, in concert with him, the tranquillity of *Italy*. Upon the return of these ambassadors, *Desiderius* sent others, to whom the pope made the same answer, adding, that, if he did not comply with the king's

*He quarrels
with the pope,
and takes several
cities.*

- a request, as soon as the cities were restored, he gave them leave to take them anew, and invade the territories of the church at his pleasure. But *Desiderius*, provoked more than ever at the obstinacy of the pope, threatened to bring his army before *Rome*, and, by that means, oblige *Adrian* to grant him his request. The pope was so terrified with these menaces, that, thinking himself in the utmost danger, he resolved, in imitation of his predecessors, to have recourse to *France*. Accordingly he sent one *Peter* by sea, all the passes by land being guarded by the *Lombards*, to acquaint *Char-*
lemagne, then king of *France*, with the danger he was in, and not only to implore his assistance, but to invite him to the conquest of *Italy*, almost intirely ruined by the *Lombards*. *Desiderius* was no sooner informed of the arrival of the pope's legate in *France*, and of the things laid there to his charge, than he dispatched ambassadors to *Charlemagne*, assuring him of his inclination to live in peace with the pope, and complaining of *Adrian*'s obstinacy, in refusing him a private interview for settling the tranquillity of *Italy*. But *Charlemagne*, who only wanted a favourable opportunity of revenging himself on *Desiderius* for keeping his two nephews, with a view, as he supposed, of raising disturbances in *France*, received the invitation made him by *Adrian* with incredible satisfaction, and began to make such preparations, as plainly shewed, that his design was not only to assist the pope, but to make an intire conquest of the kingdom of the *Lombards*. He appointed *Geneva* for the place of the general rendezvous, and there; when the troops were all assembled, he divided his numerous army into two bodies, whereof the one he led in person, and committed the other to the conduct of his uncle *Bernard*. On the other hand, *Desiderius*, having certain intelligence of his motions, sent some troops to guard the passes in the *Alps*, and then, making numerous levies in the dukedoms of *Friuli*, *Benevento*, *Spoletto*, *Etruria*, and the other dukedoms, of which his kingdom was composed, he raised a mighty army, and, putting himself at the head of it, marched to *Turin*, with a design to give *Charlemagne* battle, in case he forced the streights, and came into the plain country. We are told, that *Charlemagne*, as he drew near the *Alps*, to prevent the effusion of christian blood, dispatched ambassadors to the king of the *Lombards*, offering him fourteen thousand solidi, provided he restored to the pope the cities he had taken; but that *Desiderius* would hearken to no proposals, being bent on the conquest of all *Italy*. Be that as it will, *Charlemagne* pursued his march to the *Alps*; and, finding the passes guarded by the *Lombards*, he sent a detachment, under the conduct of experienced guides, to cross the mountains another way. This they happily accomplished, and, falling unexpectedly upon those who guarded the passes, struck them with such terror, that, abandoning their posts, they fled in the utmost consternation. Upon their retreat, *Charlemagne* passed unmolested with his whole army, and, descending from the mountains, marched in quest of the enemy. Some authors write, that the two armies came to an engagement, in which, after an obstinate dispute, *Desiderius* was defeated. They add, that the place, where the battle was fought, from the great number of the slain, took the name of *Mortuaria*. Others, less affected to the *Lombards*, tells us, that, at the approach of *Charlemagne*, they fled in the utmost confusion; not daring to look the enemy in the face. Be that as it will, it is certain, that *Desiderius* retired, and shut himself up in *Pavia*, not being in a condition to keep the field. At the same time he sent his son *Adalgisus*, and his daughter *Berta*, the widow of *Carloman*, with her two sons, to *Verona*, a place not inferior in strength to *Pavia* itself. *Charlemagne*, hearing that the king had shut himself up in *Pavia*, led his whole army against that city, and closely besieged it. The *Lombards* defended the place with great vigour; and, on the other hand, *Charlemagne*, determined not to withdraw his troops from before it till it had submitted, sent for his wife and sons, and continued with them in the camp till *Christmas*, which festival he celebrated with great pomp, and then, leaving his uncle *Bernard* to pursue the siege of *Pavia*, he went, with part of the army, to invest *Verona*. *Adalgisus* defended the town, for some time, with great bravery; but, in the end, finding himself reduced to the last extremity, and despairing of relief, he withdrew in the night; and, after having wandered a long time about the country in disguise, he found means, at last, to make his escape by sea to *Constantinople*, where he was received and entertained with great kindness by the emperor. Upon his departure, the garrison and inhabitants of *Verona* surrendered to *Charles*, who, having got *Berta* and her two sons into

The pope recurs
to Charle-
magne king of
France.

Charlemagne
enters Italy.

Desiderius re-
sires, and is
besieged in Pa-
via.

Verona besieged
by Charles,
and taken.

Charles goes to Rome.

His reception there.

Honours done him at Rome.

He confirms the donation of Pepin.

his power, sent them immediately, under a strong guard, into *France*; but what became afterwards of these two unfortunate princes, was never known. *Verona* being reduced, all the other cities on the same side of the *Po* submitted upon the first summons to the conqueror, who, returning before *Pavia*, pursued the siege with more vigour than ever. But, in the mean time *Easter* approaching, *Charles* resolved to keep that solemnity at *Rome*; and accordingly, committing a second time the care of the siege to *Bernard*, he set out for that city with a splendid train, and, being received, in all the places through which he passed, with the greatest marks of honour imaginable, he reached *Rome* the day before *Easter*. *Adrian* exerted himself on this occasion, thinking it incumbent upon him to receive so great a prince, and one to whom the church was so highly indebted, with the greatest demonstrations of honour, gratitude, and esteem. By his orders the magistrates and judges, with their banners, and the badges of their respective offices, met him thirty miles from the city. At a mile from the gate he was received by a procession of children, carrying in their hands branches of palms and olives, and singing his heroic exploits and virtues. After them came a great number of cross-bearers, for whom it was customary to attend the public entries of the exarchs and patricians. *Charles*, as soon as he saw the crosses, alighted from his horse, and, attended by his own nobility, and the *Roman* magistrates, went the rest of the way on foot. As for the pope, he went early in the morning, with the clergy and people, to the church of the *Vatican*, and there, sitting on a kind of throne on the steps, waited the arrival of the king, who, going directly to the church, ascended the steps, kissing each of them as he mounted. Being arrived at the throne, the pope, coming down, received him with great tenderness, and, after mutual embraces, and congratulatory speeches, they went together into the church, the people following them with loud acclamations, and the clergy frequently repeating, *Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord*. When they came to the place, called then, as it is to this day, *the confession*, prostrating themselves on the ground, they returned thanks to the Almighty, and to his apostle *St. Peter*, for the success that had hitherto attended the king's arms against his enemies, and the enemies of the church, that is, the unhappy *Lombards*, who, in reality, were as well-wishers to the church as *Charles*, but were not willing the churchmen should rob them of the countries they had purchased at the expence of their blood and treasure. After this, *Charles* begged leave to go into the city, for the *Vatican* stood then without the walls, to perform a vow, and visit the holy places; which was granted by the pope, after they had both sworn upon the body of the apostle, that they designed no harm or injury to each other. The day following, being the festival of *Easter*, the king made a solemn entry into the city, attended by the nobility, clergy, and *Roman* people, who accompanied him to the church of *St. Mary ad Præsepe*, whence, after divine service, he went to the *Lateran*, and dined there with *Adrian*. The next day he assisted at public prayers in the *Vatican*; and, when the service was over, *Adrian* caused thanks to be given him for his kindness to the church in an oration, on which occasion the generosity of *Charles Martel*, and his son *Pepin*, to the church of *Rome*, were highly extolled, the exemplary piety of their most illustrious family mightily commended, and great encomiums bestowed on the whole nation. The orator told his auditors, that *Charles*, not degenerating from the piety of his glorious ancestors, was come, with a mighty army, to humble the enemies of the church; that he had hitherto, with the assistance of Heaven, been as successful in so commendable an enterprize, as he had been ready to undertake it; and that, according to all appearance, *Italy* would, in a few days, have occasion to congratulate him upon his accomplishing the work, which he had so happily begun, as now both *Italy* and the church returned him their hearty thanks for what he had already performed. When the rejoicings, feasting, and congratulations, were over, *Adrian* came to the main point, requiring *Charles* to confirm the donation, which his father *Pepin* had made to the church of *Rome*. *Charles* readily complied with the pope's request; and, having ordered *Alerius* his secretary to draw up a new instrument, he signed it himself, caused it to be signed by the abbots, bishops, and other great men, who had attended him to *Rome*, and, with his own hand, says *Leo Ostiensis*, laid it, thus signed, on the altar of *St. Peter*. *Anastasius Bibliothecarius* writes, that *Charles*, not satisfied with the donation of *Pentapolis* and the exarchate made by *Pepin*, added to them the island of

7 LEO OSTIENS. l. i. c. 12. ANASTAS. BIBLIOTHEC. in *Adrian*. p. 75.

8 LEO OSTIENS. *ibid*.

Corfica,

- ^a *Corfica*, and that large country, which, extending from *Luna* to *Sorano* and *Monte Bordone*, comprehends the cities of *Vercetri*, *Parma*, *Reggio*, *Mantua*, and *Monfelize*: ^{Whether he added other countries to that donation.} nay, according to that writer, the generosity of *Charles* did not even stop here; for he tells us, that the new instrument comprised the provinces of *Venetia* and *Istria*; and the two dukedoms of *Benevento* and *Spoletum*.^a In the chronicle of the monastery of *St. Clement*, *Charles* is said to have added to the donation of *Pepin* only those two dukedoms. *Sigonius* will have the donation of *Charles* to have comprised, besides those dukedoms, and the countries given by *Pepin*, the *Sabinian* territory, lying between *Umbria* and *Latium*, with part of *Tuscany* and *Campania*. *Petrus de Marca* adds all *Campania*, with the city of *Naples*, and the provinces of *Abruzzo* and *Paglia*; and hence, according to him, the kings of *Naples* have ever been, as they still are, invested by the pope^b. Some modern writers suppose *Charles* to have given likewise *Saxony*, which he had lately conquered, and other countries, which he never conquered; viz. *Sardinia* and *Sicily*; for these two islands were held by the emperors of the east, till the *Saracens* became masters of them. But as no copy of the supposed donation of these several countries is to be found, either in the archives of the *Vatican*, or the annals of *France*; and, on the other hand, it is manifest from history, that *Charles*, as king of *Italy*, held the dukedoms of *Friuli*, *Spoletum*, and *Beneventum*, in the same manner as they had been held by the *Lombard* kings his predecessors, and that they were immediately governed by their own dukes; we may conclude from thence, that *Charles* only confirmed the donation of the exarchate and *Pentapolis* made by his father *Pepin*. *Charles* indeed caused the patrimonies, which the church of *Rome* possessed in the *Alpes Cottiae*, and in the dukedoms of *Benevento* and *Spoletum*, to be restored; and hence, according to the learned civilian *Pietro Giannone*, arose the mistake of those writers, who will have *Charles* to have given that province, and those dukedoms, to *St. Peter*: they confounded the patrimonies of the church in those countries with the countries themselves^c.

- Charles*, having thus satisfied his own curiosity, and the desires of the pope, after a stay of eight days in *Rome*, returned to the camp before *Pavia*, which city he was resolved, at all events, to reduce, being well apprised, that, if *Desiderius* remained master of it, he might easily recover all the rest. The same motive that prompted *Charles* to exert his utmost endeavours in the reduction of the place, animated the king of the *Lombards* to defend it with all his might. *Charles*, finding his men constantly repulsed in their repeated attacks, and despairing of being able to carry it by force, resolved to reduce it by famine. Accordingly, besieging it more closely, he shut up all the passes and avenues, so that nothing could possibly be conveyed into the city; which by that means was, in a short time, reduced to the utmost extremity. *Desiderius* however still held out for a considerable time; but, a violent plague beginning to rage within the walls, and carrying off daily great numbers both of the garri- son and inhabitants, the unhappy prince, not able to contend with so many enemies at once, was obliged, in the end, to surrender the place, and deliver up himself, with his wife and children, to *Charles*, who sent them all to *France*, where they ended their days, being never afterwards heard of. Thus ended the kingdom of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, after they had held that country for the space of two hundred and six years. They were at first a cruel and barbarous nation; but, divesting themselves, by degrees, of their native fierceness and barbarity, especially after they had embraced the christian religion, they governed with such equity and mildness, that most other nations envied the happiness of those, who lived under them. As they had no other kingdom nor dominions elsewhere, *Italy* became their own country; whence the natives looked upon their kings as their natural princes, not thinking themselves governed, much less kept in slavery, by a foreign nation, as it happened to them afterwards, when, by frequent changes, they groaned under the heavy yoke, sometimes of one nation, and sometimes of another. Under the government of the *Lombards*, says *Paulus Diaconus*^d, and with him agrees the abbot of *Wesperg*, no violence was committed, no one unjustly dispossessed of his property, none oppressed with taxes; theft, robberies, murder, and adultery, were seldom heard of; every one went, without the least apprehension of danger, whither he pleased: and truly their many wholesome laws, restraining, and severely punishing, all sorts of crimes, the magnificent churches, and rich monasteries, with which they filled that part of

Charles returns to the siege of Pavia.

Desiderius taken prisoner, and the end of the kingdom of the Lombards. Year after Christ 774.

^a ANAST. BIBLIOTHEC. in Adrian.
num. 5.

^c PIET. GIANN. hist. civil. di Napol. l. v. c. 4.

^b P. DE MARCA de concord. sacerdot. & imper. l. iii. c. 10.
^d PAUL. DIAC. hist. Long. l. iii. c. 8.

Italy,

The Lombards
undeliberately
ascribed by the
popes.

Italy, which was subject to them, the many bishopricks, which they erected, the towns and cities, which they either built, or repaired, in most provinces of *Italy*, their generosity even to the bishop of *Rome*, their avowed enemy, and finally, the great numbers of persons among them, whose sanctity and eminent virtues have been acknowledged by the popes themselves, must convince every impartial reader, that the Lombards were not such a savage, barbarous, and inhuman nation, as they are described by some of the popes, especially by *Adrian*, the chief author of the downfall of their kingdom. They were the only power in *Italy* capable of defeating the ambitious views of the bishops of *Rome*, whom they would not suffer to enrich themselves with the spoils of the emperors, but looked upon them as their own by right of conquest; and hence arose the inveterate hatred, which the popes bore them, and could not help betraying in all their writings. But the many wholesome laws which they left behind them, and devouring time has spared, are convincing proofs of their justice, humanity, and wisdom, and at the same time a full confutation, as *Grotius* observes, of the many calumnies, with which the popes, and their partisans, have endeavoured to asperse them. Their laws were found to just and equitable, that they were retained in *Italy*, and observed there, some ages after their kingdom was at an end. *Paulus Diaconus*, *Grotius*, *Gunter*, who was secretary to the emperor *Frederic I.* and several other writers, equal, and, in many particulars, prefer, the laws of the Lombards to those of the Romans themselves. *Gunter*, who was far from being prejudiced in their favour, after examining their laws, could not help calling them a sagacious, wise, and industrious people, and above all, excellent lawgivers*. Hence it sufficiently appears, with how much injustice they are styled by pope *Adrian*, in his letters, an unpolished, barbarous, and cruel people.

The state of
Italy in the
time of Charle-
magne.

BEFORE we dismiss this subject, it may not be improper to give the reader a succinct account of the state of *Italy* at the time *Charlemagne*, by the captivity of *Desiderius*, put an end to the kingdom of the Lombards, and of the new form of government introduced by the conqueror. *Italy* was, at that time, divided, as it were, into four states, held by the Venetians, the Lombards, the popes, and the emperors of the east. The Venetians, by their trade to the Levant, were become very considerable, and, having a great number of vessels, they bore no small sway in the affairs of *Italy*, though we do not yet find them possessed of any town on the *terra firma* or continent. The pope, by the generosity of *Pepin*, and his son *Charles*, was master of the exarchate and *Pentapolis*, which we have described above. The dukedom of *Naples*, and some cities in the *Hither* and *Farther Calabria*, were still held by the emperors of the east. All the other provinces of *Italy* were held by the Lombards, viz. the three famous dukedoms of *Friuli*, *Spoleto*, and *Benevento*, and the provinces of *Liguria*, *Venetia*, *Tuscany*, and the *Alpes Cottiae*, which were properly called the kingdom of the Lombards. When *Desiderius* was taken prisoner, the dukedom of *Benevento* was governed by *Arechis*, son-in-law to the unhappy prince. It comprised then almost all the present kingdom of *Naples*; for of the twelve provinces, into which that kingdom is now divided, nine were subject to the duke of *Benevento*, viz. *Terra di Lavoro*, *Contado di Molise*, the *Hither Abruzzo*, *Capitanata*, *Terra di Bari*, *Basilicata*, the *Hither Calabria*, and the *Hither* and *Farther Principato*; so that it was bounded on the west by the dukedoms of *Rome* and *Spoleto*; on the south by *Gaeta*, and its territory; on the east by the territories of *Cosenza* and *Cassano*; and on the north by *Siponto*, and the promontory of *Gargano*. This dukedom, on account of its extent, was by the Latins called *Italia Cistiberina*, and by the Greeks *Longobardia Minor*, to distinguish it from the Greater, which, lying on both sides the *Po* in *Cisalpine Gaul*, retains to this day the name of *Lombardy*. This extent of the dukedom induced the dukes to divide it, for the more convenient administration of justice, into several districts, called counties, each of which had its proper governor, styled count or *gustald*. These counts or *gustalds* were, at first, appointed and removed by the dukes at their pleasure; but, in process of time, it became customary not to remove them, unless convicted of treason, and not to transfer the counties to other families, till their male line was extinct: and this was the first origin of counts and counties in that part of *Italy*. The only difference between the counts and *gustalds* was, that the latter governed only during pleasure, and the former were never removed, unless guilty of treason: hence the title of count denoted dignity, and that of *gustald*

The extent of
the dukedom of
Benevento.

And its go-
vernment.

* GUNTER. in *Liguria*, versu 173. &c.

- a only office. The other two great dukedoms, viz. of *Spoleto* and *Friuli*, were far inferior, both in power and extent, to that of *Benevento*. The former comprehended all *Umbria*, in which were many cities of great note; and the latter all *Friuli*, and the greater part of *Istria*. The dukedom of *Naples*, which continued subject to the emperors of the east, extended towards the west as far as *Cuma*, comprehending within its limits the islands of *Ischia*, *Nisita*, and *Provida*, with the maritime towns of *Pozzuolo*, *Baia*, and *Miseno*. Towards the south *Castellamare*, *Sorrento*, *Amalfi*, and the island of *Caprea*, were comprised in it. Towards the east and north its limits were much confined, the dukedom of *Benevento* reaching almost to the very gates of the city. The cities of this dukedom were governed by their particular *rectores*, who were appointed by, and subordinate to, the duke of *Naples*. These *rectores* were likewise called counts; but were not, as in the dukedom of *Benevento*, feudatories; they only governed during the pleasure of the duke: so that they were upon a footing with the *Lombard* *gastalds*. As for the duke, he was appointed and removed at pleasure by the emperor. The duke of *Naples* was likewise styled *magister militum*, and consul; but how the title of consul came to be given him, no writer has yet had the curiosity to inquire (B). Besides the dukedom of *Naples*, the emperors of the east possessed several cities in antient *Calabria*, and in the country of the *Bruttii*, now known by the name of *Farther Calabria*. In antient *Calabria* they held the cities of *Gallipoli* and *Otranto*; and, in *Farther Calabria*, *Reggio*, *Gerace*, *Santa Severina*, *Crotone*, and, besides these, the two cities of *Amantea* and *Agripoli*, with the promontory now called *Capo di Licosa*^f, the dukedoms of *Gaeta* and *Amalfi*. All these cities were immediately governed by their *rectores*, who were appointed and removed by the patrician, as he is styled, or governor of *Sicily*; for to him were subject, at this time, all the places, the dukedom of *Naples* excepted, which the emperors still held in *Italy*: hence they are all comprised by *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* under the *Thema* of *Sicily* (C). In more antient times, only the *Farther Calabria* was subject to the patrician

The dukedom of Naples, its extent and government.

Cities in Italy belonging to the emperor.

^f PELLEGRIN. in dissert. de finib. ducat. Benevent. p. 72.

(B) The title of consul, which the emperors had long had in great esteem, and looked upon as an honour to themselves, was, towards the latter end of the empire, intirely slighted by them, and laid aside. What made them undervalue and despise it, was its being assumed by those princes, whom they looked upon as barbarians and usurpers. Thus *Charlemagne*, to shew, that he succeeded to all the rights of the emperors of the west, took upon him, amongst other titles, that of consul. The other *French* emperors, his successors, followed his example, as did likewise the *Italian* emperors, *Berengarius* duke of *Friuli*, and *Guido* duke of *Spoleto*; nay, even the *Saracens*, after they had conquered *Spain*, in imitation of the emperors of *Constantinople*, styled themselves consuls. Thus *Abderamus*, who began to reign in *Cordova* in the year 821. and *Mohammed*, his son and successor in that kingdom, marked, in their writs, not only the years of their reign, but likewise of their consulship (1). The emperors therefore, finding it thus assumed by foreign and barbarous nations, took it no longer themselves, but gave it to their officers. Father *Pagi* thinks, that the emperors laid it quite aside about the year 933 (2). The *Saracens* gave the title of consul to their admirals; whence, in process of time, it became common not only to them, but to all the governors of the maritime towns, and to those who, residing in the sea-ports, took care, that justice should be administered to the merchants of their respective countries. Thus *Codinus* (3), *Pachimeres* (4), and *Gregoras* (5), observe, that the *Pisan* and *Anconitan* magistrates, residing at *Constantinople*, were styled consuls. No wonder therefore, that the title of consul was given to the dukes of *Naples*, since it was bestowed on magistrates of a much inferior rank.

(C) The empire of the east being, by the invasion

of several barbarous nations, who had seized on *Egypt*, *Africa*, *Syria*, and other large provinces, confined to *Asia Minor*, *Greece*, *Thrace*, and a small part of *Italy*, with *Sicily*, and the adjacent islands, no further regard was had to the antient division of provinces; but new divisions into *districts*, which had their particular governors, were introduced, and called *themata*. Of these *themata* or divisions *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* wrote two books, whereof the first contains the *themata* or provinces of *Asia*, seventeen in number, and the second those of *Europe*, which were but twelve. Among the *themata* of *Europe*, *Sicily* is the tenth, and *Longobardia*, or *Lombardy*, the eleventh. We have observed above, that, under the name of *Lombardy*, properly speaking, came those provinces in *Cisalpine Gaul*, of which the kingdom of the *Lombards* was composed, and that the dukedom of *Benevento* was likewise called *Lombardy*. Of these two *Lombardies* the former was called *Longobardia Major*, and the latter *Longobardia Minor*; but neither of them was in the possession of the *Greeks*, the *Greater Lombardy* being held by the *French* kings of *Italy*, and the *Lesser* by the *Beneventan Lombards*, whose dukes had the same power and authority under the *French* kings of *Italy*, as they had had under the princes of their own nation. By the province of *Lombardy* therefore, mentioned by *Constantine* in his *themata*, must be understood that small part of *Italy*, which was still possessed by the emperors, who, out of vanity and ostentation, gave it the name of *Lombardy*. The countries, which *Constantine* names under the *thema* of *Lombardy*, are the dukedom of *Naples*, and antient *Calabria*, in which however the *Greeks* possessed, at this time, but two cities, viz. *Gallipoli* and *Otranto*. The country of the *Bruttii*, now *Farther Calabria*, with the cities of *Reggio*, *Gerace*,

(1) *Pagi de consuli*. p. 370. & *Eulog. in memorial. sanctor.* l. ii. c. 1.

(2) *Pagi ibid.*

(3) *Codin.*

c. 7. num. 9.

(4) *Pachimer.* l. ii. c. 32.

(5) *Gregor.* l. iv. c. 6.

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8 X

Santa

Whence the
kingdom of
Naples called
Sicily.

patrician of *Sicily*; but the cities, which the emperors held in that part of *Ital.*, a being reduced to a very small number, they were all put under the government of the patrician, who was sent from *Constantinople* to govern *Sicily*, as is evident from the *themata* of *Constantine Porphyrogenitus**, and likewise from one of pope *Adrian's* letters to *Charlemagne*, wherein he complains of the *Beneventan Lombards*, whom he calls a most wicked race, for taking from him the city of *Gaeta*, and restoring it to the patrician of *Sicily*. *Gaeta* belonged to the emperor, and was under the government of that patrician; *Charles* took it from the emperor, and yielded it to the pope; the *Lombards* of *Benevento* retook it, and restored it to its lawful owner; and on that account they are called by the pope a most wicked people^b. From the superintendency over the countries on this side the *Faro*, which, in those times, belonged to the patrician of *Sicily*, some writers will have those countries to have been called *Sicily*; which name was afterwards extended by the *Norman* and *Suevian* princes, and likewise by the popes, to all the provinces, of which the present kingdom of *Naples* is composed. It is certain, that, in the time of the *Normans*, the name of *Sicily* was common both to that island, and to the present kingdom of *Naples*; but with this difference, that the former was called *Sicily beyond the Faro*, and the latter *Sicily on this side the Faro*, as appears from a charter of *Roger the Norman* of the year 1115, quoted by *Ughellus*^c.

Charlemagne
crowned king of
Lombardy.

Desiderius being taken captive, as we have related above, and the city of *Pavia* reduced, all the other cities submitted of their own accord to *Charles*, who thereupon, claiming the kingdom of the *Lombards* by right of conquest, caused himself to be crowned king of *Lombardy*, with an iron crown, by the hands of the archbishop of *Milan*. The ceremony was performed by *Thomas* then archbishop of *Milan*, at a place called *Modossia*, about ten miles from that city. *Charles*, as we read in an ancient ritual called *Ordo Romanus*, was led out of his chamber by several bishops to the church; and, being conducted to the high altar, after some solemn prayers, the archbishop asked the people, Whether they would subject themselves to *Charles*, and, with constant fidelity, obey his commands? The people answering they would, the bishop anointed his head, breast, shoulders, and arms, praying, that the new king might prove successful in his wars, and happy in his issue. He then girt him with a sword, put bracelets on his arms, gave him a robe, a ring, a sceptre, and, having placed the crown upon his head, he led him through the choir to the throne, and, having seated him there, and given him the kiss of peace, he celebrated divine service^k. *Charles* ordained, that the same ceremony should be observed in the coronation of his successors, and performed by the archbishop of *Milan*, who thenceforth began to contend for dignity with the archbishop of *Ravenna*. The ceremony of the coronation being over, *Charles*, now king of *Italy*, thought it necessary to settle the frame and polity of his new kingdom, and, in order to this, resolved to go to *Rome*, and advise with *Adrian*. The pope, having notice of his design, assembled fifty bishops, and a great number of abbots and other dignitaries, in order to consult with them, what honours ought to be paid to so great a prince, whose father and grandfather, as well as himself, had so much deserved of the *Roman* church. After several consultations, it was unanimously agreed, that he should be made a *Roman* patrician; that, throughout the provinces, he should institute all bishops and archbishops, who were not to be consecrated, unless instituted by him; and that he should appoint the bishop of *Rome*, and be declared protector of the apostolic see. *Charles*, upon his arrival at *Rome*, was received by the pope, and the *Roman* people, with the greatest marks of respect and esteem, and the honours we have mentioned were, with the unanimous consent of all, conferred upon him. The naming of the bishop of

He goes to
Rome, where
great honours
are conferred
upon him.

* CONST. PORPHYR. de themat. p. 8.
Merid.

* ADRIAN. ep. lxxiii. PELLEGR. in fin. duc. Benevent. ad
Ordo Roman. apud Saxon.

^b Ugh. Ital. sacra, tom. ix. in archiepif. S. Severin.

Santa Severina, *Crotone*, and some other places, are comprised under the *themata* of *Sicily*, as being subject to the patrician or governor of that island. That magistrate seems to have had some authority even in the dukedom of *Naples*; for *Anthemius* duke of that city being dead, and disputes arising about the election of a new duke, the *Neapolitans* had recourse to the patrician of *Sicily*, who appointed one

Theoclistus to be their duke; but the emperor, not approving of his choice, removed *Theoclistus*, and sent one *Theodore* to govern in his room^d. From this account *Capacius*, or whoever else is the author of the *Latin* history of *Naples*, and *Castilio Pellegrino*, conclude the *Neapolitans* to have been, at least sometimes, allowed to chuse their own cases.

(d) Vldo Ughell. ibid.

- a Rome was granted to him, for preventing the tumults, that, to the great scandal of all good christians, began to arise among the people and clergy, on occasion of those elections, no one having any power or authority to restrain them. But this right Charles used with great moderation, and, after some time, remitted it to the clergy and people. The dignity of patrician was, at that time, the first in the whole empire, and the conferring of it belonged of right to the emperor; but his authority being now extinct in *Italy*, the pope arrogated to himself that, as well as he did, by degrees, all the other imperial honours and ornaments. Charles, extremely well pleased with the reception he met with at *Rome*, continued some time in that metropolis, consulting with the pope about the manner of settling the affairs of *Italy*; and then returned to *Pavia*, where he declared, that he intended to maintain the same form of government, which had been introduced by the Lombard princes his predecessors. Accordingly, he allowed every one full liberty to live under the same Roman or Lombard laws, to which they had been accustomed; but to the latter he added, as king of the Lombards, some of his own. He did not disturb the emperors in the possession of the dukedom of *Naples*, and of the other places, which they still held in *Italy*. As for the three famous dukedoms of *Friuli*, *Spoletto*, and *Benevento*, he allowed those dukes the same power and authority, which they had enjoyed under the Lombard kings, requiring only, that, as they had been subject to these princes, they should acknowledge him for their king. The exarchate, the *Pentapolis*, and the dukedom of *Rome*, he yielded to the pope; but retained the sovereignty to himself.
- b He retains the same form of government.
- c The other provinces, which we have mentioned above, he kept as the kingdom of *Lombardy*¹. He continued, as his predecessors had done, the other dukes in their dukedoms, contenting himself with the oath of allegiance, which he obliged them, as well as the greater dukes, to take annually to him. The oath was conceived in the following terms: *I promise, without fraud or deceit, to be faithful to my sovereign Charles, and his sons, as long as I live; and I swear, by these holy gospels, that I will be faithful to him, as a vassal to his lord and sovereign; neither will I divulge any thing, which, in virtue of my allegiance, he shall commit to me.* The dukedoms he never transferred from one family to another, but when the dukes broke this oath, or died without issue male.
- d Allows the dukes the same power.
- e This translation from one to another was called *investiture*; and hence it came, that fiefs were not granted but by investiture, as was afterwards observed with respect to other vassals and feudatories, viz. counts, captains, and valvasours, the model of whose services and tenures were afterwards perfected by the princes of *Germany*. The limits of the kingdom, and the towns, Charles committed to the care of counts, who were vested with great authority. These limits or borders were called *marchæ* or *marches*; whence those, who had the superintendency of them, were styled *counts of the marches*, and *marquises*; and hence the title of *marquis* had its rise. These were the ordinary magistrates appointed by Charles for the government of the cities, and the limits of the kingdom; but he sometimes appointed extraordinary magistrates, or commissaries, who had greater authority than the counts, and were called *missi*. It was their province to part and distinguish the limits of each city, which, under the Lombards, were greatly confused; whence arose frequent disputes among the neighbouring cities about their boundaries; but the *missi* assigned to each city its boundaries, and, for the most part, following nature, appointed mountains, rivers, brooks, valleys, and other perpetual and lasting limits to serve for marches, that time might not alter and confound them. He likewise obliged the cities to take an oath of allegiance to him, and imposed upon them, as well as upon the fiefs, churches, and monasteries, a kind of tribute, called *foderum*, *parata*, and *mansuaticum*, which was to be paid to him, especially when he came into *Italy*; but this tribute he afterwards generously remitted for himself and his successors. That *Italy* might retain at least some shadow of liberty, as often as he returned thither, he convened a general assembly of all the bishops, abbots, and barons of the kingdom, in order to settle with them the public affairs of importance. The Lombards had but one state, composed of barons and judges; but the French, in the time of *Charlemagne*, had two, viz. of the ecclesiastics and nobility; hence by Charles was added likewise in *Italy*, after the manner of *France*, the order of the ecclesiastics to that of the barons or nobility. This custom of assembling the two states lasted in *Italy* till the time of the emperor *Frederic I.* They met, for the most part, at *Ronaglia*, a place not far distant from *Placentia*.
- f Tribute imposed by him.

¹ Sigon. p. 163.

The duke of
Friuli revolts.

But is defeated,
and put to
death.

That dukedom
ended.

Arechis duke
of Benevento
changes his
dukedom into a
principality.
Year after
Christ 781.

The Beneven-
tans forced, by
their intestine
broils, to sub-
mit to the em-
perors of the
west.

and there enacted several laws for the better regulation of public affairs^m. The affairs of Italy being thus settled, Charles, leaving a strong garrison in Pavia, returned to France in the year 774. But he was scarce gone, when the Lombard dukes, those especially of Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento, scorning to live subject to a foreign prince, resolved to shake off the yoke, and make themselves absolute in their respective dukedoms. While Charles therefore was engaged in a war with the Saxons, Rodgand duke of Friuli, laying hold of that opportunity, renounced his allegiance, and caused himself to be acknowledged sovereign in his dukedom. But Charles, who had already put an end to the Saxon war, by the reduction of that country, was no sooner informed of the revolt of Rodgand, which, he apprehended, might prove of dangerous consequence, if it was not timely suppressed, than he hastened into Alsace, and, having kept his Christmas there, marched, in the depth of winter, with a powerful army cross the Alps, and entered the dukedom of Friuli. Rodgand met him with all the forces he could raise; but, in the engagement that ensued, he was utterly defeated, taken prisoner, and, soon after, publicly beheaded. Charles did not appoint another duke, but, adding the cities, of which this dukedom was composed, to his kingdom, appointed counts to govern them in the same manner as the other cities of his kingdom were governed. Thus ended the dukedom of Friuli, the first that was erected under Alboinus, and likewise the first that was suppressed by Charlemagne. Paulus Æmilius tells us, that it was afterwards restored by Charles, who appointed one Henry, a native of France, to govern it with the title of dukeⁿ. But of this, and the dukes who are supposed to have succeeded him, no mention is made by other historians. Hildebrand duke of Spoleto, who had likewise revolted, upon the news of the defeat and death of Rodgand, submitted of his own accord, and was again received into favour by Charles. At this time Arechis, who had married Adelperga, daughter to Desiderius, the last king of the Lombards, was duke of Benevento; but he, waiting a more favourable opportunity of shaking off the yoke, continued quiet till such time as Charles, after having appointed Pepin his eldest son king of Italy in 781, was returned to France, and engaged there in other wars. Then Arechis, scorning to live in subjection to a foreign prince, as he had done to his father-in law, and trusting to his own strength, and the affection his subjects bore him, not only revolted, but, laying aside the title of duke, assumed that of prince, causing himself to be anointed and crowned with great solemnity as king by his bishops, and dating thenceforth all his writs and diplomas from our most sacred palace, according to the style of other princes and sovereigns. As it was then customary among princes, when they were crowned, to cause their images to be placed in all the churches throughout their dominions, representing them with a crown on their head, this custom was likewise observed by Arechis, who was thereupon acknowledged by all the inhabitants of the dukedom as their sovereign. He coined money with his own image, made what alterations he thought fit both in civil and military affairs, without consulting either Charles or Pepin, and even enacted several laws; for his capitularia have reached our times; and, in the often mentioned manuscript code lodged in the monastery of Cava, among the edicts of the Lombard kings, is to be found one of this prince, containing seventeen chapters. His example was followed by the other princes his successors, namely by Adelchis, Sicardus, and Radelchisus, as appears from their capitularia published by Camillo Pellegrino^o. Thus to the laws of the Lombard kings were added those of the princes of Benevento. Charles, finding that his son Pepin was not able to reduce the Beneventan Lombards, returned in 786, with a powerful army into Italy, being then disengaged from other wars. But, Arechis suing for peace, Charles granted him it upon the following terms, viz. that he should pay to Pepin a yearly tribute; that he should deliver up to him his treasure, and with it his son Grimoald, and his daughter Adalgisa, by way of hostages. The peace being thus concluded, Charles returned to France, leaving Arechis in possession of the principality of Benevento, which was held by him, with the title of prince, as it was by his successors, who greatly enlarged it, till a cruel war being kindled in the bowels of their country between Siconulphus and Radelchisus, two competitors to the principality, the one invited the Saracens of Africa, and the other those of Spain, to their assistance, who, after a twelve years war, completed the ruin of both; so that, to get rid of their troublesome auxiliaries, they were obliged to have recourse to Lewis king of

^m Vide SIGON. *ibid.* & FRANKEN. *diff. de Majum.* Maicamp. & Roncal. p. 42.

reb. Franc. p. 142.

ⁿ PAUL. ÆMIL. *de*

^o CAMILL. PELLEGRIN. *capit. Arech. princ.* p. 309. & *cit. hist.* p. 73—92.

France,

a *France*, and, by taking an oath of allegiance to him, acknowledge him for their sovereign. *Lewis* divided the provinces of *Benevento* between the two competitors, by which division two principalities were made out of one; that of *Benevento* was allotted to *Radelchisus*; and the other, called from its metropolis the principality of *Salerno*, to *Siconulphus*, the emperors of the west exercising, as kings of *Italy*, the same authority over them, as the *Lombard* kings had formerly done.

AND thus far of antient history, or the history of antient nations, from their first original, to their being either blended with, or giving rise to, some of the modern nations, which naturally paves us the way to modern history. We have spared no pains in the execution of our proposals, and hope we have made no slips, but such as
b the candid reader will think excuseable, when he reflects on the many difficulties, that attend a work of this nature. We have not the vanity to think we have been guilty of no faults; but the encouragement, which, far beyond our expectation, we have met with, we may say, from all ranks of people, both at home and abroad, and which we now acknowledge with the utmost gratitude, inclines us to believe, that the mistakes we may have committed, are no-ways material. This we are the more apt to imagine, as we find but very few alterations from the original made by the several men of learning, who have thought it worth their while to translate our work into their respective languages. As for a perfectly complete history, it is not to appear, as a modern writer expresses it; but in that year, which discovers the philosophers
c stone, and the perpetual motion.

P LE MOYNE.

The End of the Seventh Volume.

A N

I N D E X

T O T H E

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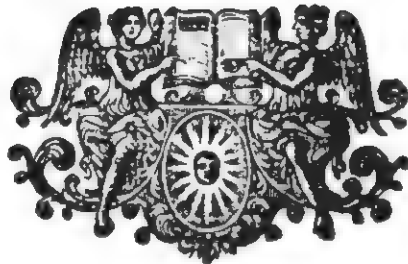
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F I N I S.



THE
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES
TO THE
UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

ADVERTISEMENT

Concerning the following

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

AT our first setting out in this work (*Pref. to Vol I. pag. 1.*) we gave our readers the chronology of the world from the creation to the flood, according to the various systems of the most eminent chronologists in all nations, after which we subjoined our reasons for preferring that of the *Samaritan* pentateuch to that of the *Hebrew* septuagint, *Josephus's*, &c. as far as relates to that remote and impenetrable epocha; upon which account we were induced to compute all the events from the latter period by the years of the flood, rather than by those of the world. (*Preface ibid, pag. ult.*) We need not repeat our reasons at large here, but only remind our readers, that as we engaged to subjoin the year of the world to that of the flood in the chronological tables whenever they came to be printed, so we have accordingly performed our promise in those that follow.

As for the *Julian* period, we have in pursuance of our reasons there given wholly omitted it as imaginary, and therefore useless. Those readers who retain a fondness for it, may however supply it all along, by adding its complement to the year of the world; only let them remember, that it is not (according to these tables) that of 710, which is the *Hebrew* computation, but of 408, which is the *Samaritan*, that we have here followed. The reader will find our reasons for all these in the preface above-mentioned.

It is necessary to observe furthermore in this place, that we had purposed in our original plan to insert at the end of each volume a chronological table of its particular contents: But upon mature consideration, we have thought it much more eligible to comprize the whole in one general table, that our readers may see at one view all the synchronological events of each nation and kingdom, by which means a great deal of trouble, confusion, and needless repetitions will be avoided, especially as the most material are purposely made so full and explicit, that a reader who even is but moderately versed in History may, by the helps here afforded, frequently spare himself the labour of consulting the volumes; whilst those that are less acquainted with it will, by the help of the two last columns in the table, be easily directed to the volume and page where the point in question is more fully discussed.

The great difficulties which the authors of the foregoing volumes have met with in the carrying on this arduous and extensive work (of which some account hath been given in the preface to this 7th volume, pag. 2, & *seq.*) have occasioned a number of anachronisms to creep into several parts of the history, to say nothing of typographical oversights, which are almost unavoidable in a work of this nature. For this reason the greatest care hath been taken to make the following tables so exact, that the accurate reader may, if he pleases, by the help of them rectify and adjust every error or inadvertency he meets with in the text.

The time and labour which a task like this must have taken up, will, we hope, apologise for this volume coming out so much later than was intended. And we doubt not but the kind friends and encouragers of this work will think themselves sufficiently gratified for waiting somewhat longer for it, when they find how much more useful and easy the reading of this *Universal History* is made to them by the assistance of such a copious general index, and such full and exact chronological and other tables as are inserted in this volume.

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1290		3016	<i>Mahalaleel</i> , the son of <i>Cainan</i> , dies aged 895 years - - - - -	I	71
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1307		2999	<i>Methuselah</i> , the son of <i>Enoch</i> , dies aged 720 years - - - - -	I	71
1307		2999	<i>Lamech</i> , the son of <i>Methuselah</i> , dies aged 653 years - - - - -	I	71
1307		2999	The flood, after 120 years preaching by <i>Noah</i> , is brought upon the earth; and <i>Noah</i> and his family by God's command, goes into the Ark; which he had built by God's own appointment, and with them all kind of beasts and fowls, and every thing that creepeth on the earth; of the unclean by pairs, and of the clean by sevens, male and female, with proper quantities of food, &c. on the 17th day of the second month, answering to our <i>December</i> - - - - -	I	95
1308	1	2998	The waters being sufficiently abated, and the dry land visible, <i>Noah</i> , by God's di- rection, with all that were with him, comes out of the Ark on the 27th day of the second month (or <i>December</i>) having been in it a year and ten days, &c. - - -	I	108
1309	2	2997	<i>Arphaxad</i> , the son of <i>Shem</i> , born in the 100th year of his father's age - - - - -	I	112
1444	137	2862	<i>Salah</i> , the son of <i>Arphaxad</i> , born in the 135th year of his father's age - - - - -	I	112
1574	267	2732	<i>Eber</i> , the son of <i>Salah</i> , born in the 130th year of his father's age - - - - -	I	112
1657	350	2649	<i>Noah</i> dies in the 950th year of his age, and is supposed to be buried in <i>Mesopotamia</i> -	I	116
1708	401	2598	<i>Peleg</i> , the son of <i>Eber</i> , born in the 134th year of his father's age - - - - -	I	112
1708	401	2598	The building of <i>Babel</i> ; the confusion, or multiplicity, of languages, and the Disper- sion of mankind all over the earth - - - - -	I	129

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1738	431	2568	Nimrod, the son of Cush, is supposed to drive his cousin Ashur, the son of Shem, out of Shinnar, in Babylon, and settle in it, making it the foundation of a large kingdom, over which he reigned -	I	124
1738	431	2568	Ashur, the son of Shem, being driven out of Babylon, by his cousin Nimrod, retires (no doubt with a large number of hands) into Assyria, and builds the cities of Nineveh, Rhoboth, Calah, and Resen, and founds the Assyrian monarchy -	I	126
1747	440	2559	Arphaxad, the son of Shem, dies in the 438th year of his age -	I	112
1809	571	2497	Shem, the son of Noah, dies in the 600th year of his age -	I	112
1838	531	2468	Reu, the son of Peleg, born in the 130th year of his father's age -	I	112
1877	570	2429	Salah, the son of Arphaxad, dies in the 433d year of his Age -	I	112
1947	640	2359	Peleg, the son of Eber, dies in the 239th year of his age -	I	112
1970	663	2336	Serug, the son of Reu, born in the 132d year of his father's age -	I	112
1978	671	2328	Eber, the son of Salah, dies in the 404th year of his age -	I	112
2077	770	2229	Reu, the son of Peleg, dies in the 239th year of his age -	I	112
2100	793	2206	Nahor, the son of Serug, born in the 130th year of his father's age -	I	112
2179	872	2127	Terah, the son of Nahor, born in the 79th year of his father's age -	I	112
2200	893	2106	Serug, the son of Reu, dies in the 230th year of his age -	I	112
2216	909	2090	Egialeus, the supposed first king and founder of the kingdom of Egialea, since called Sicyon and Peloponnesus, began to reign and reigned 52 years -	II	350
2247	940	2059	Ninus, son of Belus, is supposed to be the first king of Assyria, who governed that kingdom 52 years -	I	876
2248	941	2058	Nahor, the son of Serug, dies in the 148th year of his age -	I	112
2268	961	2038	Europis, the second king of Egialea, (or Sicyon) began to reign, and reigned 45 years -	II	350
2289	981	2017	Began the 16th dynasty of the Egyptians, which was of five Theban kings, that reigned 190 years -	I	229
2299	992	2007	Semiramis, wife of Ninus, succeeds her husband in the kingdom, as guardian of her son Nynias, (by some called Zameis) she is said to have built the great city of Babylon, and other extraordinary and magnificent works; and to be killed by her son for tempting him to lie with her, after reigning 42 years -	I	880
2309	1002	1997	Abram, the son of Terah, born in the 130th year of his father's age -	I	112
2313	1006	1993	Telchin or Selchin, the third king of Egialea, (or Sicyon) began to reign, and changed the name of it into Telchinia, and reigned 20 years -	II	350
2320	1013	1986	Isaac, the daughter of Haran born, who was afterwards wife of Abram, and called Sarai and then Sarah -	I	132
2333	1026	1973	Api, (by some said to be a stranger, that came out of Aetolia, and by medicines and charms rid the country of all sorts of vermin that formerly annoyed it) the fourth king of Sicyon, changed its name into Apia, during his reign of 25 years -	II	350
2341	1034	1965	Nynias (or Zameis the son of Ninus and Semiramis) began to reign, and reigned 38 years in Syria, whose capital city was Nineveh -	I	883
2358	1051	1948	Thelxion or Thelafion, the fifth king of Sicyon, began to reign, and reigned 52 years -	II	350
2372	1065	1934	Chederlaomer, king of Elam, invades the inhabitants of the vale of Siddim (governed by five kings) where Sodom and Gomorrah stood, conquers and makes them tributaries -	I	327
2379	1072	1927	Arius succeeded Nynias in the throne of Assyria, and reigned 30 years -	I	883
2383	1076	1923	Terah, Abram, and Lot, went for Ur to dwell at Haran -	I	113
2384	1077	1922	Terah, the son of Nahor, dies in the 205th year of his age -	I	112
2384	1077	1922	This same year Abram, by God's immediate command, leaves Haran, and takes his wife and family, and Lot and his family, and goes and settles in the Land of Canaan, builds an altar at Sichem, where the Lord appears to him, promises to bestow the Land of Canaan upon his posterity -	I	112
2385	1078	1921	Abram is drove out of Canaan into Egypt by a great famine, where Pharaoh the king, and his house, are punished, for taking Sarah, Abram's wife, upon which she is returned; and the plague being over, Abram and his family return into Canaan again -	I	327
2393	1086	1913	Bera, and the other four kings of the vale of Siddim, having revolted from Chederlaomer, to whom they were tributaries, he comes against them, and slays great numbers, and carries away the rest captive, among whom was Lot and his family, upon which Abram arms, pursues the conqueror, recovers his kinsman, and with him a great deal of punder -	I	327
2394	1087	1912	Ismael, Abram's son, by his maid Hagar, born -	I	426
2407	1100	1899	Abram's name changed to Abraham, and his wife Sarai to Sarah; and circumcision instituted by God's immediate command, upon which he circumcises all the males in his family -	I	426
2407	1100	1899	Isaac, promised by God to Abraham and Sarah, upon his entertaining three angels at a feast -	I	428
2408	1101	1898	The cities of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboim, with their inhabitants for the unnatural sin of Sodomy, are destroyed by a rain of fire and brimstone, or a prodigious storm of thunder and lightning, and the whole valley of Siddim from thenceforward became the Dead or Salt Sea, called sometimes the lake Asphaltites -	I	328
2408	1101	1898	Isaac, son of Abraham by his wife Sarah, born, and at eight days old circumcised, Abraham being an 100, and his wife 90 years of age -	I	429
2409	1102	1897	Aralius succeeds Arius as king of Syria, and reigns 40 years -	I	883
2410	1103	1896	Egydus, or Eegyus, the sixth king of Sicyon, now Peloponnesus, begins to reign and reigns 34 years -	II	350
2414	1107	1892	Isaac is weaned, (here begins the 400 years that Abraham's seed were to be strangers, and to have no country of their own) -	I	430
2415	1108	1891	Ismael mocking Isaac, Sarah the mother of the latter, requests Abraham, the father of both of them, to send Ismael quite away from him, he hesitating, God assures Abraham he would make Ismael a great nation, and thereupon he sends both him and his mother away -	I	430
2434	1127	1872	Abraham, by God's command, takes his son Isaac, and goes to mount Moriah, to sacrifice him there, but is prevented by a voice from Heaven, and the victim		

offered,

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			offered, that was found in a neighbouring thicket; upon this the covenant or promise that God had formerly made with <i>Abraham</i> , is again renewed, &c. -	I	431
2444	1137	1862	<i>Thurimachus</i> , the seventh king of <i>Sicyon</i> , begins to reign, and reigned 45 years -	I	383
2445	1138	1861	<i>Sarah</i> , the wife of <i>Abraham</i> , dies in the 127th year of her age, in the city of <i>Arbah</i> , where <i>Abraham</i> mourns for her, and buries her with great funeral solemnity, in the cave of <i>Machpelah</i> , which he had bought of <i>Ephron</i> the <i>Hittite</i> , for that purpose -	I	432
2449	1142	1857	<i>Abraham</i> first swears, and then sends his chief steward or servant to <i>Mesopotamia</i> , where his brother <i>Nahor</i> dwelt, with large presents, to demand one of his daughters to be the wife of his son <i>Isaac</i> , who was now forty years of age, upon receiving the message, and the presents, <i>Nahor</i> sends him his daughter <i>Rebecca</i> , a very beautiful virgin, who became the wife of <i>Isaac</i> accordingly -	I	433
2449	1142	1857	The same year <i>Abraham</i> marries <i>Keturah</i> , (which is supposed to be <i>Hagar</i> , the mother of <i>Ishmael</i>), and though he was then 141 years old, had six sons by her -	I	434
2449	1142	1857	<i>Xerxes</i> called also <i>Baleus</i> , succeeds <i>Aradus</i> as king of <i>Syria</i> , and reigned thirty years -	I	383
2450	1143	1856	<i>Inachus</i> founded the kingdom of <i>Argos</i> , and was the first king thereof, and reigned fifty years, having by his sister <i>Melissa</i> , whom he took to wife, two sons, <i>Phoroneus</i> and <i>Egialeus</i> , and a daughter called <i>Io</i> , supposed to be <i>Isis</i> the goddess of the <i>Egyptians</i> , whom <i>Jupiter</i> turned into a cow; and from her swimming over the <i>Thracian</i> strait, it was called the <i>Bosphorus</i> -	II	351
2469	1162	1837	<i>Rebecca</i> , after having been childless for twenty years, brings forth twins, and calls the first-born, <i>Esau</i> , (a child remarkably hairy) and the other <i>Jacob</i> , who came into the world, holding his brother by the heel -	I	437
2469	1162	1837	<i>Apis</i> , <i>Ohyris</i> , or <i>Isis</i> , the chief God of the <i>Egyptians</i> , now began to be worshipped under the form of a bull -	I	206
2479	1172	1827	<i>Armamires</i> succeeds <i>Xerxes</i> as king of <i>Syria</i> , and reigned 38 years -	I	383
2479	1172	1827	The seventeenth <i>Egyptian</i> dynasty of pastors for 130 years -	I	229
2483	1176	1823	<i>Abraham</i> being 175 years old, dies, and is buried by his sons <i>Isaac</i> and <i>Ishmael</i> , in the cave of <i>Machpelah</i> , along with his wife <i>Sarah</i> -	I	434
2489	1182	1817	<i>Lencippus</i> , the eighth king of <i>Sicyon</i> , began to reign, and reigned 53 years, having one only daughter <i>Chalcidia</i> , upon whom <i>Nepune</i> got a son, called <i>Eratas</i> -	II	350
2499	1192	1807	<i>Phoroneus</i> , son of <i>Inachus</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Argos</i> , was the first that sacrificed to <i>Juno</i> , and the first that made laws, and governed by them, and therefore by some called, or said to be, the first man: He collected the people that were scattered up and down the country into a body, and incorporated them in a city, built by him, and called <i>Phoroneum</i> ; he is said to have a son by the nymph <i>Laodice</i> , named <i>Apis</i> , and a daughter called <i>Niobe</i> , who was the first paramour of <i>Jupiter</i> , and had by him a son called <i>Argos</i> -	II	352
2501	1194	1805	<i>Isaac</i> is forced to leave his habitation upon account of a great famine; and by God's direction, he goes to <i>Abimelech</i> , king of <i>Gerar</i> , who entertains him and all his family, very kindly; after staying there some time, he enters into covenant with <i>Abimelech</i> , and then goes and lives in the valley of <i>Gerar</i> -	I	438
2509	1202	1797	<i>Esau</i> , at forty years of age, marries <i>Judith</i> , the daughter of <i>Beer</i> , and <i>Bashemath</i> , the daughter of <i>Elon</i> , both <i>Hittites</i> , at which his parents are much grieved -	I	438
2517	1210	1789	<i>Belochus</i> succeeds <i>Armamires</i> in the kingdom of <i>Assyria</i> , and takes his daughter <i>Asoffa</i> , called also <i>Semiramis</i> , a partner with him in his kingdom, for twelve years -	I	383
2517	1210	1789	The <i>Telchines</i> and <i>Caryatæ</i> , make war against <i>Phoroneus</i> and the <i>Parrhasii</i> -	II	352
2525	1218	1781	<i>Apis</i> and <i>Niobe</i> , born to <i>Phoroneus</i> -	II	352
2530	1223	1766	The <i>Ogygian</i> flood in <i>Attica</i> and <i>Bœotia</i> , 248 years before <i>Deucalion's</i> flood in <i>Thessaly</i> -	III	2
2542	1235	1764	<i>Mesapus</i> , the ninth king of <i>Sicyon</i> , began to reign, and reigned 47 years -	I	96
2544	1237	1762	<i>Messana</i> in <i>Sicily</i> , was built and called <i>Zancle</i> , till the <i>Messenians</i> got it, and called it <i>Messana</i> , afterwards the <i>Mamertines</i> got it, and called it <i>Mamertina</i> , and now <i>Messina</i> -	II	350
2546	1239	1760	<i>Isaac</i> being 137 years old, and grown very dim-sighted, calls his son <i>Esau</i> (who was a great hunter) to him, and desires him to go and get him some venison for supper; and that then he would give him his particular blessing, which <i>Rebecca</i> hearing, prepares a savoury dish of meat, and obliges her favourite son <i>Jacob</i> to disguise himself, and personate <i>Esau</i> , and carry the meat in to his father, in order to obtain the promised blessing, which he doing with some difficulty, succeeds just before <i>Esau</i> returned from hunting -	I	439
2546	1239	1760	<i>Esau</i> threatening to kill <i>Jacob</i> , <i>Isaac</i> , by the instigation of <i>Rebecca</i> , sends <i>Jacob</i> to his uncle <i>Laban</i> in <i>Padan Aram</i> , whom he agreed to serve seven years, to have his beautiful daughter <i>Rachel</i> to wife, to which the father consents; but cheats him, and in the dark puts her eldest sister <i>Leah</i> to bed to him in her stead, upon which complaining next day to <i>Laban</i> , he agrees he should have <i>Rachel</i> also, provided he would serve him seven years more, which he agreeing to, has both the sisters for his wives -	I	440
2548	1241	1758	<i>Reuben</i> , the first son of <i>Jacob</i> , by his wife <i>Leah</i> , born -	I	441
2549	1242	1757	<i>Simeon</i> , the second son of <i>Jacob</i> , by his wife <i>Leah</i> , born -	I	441
2550	1243	1756	<i>Levi</i> , the third son of <i>Jacob</i> , by his wife <i>Leah</i> , born -	I	441
2551	1244	1755	<i>Judah</i> , the fourth son of <i>Jacob</i> , by his wife <i>Leah</i> , born -	I	441
2552	1245	1754	<i>Rachel</i> very sorrowful that she had no children, desires <i>Jacob</i> to take her maid <i>Bilhah</i> , and what children <i>Bilhah</i> might have, she would adopt for her own; this agreed to, <i>Bilhah</i> conceives, and brings forth a fifth son to <i>Jacob</i> , whom <i>Rachel</i> called <i>Dan</i> -	I	441
2552	1245	1754	<i>Baleus</i> succeeds <i>Belochus</i> as king of <i>Syria</i> , and reigned 52 years -	I	383
2553	1246	1753	<i>Bilhah</i> , <i>Rachel's</i> maid, conceives again, and brings <i>Jacob</i> a sixth son, whom <i>Rachel</i> calls <i>Naphtali</i> -	I	441
2554	1247	1752	<i>Leah</i> seeing the success of her sister, and having ceased sometime from child-bearing herself, takes her maid <i>Zilpah</i> , and desires <i>Jacob</i> would grant her the same favour he had allowed her sister, he consents, the maid conceives, and brings <i>Jacob</i> , a seventh son, whom <i>Leah</i> calls <i>Gad</i> -	I	441
2555	1248	1751	<i>Zilpah</i> , <i>Leah's</i> maid, conceives again, and bears <i>Jacob</i> the eighth son, whom <i>Leah</i> calls <i>Asher</i> -	I	441

Reuben.

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2556	1249	1750	<i>Reuben</i> , <i>Leah's</i> eldest son, having been in the fields, bringing home some mandrakes to his mother, <i>Rachel</i> desires them, and agrees, that <i>Jacob</i> should lie with <i>Leah</i> that night, provided she gave her the mandrakes; all parties agreed, and <i>Jacob</i> lying with <i>Leah</i> , she conceives: And,	I	442
2557	1250	1749	<i>Leah</i> brings forth <i>Jacob's</i> ninth son, (but the fifth of her own body) and calls his name <i>Issachar</i> , (or the man of reward)	I	442
2558	1251	1748	<i>Leah</i> brings forth her sixth son, (<i>Jacob's</i> tenth) and calls his name <i>Zebulun</i>	I	442
2559	1252	1747	<i>Leah</i> bears <i>Jacob</i> a seventh child, (<i>Jacob's</i> eleventh) which being a daughter, she called her name <i>Dinah</i> , after whom she bore no more	I	442
2559	1252	1747	<i>Apis</i> , son of <i>Phoroneus</i> , succeeds his father as king of <i>Argos</i> , from whom the country was called <i>Apia</i> , and the people <i>Apidones</i>	II	352
2561	1254	1745	<i>Rachel</i> , to her great joy, brings forth a son, and called his name <i>Joseph</i> ; this was <i>Jacob's</i> eleventh son	I	442
2564	1257	1742	The <i>Telebines</i> being driven out of <i>Peloponnesus</i> , planted <i>Rhodes</i> , from them called <i>Telechini</i>	III	131
2567	1260	1739	<i>Jacob</i> having served <i>Laban</i> his father-in-law 20 years, and his own separate family being grown numerous, while <i>Laban</i> was gone to his sheep-shearing, moves off with all his house-hold, &c. in his way to <i>Canaan</i> , he has a vision of the angelick host, by whom he is comforted, &c. but hearing his brother <i>Esau</i> was coming towards him, he sends a very great present before him to pave the way, that he might have a friendly reception, &c. in the mean time an angel appears to him in the common shape of a man, and wrestles with him, touches his thigh, and he grows lame: at his departure, <i>Jacob</i> insists upon his blessing, and then the angel changed his name from <i>Jacob</i> to <i>Israel</i> , at a place from that time called <i>Peniel</i>	I	445
2574	1267	1732	<i>Shechem</i> the son of <i>Hamor</i> , falls in love with <i>Dinah</i> <i>Jacob's</i> daughter, and forces her, to revenge which affront, after having prevailed with <i>Hamor</i> and <i>Shechem</i> , to have themselves and their subjects circumcised, the brothers of <i>Dinah</i> enter the city, and put all the males to the sword, while they were yet fore	I	329
2577	1270	1729	As <i>Jacob</i> (now <i>Israel</i>) was marching towards <i>Ephrath</i> , <i>Rachel</i> fell in labour, and was delivered of her second son (<i>Jacob's</i> twelfth) whose name she called <i>Benoni</i> (or the son of my affliction) and died presently after, and was buried at <i>Ephrath</i> ; she being dead, <i>Jacob</i> changed his name from <i>Benoni</i> into <i>Benjamin</i> , (or the son of my right-hand)	I	448
2578	1271	1728	<i>Jacob</i> shewing a particular fondness for <i>Joseph</i> and <i>Benjamin</i> , the other brothers are so much displeased, that they take <i>Joseph</i> and sell him to some travelling merchants, who carried him into <i>Egypt</i> , and sold him to <i>Potiphar</i> , a principal officer belonging to king <i>Pharaoh</i>	I	449
2588	1281	1718	<i>Sparta</i> the capital of the kingdom of <i>Sparta</i> , built by <i>Spartus</i> , son of <i>Phoroneus</i> king of <i>Argos</i>	II	395
2589	1282	1717	<i>Eratus</i> , tenth king of <i>Sicyon</i> , son of <i>Chalcinia</i> , daughter of <i>Leucippus</i> , eighth king of <i>Sicyon</i> , began to reign and reigned 46 years	II	352
2589	1282	1717	<i>Joseph</i> having been enticed by his mistress, <i>Potiphar's</i> wife (one of <i>Pharaoh</i> king of <i>Egypt's</i> great officers of state) to incontinency, he refuses her, whereupon she accuses him of attempting the crime, she would have persuaded him to, in consequence whereof, he is cast into prison; and there interpreting the dreams of two state prisoners that were under displeasure, is greatly taken notice of, &c.	I	450
2590	1283	1716	<i>Isaac</i> now 180 years old, worn out with labour and age, dies, and his two sons, <i>Esau</i> and <i>Jacob</i> , buried him in the cave of <i>Machpelah</i> , with <i>Abraham</i> his father and <i>Sarah</i> his mother	I	448
2591	1284	1715	<i>Pharaoh</i> , king of <i>Egypt</i> , has two extraordinary dreams, which his magicians or wise men, not being able to interpret, <i>Joseph</i> is sent for, who explained them so amply and satisfactorily, that from that moment he's advanced to be the second man in the kingdom, &c.	I	453
2591	1284	1715	This, and the following six years, make up the seven years of extraordinary plenty that <i>Joseph</i> had foretold would happen, in which he laid up immense stores of provisions, making prodigious magazines all over the kingdom	I	453
2594	1287	1712	<i>Argus</i> succeeds <i>Apis</i> as king of <i>Argos</i> , from whom all <i>Peloponnesus</i> was called <i>Argos</i> , he reigned seventy years	II	352
2596	1289	1710	<i>Pelagius</i> , brother of <i>Niobe</i> , is said to have now founded the kingdom of <i>Arcadia</i> , and to be the first king thereof	II	378
2598	1291	1708	This and the following six years, make up the seven years of dreadful famine, according to <i>Joseph's</i> prediction	I	453
2599	1292	1707	Ten of <i>Joseph's</i> brethren goes out of <i>Canaan</i> into <i>Egypt</i> to buy corn, which he lets them have, but detains <i>Simeon</i> , and charges the others, that when they came again, they should bring <i>Benjamin</i> their other brother with them	I	454
2600	1293	1706	The famine compels <i>Jacob</i> to send his sons again, and with them <i>Benjamin</i> , &c. after some artificial trials of them, <i>Joseph</i> makes himself known to them, sends presents to his father, and invites him and all his household into <i>Egypt</i>	I	457
2601	1294	1705	Upon the arrival of <i>Jacob</i> and his family in <i>Egypt</i> , <i>Joseph</i> acquaints <i>Pharaoh</i> with it, who orders them the land of <i>Goshen</i> to dwell in, this happened in the 130th year of <i>Jacob's</i> age	I	457
2604	1297	1702	<i>Altadus</i> , the tenth king of <i>Assyria</i> , began his reign, and reigned 32 years	I	205
2604	1297	1702	According to the set time appointed by <i>Joseph</i> , he told the <i>Egyptians</i> , the following year the land would be fruitful as in common; that the <i>Nile</i> would overflow and restore all things to its usual course, &c. which accordingly happened	I	459
2607	1300	1699	<i>Chebron</i> , king of <i>Egypt</i> , began to reign, and reigned thirteen years	I	230
2617	1310	1689	<i>Jacob</i> now advanced to the 147th year of his age, growing weak and sickly, sends for his son <i>Joseph</i> , tells him his departure (or death) was at hand, and makes him swear not to bury him in <i>Egypt</i> , but in the cave of <i>Machpelah</i> , in the land of <i>Canaan</i> , &c.	I	460

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2617	1310	1689	<i>Joseph</i> brings his two sons to his father <i>Jacob</i> , now on his death bed, and desires him to bless them, which he not only does, but adopts them to be his sons instead of grandsons, and makes them the heads of two tribes, &c.	I	460
2617	1310	1689	<i>Jacob</i> , after having given each of his children his particular blessing, and prophetically declaring what would happen to them, dies, and with the utmost funeral pomp and solemnity is carried and interr'd (according to his desire) in the cave of <i>Macpelab</i> .	I	461
2619	2312	1687	<i>Prometheus</i> , the inventor of striking fire, the use of metals, and other arts and sciences among the <i>Greeks</i> .	II	163
2620	1313	1686	<i>Amenophis</i> king of <i>Egypt</i> began to reign, and reigned 21 years.	I	230
2635	1328	1671	<i>Plemneus</i> , 11 king of <i>Sicyon</i> , son of <i>Eratus</i> , succeeds his father, and reigned 48 years.	II	350
2636	1329	1670	<i>Mamitus</i> , king of <i>Affyria</i> , begins to reign, and reigned 30 years.	I	865
2641	1334	1665	<i>Mephres</i> , <i>Amerfis</i> , or <i>Miphris</i> , king of <i>Egypt</i> , began to reign, and reigned 12 years.	I	230
2653	1346	1653	<i>Mispharmutosis</i> , <i>Nisaphris</i> , or <i>Misphragmutosis</i> , succeeds <i>Mephres</i> as king of <i>Egypt</i> , and reigns 26 years.	I	230
2664	1357	1642	<i>Crius</i> , son of <i>Argus</i> , succeeds his father as king of <i>Argos</i> , and reigns 54 years.	II	352
2666	1359	1640	<i>Mancalus</i> succeeds <i>Mamitus</i> as king of <i>Affyria</i> , and reigns 30 years.	I	865
2671	1364	1635	<i>Joseph</i> , being arriv'd to the 110th year of his age, found himself so weakened with the laborious station he had been in, for now near 80 years, that he foresaw his departure was at hand, and sending for his brethren (being divinely inspired) told them, that God would certainly bring their posterity out of <i>Egypt</i> into the land of <i>Canaan</i> , and charged them absolutely not to leave his bones in <i>Egypt</i> , but to take his body with them, and bury it in the spot of ground that <i>Jacob</i> had given him by his last will, and then gave up the ghost, &c.	I	467
2679	1372	1627	<i>Thomosis</i> succeeds <i>Mispharmutosis</i> as king of <i>Egypt</i> , and reigned 9 years.	I	230
2683	1376	1623	<i>Orthopolis</i> , son of <i>Plemneus</i> , succeeds his father as 12th king of <i>Sicyon</i> , and reigned 63 years.	II	350
2688	1381	1618	The famous <i>Colossus</i> , or groaning statue, called <i>Memnon</i> after the name of him it was made to honour, was now suppos'd to be set up by <i>Amenophis</i> , king of <i>Egypt</i> .	II	316
2688	1381	1618	<i>Amenophis</i> succeeds <i>Thomosis</i> as king of <i>Egypt</i> , and reigns 31 years.	I	230
2696	1389	1610	<i>Spherus</i> succeeds <i>Mancalus</i> as king of <i>Affyria</i> , and reigns 20 years.	I	865
2716	1409	1590	<i>Mamitus</i> succeeds <i>Spherus</i> as king of <i>Affyria</i> , and reigns 30 years.	I	865
2717	1410	1589	<i>Epidaurus</i> , a famous sea-port in <i>Argos</i> , built (by <i>Apollo</i> or <i>Hercules</i>)	II	396
2718	1411	1588	<i>Phorbas</i> , son of <i>Crius</i> , succeeds his father as king of <i>Argos</i> , and reigned 35 years.	II	352
2719	1412	1587	<i>Horus</i> succeeds <i>Amenophis</i> as king of <i>Egypt</i> , builds the famous city of <i>Mempbis</i> , (others say 'twas built by <i>Memet</i> their first king, Vol. I. 176.) and several others, and having reign'd 38 years, dies.	I	230
2725	1418	1581	<i>Miriam</i> born, (sister of <i>Moses</i>) the daughter of <i>Amram</i> , the son of <i>Kobath</i> , grandson of <i>Levi</i> by his wife <i>Jochabed</i> .	I	477
2726	1419	1580	<i>Hemon</i> , son of <i>Pelasgus</i> , becomes the first king of <i>Theffaly</i> , so called from his son <i>Theffalus</i> .	II	381
2728	1421	1578	<i>Phorbas</i> , son of <i>Lapithas</i> , reign'd at <i>Opbinfa</i> (now <i>Rhodes</i>) having first clear'd the country of serpents.	III	129
2732	1425	1574	<i>Aaron</i> , brother of <i>Miriam</i> and <i>Moses</i> , son of <i>Amram</i> , born.	I	477
2733	1426	1573	<i>Phorab</i> king of <i>Egypt</i> , publishes an edict under the severest penalties, that every Hebrew male child, should be drown'd in the <i>Nile</i> as soon as it was born.	I	477
2735	1428	1571	<i>Moses</i> , brother to <i>Miriam</i> and <i>Aaron</i> , son of <i>Amram</i> is born, and conceal'd three months, after which time, being forced to expose the child in a cradle, or ark of bulrushes to the mercy of the waters, <i>Pharoah's</i> daughter (<i>Thermuthis</i> by name) attended with her maids, coming to the river <i>Nile</i> to bathe, seeing him to be a beautiful child, order'd him to be put to nurse, (through ignorance to his own mother) and as he grew up, caus'd him to be instructed in all the learning of the <i>Egyptians</i> .	I	477
2739	1432	1567	<i>Cydon</i> , king of <i>Crete</i> , began to reign	III	164
2746	1439	1560	<i>Spartus</i> succeeds <i>Mamitus</i> as king of <i>Affyria</i> , and reigns 40 years.	I	865
2746	1339	1560	<i>Marathus</i> succeeds <i>Orthopolis</i> as 13th king of <i>Sicyon</i> , and reigned 30 Years.	II	350
2749	1442	1557	<i>Cecrops</i> , the first king of <i>Athenis</i> , by birth an <i>Egyptian</i> , brought into <i>Attica</i> a colony of <i>Saits</i> , gathered his people into 12 tribes, dedicated his city to <i>Minerva</i> , and set up the <i>Areopagus</i> , or high court of judicature. He is said to be the first that deified <i>Jupiter</i> , and offered sacrifices to him as the supreme Deity.	II	362
2753	1446	1553	<i>Tripoas</i> succeeds <i>Phorbas</i> as king of <i>Argos</i> , and reigned 46 years. (His son <i>Xanthus</i> first planted or peopled <i>Lesbos</i> , a famous <i>Greek</i> Island. Vol. III. 205)	II	352
2756	1449	1550	<i>Lycaon</i> , son of <i>Pelasgus</i> , reign'd in <i>Arcadia</i> , built <i>Lycosura</i> in Mount <i>Lycæus</i> , instituted the <i>Lycaean Games</i> , where he is said to offer up living Children to <i>Jupiter</i> , &c.	II	378
2757	1450	1549	<i>Amencheres</i> succeeds <i>Horus</i> as king of <i>Egypt</i> , and reigns 12 years	I	230
2759	1452	1547	The <i>Curetes</i> and <i>Corybantes</i> built <i>Cnosus</i> in <i>Crete</i> . (Note w. Vol. II. 298.)	II	299
2760	1453	1546	<i>Scamander</i> from <i>Crete</i> came into <i>Phrygia</i> . (See the Note of this Page.)	II	311
2761	1454	1545	<i>Lesbos</i> , planted by <i>Macar</i> , one of the 7 brethren called <i>Heliades</i> , that built <i>Jalissus</i> in <i>Rhodes</i> .	III	205
2769	1462	1537	<i>Achoris</i> succeeds <i>Amencheres</i> in the kingdom of <i>Egypt</i> , and reigns 9 years.	I	230
2775	1468	1531	<i>Moses</i> seeing the cruelties used towards his countrymen, particularly by the task-masters, one day killed one of them, and buried him in the sand, upon which he was forced to fly into <i>Midian</i> , or <i>Arabia Petra</i> .	I	479
2775	1468	1531	<i>Moses</i> coming into <i>Midian</i> , (where he is supposed either to have composed or purchased the book of <i>Job</i>) <i>Jethro</i> , the priest or prince there, taking a liking to him, gave him <i>Zipporah</i> , one of his daughters to wife, with whom he lived forty years in her father's house, &c.	I	302
2. 76	1469	1530	<i>Caleb</i> , the son of <i>Jephunneh</i> born, (who was one of the 12 persons <i>Moses</i> sent to view the land of <i>Canaan</i> .)	I	526

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2776	1469	1530	Marathus succeeds Marathus in the kingdom of Sicyon, and reigns 20 years.	II	350
2778	1471	1528	Cenchres succeeds Achoris in the kingdom of Egypt, and reigns 16 years.	I	230
2785	1478	1521	Eryfichon, son of Cecrops, begins building Apollo's Temple at Delus, which was afterwards enlarged and embellished at the common charge of all the states of Greece.	III	228
2788	1481	1518	Deucalion's Flood in Thessaly, (Note N)	I	95
2794	1487	1512	Acherres succeeds Cenchres as king of Egypt, and reigns 8 years.	I	230
2796	1489	1510	Echyreus, or Coronus, succeeds Marathus in the kingdom of Sicyon, and reigns 55 years.	II	350
2799	1492	1507	Cranaus succeeds Cecrops in the kingdom of Athens, and reigns 9 years, (from his Daughter Arthis dying a virgin, the country was called Attica.)	II	362
2799	1492	1507	Crotopus succeeds Triopas as king of Argos, and reigns 21 years.	II	352
2801	1494	1505	Apteras, son of Cydon, (by some called the Saturn of Crete) reigns as king in Crete.	III	164
2802	1495	1504	Ccherres succeeds Acherres in the kingdom of Egypt, and reigns 15 years.	I	230
2804	1497	1502	Teucer, the son of Scamander, reign'd in Phrygia over that People, from him called Tencri, afterwards Trojans.	II	311
2808	1501	1498	Amphibylon, son-in-law to Cranaus, began to reign (having first expelled his father-in-law, who thereupon fled to Eleusis, and reign'd there) and reigned as king of Athens (or Attica) 10 years.	II	362
2812	1505	1494	Cadmus having built a city, and called it Cadmea, and afterwards Thebes, became the king thereof, and reigned 62 Years.	I	409
2815	1508	1491	God appears to Moses in a burning bush upon mount Horeb, which, though visibly all in flames, not a leaf is either burned or scorched, and commands him to return back into Egypt, to do miracles before Pharaoh, and to deliver his people.	I	484
2815	1508	1491	This year the Passover was instituted and kept, and the people thrust out of Egypt.	I	500
2816	1509	1490	In the first six months of this year the tabernacle was set up, and in it the Ark of the Covenant, and the Altar, &c.	I	523
2816	1509	1490	The Decalogue delivered by Moses, &c.	I	524
2816	1509	1490	Aaron and his Sons consecrated and appointed for the performance of the priest's office for ever.	I	523
2816	1509	1490	Nadab and Abihu, Aaron's two eldest sons, struck dead for presuming to burn incense in the tabernacle with strange fire.	I	524
2816	1509	1490	Quails sent to satisfy the people's hunger for 30 days.	I	525
2816	1509	1490	The messengers sent by Moses to view the land, report it, if not impossible, very hard and difficult to conquer, whereupon a general murmuring arose among the people, which so displeased God, that by Moses he assur'd them, that not one above 20 years of age should go into the promis'd land, except Joshua and Caleb.	I	526
2817	1510	1489	Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, three principal persons, rebel against Moses, whose un- dutifulness is rewarded by the earth's bursting asunder and swallowing up them, their families, and substance.	I	530
2817	1510	1489	The Priesthood confirmed to Aaron and his family, by a miraculous budding of Aaron's rod.	I	530
2817	1510	1489	Armais (called by the Greeks Danaus) son of Ccherres, succeeded his father in the kingdom of Egypt, and reigned there 5 years.	I	230
2817	1510	1489	Lacedæmon (or Sparta) built by Lacedæmon, son of Jupiter, &c.	II	395
2818	1511	1488	Erichthonius, son of Vulcan, drives out Amphibylon, and becomes king of Athens in his stead, and reigns 50 years.	II	362
2820	1513	1486	Arcas, the reputed son of Jupiter, succeeds Nydimus, and calls his kingdom Arcadia.	II	376
2820	1513	1486	Sthenelus, son of Crotopus, succeeds his father in the kingdom of Argos, and reigns 11 years.	II	352
2822	1515	1484	Rameses (called by the Greeks Egyptus, from whom the land took its name of Egypt, being before called Aeria, or Actia, from the river called first Ætus, then Egyptus, and now Nile) ejected his brother Armais, and became king of Egypt in his stead, and reigned 68 years.	I	230
2826	1519	1480	Amyntas, king of Assyria, begins to reign, and reigns 45 years.	I	865
2826	1519	1480	Dardanus, son-in-law to Teucer, reigns as king of Troy for 31 years, in which time he builds a capital city called Dardania.	II	311
2831	2524	1475	Gelanor, the son of Sthenelus, after he had reigned some time, yielded up the kingdom of Argos to Danaus, who was come thither from Egypt in a ship of 50 Oars, being the first ship in Greece, where before that time they only used Ratis. Gelanor reigned 59 years.	II	352
2834	2527	1472	Bufris (son of Neptune by Lybya) now exercis'd his cruelty upon strangers.	I	211
2835	1528	1471	Oenotrus, youngest son of Nydimus, led the first colony out of Greece into Italy, where he reigned as king.	IV	416
2838	2531	1468	Clymenus comes from Crete into Elis, and there held the first Olympick games. (For an Explanation of them see Note K, p. 509. Vol. IV.)	I	264
2844	2537	1462	Tat, son of Trismegistus, son of Hermes, flourish'd.	II	350
2851	2544	1455	Corax, son of Coronus, succeeds to the throne of Sicyon, which he enjoyed 30 years.	II	123
2854	2547	1452	The temple at Delphos burnt by Xerxes.	I	532
2854	1547	1452	Miriam, the sister of Aaron and of Moses, dies.	I	531
2854	1547	1452	The Israelites defeated by Arad, one of the Canaanitish kings,	I	532
2854	1547	1452	Moses smites with his rod, brings water out of a rock to satisfy the thirst and murmuring of the people; but being vex'd, and using some cholerick expressions, God tells him that he and Aaron should only see, but not enter the promis'd land.	I	532
2854	1547	1452	Moses commanded to take Aaron and his son Eleazer to the top of mount Nebo, and in the sight of all the people strip the father of, and clothe the son with, the priestly robes; this done, Aaron died immediately, and was buried so secretly, that the place of his interment was never publicly known.	I	288
2854	1547	1452	Balak, king of Moab, sends for Balaam, son of Beor, a famous prophet or diviner, to curse Israel.	I	288
2855	1548	1451	Moses goes to the top of mount Nebo (having first settled all the publick and private matters relating to him) and from thence views the promis'd land, and presently ex-		

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2855	1548	1451	pired, being 120 years old, and was succeeded by <i>Joshua</i> in the command of the army, and as head of the civil government, <i>Joshua</i> being now 93 years old. —	I	543
			<i>Joshua</i> sends two spies to <i>Jericho</i> , who are saved by the artifice of <i>Rahab</i> , to whom they promise safety and protection by an oath; at their return they make an encouraging report, and tell <i>Joshua</i> all they had done. —	I	551
			On the 10th day of <i>Nisan</i> (our 30th April) all <i>Israel</i> passed over the river <i>Jordan</i> into the land of <i>Canaan</i> . —	I	554
			The 11th of the month <i>Nisan</i> the whole camp was circumcised, that ceremony having been omitted for some years past. —	I	554
			The 14th of the month <i>Nisan</i> (our 4th May) the passover was celebrated, which had been now discontinued near 40 years. —	I	555
			<i>Jericho</i> besieged, and by being only gone round with some priests, &c. sounding rams horns, the 7th day the whole army making a grand shout in concert, the city walls fall down, and the besiegers enter and put every creature to death, except <i>Rahab</i> . —	I	556
2857	2550	1449	<i>Erichonius</i> , son of <i>Dardanus</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Troy</i> , and reigned 75 years, he is reported to be the richest king of his time. —	II	311
2860	1553	1446	<i>Europa</i> , daughter of <i>Phœnix</i> , (brother of <i>Cadmus</i>) is stole from <i>Sarepta</i> by the <i>Curetes</i> , in their ship called the <i>Bull</i> , and carried to their king <i>Asterius</i> , by whom she had three sons, <i>Minos</i> , <i>Rhadamanthus</i> , and <i>Sarpædon</i> . —	I	408
2861	1554	1445	<i>Joshua</i> , having conquered <i>Canaan</i> , and settled the districts of land each tribe was to have, call'd the heads or governors of <i>Israel</i> together, with'd them carefully to observe the laws <i>Moses</i> had given them, and particularly caution'd them against idolatry, died in the 110th year of his age, and was buried at <i>Timnath-serah</i> in mount <i>Ephraim</i> , a part of his own inheritance. —	I	738
2868	1561	1438	<i>Pandion</i> , son of <i>Amphilyon</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Athens</i> , and reigned 40 years. —	II	362
2871	1564	1435	<i>Belochus</i> , king of <i>Affyria</i> , begins his reign, and reigned 25 years. —	I	865
2874	1567	1432	<i>Polydorus</i> , son of <i>Cadmus</i> , under his guardian <i>Nycteus</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Thebes</i> , and reigns a short time, and leaves the kingdom to his son <i>Labdacus</i> (which he had by <i>Nycteis</i> , daughter of <i>Nycteus</i>) under the guardianship of his grandfather <i>Nycteus</i> . —	I	409
2876	1569	1430	<i>Bacchus</i> son of <i>Jupiter</i> , by <i>Semele</i> daughter of <i>Cadmus</i> , famous for finding out the art of making wine: He built <i>Nysa</i> in <i>India</i> , was reputed a God whilst alive, but was not solemnly deified till 100 years after his death. —	III	371
2881	1574	1425	The burning of <i>Ida</i> . —	II	350
2881	1574	1425	<i>Epopeus</i> succeeds <i>Corax</i> as king of <i>Sicyon</i> , where he reigned 35 years. —	II	352
2881	1574	1425	<i>Lyneus</i> , king of <i>Argos</i> , succeeds <i>Danaus</i> to the crown: He is said to be the only person out of 50 brothers that escaped being murdered by his wife; for his great skill in mining, he is said to see thro' stone walls. —	II	389
2882	1575	1424	King <i>Tereus</i> from <i>Thrace</i> , settled at <i>Daulis</i> above <i>Chæronæa</i> . —	II	739
2887	1580	1419	<i>Athens</i> has war with <i>Thebes</i> , in which <i>Tereus</i> having been very serviceable, <i>Pandion</i> king of <i>Athens</i> bestows his daughter <i>Progne</i> upon <i>Tereus</i> , as a reward for his valour, by whom he had a son called <i>Irys</i> . —	I	742
2893	1586	1413	<i>Micah</i> , a great man in the tribe of <i>Ephraim</i> , erects a chappel, puts up images, and encourages idolatry. —	I	865
2896	1589	1410	<i>Cusharishathaim</i> , king of <i>Mesopotamia</i> , subdues and keeps <i>Israel</i> in subjection 8 years. —	II	390
2896	1589	1410	<i>Belleperes</i> , son of <i>Bellochus</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Affyria</i> , and reigns 30 years. —	II	166
2896	1589	1410	<i>Corinth</i> built by <i>Sisyphus</i> (Son of <i>Æolus</i>); its antient name was <i>Ephyra</i> . —	II	340
2899	1592	1407	<i>Minos</i> I. reign'd in <i>Crete</i> , and built <i>Cydonia</i> . —	I	740
2899	1592	1407	<i>Side</i> in <i>Cilicia</i> , built by <i>Orion</i> , which he called by the name of his wife <i>Side</i> , the daughter of <i>Danaus</i> . —	I	135
2900	1593	1406	The inhabitants of <i>Gibbeath</i> in the tribe of <i>Benjamin</i> , having express'd their desires in a brutish manner, to have a <i>Levite</i> delivered to them who happened to be travelling that way, so abus'd the woman that was with him, that she was found dead at the door in the morning: this occasioned a civil war, &c. —	I	742
2900	1593	1406	<i>Cinyras</i> , son of <i>Sandochus</i> , reign'd at <i>Byblus</i> , the first city that was built in <i>Phœnicia</i> . —	II	362
2904	1597	1402	<i>Othniel</i> , the son of <i>Kenna</i> , <i>Caleb's</i> youngest brother, is chose the first judge in <i>Israel</i> , raises an army, and marches against <i>Cusharishathaim</i> , overthrows him, and delivers <i>Israel</i> to their full liberty. —	I	614
2908	1601	1398	<i>Erechtheus</i> , son of <i>Pandion</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Athens</i> , the people whereof till now were called <i>Cecropii</i> , but from henceforward <i>Athenians</i> , and the race of kings from this time <i>Erechthidae</i> ; he reigned 50 years. —	I	402
2910	1603	1396	The first jubilee among the <i>Jews</i> observed. —	I	409
2912	1605	1394	<i>Cinyras</i> built <i>Old Paphos</i> in <i>Cyprus</i> , and married king <i>Pygmalion's</i> daughter. —	II	350
2914	1607	1392	<i>Labdacus</i> , king of <i>Thebes</i> , killed in a tumult, leaving <i>Laius</i> his son (1 year old) under the guardianship of <i>Nectæus</i> his grandfather, who died next year of grief for the loss of his daughter <i>Antiope</i> . —	II	350
2915	1608	1391	<i>Epopeus</i> , king of <i>Sicyon</i> , in the 35th year of his reign received <i>Antiope</i> , then with child and flying from <i>Thebes</i> from her father <i>Nyctæus</i> , his brother <i>Lycus</i> in revenge made war against him, in which war <i>Epopeus</i> was killed. —	I	409
2916	1609	1390	<i>Lamedon</i> succeeds his brother <i>Corax</i> in the kingdom of <i>Sicyon</i> , and reigned 40 years. —	I	409
2916	1609	1390	<i>Lycus</i> , brother to <i>Labdacus</i> , succeeds in the guardianship of his nephew <i>Laius</i> king of <i>Thebes</i> , for the space of twenty years, in the first whereof <i>Lamedon</i> his brother delivers up <i>Antiope</i> and her two twin sons, <i>Amphion</i> and <i>Zethus</i> ; <i>Lycus</i> us'd her cruelly, and expoied the twins, but in vain. —	II	305
2922	1615	1384	<i>Phryxus</i> and <i>Helle</i> (from whom the <i>Hellepont</i> had its name) went to <i>Colchis</i> in a ship called the ram. —	II	352
2922	1615	1384	<i>Abas</i> , son of <i>Lyneus</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Argos</i> . He built <i>Abæ</i> in <i>Pœcis</i> , from whence came the <i>Abantes</i> in <i>Eubœa</i> , he reigned 23 years. —		

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2922	1615	1384	<i>Ceres</i> came to <i>Athens</i> , and both civilized the people and taught them husbandry, being the first that regularly planted corn there, and lent it out by <i>Triptolemus</i> her favourite to be dispersed to other countries.	I	421
2925	1618	1381	<i>Triptolemus</i> plants corn in <i>Raria</i> at <i>Eleusis</i> , for the first time.		
2926	1619	1380	The rape of <i>Ganymede</i> .		
2926	1619	1380	<i>Lamprides</i> succeeds <i>Bellepares</i> in the kingdom of <i>Affyria</i> , where he reigned 30 years.	I	865
2930	1623	1376	This year is fix'd for the beginning of the 19 <i>Egyptian</i> dynasty of 194 years, in which they began to have kings of their own, the first whereof was <i>Setbes</i> , who reigned 55 years.	I	230
2932	1625	1374	<i>Adenis</i> (the son of <i>Cyniras</i> and his wife <i>Metharme</i>) born, called also <i>Thammuz</i> or <i>Shammuz</i> , and <i>Ofiris</i> .	I	402
2932	1625	1374	<i>Tros</i> , the son of <i>Erichthonius</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Teneri</i> , which from this time forward was called <i>Troy</i> ; he reigned 60 years.	II	311
2936	1629	1370	<i>Amphion</i> and his brother <i>Zeibus</i> rebels, and in a battle having kill'd <i>Lycus</i> , the guardian of <i>Laius</i> king of <i>Thebes</i> , is set up by the people, and reigned 35 years: He named the metropolis of the kingdom <i>Thebes</i> , which he inclosed with a wall, &c.	II	373
2943	1636	1363	<i>Tantalus</i> , king of <i>Sipylus</i> in <i>Phrygia</i> , before called <i>Mæonia</i> , was as famous for his great riches as he was infamous for his notorious wickedness.	II	297
2944	1637	1362	<i>Eglon</i> , king of <i>Moab</i> , &c. invades the eastern parts of <i>Israel</i> , takes <i>Jericho</i> , and obliges them to pay tribute 18 years.	I	291
2945	1638	1361	<i>Prætus</i> , son of <i>Abas</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Argos</i> , and reigns 17 years.	II	352
2956	1649	1350	<i>Sicyon</i> succeeds <i>Lamedon</i> in the kingdom of <i>Sicyon</i> ; from him the city <i>Ægiale</i> was called <i>Sicyon</i> . He reigned forty-five years.	II	350
2958	1651	1348	<i>Sofares</i> succeeds <i>Lamprides</i> as king of <i>Affyria</i> , and reigned 20 years.	I	865
2958	1651	1348	<i>Cæcrops</i> II. son of <i>Erechtheus</i> , succeeds his father as king of <i>Athens</i> , and reigns 40 years. It was now agreed that the <i>Erechthidae</i> should be kings, and the <i>Emolpidæ</i> priests.	II	362
2961	1654	1345	<i>Prætus</i> is driven out of his kingdom of <i>Argos</i> (where he had reigned 17 years) by his brother <i>Acrifius</i> , and flies to his wife's father, <i>Jabates</i> king of <i>Lycia</i> , who accommodated the matter, that from this time the kingdom was divided into two parts, the one called <i>Mycenæ</i> , the other by its old name <i>Argos</i> .	II	354
2962	1655	1344	<i>Acrifius</i> , brother of <i>Prætus</i> , is made the first king of <i>Mycenæ</i> , and reigned 31 years.	II	354
2962	1655	1344	<i>Prætus</i> is made king of <i>Argos</i> , as divided, (which contained <i>Midea</i> , <i>Heræum</i> , and <i>Tiryns</i>), and reigned 14 years.	II	354
2962	1655	1344	<i>Ebud</i> , the son of <i>Gera</i> , a <i>Benjamite</i> , and famous for his left-hand dexterity, is chose second judge or principal governor in <i>Israel</i> ; he going with the annual present or tribute, gets acceſſion to <i>Eglon</i> king of <i>Moab</i> , privately stabs him, makes his escape, raises an army, and frees his country, and under him <i>Israel</i> enjoyed peace 40 years.	I	742
2974	1667	1332	<i>Amphion</i> king of <i>Thebes</i> , his family, and multitudes of the people, died of the great plague that at this time raged there.	II	373
2975	1668	1331	<i>Laius</i> , son of <i>Labdacus</i> , succeeds <i>Amphion</i> (who had invaded his right) in the kingdom of <i>Thebes</i> , and reigned 55 years.	I	409
2975	1668	1331	The city of <i>Ilium</i> , or <i>Ilium</i> , built by <i>Tros</i> king of <i>Troy</i> , who also called this city <i>Troy</i> after his own name, and <i>Ilium</i> from his son <i>Ilus</i> ; it was seated on a rising ground near mount <i>Ida</i> , about 5 miles from the shore.	II	305
2976	1669	1330	<i>Janus</i> , or <i>Saturnus Albanus</i> , becomes the first king of the <i>Aborigines</i> in <i>Italy</i> , who reigned 33 years.	II	261
2976	1669	1330	<i>Bacchus</i> deified, and <i>Pentheus</i> the son of <i>Echriom</i> was torn in pieces by his mother and sisters for profaning his rites.	III	372
2976	1669	1330	<i>Prætus</i> king of <i>Argos</i> died.	II	354
2977	1670	1329	<i>Acrifius</i> , king of <i>Mycenæ</i> , sets up the court of the <i>Amphictyons</i> , or general court of <i>Greece</i> , at <i>Delfos</i> , and endowed them with very great powers and privileges.	II	388
2977	1670	1329	<i>Megapenthes</i> , son of <i>Prætus</i> , who was king at <i>Tiryns</i> , changes it for <i>Argos</i> , where his sons <i>Argeus</i> and <i>Anaxagoras</i> reigned after him, and with him in two third of the kingdom. <i>Melampus</i> , son of <i>Amythaon</i> and brother of <i>Bias</i> .	II	354
2978	1671	1328	<i>Lampares</i> succeeds <i>Sofares</i> in the kingdom of <i>Affyria</i> , and reigns 30 years.	I	865
2978	1671	1328	The city of <i>Crete</i> built. (See Note K)	III	164
2984	1677	1322	<i>Pelops</i> , son of <i>Tantalus</i> , a little king in <i>Phrygia</i> , failing in an attempt upon <i>Ilium</i> , fled into <i>Greece</i> , and being wife, valiant, and rich, acquired the greatest part of the country which was afterwards (from him) called <i>Peloponnesus</i> .	I	407
2985	1678	1321	<i>Ramses</i> succeeds <i>Setbes</i> in the kingdom of <i>Egypt</i> , and reigns 66 years.	I	230
2986	1679	1320	<i>Shamgar</i> , the son of <i>Anath</i> , was the third judge among the <i>Israelites</i> ; he is said to have slain 600 <i>Philistines</i> with an ox-goad.	I	742
2992	1685	1314	<i>Perseus</i> , son of <i>Acrifius</i> , killed his father, king of <i>Mycenæ</i> , and changed <i>Argos</i> with <i>Megapenthes</i> for <i>Tiryns</i> . He built the city of <i>Mycenæ</i> for his seat, and reigned 32 years.	II	355
2992	1685	1314	<i>Ilus</i> , the son of <i>Tros</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Troy</i> , where he reigned 54 years.	II	311
2992	1685	1314	<i>Apollo</i> and his mother <i>Latona</i> are said to come from <i>Hyperborei</i> to <i>Delfi</i> ; <i>Olen Hy perboreus</i> was his first prophet there	III	228
2998	1691	1308	<i>Pandion</i> II. succeeded <i>Cæcrops</i> as king of <i>Athens</i> , and reigned 25 years: In this king's reign the sacrifice of man's flesh and <i>Lycæa</i> were shewn (perhaps revived) in <i>Arcadia</i> .	II	362
2999	1692	1307	In memory of king <i>Oenomaus</i> , whom he had driven out of <i>Pisa</i> , <i>Pelops</i> held his <i>Olympic</i> , which by his son <i>Atræus</i> was revived 100 years after.	II	406
3001	1694	1305	<i>Polybius</i> succeeds <i>Sicyon</i> in the kingdom of <i>Sicyon</i> , and reigned 40 years.	II	350
3001	1694	1305	<i>Jabin</i> , king of <i>Hazor</i> , conquers <i>Israel</i> , and sorely harrasses them for twenty years, &c.	I	335
3005	1698	1301	The 11 th lustration at <i>Athens</i> .	IV	457
3008	1701	1298	<i>Panyas</i> succeeds <i>Lampares</i> in the kingdom of <i>Affyria</i> , and reigned 45 years.	I	865

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3009	1702	1297	<i>Cyzicus</i> of <i>Cyzicum</i> , built; this city was the capital of an island of the <i>Propontis</i> of the same name, which <i>Alexander</i> the Great join'd to the continent by two great bridges.	II	323
3009	1702	1297	<i>Picus</i> or <i>Jupiter Albanus</i> , the second king of the <i>Aborigines</i> , began to reign, and reigned 37 years.	II	261
3010	1703	1296	<i>Melanthus</i> , partner with <i>Megapenthes</i> in the kingdom of <i>Argos</i> , dies.	II	354
3012	1705	1294	<i>Marfyas</i> , liv'd at <i>Celæna</i> , a city in <i>Phrygia Major</i> ; he invented the bagpipe, with which he challeng'd <i>Apollo</i> , and for his insolence was slay'd.	II	292
3012	1705	1294	<i>Oedipus</i> , the son of <i>Laius</i> king of <i>Thebes</i> born, and expos'd on mount <i>Cithæron</i> , and found by the shepherd's of the king of <i>Sicyon</i> , and by him brought up.	II	374
3012	1705	1294	<i>Bias</i> , brother of <i>Megapenthes</i> , and one of his partners in the kingdom of <i>Troy</i> , dies. (Note D)	II	382
3018	1711	1288	<i>Miletus</i> built by <i>Sarpedon</i> .	II	756
3021	1714	1285	<i>Deborah</i> , a prophetess, the wife of <i>Lapidoth</i> , raises an army of 10,000 <i>Israelites</i> , with which <i>Barak</i> her general engages and conquers <i>Sisera</i> , <i>Jabin's</i> general, who in his flight goes to the tent of <i>Heber</i> , where was <i>Jael</i> , <i>Heber's</i> wife, who gave him refreshment, and he being wearied lay down to sleep, at which time <i>Jael</i> drove a large nail into his temples, and so killed him. This victory obtain'd <i>Israel</i> a forty years peace.	I	336
3023	1716	1283	<i>Ægeus</i> , the son of <i>Pandion</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Athens</i> , and reigns 48 years.	II	362
3025	1718	1281	<i>Orpheus</i> , <i>Museus</i> , and <i>Linus</i> flourish'd; the last of the three was the master of <i>Hercules</i> .	II	384
3025	1718	1281	The three brothers <i>Electro</i> , <i>Meflor</i> , and <i>Stibnelus</i> , reign as kings of <i>Mycenæ</i> in common.	II	355
3028	1721	1278	<i>Eupilamus</i> invented the anchor.		
3030	1723	1276	<i>Laius</i> , king of <i>Thebes</i> , going to the oracle at <i>Delpbos</i> to enquire after his son, is killed by his son <i>Ordipus</i> ignorantly, who was also come thither to enquire who was his father. &c.	II	374
3030	1723	1276	<i>Creon</i> , brother of <i>Jocasta</i> the wife of <i>Laius</i> , succeeds his brother-in-law in the kingdom of <i>Thebes</i> , and reigns about ten years.	II	373
3031	1724	1275	<i>Meflor</i> , one of the three kings of <i>Mycenæ</i> , dies.	II	355
3032	1725	1274	<i>Electro</i> , another of the three kings of <i>Mycenæ</i> , dies.	II	355
3032	1725	1274	<i>Hercules</i> , the son of <i>Amphytrion</i> , born; said to be the son of <i>Jupiter</i> by <i>Alcmena</i> , wife of <i>Amphytrion</i> . (Note H)	II	355
3032	1725	1274	<i>Stibnelus</i> becomes king of <i>Mycenæ</i> alone, his two brothers <i>Meflor</i> and <i>Electro</i> being dead, who were partners with him in the kingdom, and reigned alone 8 years.	II	355
3036	1729	1270	<i>Androgeus</i> , the son of king <i>Minos</i> , kill'd at <i>Athens</i> , as it was thought, by the procurement of king <i>Ægeus</i> , upon which follow'd war, plague, and famine: The oracle being consulted, bid the <i>Athenians</i> satisfy king <i>Minos</i> for his son; he demanded, that every 8th year, at his <i>Ludi</i> held in memory of his son, there should be sent him 7 young men and 7 virgins, to be given as rewards to the victors at these sports.	II	364
3037	1730	1269	The first colony of the <i>Aborigines</i> goes out of <i>Italy</i> into <i>Sicily</i> five years before the last Colony.	IV	414
3039	1732	1267	<i>Jason</i> and his <i>Argonauts</i> went now from <i>Iolchus</i> over the <i>Euxine</i> sea to <i>Colchis</i> , in search of the golden fleece, from whence this is called the <i>Argonautic</i> expedition.	II	383
3040	1733	1266	<i>Atræus</i> and his brother <i>Thyestes</i> (sons of <i>Pelops</i>) reign'd in <i>Mycenæ</i> 65 years.	II	355
3040	1733	1266	<i>Oedipus</i> married his mother <i>Jocasta</i> , at that time not knowing she was his mother, and became king of <i>Thebes</i> .	II	355
3042	1735	1264	The second colony goes out of <i>Italy</i> into <i>Sicily</i> , called the <i>Ligures</i> , or <i>Siculi</i> , from their leader <i>Siculus</i> .	IV	416
3042	1735	1264	<i>Melagar</i> killed the <i>Calydonian</i> boar.	II	410
3043	1736	1263	The first <i>Pythia</i> , or games in honour of <i>Apollo</i> for his killing the serpent <i>Python</i> , were now held by <i>Adrastus</i> .	II	382
3046	1739	1260	<i>Faunus</i> , or <i>Mercurius Albanus</i> , 3d king of the <i>Aborigines</i> , begins to reign, and reigned 44 years.	IV	414
3046	1739	1260	<i>Laomedon</i> succeeds <i>Ilus</i> in the kingdom of <i>Troy</i> , and reigned 36 years.	II	315
3051	1744	1255	<i>Amenophis</i> succeeds <i>Ramses</i> in the kingdom of <i>Egypt</i> , and reign'd 40 years.	I	230
3053	1746	1253	<i>Sofarmes</i> succeeds <i>Panyas</i> in the kingdom of <i>Affyria</i> , and reigned 19 years.	I	865
3054	1747	1252	The first tribute-children sent to <i>Crete</i> .	II	364
3054	1447	1252	<i>Tyre</i> built; the metropolis of <i>Phenicia</i> , formerly called <i>Sor</i> , and commonly the daughter of <i>Sidon</i> .	I	393
3061	1754	1245	<i>Zebab</i> and <i>Zalmunnab</i> , two confederate kings of <i>Midian</i> , waged so cruel a war against the <i>Israelites</i> that they were not able to stand against them, but forced to fly into holes and corners, &c. this continued seven years.	I	743
3062	1755	1244	The second tribute of children sent to <i>Crete</i> .	II	364
3062	1755	1244	The <i>Arcadians</i> enter <i>Italy</i> , and settle there.	IV	414
3068	1761	1238	God raised up <i>Gideon</i> , who by stratagem frightned and discomfited the host of the confederate princes with the slaughter of 120,000 men, and many prisoners, particularly the two kings, <i>Zebab</i> and <i>Zalmunnab</i> , who were by him put to death; took immense spoil, and delivered <i>Israel</i> by destroying four kings, &c. so that they had peace 40 years, that is, all the remainder of <i>Gideon's</i> government.	I	743
3070	1763	1236	At the third sending of the <i>Athenian</i> children to <i>Minos</i> king of <i>Crete</i> , <i>Theseus</i> , son of <i>Ægeus</i> king of <i>Athens</i> , went to fight the champion that <i>Minos</i> had appointed, called <i>Minotaur</i> , whom <i>Theseus</i> killed, by the help of <i>Ariadne's</i> daughter of <i>Minos</i> , and brought her away with him to <i>Athens</i> .	III	167
3071	1764	1235	<i>Theseus</i> , son of <i>Ægeus</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Thebes</i> , and reigned 30 years; this first year was called the year of <i>Theseus</i> and the <i>Minotaur</i> .	I	409
3072	1765	1234	<i>Carthage</i> , a capital city of <i>Africa</i> , built by <i>Elisa</i> , called also <i>Dido</i> , sister of <i>Pygmalion</i> king of <i>Tyre</i> .	I	415

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3072	1765	1234	Mitrus succeeds Sofarmis in the kingdom of Assyria, and reigns 21 years.	I	865
3073	1765	1234	The Pan-athenæica and Iphimæia revived by Theseus.	II	391
3076	1769	1230	Hercules having killed Augeas, held an Olympick Agon at Elis.	II	401
3078	1771	1228	Oedipus is turn'd out of the kingdom of Thebes, and his son Orestes and his brother Polynices reign jointly in his stead.	II	374
3080	1773	1226	The Nemea instituted by Adrastus, &c. sacred to Jupiter and Hercules.	II	251
3081	1774	1225	Orestes and Polynices die, and Creon (as guardian of Laodamas, son of Orestes,) governs the kingdom of Thebes.	I	409
3081	1774	1225	The Theban War.	II	438
3082	1775	1224	Primus (also called Podaces) the son of Laomedon, succeeds his father in the kingdom of Troy, and reigned 40 years.	II	411
3083	1776	1223	Phæstus, the son of Hercules, succeeds Janiscus in the kingdom of Sicyon; he reigned 8 years and went to Crete.	II	350
3084	1777	1222	Hercules (held his Olympic for Pelops) kills himself, by jumping into the Flames of a great fire, he had made upon mount Oeta.	I	401
3090	1783	1216	Latinus, the son of Faunus, succeeds his father as king of the Aborigines, and reigns 36 years: Some say he was the son of Hercules by a daughter of Faunus.	II	261
3091	1784	1215	Epigoni, having killed Laodamas king of Thebes, gave the kingdom to Thersander son of Polynices.	I	409
3091	1784	1215	Adrastus left the kingdom of Argos to his son Egialeus, and went himself to Sicyon.	II	352
3091	1784	1215	Ammenemes succeeds Amenophes in the kingdom of Egypt, and reigns 26 years.	I	230
3091	1784	1215	Adrastus (coming from Troy) succeeds Phæstus in the kingdom of Sicyon (who was gone to Crete) and reigned 4 years.	II	350
3093	1786	1213	The Amazonian War.	II	366
3095	1788	1211	Polyphides succeeds Adrastus in the kingdom of Sicyon, and reigns 31 years.	II	350
3098	1791	1208	Eurystheus, king of Mycenæ, and five of his sons, killed in battle with Theseus king of Athens.	II	365
3098	1791	1208	Atræus succeeds Eurystheus in the kingdom of Mycenæ, and reigns 6 years.	II	352
3099	1792	1207	Tautanes succeeds Mitrus in the kingdom of Assyria, and reigned 32 years.	I	865
3100	1793	1206	Herophile (called also Sibylla Troica) priestess of Apollo Smintheus, lived about this time.	V	79
3101	1794	1205	Menestheus succeeds Theseus in the kingdom of Athens, and reigns 23 years.	II	362
3104	1797	1202	Hercules and Esculapius deified.	III	212
3105	1798	1201	Agamemnon, son of Atræus, becomes king of Mycenæ, and reigns 18 years.	II	352
3107	1800	1199	Eli made high priest, though of the house of Ithamar.	I	754
3107	1800	1199	Abimelech, Gideon's bastard-son, sets himself up for a judge or king in Shechem, and puts his father's 70 sons to death.	I	749
3108	1801	1198	After Gideon's death, Israel fell to worship Baal-berith, the God of Berith.	I	749
3108	1801	1198	The Rape of Helen by Paris, which occasioned the famous ten years Trojan war, and the destruction of Troy.	II	366
3110	1803	1196	The Shechemites revolt from Abimelech's government, he conquers them, and burns 1000 persons in the temple of Baal-berith, whither they flew for safety, then razed the tower and city. Thebez, a city of Judah, had also revolted, whither he went and besieged it; but a woman, by throwing a great stone upon him, wounded him so sorely, that he commanded Zebul his servant to kill him: Tholar the son of Phuah, the son of Dodo, of the tribe of Issachar, succeeds Abimelech, who reigned 23 years as judge of north and east Israel.	I	749
3112	1805	1194	Laodamas, king of Thebes, went to Aulis to meet the Greek princes going against Troy.	II	371
3113	1806	1193	The Trojan war began with the Greeks.	II	318
3113	1806	1193	King Laodamas of Thebes is killed by Telephus king of Mysia, where the Greeks by mistake first landed.	II	319
3113	1806	1193	Theseus king of Athens goes with Agamemnon to the siege of Troy, and dies in his return after it was ended, at Melas.	II	320
3113	1808	1193	Tisamenus becomes king of Thebes.	I	409
3117	1810	1189	Thmores began to reign in Egypt, and reigned 7 years.	I	865
3118	1811	1188	Castor and Pollux deified.	II	402
3121	1814	1185	Penelus Spartus, guardian of Tisamenus king of Thebes, killed in the Trojan war by Eurypylus. Tisamenus had a son called Autefion, who after his father's death, by the direction of the oracle, went to the Heraclida in Doris, and left his kingdom to Damafichthon, son of Opbeltas and grandson of Penelus; next after Damafichthon reigned Ptolemeus, last of all reigned Xanthus.	I	409
3122	1815	1184	At night between the 23d and 24th of Thargelion, viz. between the 11th and 12th of June, after midnight, the Greeks entered and took Troy, when king Priam and all his children (except two or three that were made captives) were killed; thus Troy was taken 408 years before the first Olympiad.	II	321
3122	1815	1184	Aeneas enters into Thrace.	II	322
3123	1816	1183	Aeneas goes from Thrace into Sicily.	II	322
3123	1816	1183	Agamemnon killed by Egisthus, who reigned at Mycenæ.	II	357
3123	1816	1183	Cynipus dies, by means whereof all Argos comes to Cyllabarus, son of Scheneus.	II	352
3124	1817	1182	The 20th Egyptian dynasty begins, being the 3d of the Diospolites for 178 years; Diospolis was Thebes, and there king Polytus and his wife Alcandra are said to have entertained Menelaus and Helen.	I	230
3124	1817	1182	Demophon, son of Theseus, succeeded his father in the kingdom of Athens, and in his return from the siege of Troy, he was cast on the coast of Thrace: Queen Phillis received him kindly, but having got his kingdom, he neglected her, upon which she strangled herself. He reigned 33 years.	II	362
2124	1817	1182	Aeneas, with 22 ships and 600 men, goes from Sicily to Laurentum, king Latinus being at war with the Ardeans, begg'd his assistance, which being granted, he gave him 500 acres of land to settle in.	IV	419

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3125	1818	1181	<i>Latinus</i> is killed in the war against the <i>Rutuli</i> , by king <i>Turnus</i> .	IV	419
3125	1818	1181	<i>Aeneas</i> succeeds <i>Latinus</i> as king of the <i>Latins</i> , marries <i>Lavinia</i> the daughter of <i>Latinus</i> , and calls the city which he had now finish'd after her name <i>Lavinium</i> , and then reigns by her right.	IV	419
3126	1819	1180	<i>Pelafgus</i> becomes king of <i>Sicyon</i> , and reigns 20 years.	II	350
3128	1821	1178	<i>Anchises</i> , father of <i>Aeneas</i> , dies.	IV	420
3129	1822	1177	<i>Aeneas</i> , king of the <i>Latins</i> dies, and is succeeded by his son <i>Ascanius</i> , who reigned 38 years in <i>Latium</i> .	IV	420
3130	1823	1176	<i>Agisthus</i> king of <i>Mycenæ</i> , and his wife <i>Clytemnestra</i> , killed by <i>Orestes</i> , son of <i>Agamemnon</i> , who reigned 15 years.	II	357
3130	1823	1176	<i>Orestes</i> having lost his wife <i>Hermione</i> , daughter of <i>Menelaus</i> , (who in his return from <i>Troy</i> took her with him to <i>Sparta</i>) runs mad.	II	357
3131	1824	1175	<i>Tantius</i> , or <i>Teutius</i> , succeeds <i>Tantanes</i> in the kingdom of <i>Affyria</i> , and reigns 40 years.	I	869
3131	1824	1175	<i>Orestes</i> being cured of his madness, went to <i>Athens</i> to be tried for the murder of <i>Agisthus</i> and <i>Clytemnestra</i> , and was acquitted by the vote of <i>Minerva</i> .	II	403
3131	1824	1175	While <i>Orestes</i> was gone to <i>Athens</i> to take his trial, <i>Aletes</i> , the son of <i>Agisthus</i> , set himself up for king of <i>Mycenæ</i> , for which <i>Orestes</i> kills him. Soon after he got <i>Argos</i> , <i>Cyllabarus</i> being dead without heir.	II	403
3131	1824	1175	<i>Jeſſe</i> , (the son of <i>Obed</i>) the father of king <i>David</i> , born.		
3133	1826	1173	<i>Ibela</i> dies, and is succeeded by <i>Jair</i> , who judged north and east <i>Israel</i> 22 years; a man of vast possessions, having 30 cities, which he gave to his 30 sons.	I	750
3135	1828	1171	During this time the <i>Israelites</i> were in bondage to the <i>Ammonites</i> for 18 years.	I	750
3135	1828	1171	<i>Eli</i> now judged south and west <i>Israel</i> 40 years, during which time they were oppressed by the <i>Philistines</i> .	I	754
3135	1828	1171	<i>Aeneas</i> was worshipped under the name of <i>Jupiter Indiges</i> , by the <i>Latins</i> .	IV	420
3135	1828	1171	<i>Sampson</i> born. In this year the 18 years oppression of north and east <i>Israel</i> by the <i>Ammonites</i> began, and the 40 years of south and west <i>Israel</i> by the <i>Philistines</i> .	I	755
3141	1834	1165	<i>Hophni</i> and <i>Phineas</i> , the two sons of <i>Eli</i> the high priest, and judge of south and west <i>Israel</i> , make the people, by their extraordinary wickedness, forsake and abhor the worship of God.	I	755
3142	1835	1164	<i>Pyrrius</i> is killed at <i>Delfi</i> , and so <i>Orestes</i> recovers his wife <i>Hermione</i> .	III	799
3143	1836	1163	<i>Tisamenus</i> , the son of <i>Orestes</i> , by his father's consent reigns as king at <i>Mycenæ</i> , and afterwards he gave him <i>Argos</i> also.	II	352
3143	1836	1163	<i>Menelaus</i> dies, his natural sons set up at <i>Lacedæmon</i> , but were dispossessed by <i>Orestes</i> , who drove them out and reign'd in right of his wife.	II	400
3146	1839	1160	<i>Zeuxippus</i> succeeds <i>Pelafgus</i> in the kingdom of <i>Sicyon</i> , and reigned 32 years. With him died the kingly government, it being upon his demise changed into the government of the priests of <i>Apollo Carnæus</i> .	II	35
3149	1842	1157	<i>Jephtha</i> , in a quarrel with the tribe of <i>Benjamin</i> , cut off 42,000 of their men.	I	753
3152	1845	1154	<i>Cleodæus</i> , the son of <i>Hyllus</i> , kill'd in the third attempt of the <i>Heracleidæ</i> to get <i>Poloponnesus</i> .		
3153	1846	1153	<i>Alba Longa</i> , built by <i>Ascanius</i> , the son of <i>Aeneas</i> king of <i>Lavinium</i> , which he made the capital of his dominions, and his chief residence the last 12 of his 38 years reign.	IV	421
3154	1847	1152	God rais'd up <i>Sampson</i> , who judged south and west <i>Israel</i> 20 years, &c. in partnership with <i>Eli</i> .	I	754
3154	1847	1152	<i>Jephtha</i> , the bastard-son of <i>Gilead</i> , quarrelling with the <i>Ammonites</i> about some of his land, assembles an army, goes against and overcomes the <i>Ammonites</i> , and with a prodigious spoil regains his country's liberty: Upon his return his daughter goes out to meet and congratulate him, for which she is sacrific'd, in performance of a vow he had rashly made before the battle. He judged north and east <i>Israel</i> 6 years.	I	751
3157	1850	1149	<i>Oxyntes</i> , the son of <i>Demophon</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Athens</i> , and reigns 12 years.	II	362
3158	1851	1148	The Temple of <i>Diana</i> at <i>Ephesus</i> , the most magnificent structure in the world, burnt by <i>Erostratus</i> .	II	753
3159	1852	1147	<i>Jephtha</i> dies, and is succeeded by <i>Ibzan</i> as judge of north and east <i>Israel</i> , who continued in that station 7 years.	I	753
3164	1857	1142	The first <i>Agon</i> of the <i>Lycæa</i> held on the top of mount <i>Lycæus</i> , the <i>Arcadian Olympus</i> : The victors were rewarded with brazen arms.		
3166	1859	1140	<i>Sylvius Posthumus</i> succeeds his grand father <i>Aeneas</i> as king of <i>Latium</i> , and reigned 29 years: From him the kings of his race were called <i>Silvii</i> , upon account of his mother <i>Lavinia</i> retiring into a wood to grieve for his father <i>Aeneas</i> , during which time he was born there. Now the <i>Latins</i> and <i>Albans</i> join'd both their Dominions into one kingdom.	IV	421
3166	1859	1140	<i>Elon</i> succeeds <i>Ibzan</i> , and judged North and East <i>Israel</i> 10 years.	I	753
3169	1862	1137	<i>Aphidas</i> , son of <i>Oxyntes</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Athens</i> , and reigns but one year, being killed by <i>Thymetes</i> , his bastard brother.	II	362
3170	1863	1136	<i>Thymetes</i> , the bastard son of <i>Oxyntes</i> , succeeds <i>Aphides</i> in the kingdom of <i>Athens</i> , and reigned 8 years, and was the last of the <i>Erectidæ</i> .	II	362
3171	1864	1135	<i>Samuel</i> becomes known to all <i>Israel</i> as a prophet, by foretelling <i>Eli</i> the high priest's death: He was a second <i>Moses</i> for 40 years, in all extraordinary cases, over <i>Israel</i> , and probably now over south and west <i>Israel</i> in all ordinary cases.	I	7, 6
3171	1864	1135	<i>Thimæus</i> succeeds <i>Tantius</i> in the kingdom of <i>Affyria</i> , and reigns 30 years.	I	805
3174	1867	1132	<i>Sampson</i> pulls down the temple of <i>Dagon</i> at <i>Gaza</i> , and destroys both himself and a vast number of <i>Philistines</i> by the fall thereof.	I	349
3174	1867	1132	The <i>Israelites</i> engaged by the <i>Philistines</i> , and lose 30,000 men, and the ark at <i>Shiloh</i> , which was carried by the <i>Philistines</i> to <i>Ashdod</i> .	I	756
3174	1867	1132	<i>Eli</i> the high priest, being now 98 years of age, hearing of the ark being taken, fall backwards in a swoon, breaks his neck and dies, upon which <i>Samuel</i> succeeds him as judge of south and west <i>Israel</i> , and <i>Ahitub</i> as high priest.	I	756

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3175	1868	1131	The <i>Philistines</i> send back the ark with presents; upon its coming to <i>Bethshemesh</i> , the people's curiosity prompts them to look into it, for which 5070 is said to be struck dead; from thence it was carried to <i>Kiriath Jearim</i> , and lodged in the house of <i>Abinadab</i> , where it continued 20 years.	I	757
3176	1169	1130	<i>Abdon</i> succeeds <i>Efon</i> in the judges seat of north and east <i>Israel</i> , and sat therein 8 years.	I	753
3177	1870	1129	<i>Melanthus</i> king of <i>Athens</i> kills <i>Xanthus</i> king of <i>Thebes</i> in a duel, and upon the death of <i>Xanthus</i> the kingdom of <i>Thebes</i> devolves into a democracy.	II	375
3178	1871	1128	<i>Melanthus</i> drove <i>Thymetes</i> out of the kingdom of <i>Athens</i> , and reigned there 37 years.	II	362
3178	1871	1128	<i>Archelaus</i> , priest of <i>Apollo Carneus</i> , reigns as chief magistrate in <i>Athens</i> one year.	II	350
3179	1872	1127	<i>Automedon</i> succeeds <i>Archelaus</i> in the magistracy of <i>Athens</i> for one year.	II	350
3180	1873	1126	<i>Phoclytus</i> succeeds <i>Automedon</i> in the magistracy of <i>Athens</i> , and holds it four years.	II	350
3181	1874	1125	<i>Pentbilus</i> , base son of <i>Orestes</i> , reigned 22 years in <i>Mycenæ</i> .	II	357
3182	1875	1124	The <i>Bæoti</i> being driven out of <i>Arne</i> by the <i>Theffali</i> , went to live in <i>Cadmei</i> , which they called <i>Bæotia</i> after their own name.	II	370
3182	1875	1124	The <i>Æolian</i> migration under <i>Pentbilus</i> from <i>Aulis</i> , the famous sea port in <i>Bæotia</i> , where the <i>Grecian</i> chiefs met and swore the destruction of <i>Troy</i> .	II	371
3184	1877	1122	<i>Euneus</i> , priest of <i>Apollo Carneus</i> , is made chief magistrate of <i>Athens</i> , in which station he continued 6 years.	II	350
3184	1877	1122	<i>Abdon</i> dies, upon which, 'tis supposed, <i>Samuel</i> become judge over north and east as well as south and west <i>Israel</i> , in all cases, both ordinary and extraordinary.	I	753
3190	1883	1116	<i>Theonimus</i> succeeds <i>Euneus</i> in the magistracy of <i>Athens</i> , and holds it nine years.	II	350
3195	1888	1111	<i>Æneus Sylvius</i> succeeds his father <i>Sylvius Posthumus</i> in the kingdom of <i>Latium</i> , and reigned 31 years.	IV	421
3195	1888	1111	By <i>Samuel's</i> prayers, sacrifices, and encouragement, the <i>Israelites</i> engage the <i>Philistines</i> at <i>Mizpeh</i> , and obtain a complete victory, by which they are delivered from the yoke of bondage they had long groan'd under, and a stone called <i>Ebenezer</i> set up in memory thereof.	I	757
3199	1892	1107	<i>Amphigyes</i> succeeds <i>Theonimus</i> as chief magistrate of <i>Athens</i> , and holds it 18 years.	II	350
3200	1893	1106	<i>Orestes</i> dies at <i>Tegæ</i> , <i>Egyptus</i> being then king of <i>Messenia</i> .	I	865
3201	1894	1105	<i>Dercilus</i> succeeds <i>Tbinius</i> in the kingdom of <i>Affryia</i> , and reigns 40 years.	I	865
3201	1894	1105	<i>Ariomachus</i> , son of <i>Gleodens</i> of the <i>Heracidae</i> , asking the oracle the way of entering into <i>Peloponnesus</i> , was answered, by the <i>Straights</i> , which he interpreting to be the <i>Isthmus</i> , was slain in the attempt; his sons <i>Temenus</i> , <i>Cresphontes</i> , and <i>Aristodemus</i> , enquiring again, was answer'd, by the streights of the sea; and then they built ships at <i>Naupactias</i> , formerly <i>Ætolia</i> in <i>Elis</i> .	II	359
3201	1894	1105	<i>Carnia</i> were now instituted to <i>Apollo</i> , upon <i>Hippote's</i> killing a prophet of <i>Apollo Carneus</i> , which was followed by a plague, and he banish'd for 10 years.	II	359
3202	1895	1104	The <i>Heracidae</i> (or descendants from <i>Hercules</i>) returns after two years, and oust the <i>Pelopidae</i> .	II	359
3202	1895	1104	<i>Temenus</i> , &c. having finish'd their ships, they passed the <i>Straights</i> , and landed at <i>Rbium Promontory</i> , where meeting with <i>Oxylus</i> , king of <i>Ætolia</i> , he became their guide and commander, and in a short time made themselves masters of <i>Peloponnesus</i> .	II	359
3204	1897	1102	<i>Eurythenes</i> and <i>Procles</i> , sons of <i>Aristodemus</i> , reigned jointly at <i>Lacedæmon</i> .	II	360
3204	1897	1102	Now the <i>Heracidae</i> shar'd the country by lot thus; <i>Temenus</i> had <i>Argos</i> and <i>Mycenæ</i> ; <i>Cresphontes</i> , <i>Messenia</i> , and the sons of <i>Aristodemus</i> , <i>Lacedæmon</i> .	II	360
3211	1904	1095	<i>Oxylus</i> would have had <i>Elis</i> , but is refus'd.	II	360
3211	1904	1095	<i>Samuel</i> sacrifices as high priest of the <i>Jews</i> .	I	758
3211	1904	1095	<i>Saul</i> the son of <i>Kyb</i> , of the tribe of <i>Benjamin</i> , anointed by <i>Samuel</i> the first king in <i>Israel</i> , over whom he reigned 40 years.	I	758
3211	1904	1095	This year <i>Nabash</i> , king of the <i>Ammonites</i> , besieged <i>Jahesh Gilead</i> ; the people desirous to capitulate, are answered they must consent to have each man his right eye put out; they send word to <i>Saul</i> , who comes with a great army and relieves them.	I	759
3212	1905	1094	<i>Jonathan</i> , son of king <i>Saul</i> , surprizes and defeats the <i>Philistines</i> at <i>Geba</i> .	I	760
3213	1906	1093	<i>Saul</i> , by the fearfulness of the people, was reduced so low, that not a smith was to be found in <i>Israel</i> ; he assumes the priests office, for which <i>Samuel</i> foretells the loss of his kingdom to his family.	I	761
3213	1906	1093	<i>Abia</i> officiates as high priest of the <i>Jews</i> .	I	762
3215	1908	1091	<i>Codrus</i> , son of <i>Melanthus</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Athens</i> , and reigns 21 years, in which time the <i>Iones</i> being driven out of their country, come to <i>Athens</i> , are kindly received, and allowed to settle there.	II	362
3216	1609	1090	<i>Abiathar</i> , the son of <i>Abimelech</i> , born.		
3217	1910	1089	<i>Charidemus</i> held the magistracy one year in <i>Sicyon</i> , then <i>Phalces</i> took the city, and made it a part of <i>Argos</i> , and from this time the <i>Sicyonians</i> were called <i>Dorians</i> .	II	350
3218	1911	1088	The <i>Æoles</i> , consisting of a mixture of <i>Achæi</i> and others, brought by <i>Pentbilus</i> into <i>Thrace</i> in 1124, now under his youngest son <i>Archelaus</i> move out of <i>Thrace</i> into <i>Asia</i> , and fix'd themselves about <i>Disceuleum</i> in <i>Cyzicena</i> , and as far as the river <i>Granicus</i> .	II	323
3218	1911	1088	Another colony of the <i>Æolians</i> , under <i>Cometes</i> son of <i>Tesamenes</i> , and <i>Clenas</i> son of <i>Doratis</i> , both descendants of <i>Agamemnon</i> , planted themselves about mount <i>Phricus</i> in <i>Locris</i> .	II	763
3221	1914	1085	<i>David</i> , the son of <i>Jesse</i> born, who afterwards became king of <i>Israel</i> and <i>Judah</i> .		
3227	1920	1079	In the 27th year of <i>Dercilus</i> , king of <i>Affryia</i> , the <i>Amazons</i> and <i>Cimmerians</i> make an incursion into <i>Asia</i> together.	II	303

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3232	1925	1074	<i>Altes</i> , son of <i>Hippotes</i> and grandson of <i>Hercules</i> , expels the race of <i>Syphis</i> from the government of <i>Corinth</i> , and becomes king of <i>Corinth</i> , and reigned there 38 years: From him his descendants called themselves <i>Heraclidae</i> .	II	392
3232	1925	1074	<i>Erefus</i> in <i>Pityusa</i> , built by the <i>Pbœnicians</i> .	VII	308
3235	1928	1071	<i>Zadock</i> , son of <i>Abitub</i> heir of <i>Eleazer</i> , born.	I	791
3236	1929	1070	<i>Codrus</i> , king of <i>Athens</i> , falling a voluntary victim for his country in the war with the <i>Peloponnesians</i> , the people abolish kings and choose archons for life.	II	362
3236	1929	1070	<i>Medon</i> , son of <i>Codrus</i> , is chose first archon of <i>Athens</i> , and continued in that station 20 years.	II	362
3236	1929	1070	After the death of <i>Codrus</i> was the great remove out of <i>Athens</i> , under his son <i>Nileus</i> , of the <i>Iones</i> , together with the other sons of <i>Codrus</i> : <i>Nileus</i> settled at <i>Mileus</i> , and liv'd and died there.	II	369
3237	1930	1069	<i>Syndus</i> , <i>Jahffus</i> , and <i>Camirus</i> , in the island of <i>Rhodes</i> , built by <i>Altbemenes</i> son of <i>Cliffus</i> .	III	129
3238	1931	1068	<i>Mileus</i> built by the <i>Iones</i> , in the <i>Lesser Asia</i> .	II	369
3241	1934	1065	<i>Eupates</i> succeeds <i>Dercilus</i> in the kingdom of <i>Affyria</i> , where he reigns 38 years.	I	865
3243	1936	1063	<i>Saul</i> having destroy'd the <i>Amalekites</i> deceitfully, is rejected by God, and <i>Samuel</i> ordered to anoint <i>David</i> , the youngest son of <i>Jesse</i> , to be his successor.	I	763
3243	1936	1063	<i>David</i> engages and kills <i>Goliath</i> , upon which the <i>Israelites</i> falls upon, overthrows and quells the <i>Philistines</i> , with a great slaughter.	I	764
3244	1937	1062	<i>Saul</i> grows melancholy through vexation, is relieved by <i>David's</i> musical performances, but at last endeavours to kill <i>David</i> , upon which he flies to the deserts of <i>Juda</i> .	I	765
3246	1939	1060	<i>Mephibosheth</i> , the son of <i>Jonathan</i> born.	I	778
3246	1939	1060	<i>Abia</i> dies, and his brother <i>Abimelech</i> is high priest, whom <i>Saul</i> in a fury, for having succour'd <i>David</i> at <i>Nob</i> , kills, with all his family, except his son <i>Abiathar</i> , who saved himself by flying to <i>David</i> , and afterwards succeeded his father as high priest.	I	767
3246	1939	1060	<i>Procles</i> having adopted <i>Sous</i> for his son, who reigned (likewise in partnership in the kingdom of <i>Lacedæmon</i> , which had now two kings) after <i>Procles's</i> death 34 years.	II	938
3247	1940	1059	In the the reign of king <i>Agis</i> was the third remove of the <i>Æoles</i> , under <i>Grays</i> the youngest son of <i>Echelatus</i> , they possessed themselves of all the country between <i>Ionia</i> and the <i>Myf</i> , now called <i>Æolis</i> .	II	288
3247	1940	1059	<i>Euristhenes</i> dies, and his son <i>Agis</i> succeeds him in the partnership of the kingdom of <i>Lacedæmon</i> , but reign'd only one year: From him the descendants of <i>Euristhenes</i> were called <i>Agidae</i> . The <i>Helotæ</i> rebelled against him upon account of tax he imposed on them, for which he reduced them into a state of perpetual villenage.	II	400
3248	1941	1058	<i>Echestrates</i> , son of <i>Agis</i> , succeeds his father as partner in the kingdom of <i>Lacedæmon</i> , which he held for the space of 35 years.	II	400
3248	1941	1058	The prophet <i>Samuel</i> dies.	I	768
3249	1942	1057	The <i>Iones</i> distributed themselves to make other plantations.	II	763
3249	1942	1057	<i>Myus</i> and <i>Priens</i> built, by <i>Nileus</i> , &c. <i>Codrus's</i> son.	II	369
3250	1943	1056	<i>David</i> flies to <i>Ziklag</i> to avoid <i>Saul's</i> fury, from whence he makes frequent excursions against the enemies of <i>Israel</i> , and totally destroys men, women, and children.	I	769
3251	1944	1055	<i>Ziklag</i> plunder'd and burnt by the <i>Amalekites</i> ; <i>David</i> pursues after the <i>Amalekites</i> , slew their army, and brought back the spoil.	I	770
3251	1944	1055	King <i>Achish</i> goes against <i>Israel</i> , upon which <i>Saul</i> (being terrify'd) goes to consult the witch of <i>Endor</i> .	I	770
3251	1944	1055	King <i>Achish</i> engages <i>Saul</i> upon mount <i>Gilboa</i> , where he and his three eldest sons are slain.	I	772
3251	1944	1055	Upon <i>Saul's</i> death the 12 tribes divide, and <i>Judab</i> receives <i>David</i> , and the other tribes set up <i>Ishbosheth</i> , <i>Saul's</i> only son that was living, and they reign together 7 years and 6 months.	I	773
3252	1945	1054	<i>Grays</i> passes over with the greatest part of his army into the isle of <i>Lesbos</i> .	II	305
3252	1945	1054	<i>Mytilene</i> in <i>Lesbos</i> built.	III	204
3253	1946	1053	<i>Magnesia</i> (at mount <i>Sipylus</i>) planted.	II	381
3253	1946	1053	War begun between <i>Joab</i> and <i>Abner</i> .	I	773
3254	1947	1052	<i>Cume</i> in <i>Italy</i> built by <i>Hippocles</i> and <i>Megasthenes</i> .	II	606
3256	1949	1050	<i>Acastus</i> , son of <i>Medon</i> , declared archon of <i>Athens</i> , which he enjoyed 36 years.	II	362
3257	1950	1049	<i>Androclus</i> , son of <i>Codrus</i> , led his great colony to <i>Ephesus</i> , where having drove out the <i>Leleges</i> and <i>Lydi</i> , he added it to <i>Samos</i> and other neighbouring isles: The <i>Samiens</i> flying from <i>Samos</i> planted themselves in <i>Dardania</i> , and called it <i>Samo-Torace</i> .	III	237
3258	1951	1048	<i>Ishbosheth</i> being murdered by <i>Baana</i> and <i>Rechab</i> , as he lay on his bed they cut off his head, and carry'd it to <i>David</i> , who having ordered them to be put to death, becomes king over all <i>Israel</i> .	I	774
3258	1951	1048	<i>Joab</i> kills <i>Abner</i> treacherously.	I	774
3261	1954	1045	<i>Hadar-Exer</i> , king of <i>Zobab</i> , so totally twice routed by <i>David's</i> army, under the command of <i>Joab</i> , that his very kingdom was dissolved.	I	382
3261	1954	1045	The ark brought up from <i>Keriatb-Jearim</i> , first to the house of <i>Obed-Edom</i> , where it staid three months, and then was placed in <i>Sion</i> , upon which occasion <i>David</i> compos'd the 68th psalm.	I	775
3262	1955	1044	The first meeting of the cities or states at the <i>Pan-Ionia</i> , or common council of the <i>Ionian</i> colonies, held at mount <i>Mycæ</i> .	III	189
3262	1055	1044	<i>Toi</i> king of <i>Hamath</i> sends his son with great Presents to <i>David</i> king of <i>Israel</i> .	I	391
3263	1056	1043	<i>Hiram</i> , with his father <i>Abiblus</i> , reign in <i>Tyre</i> together 19 years.	I	774
3263	1056	1043	<i>Abimaam</i> , son of <i>Zadock</i> heir of <i>Eleazer</i> , born.		
3266	1959	1040	<i>Edom</i> subdued by <i>Joab</i> , <i>David's</i> general	I	314

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3268	1961	1038	<i>Nabab</i> , king of the <i>Ammonites</i> dies, and war is made with his son and successor <i>Hanun</i> , for shamefully treating <i>David's</i> ambassadors, &c. ———	I	778
3270	1963	1036	<i>Ixion</i> succeeds <i>Metes</i> in the kingdom of <i>Corinth</i> , and reigned there 38 years. ———	II	390
3271	1964	1035	<i>Rabba</i> , the metropolis of the <i>Ammonites</i> , besieged and taken, where <i>Uriah</i> , the husband of <i>Bathsheba</i> was slain. ———	I	779
3272	1965	1034	<i>David</i> reproved by <i>Nathan</i> for taking <i>Uriah</i> , the <i>Hittite's</i> wife, being sensibly smote with the heinousness of his crime, in a very penitential mood composes the 51st psalm. ———	I	779
3273	1966	1033	<i>Solomon</i> is born to <i>David</i> by his wife <i>Bathsheba</i> . ———	I	780
3276	1969	1030	<i>Ammon</i> killed by the command of his brother <i>Abshom</i> , for having deflowered his sister <i>Thamar</i> two years before. ———	I	781
3277	1970	1029	<i>Latinus</i> dies, and his succeeded in the kingdom of <i>Albany</i> (or <i>Latium</i>) by his son <i>Alba</i> , who reigned 39 years. ———	IV	421
3278	1971	1028	<i>Eurypon</i> , son of <i>Sous</i> , upon the death of his father succeeds him in the partnership of the kingdom of <i>Lacedæmon</i> , which he held seven years: From him the descendants of <i>Procles</i> were call'd <i>Euryponidae</i> . ———	II	400
3279	1972	1027	<i>Laofthene</i> succeeds <i>Eupales</i> in the kingdom of <i>Affyria</i> , and reigns 45 years. ———	I	805
3279	1972	1327	<i>Abshom</i> after three years returns to <i>Jerusalem</i> from <i>Geshur</i> , whither he flew upon his killing his brother <i>Ammon</i> , having been protected by his grandfather <i>Tamar</i> king of <i>Geshur</i> , and lived two years privately. ———	I	391
3281	1974	1025	<i>Abshom</i> being restored to favour, conspires against his father <i>David</i> . ———	I	783
3182	1975	1024	<i>Abiblus</i> , joint king of <i>Tyre</i> dies, and <i>Hiram</i> his son reigned alone 34 years, was great with <i>David</i> and <i>Solomon</i> . ———	I	783
3283	1976	1023	<i>Abshom</i> having collected an army, breaks out into open rebellion against his father king <i>David</i> , and is defeated and slain by <i>Joab</i> . ———	I	786
3283	1976	1023	<i>Echestratus</i> dies, and is succeeded by his son <i>Labotas</i> in the partnership of the kingdom of <i>Lacedæmon</i> , which he enjoyed 37 years. In his reign the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> first declared war against the <i>Greeks</i> . ———	II	400
3284	1977	1022	<i>Amasa</i> , king <i>David's</i> general, killed treacherously by <i>Joab</i> ; and <i>Sheba</i> , who was in open rebellion, beheaded by the people of <i>Abel</i> , and his head thrown over the wall of the city to <i>Joab</i> , who thereupon rais'd the siege, and the rebellion ceased. ———	I	827
3285	1978	1021	Famine brought upon the <i>Israelites</i> 3 years, for <i>Saul's</i> killing the <i>Gibeonites</i> . ———	I	788
3285	1978	1021	<i>Eurypon</i> dies, and his next son <i>Prytanis</i> succeeds him in the partnership of the kingdom of <i>Lacedæmon</i> , which he enjoyed 35 years. ———	II	400
3289	1982	1017	<i>David</i> , out of pride, numbers his people, and thereby offends God, who sends the prophet <i>Gad</i> to rebuke him, and give him his choice of three sorts of punishments; <i>David</i> chooses the plague, of which 70,000 die in three days. ———	I	789
3290	1983	1016	<i>Rheboam</i> , the son of <i>Solomon</i> born. ———		
3291	1984	1015	The two books of <i>Samuel</i> supposed to be wrote by the prophets <i>Nathan</i> and <i>Gad</i> about this time. ———		
3291	1984	1015	<i>David</i> dies, and is succeeded in the whole kingdom of <i>Israel</i> by his son <i>Solomon</i> , who reigned 40 years. ———	I	792
3292	1985	1014	<i>Adonijah</i> and <i>Joab</i> both put to death for rebellion against <i>Solomon</i> , and <i>Abiathar</i> degraded from being high priest. ———	I	792
3292	1985	1014	<i>Archippus</i> succeeds <i>Acastus</i> (as archon or chief magistrate) in <i>Athens</i> , and reigned 19 years. ———	II	362
3292	1985	1014	<i>Abiathur</i> deprived of the high priesthood, for conspiring with <i>Adonijah</i> against <i>Solomon</i> , and <i>Zadock</i> put into his place. From this time the high priesthood went out of the family of <i>Itamar</i> , and returned into the family of <i>Eleazar</i> , wherein it continued, according to what had been foretold, 1 <i>Sam.</i> xi. 35. ———	I	792
3294	1987	1012	The Temple founded by <i>Solomon</i> , 480 years the <i>Israelites</i> departure out of <i>Egypt</i> . ———	I	795
3295	1988	1011	<i>Shimei</i> put to death for breaking his confinement. ———	I	793
3301	1994	1005	The famous temple at <i>Jerusalem</i> built by <i>Solomon</i> king of <i>Israel</i> , finish'd. ———	I	795
3302	1995	1004	The first Jewish temple at <i>Jerusalem</i> dedicated by king <i>Solomon</i> , with the utmost solemnity and magnificence, on the 8th day of the 7th month of the sacred year, and which was the first month of the civil year, answering to the latter end of our <i>October</i> . ———	I	796
3302	1995	1004	The 21st dynasty of the <i>Egyptians</i> began, called the dynasty of the <i>Tamites</i> , the first king whereof was called <i>Semendis</i> , who reigned 26 years. ———	I	230
3308	2001	998	<i>Agelaus</i> succeeds <i>Ixion</i> in the kingdom of <i>Corinth</i> , and reigned 38 years. ———	II	390
3311	2004	995	<i>Therippus</i> succeeds <i>Archippus</i> in the archonship of <i>Athens</i> , which dignity he held 41 years. ———	II	362
3311	2004	995	<i>Homer</i> , the famous <i>Greek</i> poet, was brought up by <i>Phemius</i> of <i>Smyrna</i> , who had married <i>Homer's</i> mother. ———	III	108
3316	2009	990	<i>Balbaxer</i> , son of <i>Hiram</i> , succeeded his father in the kingdom of <i>Tyre</i> , and reigned 7 years. ———	I	414
3316	2009	990	<i>Abimaaz</i> succeeds his father <i>Zadock</i> in the high priesthood of the <i>Jews</i> . ———		
3316	2009	990	<i>Medon</i> , king of <i>Argos</i> dies, and is succeeded in his kingdom by <i>Lacidaus</i> . ———	II	352
3316	2009	990	<i>Capetus</i> succeeds <i>Alba</i> in the kingdom of <i>Latium</i> , and reigns 26 years. ———	IV	421
3320	2013	986	<i>Samos</i> built, and <i>Smyrna</i> enlarged into the form of a city. ———	III	187
3320	2013	986	<i>Doryssus</i> or <i>Doryssæus</i> , son of <i>Labotas</i> , succeeds his father in the partnership of the kingdom of <i>Lacedæmon</i> , and reigns 29 years. ———	II	400
3320	2013	986	<i>Eunomus</i> , son of <i>Prytanis</i> , succeeds his father in the partnership of the kingdom of <i>Lacedæmon</i> , and reigned 79 years. ———	II	400
3323	2016	983	<i>Abdraustus</i> , son of <i>Balbaxer</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Tyre</i> , and reigns 9 years. ———	I	414
3324	2017	982	<i>Pyritiades</i> succeeds <i>Laofthene</i> in the kingdom of <i>Affyria</i> , and reigns 30 years. ———	I	865
3326	2019	980	<i>Solomon</i> drawn into idolatry, out of complaisance to his many wives and concubines. ———	I	802
3228	2021	978	<i>Pseusennes</i> succeeds <i>Semendis</i> in the kingdom of <i>Egypt</i> , and reigns 41 years. ———	I	230
3331	2024	975	<i>Phialus</i> , son of <i>Bucolion</i> , began to reign in <i>Arcadia</i> , and changed the name of <i>Phigalia</i> into <i>Phialia</i> . ———	II	378

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3331	2024	975	Solomon repenting, writes the <i>Ecclesiastes</i> , and is assured his seed should reign over only <i>Juda</i> and <i>Benjamin</i> , 1 <i>Kings</i> , XL. 13. 32.	I	802
3331	1024	975	Solomon dies, whereupon the tribes divide themselves, ten forsaking <i>Rehoboam</i> his son, and set up a kingdom of their own, under the command of <i>Jeroboam</i> , which from this time forwards was called the kingdom of <i>Israel</i> ; and two tribes adhere to <i>Rehoboam</i> , under the title of king of <i>Juda</i> 17 years.	I	803
3331	1024	975	<i>Jeroboam</i> becomes the first king of <i>Israel</i> , and reigns 21 years, during which time he sets up two golden calves at each end of his kingdom for the people to worship, instead of going up to <i>Jerusalem</i> , &c. From his introducing idolatry in the first year of his reign, the 300 years of <i>Israel</i> 's iniquity is to be reckoned, mentioned <i>Ezekiel</i> iv. 5. 9.	I	803
3332	2025	974	<i>Isthmius</i> , son of <i>Glaucus</i> , began to reign in <i>Messenia</i> .	II	355
3332	2025	974	<i>Abdaštartus</i> , king of <i>Tyre</i> , is killed by the four sons of <i>Narjes</i> , the eldest of whom reigned 21 years.	IV	414
3334	2027	972	The <i>Thracians</i> settle themselves in <i>Bebrycia</i> , now called <i>Bythinia</i> .	III	827
3335	2028	971	<i>Shijbak</i> King of <i>Egypt</i> goes against <i>Jerusalem</i> , takes it, and plunders the temple of all the golden vessels, &c.	I	806
3342	2035	964	<i>Cyps</i> succeeds <i>Capetus</i> in the kingdom of <i>Latium</i> , where he reigned 28 years.	IV	421
3344	2037	962	<i>Aštartus</i> , son of <i>Delaaštartus</i> , becomes king of <i>Tyre</i> , and reigns there 12 years.	I	414
3345	2038	961	<i>Proymnes</i> , or <i>Prymnes</i> or <i>Prumnis</i> , succeeds <i>Agelaus</i> in the kingdom of <i>Corinth</i> , and reigns 35 years.	II	390
3348	2041	958	<i>Azariab</i> succeeds his father <i>Abimaaz</i> in the high-priesthood at <i>Jerusalem</i> .		
3348	2041	958	<i>Abijab</i> , one of the sons of <i>Rehoboam</i> , succeeds in the kingdom of <i>Judab</i> upon the death of his father, and in a pitch'd battle with <i>Jeroboam</i> overthrew him, and killed 500,000 of his men. He reigned only 3 years.	I	807
3349	2042	957	<i>Agellaus</i> , son of <i>Doryssus</i> , succeeds his father in the partnership of the kingdom of <i>Lacedæmon</i> , and reigned 44 years.	II	400
3351	2044	955	<i>Abijam</i> , or <i>Abijab</i> , dies, and is succeeded by his son <i>Aša</i> in the kingdom of <i>Judab</i> , where he reigned 41 years: He was a prince of extraordinary piety, and purged out the idolatry that had crept in during the three foregoing reigns.	I	807
3352	2045	954	<i>Jeroboam</i> dies, and is succeeded in the kingdom of <i>Israel</i> by his son <i>Nadab</i> , who reigned about two years.	I	807
3352	2045	954	<i>Phorbas</i> succeeds <i>Thersippus</i> in the archonship of <i>Athens</i> , and holds that dignity 31 years.	II	362
3353	2046	953	<i>Baasha</i> , of the tribe of <i>Issachar</i> , kills <i>Nadab</i> king of <i>Israel</i> at the siege of <i>Gibbithon</i> , and succeeds him in the kingdom of <i>Israel</i> , where he reigns 24 years, during which time he destroyed the whole race of <i>Jeroboam</i> .	I	807
3354	2047	952	<i>Ophratens</i> succeeds <i>Pyritiades</i> in the kingdom of <i>Affyria</i> , and reigns 20 years.	I	865
3356	2049	950	<i>Ashbarymus</i> succeeds his brother <i>Aštartus</i> in the kingdom of <i>Tyre</i> , and reigns 9 years.	I	414
3356	2049	950	<i>Meltas</i> began to reign at <i>Argos</i> .	II	352
3357	2050	949	<i>Jebozaphat</i> (son of <i>Aša</i> king of <i>Judab</i>) born.	I	809
3365	2058	941	<i>Aša</i> king of <i>Judab</i> commands all the idols that had been set up in his kingdom to be broken down, and deposed his mother from the regal dignity for being an encourager of them.	I	807
3365	2058	941	The <i>Cushites</i> attack <i>Aša</i> 's kingdom with 10,000,000 men, commanded by <i>Zerab</i> the <i>Ethiopian</i> ; <i>Aša</i> encounters them at <i>Marzhab</i> , totally routs them, and returns to <i>Jerusalem</i> laden with prodigious spoil, is met by a prophet who assures him of future success, &c.	I	807
3365	2058	241	<i>Pheles</i> succeeds his brother <i>Ashbarymus</i> in the kingdom of <i>Tyre</i> , and reigns 8 months.	I	414
3366	2059	940	<i>Iibobalus</i> , priest of <i>Aštarte</i> , succeeds <i>Pheles</i> in the kingdom of <i>Tyre</i> , and reigns there 32 years.	I	415
3366	2059	940	<i>Aša</i> king of <i>Judab</i> sends ambassadors and large presents to <i>Benhadad</i> king of <i>Damascus</i> , who thereupon makes war with <i>Baasha</i> king of <i>Israel</i> , and takes several of his frontier towns, &c.	I	383
3366	2059	940	<i>Aša</i> king of <i>Judab</i> builds <i>Geba</i> and <i>Mizpek</i> , with the materials that he took from <i>Baasha</i> king of <i>Israel</i> , which were by him designed for the building of <i>Ramab</i> . <i>Aša</i> throws the prophet <i>Hanani</i> into prison for reproving him.	I	808
3369	2062	937	<i>Nephercheres</i> succeeds <i>Pseusennes</i> in the kingdom of <i>Egypt</i> , and reigns 4 years.	I	230
3370	2063	936	<i>Capetus</i> succeeds <i>Cyps</i> in the kingdom of <i>Latium</i> , and reigns 13 years.	IV	421
3373	2066	933	<i>Amenophis</i> succeeds <i>Nephercheres</i> in the kingdom of <i>Egypt</i> , and reigns 9 years.	I	230
3374	2067	932	<i>Ophratens</i> succeeds <i>Ophratens</i> in the kingdom of <i>Affyria</i> , and reigned 50 years.	I	865
3375	2068	931	<i>Dotadas</i> , son of <i>Isthmius</i> , began to reign in <i>Messenia</i> .		
3376	2069	930	<i>Meltas</i> dies, and thereupon the regal government of <i>Argos</i> becomes a democracy.	II	360
3376	2069	930	<i>Ela</i> succeeds his father <i>Baasha</i> in the kingdom of <i>Israel</i> , and reigned only one year, being then murdered by <i>Zimri</i> .	I	808
3377	2070	929	<i>Zimri</i> , the general over <i>Ela</i> 's chariots, conspires against <i>Ela</i> and kills him, and then proclaims himself king, and as such reigns 7 days at <i>Trinab</i> , but being attacked by <i>Omri</i> (another general officer) <i>Zimri</i> , to avoid being taken, burns the king's house and himself in it: Upon this the kingdom of <i>Israel</i> was rent in twain, part following <i>Thibni</i> the son of <i>Ginatb</i> , and the other part <i>Omri</i> , for 4 year. they reign'd together.	I	808
3380	2073	926	<i>Lycargus</i> , (son of <i>Eunomus</i> by his second wife <i>Dianissa</i>) the famous <i>Lacedæmonian</i> lawgiver born.		
3380	2073	926	<i>Bacchis</i> , son of <i>Proymnes</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Corinth</i> , and reigned 35 years: From him came the <i>Bacchiade</i> .	II	390
3381	2074	925	<i>Thibni</i> , the partner king with <i>Omri</i> in the kingdom of <i>Israel</i> , being killed, <i>Omri</i> reigned alone 8 years.	I	808
3382	2076	924	<i>Onfocbar</i> succeeds <i>Amenophis</i> in the kingdom of <i>Egypt</i> , and reigned 6 years.	I	230

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3382	2075	924	Omri having bought the hill of <i>Someron</i> or <i>Samaria</i> , of one <i>Shemer</i> , for two talents of silver, built the famous city of <i>Samaria</i> thereon, and removed the royal palace from <i>Tirzah</i> to <i>Samaria</i> , and made it the metropolis of the kingdom of <i>Israel</i> .	I	808
3382	2075	924	<i>Joram</i> (the son of <i>Jebofaphat</i> the son of <i>Asa</i> king of <i>Juda</i>) born.		
3383	2076	923	<i>Tiberius</i> succeeds <i>Calpetus</i> in the kingdom of <i>Latium</i> , and reigned 8 years.	IV	421
3383	2076	923	<i>Megacles</i> succeeds <i>Phorbas</i> in the archonship of <i>Athens</i> , and held that dignity 30 years.	II	362
3388	2081	918	<i>Pfinaspinaces</i> succeeds <i>Onfchor</i> in the kingdom of <i>Egypt</i> , and reigned 9 years.	I	230
3388	2081	918	<i>Abab</i> , the son of <i>Omri</i> , upon the death of his father succeeds him in the kingdom of <i>Israel</i> , where he reigned 22 years; and having married <i>Jezebel</i> , daughter of <i>Ethbaal</i> king of the <i>Zidonians</i> , greatly encouraged idolatry, particularly the worship of <i>Baal</i> , by human sacrifices, &c. 1 Kings, xvi. 31.	I	809
3390	2083	916	The <i>Rhodians</i> become Masters of the sea, by their expertness in navigation; and the <i>Rhodian</i> laws for many ages were the standard to decide all maritime affairs; the <i>Romans</i> esteemed them so highly as to incorporate them into their pandect of laws, &c.	III	132
3391	2084	915	<i>Tiberius</i> , king of <i>Latium</i> , being killed at the river <i>Albula</i> and drowned, that river from him was, and still is, called the <i>Tiber</i> .	IV	421
3391	2084	915	<i>Agrippa</i> (by <i>Ovid</i> called <i>Remulus</i>) succeeds <i>Tiberius</i> in the kingdom of <i>Latium</i> , where he reigned 41 years.	IV	421
3392	2085	914	<i>Jebofaphat</i> , upon the death of his father <i>Asa</i> , succeeds him in the kingdom of <i>Judah</i> , and reigned 25 years: He began his reign with purging away idolatry, &c.	I	809
3393	2086	913	<i>Archelaus</i> succeeds his father <i>Agesslaus</i> in the partnership of the kingdom of <i>Lacedæmon</i> and reigned 60 years. In this year the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> took <i>Agis</i> and raz'd it to the ground, to prevent their revolting to the <i>Arcadians</i> .	II	400
3395	2088	911	<i>Jebofaphat</i> caus'd a competent number of priests and <i>Levites</i> to attend some of his chief officers with copies of the <i>Pentateuch</i> , to go through his kingdom and teach the real law of <i>Moses</i> , which was then greatly corrupted.	I	809
3397	2090	909	<i>Pfusennes</i> succeeds <i>Pfinaspinaces</i> in the kingdom of <i>Egypt</i> , and reigns 35 years.	I	230
3398	2091	908	<i>Bazorus</i> , son of <i>Ithobalus</i> succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Tyre</i> , and reigned 8 years.	I	415
3399	2092	907	<i>Polydes</i> succeeds his father <i>Eunomus</i> (who was killed in a riotous tumult) in the partnership of the kingdom of <i>Lacedæmon</i> .	II	400
3399	2092	907	<i>Abaziah</i> , son of <i>Joram</i> , (son of <i>Jebofaphat</i> king of <i>Judah</i> , by his wife <i>Atbalia</i> daughter of <i>Ahab</i> king of <i>Israel</i>) born.		
3405	2098	901	<i>Benhadad</i> king of <i>Syria</i> , and his thirty-two confederate kings beaten off from <i>Samaria</i> , by <i>Ahab</i> king of <i>Israel</i> , with prodigious slaughter.	I	383
3406	2099	900	<i>Metinus</i> , son of <i>Bazorus</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Tyre</i> , and reigns 9 years.	I	415
3406	2099	900	<i>Benhadad</i> , king of <i>Syria</i> , is a second time defeated by <i>Ahab</i> king of <i>Israel</i> , with a mighty slaughter, &c.	I	384
3408	2101	898	<i>Polydesites</i> , half king of <i>Lacedæmon</i> , is succeeded by his half brother <i>Lycurgus</i> , who reign'd as guardian to his son <i>Cbarilaus</i> , who was born 8 months after his death.	II	558
3408	2101	898	<i>Ahab</i> takes his son <i>Abaziah</i> into partnership with him in his kingdom of <i>Israel</i> .	I	812
3409	2102	897	<i>Ahab</i> king of <i>Israel</i> , and <i>Jebofaphat</i> king of <i>Judah</i> agree to besiege <i>Ramoth Gilead</i> , and retake it from the <i>Syrians</i> , where <i>Ahab</i> is slain, &c.	I	813
3409	2102	897	<i>Abaziah</i> , upon the death of his father <i>Ahab</i> , reign'd alone in the kingdom of <i>Israel</i> about one year.	I	813
3409	2102	897	<i>Amariab</i> , or <i>Azariab</i> , succeeds his father <i>Azariab</i> in the high-priesthood at <i>Jerusalem</i> . 2 Chron. xix. 11.		
3409	2102	897	The <i>Moabites</i> revolt, (who from <i>David's</i> time till now had been subject to <i>Israel</i>) but are entirely defeated by the united force of <i>Israel</i> and <i>Judah</i> .	I	814
3410	3103	896	<i>Johanan</i> , or <i>Jeboiada</i> , the son of <i>Amariab</i> , succeeds his father as high-priest at <i>Jerusalem</i> .		
3410	3103	896	<i>Elias</i> being taken up into heaven alive, is succeeded by <i>Elisba</i> in the prophetic Office.	I	809
3410	3103	896	<i>Joram</i> , or <i>Jeboram</i> , the brother of <i>Abaziah</i> king of <i>Israel</i> , (who was killed by the bruises he received in a fall) succeeds him in the kingdom of <i>Israel</i> , and reigned 12 years.	I	813
3412	2105	894	<i>Lycurgus</i> abdicated his government of the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> , and began his 10 years travel, to see the customs and manners of other nations.	II	399
3413	2106	893	<i>Diognetus</i> succeeds <i>Megacles</i> in the archonship of <i>Athens</i> , which he held 28 years.	II	362
3414	2107	892	<i>Joram</i> is taken into partnership in the kingdom of <i>Judah</i> , by his father <i>Jebofaphat</i> .	I	814
3415	2108	891	<i>Agelas</i> , or <i>Agelastes</i> , succeeds <i>Bacchis</i> in the kingdom of <i>Corinth</i> , where he reigned 30 years.	II	390
3415	2108	891	<i>Pygmalion</i> , the son of <i>Metinus</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Tyre</i> , and reigns 40 years: He is said to have built the city of <i>Carpas</i> in the island of <i>Cyprus</i> , and to present the temple of <i>Hercules</i> in the island of <i>Gades</i> , with an olive tree made of massive gold, whose berries were emeralds, &c.	I	416
3417	2110	889	<i>Joram</i> (upon the death of his father <i>Jebofaphat</i>) reigns alone 4 years, during which time he debauched the peoples manners, and introduced idolatry.	I	814
3417	2110	889	<i>Edom</i> now revolted from the <i>Israelitish</i> government (to which they had been subject from <i>David's</i> time) and having expelled or assassinated their vice-roy, set up a king of their own again.	I	315
3418	2111	888	The <i>Philistines</i> and <i>Arabians</i> invade <i>Judah</i> , and take and plunder <i>Jerusalem</i> , and among others carry away <i>Jeboram's</i> wives, and all his sons, (except <i>Jeboabab</i>) and <i>Abaziah</i> , captive.	I	815
3419	2112	887	<i>Pompus</i> , son of <i>Simus</i> , began to reign in <i>Arcadia</i> .	II	378

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			(917)		
3420	2113	886	<i>Jeheram</i> king of <i>Judab</i> takes his son <i>Abazia</i> partner with him in his kingdom.	I	815
3421	2114	885	Upon the death of <i>Joram</i> his son <i>Abazia</i> reigned king of <i>Judab</i> alone, for about the space of one year, being then killed by <i>Jehu</i> , one of the officers of <i>Jeheram</i> .	I	819
3421	2114	885	<i>Samaria</i> being besieged by <i>Benbadad</i> king of <i>Syria</i> , the city is reduced to the utmost extremity by famine, &c. and is miraculously delivered by the prophet <i>Elisha</i> .	I	816
3421	2114	885	<i>Hazaël</i> murders <i>Benbadad</i> king of <i>Syria</i> at <i>Damascus</i> , and succeeds him in the kingdom of <i>Syria</i> , which he raised to its meridian of glory.	I	388
3422	2115	884	<i>Elisa</i> , sister of <i>Pygmalion</i> king of <i>Tyre</i> , (called also <i>Dido</i>) flying from <i>Tyre</i> upon the murder of her husband <i>Sichæus</i> priest of <i>Hercules</i> , in company with many others, goes and settles in <i>Africa</i> , and builds the famous city of <i>Carthage</i> .	I	415
3422	2115	884	<i>Joram</i> king of <i>Israel</i> killed by his servant <i>Jehu</i> , who reigned 28 years, and destroyed all the house of <i>Abah</i> , and caus'd queen <i>Jezabel</i> to be thrown out of a window, &c.	I	819
3422	2115	884	<i>Hazaël</i> king of <i>Damascus</i> (or <i>Syria</i>) warring against <i>Jehu</i> king of <i>Israel</i> , overcame him, and took almost all his kingdom from him, having slain and taken captive an infinite number of his subjects.	I	389
3422	2115	884	<i>Abazia</i> dies, and his mother <i>Atbaliah</i> (daughter of <i>Abah</i>) reigns 6 years in <i>Judab</i> , during which time she practised and promoted idolatry with all her might, and killed all his children, except <i>Joash</i> , whom <i>Jehoshaba</i> (sister of king <i>Abazia</i> and wife of <i>Jehoiada</i> the high-priest) saved, being then but one year old.	I	822
3422	2115	884	<i>Lycurgus</i> returns to <i>Lacedæmon</i> from his travels, and settles the government by excellent laws.	II	559
3422	2115	884	<i>Iphitus</i> began accounting or computing time by <i>Olympiads</i> , 108 years before the first <i>Olympiad</i> .		
3424	2117	882	<i>Ocraxapes</i> succeeds <i>Opratanes</i> in the kingdom of <i>Affyria</i> , and reigns there 42 years.	I	865
3425	2118	881	<i>Sybotas</i> , son of <i>Dotadas</i> , was now king of <i>Messenia</i> .	II	355
3428	2121	878	<i>Jehoiada</i> the high-priest shews young <i>Joash</i> (the son of their late king <i>Abazia</i>) to the heads and people of <i>Judab</i> , who being tired with the cruelty and wickedness of <i>Atbaliah</i> , proclaimed <i>Joash</i> king; and the high-priest having anointed him and crowned him, slew <i>Atbaliah</i> , <i>Joash</i> reigned 40 years, &c.	I	823
3432	2125	874	Begins the 22d <i>Egyptian</i> dynasty of the <i>Bubastites</i> , the first king whereof was <i>Sen-scoris</i> , who succeeded <i>Pfusennes</i> , and reigned 21 years.	I	230
3432	2125	874	<i>Agrippa</i> , king of the <i>Latins</i> dies, and is succeeded by <i>Allades</i> , or <i>Alladius</i> , who reigned 19 years.	IV	421
3433	2126	873	<i>Charilaus</i> takes the government of <i>Lacedæmon</i> upon himself, and reigned 64 years.	II	400
3437	2130	869	<i>Carthage</i> , the famous metropolis of <i>Africa</i> , built by queen <i>Dido</i> : <i>Phidon</i> now governed at <i>Argos</i> , and made measures and scales, and coined silver money at <i>Egina</i> .	I	415
3441	2134	865	<i>Pherecles</i> succeeds <i>Diognetus</i> in the archonship of <i>Athens</i> , and reigned 19 years.	II	362
3444	2137	862	<i>Jonas</i> prophesied against <i>Nineveh</i> .		
3445	2138	861	<i>Eudemus</i> succeeds <i>Agelas</i> in the kingdom of <i>Corinth</i> , and reigned 25 years.	II	350
3449	2142	857	<i>Joash</i> repairs the temple of <i>Jerusalem</i> , &c.	I	823
3450	2143	856	<i>Jehoabaz</i> succeeds his father <i>Jehu</i> (now dead) in the kingdom of <i>Israel</i> , and reigned 17 years.	I	822
3451	2144	855	<i>Allades</i> king of the <i>Latins</i> , together with his palace is swallowed up by an earthquake, as he was imitating thunder, and was succeeded by <i>Aventinus</i> , who reigned 37 years.	IV	421
3452	2145	854	The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> , by the help of the <i>Eleans</i> , overthrew the tyrant <i>Phidon</i> .	II	400
3453	2146	853	<i>Teleclus</i> succeeds <i>Archelaus</i> in the partnership of the kingdom of <i>Lacedæmon</i> , and reigns 40 years.	II	400
3453	2146	853	<i>Osorthon</i> succeeds <i>Sencoris</i> in the kingdom of <i>Egypt</i> , and reigned 15 years.	I	230
3456	2149	850	<i>Jehoiada</i> the high-priest dies, at 130 years old, and is succeeded in that office at <i>Jerusalem</i> by his son <i>Zachariah</i> .	I	824
3458	2151	848	<i>Polymestor</i> , son of <i>Eginetas</i> king of <i>Arcadia</i> , overcame the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> , and took <i>Charilaus</i> prisoner, whom they oblig'd to take an oath that he should not make war any more on the <i>Tegæans</i> , but some time after he broke it.	II	569
3460	2153	846	<i>Ariphron</i> succeeds <i>Pherecles</i> in the archonship of <i>Athens</i> , and reigned 20 years.	II	362
3464	2157	842	<i>Jonas</i> prophecies of <i>Israel's</i> deliverance.		
3465	2158	841	<i>Jehoabaz</i> , king of <i>Israel</i> , takes his son <i>Joash</i> partner with him in the regal government.	I	825
3466	2159	840	<i>Zachariah</i> the high-priest having reprov'd <i>Joash</i> king of <i>Judab</i> for falling into and encouraging and promoting idolatry, &c. is, by that king's command, stoned to death.	I	824
3466	2159	840	<i>Tonofconoleros</i> , or <i>Sardanapalus</i> , succeeds <i>Ocraxapes</i> in the kingdom of <i>Affyria</i> , and reigned 20 years.	I	865
3467	2160	839	<i>Hazaël</i> , king of <i>Syria</i> , (or <i>Damascus</i> , he being called by both titles) after taking <i>Gath</i> and conquering the king of <i>Judab's</i> army, was about invading <i>Jerusalem</i> , but by large presents, &c. departed for that time, but soon after sent a part of his great army, who (overthrowing <i>Joash</i> , &c.) sack'd <i>Jerusalem</i> , slew the princes, and sent a prodigious spoil to <i>Damascus</i> .	I	388
3467	2160	839	<i>Joash</i> being murdered on his bed by his servant, is succeeded by his son <i>Amaziab</i> , who reigned 29 years as king of <i>Judab</i> .	I	824
3467	2160	839	<i>Jehoabaz</i> , king of <i>Israel</i> dies, and <i>Joash</i> his son reigns alone 3 years.		
3468	2161	838	<i>Amaziab</i> overcomes the <i>Edomites</i> , slaying 10,000 in battle, and throwing 10,000 prisoners down from the rock whereon <i>Silab</i> their capital city was built, &c.	I	316
3468	2161	838	The prophet <i>Elisha</i> dies.	I	825
3468	2161	838	<i>Tachelotis</i> succeeds <i>Osorthon</i> in the kingdom of <i>Egypt</i> , and reigns 13 years.	I	230

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3470	2163	836	<i>Aristodemus</i> succeeds <i>Eudemus</i> in the kingdom of <i>Corinth</i> , and reigns 35 years.	II	390	3531
3470	2163	836	<i>Joash</i> king of <i>Israel</i> takes his son <i>Jeroboam</i> to be a partner with him in his kingdom.	I	389	3531
3470	2163	836	<i>Hazael</i> king of <i>Syria</i> dies, and was deified; but being succeeded by his son <i>Benbadad</i> the 3d, he was thrice defeated by <i>Jeboash</i> , the son of <i>Jeboabaz</i> the king of <i>Judah</i> , and made a tributary.	I	389	3535
3471	2164	835	<i>Phintias</i> , son of <i>Sobyas</i> , was king of <i>Messenia</i> ; in his time the <i>Messenians</i> first sent their sacrifices to <i>Apollo</i> at <i>Delos</i> , with a chorus of men.	I	389	3535
3472	2165	834	<i>Eumelus</i> composed the hymn called the <i>Proseodum</i> , to be sung by the <i>Messenians</i> in their sacrifices to <i>Apollo</i> at <i>Delphos</i> .	I	389	3535
3480	2173	826	<i>Thespicius</i> succeeds <i>Ariphron</i> in the archonship of <i>Athens</i> , and governed 27 years.	II	362	3536
3480	2173	126	<i>Amaziah</i> , king of <i>Judah</i> , challenging <i>Joash</i> king of <i>Israel</i> , is taken by him, and a very large ransom set upon him.	I	826	3537
3481	2174	825	<i>Joash</i> king of <i>Israel</i> dies, and <i>Jeroboam</i> his son reigned alone 41 years.	I	827	3537
3481	2174	825	The twenty-third dynasty of the <i>Egyptians</i> , called the <i>Tanites</i> , the first king whereof was <i>Petubastes</i> , who succeeded <i>Tachelitis</i> , and reigned 25 years.	I	230	3537
3483	2176	823	<i>Arbaces</i> , prefect of <i>Media</i> , and <i>Belefsis</i> , a priest of <i>Babylon</i> and a famous astronomer, revolt against <i>Sardanapalus</i> king of <i>Affyria</i> , and besieged him with a vast army in <i>Nineveh</i> ; in the 3d year of the siege, the river over-flowed and threw down a great part of the wall, through which breach they entered and took the city, upon which <i>Sardanapalus</i> burnt both his palace and himself in it; <i>Arbaces</i> and <i>Belefsis</i> divided the empire between them, <i>Arbaces</i> taking <i>Media</i> , <i>Perse</i> , and <i>Affyria</i> ; and <i>Belefsis</i> , <i>Babylon</i> , whose successors are not known till the time of <i>Nabonassar</i> .	I	887	3537
3485	2178	821	<i>Media</i> now freed from the yoke of the <i>Affyrians</i> by <i>Arbaces</i> , is govern'd by him 28 years.	II	12	3537
3488	2181	818	<i>Aventinus</i> dies, (and being buried upon a mountain, it was called from thence mount <i>Aventine</i>) and is succeeded in the kingdom of the <i>Latins</i> by <i>Procas</i> , who reigned 23 years.	IV	421	3537
3492	2185	814	<i>Caranus</i> (one of the <i>Heracleide</i>) coming to <i>Macedonia</i> , founded the kingdom so called, and reigned over it 28 years.	III	271	3537
3493	2186	813	<i>Teleclus</i> , half king of <i>Lacedemon</i> , is slain by the <i>Messenians</i> in the temple of <i>Diana Limnas</i> , and succeeded by his son <i>Alcamenes</i> , who reigned 37 years.	II	400	3537
3496	2189	810	<i>Amariah</i> , the high priest of the <i>Jews</i> , dies, and his son <i>Abitab</i> II. succeeds him in that office.	I	826	3537
3496	2189	810	<i>Amaziah</i> , king of <i>Judah</i> , is driven from <i>Jerusalem</i> by a conspiracy that was formed against him, and which followed and killed him at <i>Lorish</i> , when he was succeeded by his son <i>Uzziah</i> , or <i>Azariah</i> , who reigned 52 years.	I	826	3537
3497	2190	809	<i>Nicander</i> , the son of <i>Charilaus</i> , succeeds his father in the half kingdom of <i>Lacedemon</i> , and reigns 39 years.	II	400	3537
3505	2198	801	<i>Agamemnon</i> , brother of <i>Aristomedes</i> , succeeds him in the kingdom of <i>Corinth</i> , and reigns 16 years.	II	390	3537
2505	2198	801	<i>Capua</i> , a noble city in <i>Campania</i> , built (but now in ruins) about 12 miles distant from the present city of that name.	IV	412	3537
3506	2199	800	<i>Joel</i> prophesied about this time			3537
3506	2199	800	<i>Osorthon</i> the II. succeeds <i>Petubastes</i> in the kingdom of <i>Egypt</i> , and reigns 9 years.	I	230	3537
3507	2200	799	<i>Agamestor</i> succeeds <i>Thespicius</i> in the archonship of <i>Athens</i> , and governed 20 years.	II	362	3537
3509	2202	797	<i>Aradyus</i> , king of <i>Lydia</i> , reigns 36 years, was one of the <i>Heracleide</i> or descendants of <i>Hercules</i> .	II	333	3537
3511	2204	795	<i>Amulius</i> , son of <i>Procas</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Latium</i> , having first put by his elder brother <i>Numitor</i> , to whom <i>Procas</i> had left the kingdom, and reigned 42 years.	IV	421	3537
3513	2206	793	<i>Sofarmes</i> succeeds <i>Arbaces</i> as king of <i>Media</i> , and reigns 30 years.	II	12	3537
2515	2208	791	<i>Psamis</i> succeeds <i>Osorthon</i> in the kingdom of <i>Egypt</i> , and reigned 10 years.	I	230	3537
3519	2212	787	<i>Amos</i> prophesied against <i>Jeroboam</i> king of <i>Israel</i> .	I	823	3537
3520	2213	786	<i>Cæmus</i> succeeds <i>Caranus</i> in the kingdom of <i>Macedon</i> , and reigned 12 years.	III	271	3537
3520	2213	786	The <i>Corinthians</i> now first of all the <i>Greeks</i> had <i>Triremes</i> , or boats with 3 oars on each side.			3537
3521	2214	785	<i>Alexander</i> succeeds <i>Agamemnon</i> in the kingdom of <i>Corinth</i> , and reigned 25 years.	II	390	3537
3521	2214	785	<i>Hofea</i> prophesied against <i>Israel</i> .	I	827	3537
3522	2215	784	<i>Jeroboam</i> king of <i>Israel</i> died, upon which followed an interregnum of 11 years.			3537
3525	2218	781	Begins the 24th <i>Egyptian</i> dynasty of the <i>Saites</i> , when <i>Bocchoris</i> succeeds <i>Psamis</i> in the kingdom, and reigned 44 years.	I	230	3537
3527	2220	779	<i>Æschylus</i> succeeds <i>Agamestor</i> in the archonship of <i>Athens</i> , and reigns 23 years.	II	362	3537
3530	2223	776	<i>Polydorus</i> succeeds <i>Alcamenes</i> in the half kingdom of <i>Lacedemon</i> , and reigned 52 years.	II	400	3537
3530	2223	776	This is commonly esteemed the beginning of the first <i>Olympiad</i> , (vulgarly so called.)			3537
3532	2225	774	<i>Thurinus</i> succeeds <i>Cæmus</i> in the kingdom of <i>Macedon</i> , and reigns 45 years.	III	271	3537
3533	2226	773	<i>Zachariah</i> , son of <i>Jeroboam</i> , the 4th and last of the house of <i>Jebo</i> (according to the prophecy 2 <i>Kings</i> , xv. 10.) succeeds in the kingdom of <i>Israel</i> , and reigned but 6 months, being killed by <i>Shallum</i> son of <i>Jabesh</i> , one of his own domesticks, who reigned in his stead one month, and was killed by <i>Menabem</i> , <i>Zachariah's</i> general.	I	823	3537
3534	2227	772	<i>Abitab</i> , the high priest of the <i>Jews</i> dying, is succeeded by his son <i>Zadach</i> , (called also <i>Azariah</i> .)	I	823	3537
3534	2227	772	<i>Menabem</i> succeeded <i>Shallum</i> in the kingdom of <i>Israel</i> , and reigned 11 years.	I	823	3537
3535	2228	771	<i>Uzziah</i> , king of <i>Judah</i> , was struck with a leprosy by <i>Azariah</i> the high priest, till his death, for presuming to burn incense; and his son <i>Joatham</i> governed the kingdom for him 13 years.	I	829	3537
3535	2228	771	<i>Pul</i> in scripture appears to be the first king of <i>Affyria</i> .	I	828	3537
3535	2228	771	<i>Pul</i> king of <i>Affyria</i> , invading <i>Israel</i> , <i>Menabem</i> gives him 1000 talents of silver as homage-money.	I	389	3537

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3536	2229	770	<i>Theopompus</i> , son of <i>Nicander</i> , succeeds his father in the half kingdom of <i>Lacedaemon</i> , and reign'd 47 years.	II	558
3543	2236	763	<i>Medinus</i> (or <i>Mandauces</i>) succeeds <i>Sofarmus</i> in the kingdom of <i>Media</i> , and reigns 40 years.	II	12
3545	2238	761	<i>Pekai</i> , son of <i>Mebanem</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Israel</i> , and reigned 2 years.	I	830
3545	2238	761	<i>Halyattes</i> succeeds <i>Ardysus</i> in the kingdom of <i>Lydia</i> , and reigned 14 years.	II	333
3546	2239	760	<i>Ezay</i> began to prophesy.		
3546	2239	760	<i>Telestes</i> , son of <i>Aristomenes</i> , having killed <i>Alexander</i> , succeeds him in the kingdom of <i>Corinth</i> , and reigned there 12 years.	II	390
3546	2239	760	<i>Theopompus</i> sets up the <i>Ephori</i> at <i>Lacedaemon</i> , which consisted of five persons, arm'd with power to check even the king, as well as govern the people.	II	574
3547	2240	759	<i>Pekai</i> kills <i>Pekai</i> king of <i>Israel</i> , in his royal palace at <i>Samarin</i> , and reigned in his stead 20 years.	I	830
3548	2241	758	<i>Uzziah</i> king of <i>Judab</i> dies, and is succeeded by his son <i>Jotham</i> , who reigned alone 16 years.	I	830
3548	2241	758	<i>Nabum</i> prophesied against <i>Niniveb</i> , foretelling the dreadful destruction of it, which afterwards happened in the days of <i>Josiah</i> .	I	830
3550	2243	756	<i>Alcmaeon</i> succeeds his father <i>Aeschylus</i> in the archonship of <i>Athens</i> , and reigns 2 years, when that office for life was dissolved, and persons chose to hold it for 10 years only.	II	362
3552	2245	754	<i>Charops</i> begins the archonship of <i>Athens</i> , upon the new regulation of holding that office 10 years.	II	362
3552	2245	754	<i>Romulus</i> killed <i>Amulius</i> , and sets up <i>Numitor</i> .	IV	424
3553	2246	753	<i>Romulus</i> having built and finished the city of <i>Rome</i> , is chosen king, and translates the kingdom from <i>Alba</i> to <i>Rome</i> , where he reigned 37 years.	IV	426
3554	2247	752	<i>Romulus</i> instituted his year of 10 months, of which <i>March</i> was the first; this calendar was corrected by <i>Numa</i> , his successor, as is more particularly related and described.	IV	437
3554	2247	752	<i>Daicles</i> now first crown'd in the olympic games.		
3556	2249	750	The rape of the <i>Sabine</i> virgins by the <i>Romans</i> .	IV	429
3557	2250	749	<i>Telestes</i> king of <i>Corinth</i> is killed, and the kingly government changed for yearly magistrates, of which <i>Automenes</i> was the first.		
3557	2250	749	War between the <i>Romans</i> and the <i>Sabines</i> upon account of the rape: <i>Romulus</i> encounters and kills with his own hand <i>Arcon</i> their king, disperses their army, raises their city, and incorporates the prisoners among his own people.	IV	429
3559	2252	747	The <i>Romans</i> and <i>Sabines</i> conclude a peace, and become one people; and <i>Tatius</i> , then <i>Sabine</i> king, reigned jointly with <i>Romulus</i> , and the people were called <i>Quirites</i> .	IV	431
3559	2252	747	<i>Tiglatb-pileser</i> becomes king of <i>Assyria</i> , as successor to his father <i>Pul</i> .	I	890
3559	2252	747	<i>Nabonassar</i> , king of <i>Babylon</i> , lays the foundation of the first of the four great monarchies, and reigns 14 years.	I	940
3559	2252	747	<i>Melles</i> succeeds <i>Halyattes</i> in the kingdom of <i>Lydia</i> , and reigns 12 years.	II	333
3462	2255	744	<i>Æsmedes</i> succeeds <i>Charops</i> in the archonship of <i>Athens</i> , for 10 years.	II	362
3563	2256	743	<i>Androcles</i> , one of the kings of <i>Messenia</i> , killed in a quarrel with his brother <i>Antiochus</i> , soon after which accident <i>Euphaes</i> reigned in <i>Messenia</i> .	II	570
3564	2257	742	<i>Tatius</i> , joint king with <i>Romulus</i> , killed by the <i>Lavinians</i> at the foot of the altar, while he and <i>Romulus</i> were offering a sacrifice to the tutelary Gods.	IV	433
3565	2258	741	<i>Abaz</i> succeeds his father <i>Jotham</i> in the kingdom of <i>Judab</i> , and reigned 16 years; but being a wicked prince and committing idolatry, &c. was very unsuccessful.	I	831
3565	2258	741	<i>Pekai</i> king of <i>Israel</i> warring against <i>Judab</i> , kills 120,000 in one day, and carries 200,000 away prisoners.	I	832
3566	2259	740	<i>Tiglatb-pileser</i> , king of <i>Assyria</i> , invades <i>Damascus</i> , takes <i>Rezim</i> their king, transplants the inhabitants, and dissolves the kingdom of <i>Syria</i> , and made <i>Aiaz</i> king of <i>Judab</i> tributary.	I	390
3567	2260	739	<i>Pekai</i> king of <i>Israel</i> is killed by <i>Hofea</i> , son of <i>Ela</i> , upon which followed a state of anarchy for 9 years.	I	830
3568	2261	738	The <i>Romans</i> make a triumph for their victory over the <i>Camerini</i> .	IV	433
3569	2262	737	The 25th <i>Egyptian</i> dynasty called the <i>Æthiopes</i> , the first king whereof was <i>Sabacum</i> , who reigned 12 years.	I	232
3571	2264	735	<i>Candaules</i> succeeds <i>Melles</i> in the kingdom of <i>Lydia</i> , and reigns 17 years.	II	333
3572	2265	734	<i>Clisticus</i> , the son of <i>Æsmedes</i> , succeeds his father in the archonship of <i>Athens</i> , for the space of 10 years.	II	362
3573	2266	733	<i>Naidius</i> succeeds <i>Nabonassar</i> in the kingdom of <i>Babylon</i> , and reigned 2 years.	I	940
3573	2266	733	<i>Naxos</i> in <i>Sicily</i> built by the first <i>Greek</i> colony that came from <i>Calchis</i> in <i>Eubœa</i> to settle in <i>Sicily</i> .	II	220
3574	2267	732	The <i>Romans</i> make a triumph for their conquering the <i>Veientes</i> .	IV	433
3574	2267	732	<i>Syracuse</i> , formerly the metropolis of all <i>Sicily</i> , was built by <i>Archias</i> of <i>Corinth</i> .	III	4
3575	2268	731	<i>Cincirus</i> and <i>Porus</i> succeed <i>Naidius</i> in the kingdom of <i>Babylon</i> .	I	940
3576	2269	730	<i>Euphaes</i> being killed in battle, was succeeded by <i>Aristodemus</i> in the kingdom of <i>Messenia</i> .	II	573
3576	2269	730	<i>Hofea</i> becomes king of <i>Israel</i> , and reigns 9 years.	I	833
3577	2270	729	<i>Perdiccas</i> succeeds <i>Thurimas</i> in the kingdom of <i>Macedon</i> , and reigns 51 years.	I	558
3578	2271	728	<i>Salmanazar</i> , king of <i>Assyria</i> , conquers and makes <i>Hofea</i> king of <i>Israel</i> tributary.	I	833
3579	2272	727	<i>Abaz</i> , king of <i>Judab</i> , takes his son <i>Hezekiah</i> partner with him in the kingdom: The prophet <i>Ezay</i> foretels the birth of <i>Emanuel</i> (or <i>Christ</i>) and that he should be born of a virgin.	I	831
3579	2272	727	<i>Leontinis</i> in <i>Sicily</i> built by the inhabitants of <i>Naxos</i> , and afterwards <i>Catana</i> , another famous city of the same island.	III	3

Upon

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3580	2273	726	Upon the death of <i>Abaz</i> king of <i>Judah</i> , his son <i>Hezekiah</i> reigns alone 28 years: he endeavours to reform <i>Judah</i> by purging away idolatry, solemnizing the passover, &c. in which <i>Azariah</i> the high priest was greatly serviceable. —	I	833
3580	2273	726	<i>Jugues</i> succeeds <i>Cincius</i> in the kingdom of <i>Babylon</i> , and reigned 5 years. —	I	945
3581	2274	725	<i>So</i> , king of <i>Egypt</i> , intices <i>Hofea</i> king of <i>Israel</i> to rebel against <i>Salmanasar</i> king of <i>Affyria</i> . —	I	833
3581	2274	725	The Prophet <i>Hofea</i> declared his last prophecy. —		
3581	2274	725	<i>Sevicius</i> succeeds <i>Sabacen</i> in the kingdom of <i>Egypt</i> , and reigns there 12 years. —	I	230
3582	2275	724	<i>Hippomenes</i> succeeds <i>Clidicus</i> in the archonship of <i>Athens</i> , which he enjoyed 10 years. —	II	362
3582	2275	724	The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> end the long War with the <i>Messenians</i> with the taking of <i>Ithome</i> , upon which the <i>Messenians</i> serve the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> 39 years. —	II	575
3582	2275	724	<i>Polydorus</i> being killed by one <i>Polemarchus</i> , a person of mean extract, is succeeded by his son <i>Eurycrates</i> in the joint kingship of <i>Lacedæmon</i> for 17 years. —	II	558
3582	2275	724	<i>Aristodemus</i> kills himself at his daughter's tomb, to whom he had sacrificed 13 years before. —		
3583	2276	723	<i>Cardiceas</i> succeeds <i>Medius</i> in the kingdom of <i>Affyria</i> , and reigns 13 years. —	I	865
3583	2276	723	<i>Theopompus</i> , one of the partner kings of <i>Lacedæmon</i> , dying, is succeeded by his grandson <i>Zenxidemus</i> , (son of <i>Archidamus</i> , who died before his father <i>Theopompus</i>) who reigns 33 years. —	II	558
3585	2278	721	<i>Mardokempad</i> succeeds <i>Jugues</i> in the kingdom of <i>Babylon</i> , and reigns 12 years. (In scripture this prince is called <i>Merodak Baladan</i> .) —	I	945
3585	2278	721	<i>Salmanasar</i> , king of <i>Affyria</i> , takes <i>Samaria</i> after a siege of three years, and carried away the ten tribes of <i>Israel</i> into captivity, and so put an end to the kingdom of <i>Israel</i> , after it had stood 234 years divided from <i>Judah</i> . —	I	835
3586	2279	720	<i>Azariah</i> , the high priest of the <i>Jews</i> dies, and is succeeded by his son <i>Shallum</i> . —		
3588	2281	718	<i>Candaules</i> being killed by <i>Gyges</i> (the first of the <i>Mermnadae</i> , who ruled 170 years) is succeeded by him in the kingdom of <i>Lydia</i> , who reigned there 38 years. <i>Gyges</i> sends many rich presents to the oracle at <i>Delpbos</i> , &c. —	II	333
3588	2281	718	The <i>Tyrians</i> intirely defeat <i>Shalmanasar</i> king of <i>Affyria's</i> fleet. —	I	892
3589	2282	717	<i>Shalmanasar</i> , king of <i>Affyria</i> , besieges <i>Tyre</i> , which held out 5 years against him. —	I	892
3589	2282	717	<i>Hezekiah</i> , king of <i>Judah</i> revolts, and refuses to pay tribute to the king of <i>Affyria</i> any longer. —	I	892
3589	2282	717	<i>Romulus</i> killed, upon which followed an interregnum for upwards of one year in <i>Rome</i> . —	IV	434
3591	2284	715	<i>Numa</i> becomes king or governor in <i>Rome</i> , but more like <i>Pontifex</i> than <i>Rex</i> , for the space of 43 years. —	IV	435
3592	2285	714	<i>Leocrates</i> succeeds <i>Hippomenes</i> in the archonship of <i>Athens</i> , and ruled there 10 years. —	II	362
3593	2286	713	<i>Senacherib</i> , king of <i>Affyria</i> , goes up against <i>Hezekiah</i> king of <i>Judah</i> , who being sick of the plague, upon his earnest prayer to God has an addition of 15 years made to his life, and <i>Senacherib</i> goes away against <i>Egypt</i> . —	I	836
3593	2286	713	<i>Taracus</i> succeeds <i>Sevicius</i> king of <i>Egypt</i> , and reigns 20 years in that kingdom. —	I	230
3596	2289	710	<i>Numa Marcius</i> is made the first <i>Pontifex Maximus</i> among the <i>Romans</i> . —	IV	436
3596	2289	710	<i>Tirbaka</i> , king of <i>Ethiopia</i> , helps the <i>Egyptians</i> and <i>Jews</i> against <i>Senacherib</i> king of <i>Affyria</i> . —	I	893
3596	2289	710	<i>Senacherib</i> , king of <i>Affyria</i> , returns from <i>Egypt</i> and besieges <i>Lachish</i> ; <i>Hezekiah</i> buys his peace, but <i>Senacherib</i> breaks his promise, and returns against <i>Jerusalem</i> with his whole army, of which God by his angel destroys 185,000 in one night. —	I	838
3596	2289	710	<i>Senacharib</i> , king of <i>Affyria</i> , returning to his royal palace at <i>Nineveh</i> , grew fullen and tyrannical upon his defeat at <i>Jerusalem</i> , and thereby becoming hateful to all about him, <i>Adrammelech</i> and <i>Sharazer</i> , two of his sons, killed him, as he was worshipping his God <i>Nisroch</i> , and <i>Efarhaddon</i> , his third son, reigned in his stead. —	I	895
3597	2290	709	<i>Pityusa</i> first planted with a colony of <i>Carthaginians</i> . —	VII	308
3597	2290	709	An order of 12 priests instituted among the <i>Romans</i> and <i>Salii</i> . —	I	946
3597	2290	709	<i>Arcianus</i> succeeds <i>Ardekempad</i> in the kingdom of <i>Babylon</i> , and reigns 15 years. —	I	946
3598	2291	708	<i>Ecbatana</i> (the metropolis of all <i>Media</i> , and seat of the <i>Median</i> and <i>Persian</i> monarchs) built by <i>Dejoces</i> , and <i>Sybaris</i> by the <i>Thurians</i> . —	II	14
3599	2292	707	The <i>Parthenians</i> under <i>Phalantus</i> build <i>Tarentum</i> . —		
3602	2295	704	<i>Arcianus</i> dies, and an interregnum follows in the kingdom of <i>Babylon</i> for two years. —	I	946
3602	2295	704	<i>Aminacles</i> of <i>Corinth</i> built for the <i>Samians</i> their first triremes, or galleys with 3 oars on a side. —	I	946
3602	2295	704	<i>Apfander</i> succeeds <i>Leocrates</i> in the archonship of <i>Athens</i> for 10 years. —	II	302
3603	2296	703	<i>Corcyra</i> built by the <i>Corinthians</i> . —	III	240
3604	2297	702	<i>Belibius</i> succeeds, after an interregnum of 2 years, in the kingdom of <i>Babylon</i> , and reigns 3 years. —	I	946
3607	2300	699	<i>Apranadius</i> succeeds <i>Belibus</i> in the kingdom of <i>Babylon</i> , and reigns 6 years. —	I	946
3607	2300	699	<i>Dejoces</i> is chose the first real king of <i>Media</i> , (those before this time being only nominal ones) and sets about reforming abuses, &c. (<i>Marshall's</i> tables calls him the son of <i>Phraortes</i> , and puts his creation in 710.) He reigned 54 years. —	II	14
3608	2301	698	<i>Hezekiah</i> , the good king of <i>Judah</i> dies, and is succeeded by his son <i>Manasse</i> , a youth of 12 years old, who reigned 55 years in the most wicked inlamous manner possible. —	I	839
3609	2302	697	<i>Midas</i> king of <i>Phrygia</i> dies. —	II	301
3612	2305	694	<i>Eryxias</i> succeeds <i>Apfander</i> in the archonship of <i>Athens</i> for 10 years. —	II	369
3613	2306	693	The 26th <i>Egyptian</i> dynasty of the <i>Saites</i> begins with the reign of <i>Merres</i> , who governed that kingdom 12 years, and succeeded <i>Taracus</i> . —	I	230
3613	2306	693	<i>Rigibelus</i> succeeds <i>Apranadius</i> in the kingdom of <i>Babylon</i> , and reigned but one year. —	I	946

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3614	2307	692	Mesfismordachus succeeds Rigebeus in the kingdom of Babylon, and reigns four years.	I	946
3616	2309	690	Anaxidamus, son of Zeuxidamus, succeeds his father as one of the two kings of Lacedæmon.	II	577
3618	2311	688	Dejoces, king of Media, extended his empire to the river Halys-Uber.		
3618	2311	688	Upon the death of Mesfismordachus king of Babylon, follows an interregnum, which lasted 8 years.	I	946
3619	2312	687	Gela in Sicily built on a river of the same name, by Antiphemus a Rhodian, and Entimus a Cretan, who each of them heading a colony of their countrymen, came and settled here.	III	11
3619	2312	687	Anaxander, son of Eurycrates, succeeds his father as one of the two kings of Lacedæmon.	II	577
3620	2313	686	Archilochus, the famous inventor of Iambick verse, a native of Paros, now flourished; he wrote so satyrically against Lycambes, his father-in-law, for taking his daughter from him, that Lycambes hanged himself.	III	223
3621	2314	685	The Messenians rebel against the Lacedæmonians, which occasions a second war, which lasted 18 years, in which the Lacedæmonians are beat at Dera, where Aristomenes for his bravery was made general, and offered the kingdom of Messenia.	I	577
3622	2315	684	The government of Athens is now changed into annual archons, chose from among the most considerable of the citizens; the first was Creen.	II	369
3623	2316	683	The Lacedæmonians are beaten again by the Messenians, under their general Aristomenes.	II	578
3624	2317	682	Lyfias is archon at Athens.	II	417
3624	2317	682	The Messenians are betray'd by the Arcadians to the Lacedæmonians.	II	578
3624	2317	682	The Lacedæmonians consult the oracle at Delphos about the success of the Messenian war, and are answered, they must have an Athenian leader; upon which, applying to Athens, they send them one Tyræus, a school-master, who did them mighty service.	II	577
3625	2318	681	Stephinales succeeds Merres in the kingdom of Egypt, and reigns 7 years.	I	230
3625	2318	681	Aristomenes, the Messenian general, celebrates a second time the Hecatombonia, or sacrifice appointed for those who had killed 100 of the enemy with their own hands; after which he lived to do it a third time.	II	580
3626	2319	680	Ardayfus, or Ardayes son of Gyges, succeeds his father in the kingdom of Lydia, and reigned 49 years; during which time the Cimmerians over-run all Asia Minor.	II	333
3626	2319	680	Assaradnus, or Esarbaddon, (king of Nineveh or Assyria) makes himself king of Babylon, for the space of 13 years.	I	895
3628	2321	678	Argæus son of Perdiccas, succeeds his father in the kingdom of Macedonia, and reigns 38 years.	III	271
3629	2322	677	Manasses, king of Judah, being conquered by Esarbaddon king of Babylon, is bound with chains, and so carried prisoner to Babylon, and cast into a dungeon.	I	840
3629	2322	677	Esarbaddon transplants the remnant of the Israelites, and supplies their country with strangers; so that from this time forward it was no more a kingdom in name or thing.	I	896
3630	2323	676	Manasses king of Judah returns from his Babylonish captivity, and reigns 38 years in Judah, where he wrought a great reformation.	I	841
3631	2324	675	Chalcedon, a famous city of Bythynia, built on the Bosphorus which parts Europe from Asia, and joins the Propontis with the Euxine sea.	III	822
3632	2325	674	Nechepsos succeeds Stephinales in the kingdom of Egypt, and reigns 6 years.	I	230
3633	2326	673	Esarbaddon, king of Babylon, reduces the Ethiopians and Egyptians to be his tributaries.	IV	438
3635	2328	671	Leoftratus archon at Athens.	II	417
3637	2330	669	Pisistratus archon at Athens.	II	417
3638	2331	668	Necbo succeeds Nechepsos in the kingdom of Egypt, and reigned 8 years.	I	230
3638	2331	668	Esarbaddon dies, and is succeeded in the kingdom of Babylon by his son Saosdouchinus, who reigned 20 years.	I	897
3638	2331	668	Ira taken by the Lacedæmonians, and Aristomenes dies, which puts an end to the war by driving the Messenians out of Peloponnesus.	II	580
3638	2331	668	Autosthenes is made archon at Athens.	II	417
3638	2331	668	The second Messenian war ends, and Aristocrates, king of the Arcadians, is stoned to death by his people.	II	581
3639	2332	667	The Messenians being invited by Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, they go into Sicily, settle there, and build the famous city of Messene, now called Messina.	II	581
3640	2333	666	Tullus Hostilius succeeds Numa as king of the Romans (after a short interregnum) and reign'd 32 years.	IV	438
3642	2335	664	Miltiades archon at Athens.	II	417
3642	2335	664	The Messenians assist Anaxilas, and take Zanell, and change its name into Messena or Messene.	III	3
3642	2335	664	A sea-fight between the Corinthians and Corcyrians, wherein the latter are beat, and the former take the city of Epidamnium.	III	280
3642	2335	664	Eurycrates the son of Anaxander, and Archidamus (or Hegisicles) the son of Anaxidamus, succeed their fathers jointly in the kingdom of Lacedæmon.	II	582
3643	2336	663	The famous battle between the three Horatii and Curiatii, by which the kingdom of Alba was joined to Rome.	IV	442
3643	2336	663	Suffetius, the Alban king, ordered by the Romans to be ty'd to two chariots, and torn to pieces by horses, for treachery, and all his accomplices to be put to the sword.	IV	443
3644	2337	662	The Romans triumph upon their conquering the Fidenates.	IV	443
3644	2337	662	Acra in Sicily built by the Syracusians upon the mouth of the Eurotas, &c.	III	12
3646	2339	660	Psammetichus succeeds Necbo in the kingdom of Egypt, and reigned 44 years.	I	263

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3647	2340	659	<i>Miltiades</i> archon at <i>Athens</i> .	II	417
3647	2340	659	<i>Cypselus</i> began to tyrannize at <i>Corinth</i> ; he reigned 30 years, (being the first king after the aristocracy.)	III	393
3648	2341	658	<i>Byzantium</i> built (by <i>Pausanias</i> , a <i>Spartan</i> captain) in <i>Thrace</i> , now called <i>Constantinople</i> .	VI	263
3649	2342	657	<i>Alcmeon</i> and <i>Lesches</i> flourished.		
3650	2343	656	<i>Acanthus</i> and <i>Stagira</i> built, (the latter famous for the birth of <i>Hipparchus</i> and <i>Aristotle</i> , who is called the <i>Stagyrite</i> philosopher.)	III	256
3651	2344	655	<i>Istrus</i> , <i>Berytheneus</i> , <i>Lampascus</i> and <i>Abdera</i> built.	II	324
3652	2345	654	The <i>Romans</i> and <i>Sabines</i> make war.	IV	442
3658	2351	648	<i>Phraortes</i> , son of <i>Dejoces</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Media</i> , and reigns 22 years, during which time he subdued <i>Persia</i> and <i>Assia</i> .	II	15
3659	2352	647	<i>Chyniladanus</i> (called also <i>Nebuchadonozor</i> in the scripture) succeeds <i>Sesiduchinus</i> in the kingdom of <i>Babylon</i> , and reigns 22 years.	I	935
3661	2354	645	<i>Drophilus</i> made archon of <i>Athens</i> .	II	417
3661	2354	645	<i>Terpander</i> wrote.		
3663	2356	643	<i>Ammon</i> , the son of <i>Manasses</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Judab</i> , and reigned 2 years. (He was an idolater.)	I	841
3665	2358	641	<i>Ammon</i> king of <i>Judab</i> killed by his servants, and was succeeded by his son <i>Josiah</i> , (but 8 years old) who reigned 31 years, and was the best king ever <i>Judab</i> had.	I	841
3666	2359	640	<i>Philip</i> , son of <i>Argæus</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Macedon</i> , and reigned 38 years.	III	2-1
3666	2359	640	<i>Tyrtæus</i> , the lame <i>Athenian</i> school-master, flourished.	II	577
3667	2360	639	<i>Damastius</i> chose archon of <i>Athens</i> .	II	417
3668	2361	638	<i>Thales</i> , the prince of the <i>Ionic</i> philosophers, born, &c.	II	434
3670	2363	636	<i>Chyniladan</i> (or <i>Nebuchadonozor</i>) conquers and kills <i>Arphaxad</i> king of <i>Media</i> , and makes his kingdom tributary.	I	898
3670	2363	636	<i>Holofernes</i> , the chief general of <i>Nebuchadonozor</i> , (<i>Chyniladan</i>) besieges <i>Babulm</i> with a prodigious army, is charmed by the beauty, &c. of <i>Judith</i> ; she cuts off his head, his army flies and is plundered, &c.	I	901
3673	2366	633	<i>Tullus Hostilius</i> , king of the <i>Romans</i> , and all his family, is destroy'd by lightning, upon which a short interregnum follows, and then the senate chose <i>Anus Marcius</i> , grandson of <i>Numa</i> by his daughter <i>Pompilia</i> , king, who reigned 24 years in <i>Rome</i> .	IV	444
3673	2366	633	<i>Anus</i> wars with the <i>Sabines</i> , takes <i>Politorium</i> , and lays it waste.	IV	445
3674	2367	632	<i>Sinope</i> and <i>Lipara</i> built, (famous <i>Greek</i> cities on the coast of <i>Paphlagonia</i> .)	III	725
3675	2368	631	<i>Jeremiah</i> began to prophesy.	I	846
3675	2368	631	<i>Battus</i> , son of <i>Polymnestus</i> , founded and built the city and kingdom of <i>Cyrene</i> , and reigned 40 years.	III	215
3675	2, 68	631	<i>Sadyattes</i> , the son of <i>Ardysius</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Lydia</i> , and reigns 15 years.	II	334
3676	2369	630	<i>Josiah</i> , king of <i>Judab</i> , begins a reformation in <i>Judab</i> and <i>Jerusalem</i> .	I	843
3676	2369	630	<i>Zephaniah</i> began to prophesy.		
3677	2370	629	<i>Prusias</i> in <i>Bythinia</i> built.		
3677	2370	629	<i>Periander</i> succeeds <i>Cypselus</i> in the kingdom of <i>Corinth</i> , and reigns 40 years.	II	393
3679	2372	627	<i>Epidammius</i> (or <i>Dyrachium</i>) built, and the <i>Megarines</i> send a colony into <i>Sicily</i> .	III	254
3680	2373	626	<i>Nabopolassar</i> succeeds <i>Chyniladanus</i> in the kingdom of <i>Babylon</i> , (or <i>Chaldeæ</i>) and reigns 21 years; during which time he transferred the kingdom of <i>Assyria</i> to <i>Babylon</i> .	I	947
3680	2373	626	The <i>Fidenates</i> and <i>Sabines</i> rebel against the <i>Romans</i> .	IV	445
3680	2373	626	<i>Lucumo Tarquin</i> (called <i>Priscus</i>) an <i>Etrurian</i> , got a command among the <i>Romans</i> , and did great service against the <i>Latins</i> .	IV	447
3681	2374	625	<i>Cyaxares</i> succeeds his father <i>Phraortes</i> in the kingdom of <i>Media</i> , and reigns 40 years: He conquered all above the river <i>Halys</i> , and destroyed <i>Nineveh</i> .	II	16
3682	2375	624	<i>Draco</i> (the bloody law-giver) is chose archon at <i>Athens</i> , and publishes his laws, which he called <i>Sanctions</i> .	II	421
3683	2376	623	<i>Hilkiah</i> , the high priest of the <i>Jews</i> , finds a true copy of the original book of the law, as they were repairing and purging the temple.	I	843
3683	2376	623	All <i>Israel</i> kept the passover, and utterly destroyed idolatry.	I	844
3684	2377	622	The <i>Veientes</i> conquered by the <i>Romans</i> .	IV	445
3684	2377	622	The <i>Gauls</i> , (under <i>Bellovesus</i> , nephew of <i>Ambigatus</i> king of <i>Celtigollia</i>) crossed the <i>Rhodus</i> and the <i>Alps</i> , and settled themselves in that spot of <i>Italy</i> now called <i>Piedmont</i> and <i>Lombardy</i> , then inhabited by the <i>Hebrurians</i> .	VII	391
3686	2379	620	<i>Hilkiah</i> the high priest of the <i>Jews</i> dies, and is succeeded in that office by his son <i>Azariah III</i> .		
3686	2379	620	The <i>Veientes</i> conquered by the <i>Romans</i> again.	IV	445
3686	2379	620	The city of <i>Ostia</i> (a sea-port) built by the <i>Romans</i> .	IV	446
3687	2380	619	<i>Tarquin</i> made a patrician and a senator, as a reward for his bravery against the <i>Veientes</i> .	IV	446
3690	2383	616	The <i>Samians</i> hinder the <i>Corinthians</i> from carrying away 300 youth of the principal families of the <i>Corcyrians</i> to be made eunuchs.	III	190
3690	2383	616	<i>Neco</i> , son of <i>Psammiticus</i> , (called in scripture <i>Pharaoh-Neco</i>) succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Egypt</i> , and reigned 16 years.	I	264
3691	2384	615	<i>Heniocides</i> chose archon at <i>Athens</i> .	II	417
3692	2385	614	<i>Panætiæ</i> was the first tyrant (or absolute prince) in <i>Sicily</i> .		
3696	2389	610	<i>Pharaoh-Neco</i> , king of <i>Egypt</i> , goes against the king of <i>Assyria</i> , to besiege <i>Carchemish</i> , (a city upon the banks of the river <i>Euphrates</i> .)	I	845
3696	2389	610	As <i>Pharaoh-Neco</i> was going against the king of <i>Assyria</i> , in his march through <i>Palestine</i> , <i>Josiah</i> king of <i>Judab</i> rashly opposes him, and is slain in battle, upon which the people set up his son <i>Shallum</i> (or <i>Jehoiakim</i>) who after a reign of		

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			three months, is carried away prisoner to <i>Egypt</i> by <i>Pharab-Necho</i> , who set up his elder brother <i>Eliakim</i> (or <i>Jehoiakim</i>) who reigned 11 years.	I	845
3697	2390	609	<i>Lucurno Tarquin</i> , the Greek, who fled from <i>Corinth</i> to save his wealth and his life, took shelter at <i>Rome</i> , is chose to succeed <i>Ancus</i> (now dead) as king of the <i>Romans</i> , whom he governed 38 years.	IV	447
3697	2390	609	The <i>Romans</i> conquer the <i>Apulians</i> , and build the <i>Circus</i> for the <i>Roman</i> games.	IV	447
3697	2390	609	<i>Habakkuk</i> prophesied the <i>Jewish</i> captivity.	I	847
3697	2390	609	<i>Jeremiah</i> prophesies the <i>Jewish</i> captivity, and likewise <i>Uriah</i> , whom king <i>Jehoiakim</i> puts to death.	I	846
3698	2391	608	<i>Tarquin</i> having overthrown the <i>Hetrurians</i> , &c. <i>Rome</i> , being now at peace, sets about beautifying, cleansing, and fortifying <i>Rome</i> , by building the walls with hewn stone, the famous aquaducts, &c.	IV	449
3699	2392	607	<i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> drives the <i>Egyptians</i> home, and besieges and takes <i>Jerusalem</i> , &c.	I	848
3700	2393	606	<i>Jehoiakim</i> burns the roll of the prophecy wrote by <i>Baruck</i> from the mouth of <i>Jeremiah</i> .	I	847
3700	2393	606	<i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> puts <i>Jehoiakim</i> king of <i>Judah</i> in irons, but soon releases him, and leaves him king under tribute, takes away <i>Daniel</i> and many others to <i>Babylon</i> : This begins the seventy years captivity foretold by <i>Jeremiah</i> the prophet.	I	848
3700	2393	606	<i>Pittacus</i> , the <i>Mytilenean</i> commander, kills <i>Phrynon</i> the <i>Athenian</i> commander, in single combat.	II	422
3701	2394	605	<i>Aristocles</i> archon at <i>Athens</i> .	II	417
3702	2395	604	<i>Critias</i> I. made archon at <i>Athens</i> .	II	417
3702	2395	604	<i>Nabocolasor</i> (in scripture <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i>) becomes king of <i>Babylon</i> , and reigns 43 years.	I	948
3703	2396	603	<i>Daniel</i> interprets king <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> 's dream, and is made governor of the whole province of <i>Babylon</i> , &c.	I	951
3703	2396	603	<i>Jehoiakim</i> , king of <i>Juda</i> , depending upon assistance from <i>Egypt</i> , rebels against <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> , who sends a great army against him, overthrows him, kills him, &c.	I	848
3704	2397	602	<i>Sappho</i> (the famous poetess, the inventress of the <i>Sapphic</i> verse) now flourished.	III	204
3704	2397	602	<i>Eropeas</i> , son of <i>Philip</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Macedon</i> , and reigns 26 years.	III	271
3705	2398	601	The <i>Medes</i> and <i>Lydians</i> being at war, while they were engaged in a battle very furiously together, happens an eclipse of the sun and parts them.	II	18
3706	2399	600	<i>Cylon</i> , and his companions are killed in an attempt of aspiring to the government of <i>Athens</i> .	II	422
3706	2399	600	<i>Psammit</i> succeeds his father <i>Nechus</i> in the throne of <i>Egypt</i> , and reigned 6 years.	I	265
3706	2399	600	<i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> 's army over-runs and destroys all <i>Judah</i> , and takes <i>Jerusalem</i> .	I	848
3706	2399	600	<i>Azariah</i> the high-priest of the <i>Jews</i> dies, and is succeeded in that office by his son <i>Seraia</i> .	I	848
3707	2400	599	<i>Mordecai</i> , queen <i>Ester</i> 's uncle, and <i>Ezekiel</i> carried into captivity.	I	848
3707	2400	599	<i>Jehoiakim</i> king of <i>Judah</i> taken, and killed by <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> , who buries him with the burying of an ass, as prophesied by <i>Jeremiah</i> , &c. <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> sets up his son <i>Jehoiachin</i> (called also <i>Conias</i> , or <i>Jeconias</i>) king in his stead; but after a reign of three months and 10 days, <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> takes him and all <i>Jerusalem</i> captive to <i>Babylon</i> , and sets up his uncle <i>Mattaniah</i> king in his stead, and changed his name into <i>Zedechiab</i> , who reigned tributary to <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> 11 years.	I	848
3707	2400	599	<i>Cyrus</i> , the son of <i>Cambyses</i> king of <i>Persia</i> , and of <i>Mandane</i> daughter of <i>Astyages</i> king of <i>Media</i> , born. (He was surnamed <i>Cyrus the Great</i> .)	II	88
3707	2400	599	The <i>Romans</i> , under king <i>Tarquin</i> , conquers the <i>Fidenæ</i> and the <i>Camerini</i> .	IV	448
3708	2401	598	The <i>Romans</i> entirely conquer the <i>Latins</i> .	IV	449
3709	2402	597	The <i>Sabines</i> and <i>Romans</i> make a drawn battle.	IV	449
3709	2402	597	<i>Camarina</i> (a famous city in <i>Sicily</i>) built by the <i>Syracusians</i> .	III	12
3709	2402	597	<i>Anaxandrides</i> and <i>Ariston</i> jointly reign in <i>Lacedæmon</i> .	II	582
3709	2402	597	The <i>Sabines</i> defeated, beg a truce of 6 years, which is granted.	IV	449
3711	2404	595	The destruction of <i>Babylon</i> by the <i>Medes</i> and <i>Persians</i> , and the restoration of <i>Israel</i> foretold by <i>Jeremiah</i> the prophet, Ch. L. LI. and <i>Baruck</i> in captivity read his book, and <i>Ezekiel</i> being in captivity, had his first vision.	I	846
3711	2404	595	<i>Epimenides</i> the <i>Phestian</i> is sent for to <i>Athens</i> from <i>Crete</i> , to expiate the <i>Athenians</i> , &c.	II	423
3711	2404	595	<i>Philombrotus</i> archon at <i>Athens</i> .	II	417
3712	2405	594	<i>Apris</i> (the <i>Pharab-Hopbra</i> of scripture) succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Egypt</i> .	I	267
3712	2405	594	<i>Solon</i> , the wise law-giver, archon at <i>Athens</i> .	II	417
3714	2407	592	<i>Eucrates</i> archon at <i>Athens</i> .	II	417
3714	2407	592	<i>Anacbaris</i> having vowed to introduce the worship of the mother of the Gods among the <i>Scythians</i> , is slain in the midst of his ceremonial performance.	II	285
3715	2408	591	<i>Zedechiab</i> , king of <i>Judah</i> rebelling, <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> went up against <i>Judia</i> , lays all the country waste, and comes up against <i>Jerusalem</i> .	I	849
3715	2408	591	<i>Archelaus</i> succeeds <i>Battus</i> in the kingdom of <i>Cyrene</i> , and reigns 16 years.	III	215
3716	2409	590	About the middle of winter <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> begins the siege of <i>Jerusalem</i> in form.	I	849
3717	2410	589	<i>Jerusalem</i> closely besieged for 360 days; from hence the 70 years of indignation, mentioned <i>Zech. I. 12. VII. 5.</i> are supposed to commence.	I	848
3717	2410	589	<i>Psammitichus</i> succeeds <i>Periander</i> in the government of <i>Corinth</i> for 3 years.	I	848
3717	2410	589	<i>Jeremiah</i> being in prison, has his own deliverance revealed to him by God. <i>Jvr. xxxix. 15. 18.</i>	I	849

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3718	2411	588	<i>Jeremiah</i> carried captive as far as <i>Ramah</i> , is there released by <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> , upon which he returns home, (and, 'tis supposed, wrote the two books of the <i>Kings</i> .)	I	850
3718	2411	588	The famine prevailing, <i>Jerusalem</i> is broken up by <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> , upon which king <i>Zedekiah</i> flies, but is pursued and taken, and his sons first slain in his presence, then his own eyes are put out, and afterwards he is carried in chains captive to <i>Babylon</i> : On the third day after the taking and plundering the city, by <i>Nebuzar-adan</i> <i>Nebuchadnezzar's</i> general, being the 10th of the 4th month, (our 27 <i>August</i>) the temple, palace, and whole city was burnt to the ground, &c. the walls and fortifications all demolished, and the people carried away captive: Such was the dreadful end of that glorious kingdom, and of the <i>Israelitish</i> monarchs, after it had stood 468 years from the beginning of <i>David's</i> reign, 388 from the revolt of the 10 tribes, and 134 from the exilium of the <i>Israelitish</i> commonwealth.	I	850
3718	2411	588	<i>Seraia</i> , the <i>Jewish</i> high-priest, killed at <i>Riblah</i> by <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> , and his son <i>Jozadak</i> carried captive to <i>Babylon</i> .	I	850
3718	2411	588	<i>Nebuzar-adan</i> leaves <i>Gedaliah</i> governor of <i>Judah</i> , with the power of life and death, who, about three months after was treacherously killed by one <i>Ishmael</i> , &c.	I	851
3719	2412	587	<i>Obed</i> prophesied against the <i>Edomites</i> .		
3720	2413	586	The <i>Pythia</i> (or games in honour of <i>Apollo</i>) exhibited at <i>Delfos</i> , where the victors were crowned with oak leaves.	II	382
3722	2415	584	<i>Astyages</i> (called in scripture <i>Ahasuerus</i>) the son of <i>Cyaxeres</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Media</i> , and reigns 35 years.	II	20
3722	2415	584	<i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> besieging <i>Tyre</i> , was the last carrying away of the <i>Jews</i> by <i>Nebuzar-adan</i> , the <i>Babylonish</i> general.	I	955
3724	2417	582	The victors at the <i>Pythian</i> games are now first crowned with laurel, from whence some call this the first <i>Pythias</i> .	II	382
3724	2417	582	The <i>Isthmean</i> games now restored, (first instituted by <i>Theseus</i> at <i>Corinth</i> in honour of <i>Neptune</i> ;) the victors were crowned with pine leaves.	II	366
3724	2417	582	<i>Damascus</i> archon at <i>Athens</i> .	II	417
3730	2423	576	<i>Alcetas</i> , the son of <i>Ærope</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Macedon</i> , and reigns 29 years.	III	271
3731	2424	575	<i>Battus II.</i> succeeds <i>Arcefilaus</i> in the kingdom of <i>Cyrene</i> , and reigns 21 years.	III	215
3734	2427	572	<i>Phalaris</i> , the cruel tyrant of <i>Agriantum</i> , begun his 16 years reign.	III	128
3734	2427	572	<i>Tyre</i> , after 13 years siege, yields to <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> . <i>Ezek.</i> xxix. 18.	I	955
3734	2427	572	<i>Tarquin</i> , king of <i>Rome</i> , treacherously murdered, and succeeded by his son-in-law <i>Servius Tullius</i> , who reigned 44 years.	IV	453
3735	2428	571	The <i>Jews</i> in <i>Egypt</i> carried to <i>Babylon</i> .	I	956
3735	2428	571	<i>Servius Tullius</i> defeats the <i>Volturnes</i> , &c. for which he has a triumph, and is legally elected king by the <i>Curia</i> .	IV	454
3735	2428	571	<i>Apries</i> , king of <i>Egypt</i> , is drove out of his kingdom by <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> king of <i>Babylon</i> .	I	956
3736	2429	570	<i>Nebuchadnezzar's</i> dream of the great tree, &c. and <i>Daniel's</i> interpretation, &c.	I	962
3736	2429	570	<i>Servius</i> a second time defeats the <i>Hetrurians</i> , and has a second triumph, and then enlarges the city of <i>Rome</i> , &c.	IV	455
3736	2429	570	<i>Aristomenes</i> made archon at <i>Athens</i> .	II	417
3737	2430	569	<i>Apries</i> king of <i>Egypt</i> gives battle to <i>Amasis</i> , Viceroy of <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> , but is defeated, taken prisoner and strangled, and <i>Amasis</i> reigned 44 years as king of <i>Egypt</i> .	I	956
3737	2430	569	<i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> becomes mad, and is driven out of his kingdom for seven years.	I	963
3739	2432	567	The <i>Nemean</i> games renewed.		
3744	2437	562	<i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> throws his son <i>Evil-merodach</i> into prison, for male administration during his illness.	I	964
3744	2437	562	<i>Cræsus</i> , son of <i>Hallyattes</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Lydia</i> , and reigned 14 years.	II	334
3744	2437	562	<i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> is restored to his senses.	I	964
3744	2437	562	The first comedy at <i>Athens</i> made by <i>Sufarion</i> , and acted upon a moveable scaffold.		
3745	2438	561	<i>Iloardudamus</i> (called in scripture <i>Evil-merodach</i>) becomes king of <i>Babylon</i> , and reigns 2 years, when he is murdered by <i>Neriglissar</i> (his sister's husband) who succeeds him in the kingdom.	I	965
3745	2438	561	<i>Comias</i> made archon at <i>Athens</i> . During his reign, <i>Pisistratus</i> set up his tyranny or absolute government in <i>Athens</i> .	II	417
3745	2438	561	<i>Evil-merodach</i> prefers <i>Jechoniah</i> king of <i>Judah</i> above all his captive kings.	I	965
3745	2438	561	The prophet <i>Daniel</i> obtains great favour in the eyes of <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> .	I	951
3745	2438	561	<i>Æsop</i> the famous fabulist dies.		
3746	2439	560	<i>Pisistratus</i> , <i>Solon's</i> kinsman, having obtained a guard for his private person, seizes the citadel of <i>Athens</i> , and turns the commonwealth into a kingdom, reigning alone under the name of a tyrant, (though a very good prince.)	II	446
3746	2439	560	<i>Theopis</i> the <i>Athenian</i> poet, the inventor of tragedy, about this time introduced it into <i>Athens</i> , together with the use of masks or painted faces, &c.	II	446
3746	2439	560	<i>Servius Tullius</i> having spent his time in regulating the kingdom by good laws, &c. established a <i>Census</i> (or valuation of each man's estate to be taken, and the possessors to be esteem'd of such and such a rank, in proportion to the value thereof,) every five years, at which time a solemn lustration, or expiatory sacrifice for all the people, was performed: From this institution the <i>Romans</i> computed time, making this first an <i>Æra</i> to reckon from. <i>Servius</i> is supposed to coin the first money in <i>Rome</i> with the figures of the animals that were then sacrificed upon it.	IV	457
3746	2439	560	<i>Hegestratus</i> made archon at <i>Athens</i> .	II	417

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3746	2439	560	Cyrus (son of Cambyses, by Mandane daughter of Ahyages) began to reign over Persia.	II	82
3747	2440	559	Solon dies, aged 79 years.	II	448
3747	2440	559	Niricassolassar succeeds Evil-merodach in the kingdom of Babylon, and reigned 4 years.	I	935
3747	2440	559	Servius Tullius makes a law to form a fourth tribe among the Romans, and abridges the royal power, by giving the judgment of all common matters to the senate, and reserving only state crimes to the crown.	IV	457
3749	2442	557	Simonides born.	III	217
3750	2443	556	Phalaris kill'd by the Agrigentines, for his extraordinary cruelty and tyranny.	III	128
3750	2443	556	Euthydemus made archon at Athens.	II	417
3750	2443	556	Chilo, one of the seven wise men of Greece, was Euphorus.		
3751	2444	555	Laborjarched, son of Niricassolassar, succeeds his father in the kingdom of Babylon, and reigned 9 months.	I	935
3751	2444	555	Daniel has the vision of the four monarchies.	I	938
3751	2444	555	Nabonadius (in scripture called Belshazzar) succeeds Laborjarched in the kingdom of Babylon, and reigned 17 years.	I	935
3752	2445	554	Arcefilaus II. becomes king of Cyrene, and reigns 4 years.	III	215
3752	2445	454	Barce (a sea port of Cyrenaica) built by the brothers of Arcefilaus king of Cyrene.	VII	151
3753	2446	553	Daniel sees the vision of the Persian and Grecian monarchies.	I	958
3755	2448	551	Confucius born.		
3756	2449	550	Battus III. succeeds in the kingdom of Cyrene, and reigns 24 years.	III	215
3757	2450	549	Cyaxares II. son of Ahyages, succeeds his father in the kingdom of Media, and reigns 24 years. (In scripture called Darius the Mede. Dan. ix.)	II	16
3758	2451	548	Cræsus passing the river Halys upon a bridge built by Thales, is taken by Cyrus at Sardis, who carried him away captive, put an end to the kingdom of Lydia, after it had stood 248 years under the government of 9 kings, and made it a province of Persia.	II	336
3758	2451	548	Thales dies, aged 90 years, and is succeeded in his school by Anaximander.	I	18
3759	2452	547	Amynas, son of Alctus, succeeds his father in the kingdom of Macedon, and reigns 53 years.	III	271
3759	2452	547	Anaximander dies, aged 64 years, and is succeeded by Anaximenes in his school.	I	19
3761	2454	545	The Medes go against the Ionians.	II	109
3763	2456	543	The united fleets of the Carthaginians and Etruscans engage the Phœceans in the Sardinian sea, and sink or disable their whole fleet, upon which the Phœceans are obliged to quit the island of Cyrrus (now Corsica) to the Carthaginians and Etruscans.	VI	724
3768	2461	538	Daniel interprets the hand-writing upon the wall to Belshazzar, and is promoted to be the chief of the three princes over the whole kingdom of Babylon.	I	971
3768	2461	538	Daniel is cast into the lion's den, but is preserved, and sees the vision of the 70 weeks, &c.	I	972
3768	2461	538	Cyrus takes Babylon and kills Belshazzar; Darius (or Cyaxares) becomes king of Babylon for 2 years.	II	92
3769	2462	537	Mathæus, the Carthaginian general, gains great advantages for his countrymen over the Africans.	VI	713
3770	2463	536	Cyrus makes a decree, and sends Zerubabel (or the supreme judge over all that returned) of the seed of David, and the high-priest Jeshua, with a great number of Jews to Jerusalem, with authority to rebuild the temple, and to have the free exercise of their religion.	II	94
3770	2463	536	Athenæus made archon at Athens.	II	417
3770	2463	536	The first great monarchy of Babylon dissolved, after it had stood 210 years under 21 kings and two interregnums.	II	92
3770	2463	536	Cyaxares (or Darius the Mede) dies, and is succeeded by Cyrus, whose father, Cambyses king of Persia, dying likewise, he unites the two kingdoms, and forms the second great monarchy, under the name of the Persian monarchy, over which he reigned 7 years.	II	93
3770	2463	536	Mathæus, the Carthaginian general, reduces a great part of the island of Sicily to the obedience of Carthage.	VI	724
3771	2464	535	The foundation of the new temple at Jerusalem is laid, and Jeshua the son of Jozadak made high-priest: The Cuthim offer to assist in building, but being refus'd, get a stop to be put to it.	II	94
3771	2464	535	The plague makes dreadful havock at Carthage, whereupon the Carthaginians sacrifice their children to appease the Gods.	VI	725
3772	2465	534	Daniel sees his last vision, as recorded in the X. XI. and XII. chapters of the book of Daniel.	II	93
3774	2467	532	Polycrates and his brother Pantagrotus tyrants together at Samos, but Polycrates soon reigns alone.	III	190
3776	2469	530	Mathæus, with the Carthaginian army, leaves Sicily, and invades Sardinia, where he is defeated and half his army destroyed, upon which the senate banishes the general and the remainder of his army, who revenge themselves by besieging Carthage, and crucifying Cartalo, the son of Mathæus; and after the surrender of the city, they put 10 senators to death, and so re-establish the publick peace.	VI	726
3777	2470	529	Cambyses (in scripture also called Abasuerus) son of Cyrus, succeeds his father in the united kingdoms of Persia and Media, or the 2d great monarchy, and reigns about 8 years.	II	92
3777	2470	529	Tarquin (surnamed the proud) son-in-law to Servius king of the Romans, conspires against his father and murders him, ascends the throne, and reigns very arbitrarily and cruelly 25 years.	IV	458
3778	2471	528	Pisistratus the tyrant of Athens dies, after 33 years reign, though twice interrupted, and is succeeded by his sons Hipparchus and Hippias.	II	453

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378c	2473	526	<i>Arcefilaus</i> III. succeeds <i>Battus</i> III. in the kingdom of <i>Cyrene</i> , but after one year's reign he yields his kingdom to <i>Cambyfes</i> king of <i>Perſia</i> .	II	93
3781	2474	525	<i>Plammenitus</i> ſucceeds his father <i>Amafis</i> in the kingdom of <i>Egypt</i> , but after a reign of 6 months is conquered by <i>Cambyfes</i> king of <i>Perſia</i> , and the whole country becomes tributary to <i>Cambyfes</i> .	II	96
3782	2475	524	<i>Cambyfes</i> king of <i>Perſia</i> marches with a great army againſt <i>Ethiopia</i> , and is ſo diſtreſſed for food, that every tenth man in his army is ſlain by lot to feed the other nine. On his return to <i>Thebes</i> he cauſed all the temples to be pillaged and burnt to the ground; there was 300 talents of gold and 2300 talents of ſilver ſaved out of the flames; he likewiſe carried away the famous gold circle that encompassed the tomb of king <i>Ozymandias</i> , which was 365 cubits in circumference, and had upon it the representation of the motions of the ſeveral conſtellations, &c.	II	97
3782	2475	524	<i>Cambyfes</i> firſt marries, and then murders his own ſiſter <i>Meroe</i> , by kicking her on the belly while great with child.	II	98
3783	2476	523	<i>Polycrates</i> , tyrant of <i>Samos</i> , is treacherouſly murdered by <i>Oretes</i> the <i>Perſian</i> governor of <i>Sardis</i> (under <i>Cyrus</i>) at <i>Sardis</i> ; upon hearing whereof <i>Meandrus</i> , ſecretary to <i>Polycrates</i> , ſets himſelf up for his ſucceſſor, and being eſtabliſh'd in the ſupreme power, offers to reſtore the <i>Samians</i> to their former liberty, &c.	III	195
3783	2476	523	<i>Machæus</i> the <i>Carthaginian</i> general endeavours to overturn the government of <i>Carthage</i> , and introduce arbitrary power, for which he was put to death, and ſucceeded in the generalſhip by <i>Mago</i> .	VI	714
3783	2476	523	<i>Cambyfes</i> king of <i>Perſia</i> orders his brother <i>Smerdis</i> to be murdered, for fear he ſhould, during his abſence, take the kingdom from him.	H	98
3784	2477	522	<i>Cambyfes</i> king of <i>Perſia</i> dies, and is ſucceeded by <i>Smerdis</i> , brother of <i>Patizites</i> , who being perſonally like <i>Smerdis</i> the ſon of <i>Cyrus</i> and brother of <i>Cambyfes</i> pretended to be the real perſon, and ſo got himſelf eſtabliſhed in the empire, and reigned about 8 months.	II	100
3784	2477	522	<i>Darius</i> ſon of <i>Hyaſſapiſ</i> , a noble <i>Perſian</i> of the royal family of <i>Achæmenes</i> , governor of the province of <i>Perſia</i> , with 7 other lords, conſpire againſt and murder the impoſtor <i>Smerdis</i> , the then reigning <i>Perſian</i> monarch, and choſe king in his ſtead: To ſtrengthen his intereſt he married <i>Atoſſa</i> and <i>Artiſtoda</i> , the two daughters of <i>Cyrus</i> ; alſo <i>Parmys</i> , the daughter of <i>Smerdis</i> the real ſon of <i>Cyrus</i> , (who was murdered by order of his brother <i>Cambyfes</i>) and <i>Phedyma</i> the daughter of <i>Otanis</i> , (one of the ſeven lords who aſſiſted <i>Darius</i> , and who detected <i>Smerdis</i> the impoſtor.) He reigned 36 years.	II	103
3786	2479	520	<i>Arcefilaus</i> III. king of <i>Cyrene</i> , revolts from <i>Perſia</i> , but being purſued to <i>Barys</i> was killed there; upon which his mother <i>Pheretyme</i> , getting an army in <i>Egypt</i> , returns to <i>Cyrene</i> , and reigned there 6 years.	VII	173
3788	2481	518	<i>Darius</i> , king of <i>Perſia</i> , makes a decree to enable the <i>Jews</i> to go on with rebuilding the temple at <i>Jeruſalem</i> .	IV	10
3789	2482	517	The <i>Babylonians</i> revolt from <i>Darius</i> king of <i>Perſia</i> , upon which <i>Darius</i> comes with a great army and beſieges <i>Babylon</i> ; the <i>Babylonians</i> to make their provisions hold out, collect the women, old men, and children, and ſtrangle them without diſtinction.	H	105
3790	2483	516	The temple of <i>Jeruſalem</i> finiſhed by <i>Zerubabel</i> , the civil governor under <i>Darius</i> king of <i>Perſia</i> , and <i>Jebu</i> the high-prieſt, in the month <i>Adar</i> , anſwering in part to our <i>February</i> .	IV	10
3791	2484	515	<i>Darius</i> king of <i>Perſia</i> puts away his wife <i>Vaſhti</i> , and promotes <i>Eſther</i> , a <i>Jew</i> eſs, to be queen in her ſtead.	IV	11
3791	2484	515	<i>Darius</i> takes <i>Babylon</i> , by the aſſiſtance and artifice of <i>Zopyrus</i> , one of his chief commanders, and broke down the walls that were 200 cubits high to 50 cubits high.	II	105
3792	2485	514	<i>Pheretyme</i> dying in <i>Egypt</i> , is ſucceeded by <i>Battus</i> IV. in the kingdom of <i>Cyrene</i> , where he reigned 48 years.	VII	173
3793	2486	513	<i>Hipparchus</i> , one of the tyrants of <i>Athens</i> , is killed by <i>Harmodius</i> and <i>Ariſtogiton</i> ; and then <i>Hippias</i> reigned alone in ſo cruel a manner, that the people expelled him three years afterwards.	H	453
3796	2489	510	<i>Cleomenes</i> and <i>Demaratus</i> jointly reign kings in <i>Lacedæmon</i> .	II	558
3797	2490	509	<i>Haman</i> , an <i>Amalekite</i> , having got into favour at <i>Darius</i> 's court, out of ſpite to <i>Mordecai</i> , queen <i>Eſther</i> 's uncle, he gets an order to deſtroy all the <i>Jews</i> on the 13th of the month <i>Adar</i> ; but <i>Eſther</i> petitions the king, and gets an order for the <i>Jews</i> to kill all their enemies, on that and the following days, throughout all the provinces of his vaſt dominions, upon which <i>Haman</i> was hang'd, &c. In memory of this deliverance the <i>Jews</i> keep the feaſt of <i>Purim</i> to this day, on the 13th and 14th days of <i>Adar</i> .	IV	12
3797	2490	509	The tyrant <i>Hippias</i> flies from <i>Athens</i> to <i>Darius</i> king of <i>Perſia</i> .	III	275
3797	2490	509	In the bloody war between the <i>Crotonians</i> and <i>Sybarites</i> , <i>Milo</i> , the general of the <i>Crotons</i> , conquers 300,000 <i>Sybarites</i> with 100,000 <i>Crotons</i> ; upon which <i>Milo</i> deſtroys <i>Sybaris</i> , &c. This <i>Milo</i> was the diſciple of <i>Pythagoras</i> , and had been ſix times victor in the <i>Olympic</i> games, and often in others. (ſee note B.)	II	492
3798	2491	508	The <i>Carthaginians</i> and <i>Romans</i> make a league of amity together for the firſt time.	VI	714
3800	2493	506	<i>Pythagoras</i> the famous philoſopher died. (Note O.)	IV	194
3800	2493	506	<i>Tarquin</i> , king of the <i>Romans</i> , buys the <i>Sybiline</i> books, and appoints two perſons, called the <i>Duumviri</i> , to be their guardians, and orders them to be lock'd up in a vault under the temple of <i>Jupiter Capitolinus</i> , (the moſt magnificent and expensive building that ever was erected) where they remain'd till they and the temple were burnt together.	IV	463
3800	2493	506	Upon a raging plague breaking out at <i>Rome</i> , <i>Tarquin</i> ſends his two ſons to conſult the oracle at <i>Delphos</i> , who being aſk'd, who ſhould be prince of <i>Rome</i> , anſwer'd, he that firſt kiſs'd his mother; which <i>Brutus</i> , one of their company, ex-		

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			plained mystically, by falling down upon the ground as soon as he came within the limits of <i>Italy</i> , and kiss'd the earth, the common parent of mankind.	IV	464
3801	2494	505	<i>Tarquin</i> , king of the <i>Romans</i> , having ravish'd <i>Lucretia</i> , the wife of <i>Collatinus</i> , she assembles her father, &c. tells them what had happened, and then stabs herself; upon which <i>Junius Brutus</i> assembles the senate, inveighs bitterly against <i>Tarquin</i> , &c. so that the senate and people deprived <i>Tarquin</i> of the crown, banished him and all his family for ever, and dissolved the regal government, and turned it into a commonwealth under the management of two annual consuls, &c. the first whereof were <i>Junius Brutus</i> and <i>Tarquinius Collatinus</i> , &c.	IV	466
3802	2495	504	<i>Collatinus</i> is oblig'd to resign the consulship with shame, and <i>Publius Valerius</i> is chose in his stead.	IV	471
3802	2495	504	<i>Tarquin</i> raises the <i>Veientes</i> , &c. and comes against <i>Rome</i> : The consuls command the <i>Roman</i> army: <i>Brutus</i> is slain, but <i>Valerius</i> comes off conqueror.	IV	472
3802	2495	504	<i>Valerius</i> summons the people, and they chuse <i>Sp. Lucretius</i> his Colleague; but he dying in a few days, <i>Valerius</i> reigns alone, and from his love to the real interest of his country was called <i>Poplicola</i> , or <i>Popular</i> .	IV	473
3803	2496	503	<i>Poplicola</i> and <i>T. Lucretius</i> chose consuls; they revive the <i>Census</i> and <i>Lustrum</i> , and find 130,000 men in <i>Rome</i> past the age of puberty.	IV	473
3803	2496	503	<i>Naxos</i> , the famous and fruitful city of the <i>Cyclades</i> in <i>Sicily</i> , besieged by <i>Aristagoras</i> , governor of <i>Miletus</i> in <i>Ionis</i> , assisted with 200 ships and a considerable army of land forces from <i>Darius</i> king of <i>Persia</i> ; but after 4 months, the siege was rais'd, &c. by their being forewarned of the design, by <i>Negabates</i> the <i>Persian</i> general, out of pique to <i>Aristagoras</i> , with whom he had quarrell'd.	III	221
3804	2497	502	<i>Histæus</i> , tyrant of <i>Miletus</i> in <i>Ionis</i> , persuades <i>Aristagoras</i> to revolt from <i>Darius</i> , which he does, and gets many of the <i>Greeks</i> on his side.	III	221
3804	2497	502	<i>Porfenna</i> , king of <i>Clusium</i> , at the head of a great multitude of <i>Ettrurians</i> , espouses <i>Tarquin's</i> cause, which defeat and intimidate the <i>Romans</i> for a while; but by the bravery of <i>Horatius Cocles</i> the <i>Romans</i> were supported, and by means of <i>Muricius Scævola's</i> extraordinary courage a peace is made, and the <i>Tarquins</i> rejected by <i>Porfenna</i> , &c.	IV	476
3805	2498	501	<i>Spurius Lartius</i> and <i>T. Herminius</i> chose consuls at <i>Rome</i> for this year.	IV	477
3806	2499	500	<i>M. Valerius</i> and <i>P. Posthumius</i> being consuls, twice defeat the <i>Sabines</i> , who invaded the <i>Roman</i> territories, for which they were decreed a triumph, and extraordinary honours and privileges.	IV	477
3806	2499	500	<i>Gorgus</i> , brother of <i>Onesilus</i> , being king of <i>Salamis</i> in <i>Cyprus</i> , <i>Onesilus</i> raises a party, drives out <i>Gorgus</i> , and shakes off the <i>Persian</i> yoke.	III	177
3807	2500	499	<i>Zeno Eleates</i> , the famous <i>Athenian</i> philosopher, born at <i>Pergamus</i> , now flourished and taught the doctrine of <i>Xenophanes</i> , viz. That God and the world is one and the same thing, &c.	I	6
3807	2500	499	<i>Poplicola</i> being the 4th time consul of <i>Rome</i> , the <i>Sabines</i> resolve to renew the war: upon which <i>Atius Clausus</i> , the greatest man in all <i>Sabinia</i> , with 5000 families, comes over to the <i>Romans</i> , and changes his name for <i>Appius Claudius</i> : <i>Poplicola</i> engages and entirely routs the <i>Sabines</i> , is honoured with a triumph, and dies, &c.	IV	478
3808	2501	498	<i>Aristagoras</i> , the <i>Ionian</i> , killed in <i>Thrace</i> by the <i>Persians</i> in battle, from whom he had persuaded the <i>Ionians</i> to revolt.	II	110
3808	2501	498	The <i>Sabines</i> again attack the <i>Romans</i> , and are entirely defeated by <i>Mentius</i> the consul, for which he is granted a triumph, and his colleague <i>Posthumius</i> an ovation.	IV	479
3809	2502	497	<i>Histæus</i> , the <i>Ionian</i> , crucify'd at <i>Sardis</i> by <i>Artaphernes</i> , general of the <i>Persian</i> army under <i>Darius</i> king of <i>Persia</i> .	II	111
3809	2502	497	<i>Hippocrates</i> began his tyranny at <i>Gela</i> .	III	15
3809	2502	497	The <i>Sabines</i> being troublesome, the new consul <i>Cassius Ucellinus</i> overthrows them in a pitch'd battle, kills 10,000 upon the spot, upon which they sue for peace, which is granted them upon condition of their paying great sums of money, and furnishing large quantities of corn, and yielding up 10,000 acres of arable land.	IV	479
3809	2502	497	<i>Alexander</i> , the son of <i>Amynias</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Macedon</i> , and reigned 43 years.	III	271
3810	2503	496	The conspiracy of the <i>Tarquins</i> to murder the senators, and establish themselves upon the <i>Roman</i> throne again, is discovered by <i>Publius</i> and <i>Marcus</i> , upon which the conspirators were taken and put to death, &c.	IV	481
3811	2504	495	<i>Darius</i> , king of <i>Persia</i> , first reduces the <i>Greek</i> islands under his dominion, and lays a tribute on all the provinces, (<i>Esther</i> X) which before only paid a free gift.	III	197
3812	2535	494	<i>Mardonius</i> , the <i>Persian</i> general, loses 300 ships about mount <i>Atbos</i> , and more than 20,000 men, by a violent storm that drove about half his fleet on shore, &c.	III	275
3813	2506	493	The dignity of dictator, or absolute governor in the <i>Roman</i> commonwealth for 6 months, is created, and <i>Lartius</i> the consul is made the first dictator, who promoted <i>Sp. Cassius</i> general of the horse, or second man in the government, which office died with the dictatorship.	IV	482
3813	2506	493	<i>Lartius</i> the dictator, having made a truce with the <i>Latins</i> for a year, lays down the dictatorship before the expiration of the time appointed for the continuance of that office.	IV	482
3814	2507	492	<i>Posthumius</i> , the <i>Roman</i> consul, being made dictator, goes against and engages the <i>Latins</i> , kills 33,000 men, and their three generals, and so ended the war entered into to reseatle <i>Tarquin</i> on the <i>Roman</i> throne, who hereupon retired to <i>Cumæ</i> , and died there in the 90th year of his age and 14th of his exile.	IV	484
3815	2508	491	<i>Hybridides</i> made archon (or Judge) at <i>Athens</i> this year.	II	453
3815	2508	491	<i>Cleomenes</i> , joint king of <i>Sparta</i> , thrusts out his colleague <i>Demaratus</i> , and <i>Leotychides</i> succeeds and reigns with <i>Leonidas</i> .	II	558
3815	2508	491	<i>Cleomenes</i> , joint king of <i>Sparta</i> , kills himself, and is succeeded by <i>Leonidas</i> , the second son of <i>Anaxandrides</i> .	II	558

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3815	2508	491	The <i>Romans</i> make a law, that all persons entering themselves into the army should be free from all prosecutions for debt, upon which the army under <i>P. Servilius</i> the consul becomes very numerous, with which he engages the <i>Volsi</i> and defeats them entirely; whereupon demanding a triumph, he is denied it, but gives himself one by force of arms.	IV	486
3815	3508	491	<i>Miltiades</i> , the <i>Athenian</i> general, with only 10,000 men overcomes the <i>Persian</i> general <i>Datis</i> , with 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse, in the plains of <i>Marathon</i> , killing vast numbers, and driving the rest on board their ships, many of which he also burnt and destroyed.	II	112
3816	2509	490	The book of <i>Esther</i> is now supposed to be wrote by <i>Mordecai</i> , uncle to <i>Esther</i> the <i>Jewess</i> , queen of <i>Persia</i> instead of <i>Vashti</i> , who was put away for disobedience.		
3816	2509	490	<i>Pausanias</i> , king of <i>Sparta</i> , conspires with <i>Artabazus</i> the <i>Persian</i> general to make himself sovereign of all <i>Greece</i> , for which the allies deprive him of his command of the allied army, and even besiege him in <i>Byzantium</i> , from whence flying to <i>Heraclea</i> he returned to <i>Sparta</i> , where the <i>Ephori</i> try him, but pass him by for a time; but continuing his male practices, and being pursued, flew into the temple of <i>Minerva Chalcidica</i> , where he was starved to death.	II	593
3816	2509	490	<i>Manius Valerius</i> , brother of <i>Poplicola</i> , is chose dictator of <i>Rome</i> ; by whose wise management the publick dissensions between the people and patricians were appeased, and all the foreign enemies of <i>Rome</i> subdued; for which he was decreed a triumph.	IV	848
3816	2509	490	The city of <i>Eretria</i> in <i>Eubœa</i> being treacherously delivered into the hands of the <i>Persians</i> , was by them first pillaged, then burnt, and the inhabitants sold for slaves.	II	460
3817	2510	489	<i>Leotychides</i> , king of <i>Sparta</i> , takes bribes of the <i>Thessalians</i> , profess'd enemies of his country; but being detected, he flies to <i>Tegea</i> , and dies there in exile.	II	594
3817	2510	489	<i>Valerius</i> lays down the dictatorship, and the <i>Roman</i> people rise in arms upon account of the law of indemnity from debt, not being confirm'd, &c.	IV	490
3817	2510	489	<i>Mago</i> , having thoroughly introduced a strict military discipline into the <i>Carthaginian</i> troops, and behaved in an unexceptionable manner in all his great posts and employments, dies, and is succeeded in his honours and estates by his two sons <i>Asdrubal</i> and <i>Hamilcar</i> .	VI	714
3817	2510	489	The <i>Carthaginians</i> endeavour to free themselves from paying an annual tribute to the <i>Africans</i> for the ground whereon their city of <i>Carthage</i> stood, are beat by the <i>Africans</i> , and the tribute fix'd more firmly than before.	VI	728
3818	2511	488	The <i>Roman</i> Senate agrees to pass the law of indemnity from debt, and choose five officers out of the people, or plebeians, called them tribunes, whose office was to examine and disannul all laws pass'd by the senate that were injurious to the people; upon which the people return to their duty, &c.	IV	492
3818	2511	488	<i>Miltiades</i> (one of the ten <i>Athenian</i> generals) going against the <i>Persians</i> , miscarries; at his return to <i>Athens</i> he is try'd, and condemn'd to pay fifty talents, (the whole charge of the expedition;) but not being able to pay, is cast into prison, &c.	II	465
3818	2511	488	<i>Darius</i> king of <i>Persia</i> sends ambassadors to <i>Carthage</i> , to desire those people to abstain from human sacrifices, and the eating dogs flesh, to burn their dead and not to bury them, and to furnish him with a body of auxiliary troops against the <i>Greeks</i> ; all which they comply'd with, except the last.	VI	728
3819	2512	487	<i>Cominius</i> the <i>Roman</i> consul honours <i>Caius Martius</i> with the surname of <i>Coriolanus</i> , for his taking <i>Corioli</i> , the metropolis of the <i>Volsi</i> , and being greatly instrumental in defeating the armies of the <i>Volsians</i> and <i>Antiates</i> ; this consulship ended with a census and lustrum, when it appeared there were but 100,000 men in <i>Rome</i> fit to bear arms.	IV	493
3820	2513	486	A great famine at <i>Rome</i> breeds a civil dissention, upon which the <i>Antiates</i> make incursions into the <i>Roman</i> territories, and even threaten <i>Rome</i> itself; upon which <i>Coriolanus</i> assembles a band of volunteers, advances into the enemies country, defeats them several times, and returns loaded with booty, &c.	IV	493
3820	2513	486	<i>Xerxes</i> (son of <i>Darius Hystaspes</i> , by <i>Atossa</i> the daughter of <i>Cyrus</i>) succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Persia</i> , and reigned 21 years. <i>Artamenes</i> , his half brother, son of <i>Darius</i> by the daughter of <i>Gobryas</i> , oppos'd him, pleading his primogeniture, but finding himself too weak to contest it, yields the kingdom to him.	II	114
3820	2513	486	<i>Coriolanus</i> , after a long dispute between the Senate and people, is condemned to banishment; upon which he goes over to the <i>Volsi</i> .	IV	498
3820	2513	486	<i>Asdrubal</i> , the <i>Carthaginian</i> general in <i>Sardinia</i> , dying of his wounds, the command of that army falls upon his brother <i>Hamilcar</i> .	VI	714
3821	2514	485	<i>Xerxes</i> , king of <i>Persia</i> , renews, confirms, and enlarges the former privileges granted to the <i>Jews</i> .	IV	11
3821	2514	485	<i>Coriolanus</i> , as general of the <i>Volsian</i> army, besieges <i>Rome</i> , is wrought upon by his mother, wife, and the <i>Roman</i> matrons, to raise the siege, for which he was stabbed in the <i>Volsian</i> senate, when he appeared to answer the complaints exhibited against him.	IV	502
3821	2514	485	<i>Gelon</i> (a native of <i>Gela</i> in <i>Sicily</i>) upon the death of <i>Hippocrates</i> , under pretence of defending the rights of <i>Hippocrates</i> 's children, after several engagements with, and overcoming the <i>Syracusans</i> , &c. was declared the first king thereof, and reigned 18 years with great applause, striving all that time to do all the good possible.	III	18
3821	2514	485	The <i>Sicilians</i> beg the assistance of <i>Leonidas</i> , the <i>Athenian</i> general, against the <i>Carthaginians</i> , but are refus'd; whereupon <i>Gelon</i> defends himself, &c.	VI	728
3822	2515	484	<i>Xerxes</i> king of <i>Persia</i> goes against the <i>Egyptians</i> , who had revolted from him, overcame them, and fix'd his brother <i>Acbementis</i> viceroy, and then returns to <i>Susa</i> .	II	115

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3823	2516	483	<i>Aristides</i> is banish'd <i>Athens</i> , by ostracism; viz. a writing the accused person's name upon a shell by the freemen, which, if they amounted to 6000, banished the person for ten years. —	II	467
3823	2516	483	<i>Aquilius Tuscus</i> and <i>Sicinnius</i> being consuls at <i>Rome</i> , <i>Tuscus</i> gains a complete victory over the <i>Hermici</i> , and is voted an ovation. <i>Sabinus</i> overcomes the <i>Volsci</i> , kills their general, and takes their camp, for which he is decreed a triumph, &c. —	IV	503
3824	2517	482	The <i>Agrarian</i> law for dividing the conquered lands among the people &c. —	IV	503
3825	2518	481	<i>Cassius</i> is accus'd by his own father of aspiring to the <i>Roman</i> sovereignty, and is condemned and executed, by being cast headlong from the <i>Tarpeian</i> rock. —	IV	505
3826	2519	480	The <i>Roman</i> senate order the consecration of the temple of <i>Castor</i> and <i>Pollux</i> . —	IV	505
3826	2519	480	<i>Themistocles</i> buys off <i>Epycides</i> from soliciting to be made general of the <i>Athenian</i> forces, and gets himself elected; procures an act to recall all the banished, by which means <i>Aristides</i> returns home. at the end of 3 instead of 10 years. —	II	468
3826	2519	480	<i>Jesha</i> the <i>Jewish</i> high-priest dies, and is succeeded in that office by his son <i>Joiakim</i> , who held that office 36 years. —	IV	11
3826	2519	480	About this time the <i>Rhodians</i> laid aside the monarchic form of government, and introduced the republican form among them. —	III	134
3826	2519	480	<i>Xerxes</i> makes his first expedition into <i>Greece</i> , whose army, when he arrived at <i>Thermopylae</i> , a narrow pass that divides <i>Thessaly</i> from <i>Greece</i> , consisted of 2,641,610 soldiers, exclusive of servants, eunuchs, women, sutlers, &c. computed at as many more. —	II	118
3826	2519	480	<i>Leonidas</i> joint king of <i>Sparta</i> , and 300 <i>Spartans</i> , resolutely resist the <i>Persians</i> at <i>Thermopylae</i> , and are all slain; and is succeeded in the kingdom by his son <i>Cleombrotus</i> , who dying very soon, was succeeded by his son <i>Pausanias</i> , tutor to <i>Plistarchus</i> son of <i>Leonidas</i> . —	II	121
3826	2519	480	<i>Xerxes</i> takes <i>Athens</i> , and burns the city and all its temples down to the ground, and lays waste and destroys the country all about; but being soon after engaged by the united confederate <i>Grecian</i> fleet, (consisting of 380 sail, under the sole command of <i>Themistocles</i> the <i>Athenian</i> commander) at <i>Salamis</i> , the <i>Persians</i> and their confederates, being 2000 sail, <i>Themistocles</i> took and destroy'd upwards of 200 sail, with all the men and ammunition, and disperied the rest, &c. —	II	124
3826	2519	480	<i>Hamilcar</i> , the <i>Carthaginian</i> general, is killed by <i>Gelon</i> the <i>Syracusan</i> tyrant. and their army intirely defeated; whereupon his son <i>Gisco</i> is banished, and a peace concluded. —	VI	714
3827	2520	479	The <i>Spartans</i> decree the prize of prudence to <i>Themistocles</i> the <i>Athenian</i> general, honour him with a crown of olive leaves, and bestow a most magnificent chariot upon him, and escort him home with a guard of 500 men, an honour never by them paid to any one before. —	II	474
3828	2521	478	<i>Athens</i> laid in ashes by <i>Mardonius</i> , the <i>Persian</i> general, a second time, who was soon after killed at <i>Platea</i> in a general engagement, where the <i>Greeks</i> overcame the <i>Persians</i> with so great a slaughter, that they left but 3000 persons alive out 300,000; and the same day the <i>Persians</i> were also defeated at <i>Mycale</i> in <i>Ionia</i> , by the <i>Greeks</i> , under the command of <i>Xanthippus</i> , &c. —	II	126
3828	2521	478	Disputes arising among the <i>Romans</i> about choosing consuls, <i>S. Atratinus</i> is appointed chief governor, and is succeeded by <i>Sp. Lartius</i> a few days afterwards, by whose good management <i>C. Julius Julius</i> , and <i>Q. Fabius Pictor</i> were chose consuls. —	IV	506
3829	2522	477	The <i>Athenians</i> take <i>Sestos</i> , and pursue and take <i>Oibazus</i> , one of the <i>Persian</i> generals, and put him and his men to death; and also <i>Artayctes</i> , another <i>Persian</i> general, who offered to sacrifice 100 talents to <i>Protesilaus</i> , and pay 200 talents for his own and his son's life, but is refused, he being impaled, and his son stoned before his face. —	II	476
3830	2523	476	<i>Themistocles</i> rebuilds <i>Athens</i> , and makes <i>Piræum</i> the <i>Athenian</i> port, instead of <i>Phalerum</i> , it being larger and more commodious. —	II	478
3830	2523	476	<i>Anaxillas</i> , the tyrant of <i>Rhegium</i> , (a famous city over-against <i>Sicily</i> on the coast of <i>Italy</i>) dies. —		
3830	2523	476	The <i>Romans</i> with great difficulty defeat the <i>Hetrurians</i> , the consul <i>Cn. Manlius Cincinnatus</i> , &c. being slain. —	IV	508
3831	2524	475	The <i>Fabii</i> undertake the defence of the <i>Roman</i> frontiers against the <i>Veientes</i> , at their own expence. —	IV	509
3832	2525	474	<i>Cæso Fabius</i> is made the first proconsul, which office gave him consular power over the troops that he commanded. —	IV	509
3832	2525	474	<i>Pausanias</i> , the <i>Spartan</i> king, behaved so insolently and tyrannically towards the <i>Greek</i> confederates, that they unanimously chose <i>Aristides</i> the <i>Athenian</i> to be their chief commander, and voluntarily tax themselves, and acknowledge <i>Athens</i> to be the chief city of <i>Greece</i> . —	II	479
3834	2527	472	<i>Gelon</i> , tyrant, (king) at <i>Syracuse</i> , dies, and is succeeded by his brother <i>Hiero</i> , who reigned 13 years. —	III	20
3834	2527	472	<i>Epicarmus</i> , a famous <i>Syracusan</i> poet, that either invented or introduced comedy among them, flourish'd in the times of <i>Gelon</i> and <i>Hiero</i> , kings of <i>Syracuse</i> . — Marshall.		
3834	2527	472	The <i>Roman</i> consuls, <i>Virginus</i> and <i>Servilius</i> , intirely defeat the <i>Hetrurians</i> , who besieged <i>Rome</i> and caused a famine, by which overthrow, plenty, liberty, &c. was again restored to the city, and the inhabitants thereof. —	IV	512
3836	2529	470	The <i>Roman</i> consul <i>Manlius</i> , without any loss, reduces the <i>Veientes</i> to sue for peace, and a truce of forty years is granted them: For this unbloody victory, he is granted an ovation. —	IV	513
3836	2529	470	<i>Democritus</i> , the supposed author of the <i>Atomic</i> system, (vol. I. page 19.) and of <i>Fatal Necessity</i> , &c. now flourish'd. He was a great astronomer and geometrician; he us'd to ridicule the <i>Athenians</i> unreasonable pursuit after wealth, by laughing at them; he made himself blind, by looking upon a brazen globe when the sun shone upon it: He was born at <i>Abdera</i> in <i>Thrace</i> , and called the <i>Abderite</i> . —	III	786

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3837	2530	469	<i>Pausanias</i> joint king of <i>Sparta</i> dies, and is succeeded by <i>Plisarchus</i> , who reigned three years. —————	II	558
3837	2530	469	<i>Cimon</i> the <i>Athenian</i> , (son of <i>Miltiades</i> by the daughter of the king of <i>Thrace</i>) a man of consummate wisdom, integrity, and courage, chose admiral of the <i>Grecian</i> fleet, and sent against the <i>Persians</i> . —————	II	482
3837	2530	469	<i>Leotychides</i> , joint king of <i>Sparta</i> , (<i>Lacedæmon</i>) dies in exile, and was succeeded by his grandson <i>Archidamus</i> , the son of <i>Zeuxidamus</i> , who died before his father <i>Leotychides</i> . —————	II	558
3838	2531	468	<i>Diagoras</i> the <i>Greek</i> philosopher, born at <i>Melos</i> , one of the islands in the <i>Ægean</i> sea, was the first that affirmed that there were no Gods, (for which he was called an atheist) now flourish'd. ————— <i>Marshall</i> . —————		
3838	2531	468	<i>Cimon</i> , the <i>Athenian</i> general, taking the city <i>Eion</i> from the <i>Persians</i> , the <i>Persian</i> commander burnt the palace, his garrison, all his wealth, and himself. —————	II	482
3838	2531	468	A most dreadful earthquake happened at <i>Sparta</i> , in which 20,000 inhabitants and all the houses but five, were destroy'd; upon which the <i>Helotes</i> and <i>Messenians</i> , &c. revolt. —————	II	594
3838	2531	468	<i>Cimon</i> performs great things in <i>Caria</i> , sails to <i>Cyprus</i> , and obtains a complete victory over the <i>Persian</i> fleet, takes 100 of their ships, pursues and attacks them on land, routs them, and so gains two victories in one day. —————	II	483
3838	2531	468	<i>Cimon</i> , with only four ships, takes 13 of the enemies gallies, reduces all <i>Cerberus</i> , conquers the revolted <i>Thasians</i> , recovers the gold mines from them, lying between the rivers <i>Nysus</i> and <i>Strymon</i> , upon which the <i>Athenians</i> send a colony to settle in <i>Amphipolis</i> , a famous city of <i>Thrace</i> . —————	II	484
3838	2531	468	The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> solicit the <i>Athenians</i> for help against their revolted subjects, the <i>Helotes</i> , &c. upon which <i>Cimon</i> is sent with an army, and does wonders. —————	II	484
3839	2532	467	<i>Aristides</i> , the great <i>Athenian</i> commander, dies. (Note C.) —————	II	480
3840	2533	466	<i>Arcefilaus</i> IV. succeeds <i>Battus</i> IV. in the kingdom of <i>Cyrene</i> , and reigned 35 years. —————	VII	172
3840	2533	466	Upon the death of <i>Hiero</i> , tyrant of <i>Syracuse</i> , his brother <i>Thrasibulus</i> succeeded him, but after 11 months reign, the people drove him out, and thereby enjoyed their liberty sixty years. —————	III	23
3840	2533	466	<i>Plisioanax</i> succeeds <i>Plisarchus</i> in the joint kingship of <i>Lacedæmon</i> , and reigned 58 years. —————	II	558
3841	2534	465	<i>Appius</i> , now out of his consulship, is cited to appear before the people of <i>Rome</i> , the complaints exhibited against him; he being conscious of his own guilt, murders himself. —————	IV	517
3842	2535	464	The <i>Roman</i> consul <i>Servilius</i> , defeats the <i>Sabines</i> , and <i>Quintius</i> , the <i>Equi</i> and <i>Volsi</i> , and takes the city of <i>Antium</i> , and has a triumph decreed him. —————	IV	517
3842	2535	464	<i>Xerxes</i> king of <i>Persia</i> giving himself up to luxury, &c. <i>Ariabannus</i> , the captain of his guards, conspires against him, with <i>Mitridates</i> his chamberlain, and murders him upon his bed. —————	II	139
3842	2535	464	<i>Artaxerxes</i> I. (called <i>Longimanus</i>) succeeds his father <i>Xerxes</i> in the kingdom of <i>Persia</i> , after having killed his uncle <i>Ariabannus</i> , who had usurp'd the crown seven months, and reigned 41 years. —————	II	130
3842	2535	464	<i>Cimon</i> the <i>Athenian</i> commander, after all his heroic actions, is rewarded with ostracism or banishment for 10 years. —————	IV	487
3843	2536	563	The <i>Bætrian</i> rebellion gives rise to the <i>Lybian</i> rebellion of <i>Inarus</i> , and the <i>Egyptian</i> rebellion of <i>Amyrteus</i> . —————	II	131
3846	2539	460	The <i>Carthaginians</i> war against the <i>Moors</i> , <i>Numidians</i> , &c. the success whereof was, that they were excus'd the annual tribute they formerly paid, &c. —————	VI	714
3847	2540	459	After ten years war, the <i>Spartans</i> reduce the <i>Helots</i> , and expell the <i>Messenians</i> from <i>Ithome</i> . —————	II	595
3847	2540	459	<i>Epicharmus</i> , one of the great sticklers for liberty at <i>Athens</i> , having gained over a considerable party, became a great check upon the <i>Areopagite</i> court, for which he was murdered by <i>Aristodicus</i> , a <i>Tanagrian</i> , in the street. —————	II	487
3847	2540	459	A dreadful plague broke out in <i>Rome</i> , which swept away the flower of their youth, the fourth part of the senators, the greatest part of the tribunes, the two consuls, and the two augurs, &c. —————	IV	518
3848	2541	458	<i>Exra</i> the <i>Jew</i> sent by <i>Artaxerxes</i> king of <i>Persia</i> , in the seventh year of his reign, to <i>Jerusalem</i> , with great presents for the temple, and full power to rectify the <i>Jewish</i> church and state, &c. and also to have power over life and death. —————	IV	12
3848	2541	458	The consul <i>Lucretius Tricipitinus</i> , at the head of a large army, goes against the <i>Equi</i> and <i>Volsi</i> , to revenge the affronts they had given the <i>Romans</i> during the plague, engage and kill both their generals, and 13,460 men. —————	IV	519
3849	2542	457	The <i>Athenians</i> engage the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> at <i>Tanagra</i> , and are overcome with a great slaughter; soon after they engage again, but both sides suffering greatly, a truce is made for a short time. —————	II	488
3849	2542	457	The <i>Spartans</i> take the <i>Thebans</i> into their protection, and give them <i>Beotia</i> , &c. upon which the <i>Athenians</i> send a small army against them, under <i>Myronides</i> , who gained a complete victory over a very great army, then marches to <i>Tanagra</i> , and took it by storm, and razed it to the ground; then plundered <i>Beotia</i> , and overthrew an army of the inhabitants; falls upon the <i>Locrians</i> , pierces into <i>Thessaly</i> , and chastises their treachery, and then returns to <i>Athens</i> , laden with riches and glory. —————	II	489
3850	2543	456	<i>Tolmides</i> , the <i>Athenian</i> admiral, takes <i>Metbon</i> , (a sea port in <i>Lycæonia</i> , belonging to the <i>Spartans</i> ;) but being forc'd to quit it, takes <i>Gythium</i> , another sea port, which he burnt, with all the shipping and naval stores; then he reduced <i>Zacynthus</i> , and all the neighbouring cities, and also <i>Naupactus</i> , by composition, turns out the <i>Spartans</i> , and plants a colony of <i>Messenians</i> in their stead. —————	II	489

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3850	2543	456	<i>Appius Herdonius</i> , a <i>Sabine</i> , attempts the reduction of <i>Rome</i> by surprise, puts all to the sword he meets with, and lodges himself in the capitol, from whence he kills the consul <i>Valerius</i> , who went against him, &c.	IV	525
3850	2543	456	<i>Quintus Cincinnatus</i> , father of <i>Cæso</i> , is sent for from his country seat, where he practis'd farming, to be the <i>Roman</i> consul : As soon as his time was out, he left the city, and went home to farming again.	IV	525
3850	2543	456	The <i>Perfians</i> , with a great army under <i>Megabyzus</i> , goes to raise the siege of <i>Memphis</i> ; <i>Inarus</i> and his confederates engage him, but are overthrown with a great slaughter, by which <i>Egypt</i> was again reduced to the subjection of <i>Persia</i> , and <i>Sartamus</i> was made governor thereof.	II	130
3851	2544	455	<i>Pericles</i> the <i>Athenian</i> invades <i>Peloponnesus</i> with 50 ships, &c. and burns and spoils all before him ; but <i>Cimon</i> being recalled from banishment, a peace is concluded.	II	489
3851	2544	455	The <i>Roman</i> consul <i>L. Cornelius Maluginensis</i> intirely reduces the <i>Equi</i> , and the consul <i>Fabius Vibulani</i> the <i>Volsci</i> , and make both become tributaries to the <i>Romans</i> , for which the two consuls have a triumph.	IV	526
3852	2545	454	<i>Perdiccas</i> II. succeeds his father <i>Alexander</i> in the kingdom of <i>Macedon</i> , and reigns 41 years.	III	271
3852	2545	454	<i>Inarus</i> , and the <i>Athenians</i> that escaped at <i>Memphis</i> , having long defended themselves in the city of <i>Byblus</i> in the island of <i>Protopotis</i> , were at last forced to surrender upon honourable terms, and were carried prisoners to <i>Susa</i> .	II	132
3853	2546	453	<i>Cimon</i> the <i>Athenian</i> commander, with 200 sail of ships, attacks the <i>Perfians</i> with 300 sail, takes 100, destroys many others, lands in <i>Cilicia</i> , defeats <i>Megabyzus</i> , the <i>Persian</i> general, with 300,000 men, and concludes a peace for 51 years between the <i>Greeks</i> and <i>Perfians</i> .	II	133
3854	2547	452	The <i>Romans</i> again make <i>Quintus Cincinnatus</i> dictator, and send for him from his rural retirement : He goes with an army to the relief of the consul <i>Mincius</i> , who was shut up by the <i>Equi</i> , who had revolted, overcomes them, and makes them pass under the yoke ; returns in triumph to <i>Rome</i> , with the enemies general at the head of his chariot, and a great number of the enemies officers in chains, &c. He abdicates his office the sixteenth day, &c.	VI	527
3854	2547	452	The tribunes of the people are increased from five to ten persons, to be all chose new every year.	IV	528
3856	2549	450	The two books of the <i>Chronicles</i> in the <i>Old Testament</i> are now supposed to be wrote by <i>Ezra</i> ; the two last verses are the beginning of the book of <i>Ezra</i> . — <i>Marshall</i> —		
3857	2550	449	<i>Themistocles</i> , the famous <i>Athenian</i> commander, after having done abundance of noble acts for his country, was ingratefully banish'd ; and retiring to the <i>Persian</i> court, became a great favourite with king <i>Artaxerxes</i> , who gave him a <i>Persian</i> wife and a large estate, which after enjoying some years, he died, and was honourably buried. (Note A.)—	II	481
3857	2550	449	<i>Cimon</i> the <i>Athenian</i> general takes <i>Citium</i> , (where he died of his wounds) and <i>Malus</i> in <i>Cyprus</i> , defeats the <i>Phenician</i> fleet, beats the <i>Persian</i> army under <i>Megabyzus</i> , and besieges <i>Cyprus</i> , upon which the <i>Perfians</i> conclude a peace greatly advantageous to the <i>Greeks</i> .	II	490
3857	2550	449	<i>Inarus</i> the <i>Libyan</i> king, contrary to agreement, is delivered to the mother of king <i>Artaxerxes</i> , who caus'd him to be crucify'd, and all his companions beheaded ; upon which <i>Megabyzus</i> the <i>Persian</i> general revolts, raises a great army in his province of <i>Syria</i> , and defeats <i>Osiris</i> , who was sent against him with 200,000 men.	II	134
3857	2550	449	The <i>Romans</i> make a law, to impower magistrates to punish such as were wanting in respect to their dignity, 2 oxen and 30 sheep.	VI	532
3857	2550	449	The <i>Romans</i> send messengers to <i>Greece</i> , to collect a body of laws from all those used in the <i>Greek</i> cities, especially <i>Athens</i> .	IV	532
3858	2551	448	<i>Megabyzus</i> (the rebel <i>Persian</i> general) defeats <i>Menostanes</i> , the king's nephew ; upon which the king sends him his pardon, and he lays down his arms and returns to the king at <i>Susa</i> .	II	135
3858	2551	448	A great plague in <i>Italy</i> sweeps away abundance of all sorts of people, the consul, and him named to succeed him, the high priest of <i>Jupiter</i> , the augur, and four of the tribunes.	IV	533
3859	2552	447	<i>Toimides</i> , the <i>Athenian</i> commander, and his army, are cut to pieces at <i>Cheronea</i> by the <i>Bæotians</i> , &c. To redeem their prisoners, the <i>Athenians</i> for ever quit claim of all right over them.	II	492
3860	2553	446	<i>Pericles</i> , the <i>Athenian</i> general, enters the island of <i>Eubæa</i> , takes the city of <i>Hestia</i> , turns out the inhabitants, and puts a colony of <i>Athenians</i> therein ; upon which the whole island submits to the <i>Athenians</i> , and a peace is concluded between them and the <i>Spartans</i> for 30 years.	II	492
3860	2553	446	The decemvirs chose at <i>Rome</i> , to compose a body of <i>Roman</i> laws, and to have the execution thereof ; at first they governed daily and alternately, &c.	IV	534
3861	2554	445	The <i>Roman</i> people being assembled, the decemvirs cause the laws they had collected and composed, wrote in ten tables, to be read : which being approved, were ordered to be transcribed on pillars of brass, and set up in the forum, as the foundation of all judicial determinations.	IV	534
3861	2554	445	<i>Artaxerxes</i> , king of <i>Persia</i> , in the 20th year of his reign, in the month <i>Nisan</i> , (about the 21 of our <i>April</i>) sends <i>Nehemiah</i> (who was his cup-bearer, though a <i>Jew</i>) governor over the <i>Jews</i> in <i>Judea</i> , &c. and commands him to rebuild <i>Jerusalem</i> , which he did with great expedition, the wall being rebuilt in 52 days, though strongly opposed by <i>Sanballat</i> the <i>Haronite</i> : From this year begins the 70 prophetic weeks, or 490 years, in which time was to be accomplished the 7 weeks of prophesying and anointing our great high-priest <i>Jesus Christ</i> , call'd also the cutting off the <i>Messiah</i> , and lastly, the covenant with many till the ceasing of the sacrifice, &c.	IV	21

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3861	2554	445	<i>Jeboiakim</i> , the <i>Yewish</i> high-priest, dies, and is succeeded by his son <i>Eliashib</i> , who enjoyed that office 34 years.	IV	26
3862	2555	444	The <i>Athenians</i> give the <i>Sybarites</i> (a people of <i>Italy</i> , who were a second time drove out by the <i>Crotonians</i>) the assistance of ten ships, with a considerable number of men, under the command of <i>Lampo</i> and <i>Xenocrates</i> , and likewise proclaim free liberty for such as were desirous to go and settle with them, which many did: The <i>Sybarites</i> being re-established, called their new built city <i>Thurium</i> , and themselves <i>Thurians</i> .	II	492
3863	2556	443	The decemvirs appointed time being expired, instead of proposing the election of new magistrates, propose adding two tables of laws more to the former ten, so that there was now the twelve famous tables of <i>Roman</i> laws, and continue themselves by force.	IV	541
3864	2557	442	The decemvirs acting quite contrary to their institution, the people and <i>Roman</i> army revolt; the senate assembles, and abolishes the decemvirs, and chose <i>L. Valerius</i> and <i>M. Horatius</i> consuls for the year ensuing, who to ingratiate themselves with the people, made many popular laws.	IV	543
3864	2557	442	The <i>Equi</i> , <i>Volsci</i> , and <i>Sabines</i> , having revolted, are reduced by the consuls <i>Valerius</i> and <i>Horatius</i> , for which the <i>Roman</i> people give them a triumph, in opposition to the senate, who refused it to them.	IV	545
3866	2559	440	The <i>Athenians</i> declare war against the <i>Samians</i> , and having conquered them, their general <i>Pericles</i> changed their government into a democracy, which occasioned great tumults; the <i>Samians</i> being supported by <i>Pissuthnus</i> , the <i>Persian</i> general, they revolt, and expel the <i>Athenian</i> garrison; <i>Pericles</i> going against them, defeats them at sea, &c. and after nine months siege, takes <i>Samos</i> , demolishes the walls, seizes their ships, &c.	II	495
3866	2559	440	<i>Pindar</i> , the famous <i>Theban</i> poet, dies; he was chief of all the lyric poets, and so valued by <i>Alexander</i> , that his house only remained unburnt at his taking the city of <i>Thbes</i> .	II	321
3866	2559	440	The <i>Roman</i> patricians and plebeians renewing their old dispute about superiority, the <i>Equi</i> and <i>Volsci</i> revolt, and ravage the county, even to the gates of <i>Rome</i> ; upon which the consuls <i>Quintilius</i> and <i>Fabius</i> head an army of <i>Romans</i> , engage and defeat them.	IV	546
3867	2560	439	<i>Pericles</i> , the <i>Athenian</i> general, pronouncing an excellent oration in praise of the slain in the several engagements he had been in, for their country's service, is crowned with garlands by the ladies at <i>Athens</i> .	II	495
3868	2561	438	The office of consulship at <i>Rome</i> made void, and military tribunes chose; which government lasting but a very short time, <i>T. Quintilius</i> is named for the interrex, who summoned the people, who restored the consulship again in the persons of <i>T. Quintilius Capitolinus</i> and <i>M. Gregamus</i> ; the censorship was also revived again, consisting of two persons, empowered every five years to review the estates and persons of all the <i>Roman</i> people; <i>Papirius</i> and <i>Sempronius</i> were now chose into that office.	IV	547
3868	2561	438	The <i>Coryrians</i> beat the <i>Corinthians</i> and their confederates, and take <i>Epidamnium</i> by storm, &c.	II	495
3868	2561	438	<i>Isocrates</i> , the famous <i>Athenian</i> philosopher, born: His panegyric upon <i>Evagoras</i> king of <i>Salamis</i> , was so well received, that his son <i>Nicoles</i> gave him twenty talents as a reward for it. He died at 98 years of age.	III	181
3869	2562	437	The <i>Athenians</i> assist the <i>Coryrians</i> , &c. against the <i>Corinthians</i> , &c. they engage, and both sides getting alternate advantages, both gain the victory.	II	497
3869	2562	437	<i>Sp. Maelius</i> , a <i>Roman</i> knight, aspires to the sovereign power. At this time a great famine happening in <i>Rome</i> , the senate creates a new magistrate, called the <i>Super-intendant</i> of provisions; who endeavouring to procure corn from the neighbouring countries, was disappointed by <i>Sp. Maelius's</i> having monopolized it before; and who, to strengthen his party, distributed it among the meaner people gratis, &c.	IV	547
3870	2563	436	<i>Anaxagoras</i> , the famous philosopher and preceptor to <i>Pericles</i> , is banished <i>Athens</i> , under pretence of introducing novelties in religion.		
3870	2563	436	<i>Quintilius Cincinnatus</i> is made dictator, and having appointed <i>Servilius Ahala</i> his general of horse, cites <i>Sp. Maelius</i> before him in the forum, who refusing to appear, is arrested by the lictors, but rescued by the people, upon which <i>Servilius</i> rushes in among the crowd and kills <i>Maelius</i> upon the spot, and then his house was razed to the ground, and the vast quantities of corn he had amassed was sold to the people at low rates.	IV	548
3870	2563	436	<i>Pericles</i> gets <i>Thucydides</i> , his competitor, banish'd by ostracism.	II	497
3870	2563	436	The <i>Potidians</i> revolt from the <i>Athenians</i> , upon which <i>Callias</i> , with an <i>Athenian</i> army, engages and defeats them; <i>Callias</i> is killed in the battle, and <i>Phormis</i> becomes a general in his stead, who invests the city of <i>Potidea</i> , and the inhabitants obstinately defend it.	II	497
3871	2564	435	Disputes running very high at <i>Rome</i> , three military tribunes are chose for the officers of this year, instead of two consuls.	IV	548
3872	2565	434	The <i>Fidenses</i> revolting from the <i>Romans</i> , <i>L. Sergius</i> the consul being unsuccessful against them, <i>Mamercus Emilius</i> is made dictator, overcomes them and their allies, kills <i>Tolumnius</i> , and overcomes the united forces of the <i>Falisci</i> , <i>Fidenates</i> , and <i>Veientes</i> , returns in triumph, and deposits the <i>Spolia Opima</i> in the temple of <i>Jupiter Feretrius</i> .	IV	548
3873	2566	433	<i>Nehemiah</i> having finished his work at <i>Jerusalem</i> , dedicates the temple with great joy, and afterwards goes to give king <i>Artaxerxes</i> an account of his proceedings, &c. Here the <i>Old Testament</i> history ends.	IV	23
3874	2567	432	The <i>Peloponnesian</i> war breaking out, the <i>Athenians</i> and <i>Lacedaemonians</i> both solicit the friendship of <i>Artaxerxes</i> king of <i>Persia</i> , which he artfully evaded.	II	33

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3874	2567	432	A grievous plague raging in <i>Rome</i> , the <i>Veientes</i> and <i>Fidenates</i> revolt again, upon which <i>Q. Servilius Priscus</i> is made dictator, who engages and overcomes them, and took the city of <i>Fidene</i> , &c. A census this year.	IV	548
3875	2568	431	The <i>Athenians</i> do infinite mischief along the <i>Peloponnesian</i> shore, infect the <i>Locrians</i> , and eject the inhabitants of <i>Egina</i> , and people it with <i>Athenians</i> : They enter <i>Megara</i> , &c. and burn and destroy all before them, as the <i>Spartans</i> had done in <i>Attica</i> ; thus the first year of the war did immense damage to all parties.	II	501
3875	2568	431	The <i>Peloponnesian</i> war actually begins in the spring of this year.	II	479
3875	2568	431	<i>Arcefilas</i> IV. king of <i>Cyrene</i> , being killed by his subjects, his son endeavoured to succeed him, but being repulled by the <i>Cyrenians</i> , was forced to retire into the <i>Heperides</i> , where he died, and so ended the kingdom of <i>Cyrene</i> , after it had stood 200 years, under the government of 8 kings.	VII	173
3876	2569	430	<i>Jeremiah</i> is supposed to write his book or prophecy about this time.		
3876	2569	430	The consuls laid aside, and three military tribunes chose for this year's government of <i>Rome</i> .	IV	549
3877	2570	429	Three military tribunes govern <i>Rome</i> this year.	IV	549
3878	2571	428	The consilship restored again to <i>T. Quinctius</i> and <i>C. Julius Mento</i> , who go against the <i>Equi</i> and <i>Volsci</i> , who had revolted, but through disagreement between themselves are defeated, near mount <i>Algidus</i> ; upon which <i>Posthumius Tubertus</i> was chose dictator, who going against the rebels, defeated them; and returning to <i>Rome</i> in triumph, laid down his commission.	IV	550
3878	2571	428	<i>Anaxagoras</i> the great philosopher dies: He mended the <i>Ionic</i> philosophy, and first admitted an intelligent Being, distinct from matter; and also supposed the air to be the first principle of the universe. He was the first that wrote of the eclipse of the moon.	I	19
3878	2571	428	<i>Pericles</i> , the famous <i>Athenian</i> partizan, with all his family, dies of the plague at <i>Athens</i> .	II	504
3878	2571	428	<i>Archidamus</i> , king of <i>Sparta</i> , besieges <i>Plataea</i> , with a great army.	II	504
3878	2571	428	The <i>Peloponnesian</i> navy wastes the island of <i>Zantus</i> , and does abundance of damage.	II	504
3878	2571	428	The <i>Lacedaemonians</i> solicit the king of <i>Persia</i> to assist them against the <i>Athenians</i> , and also <i>Sytacles</i> king of <i>Torace</i> ; but <i>Sytacles</i> having been admitted a citizen of <i>Athens</i> , he delivers up the <i>Spartan</i> ambassadors to the <i>Athenians</i> , who put them to death.	II	505
3879	2572	427	<i>Archidamus</i> invades <i>Attica</i> a third time, and wastes and destroys with implacable hatred whatever belonged to the <i>Athenians</i> , upon which <i>Lesbos</i> and <i>Nisyria</i> revolt from the <i>Athenians</i> .	II	505
3879	2572	427	<i>Agis</i> succeeds his father <i>Archidamus</i> as joint king of <i>Lacedaemon</i> , and reigned 27 years.	II	558
3879	2572	427	A law made at <i>Rome</i> to turn the fines for disrespect to magistrates into money; the ox to be rated at 100 asses of brass, and the sheep at 10 asses.	IV	450
3880	2573	426	The <i>Lacedaemonians</i> , after a siege of two years, take <i>Plataea</i> , put all the garrison to the sword, and sell the women for slaves; and so put an end to one of the bravest and most generous of all the <i>Grecian</i> people; and a while after the city was razed, and so remained till rebuilt by <i>Alexander the Great</i> .	II	506
3880	2573	426	The famous <i>Corcyrian</i> sedition.	II	506
3881	2574	425	The plague rages extravagantly at <i>Athens</i> , and carries off great numbers of all sorts of people.	II	507
3881	2574	425	An extraordinary drought occasioned a famine, which was followed by a dreadful plague in <i>Rome</i> .	IV	550
3882	2575	424	<i>Archidamus</i> , king of <i>Sparta</i> , returns home from his intended invasion of <i>Attica</i> , being frightened by abundance of earthquakes that now happened.	II	507
2882	2575	424	Upon the death of <i>Artaxerxes</i> , his only legitimate son <i>Xerxes</i> II. succeeded him in his kingdom of <i>Persia</i> , who having drank immoderately at a great entertainment, retired to his bed-chamber to sleep, whither being followed by one of his bastard-brothers, named <i>Sogdianus</i> , whom <i>Pharnaces</i> the eunuch let in, <i>Sogdianus</i> killed him there, after he had reigned 45 days, and set himself up in his stead.	II	134
3882	2575	424	<i>Sogdianus</i> , (by the murder of <i>Darius</i> his lawful king, and <i>Bagoraxus</i> , his father's most faithful eunuch) became so odious and hateful, that he endeavoured to murder all those he suspected, and therefore sent for <i>Ochus</i> (one of his bastard-brothers, at that time governor of <i>Hyrkania</i>) to murder him, who being apprized of his intent, rais'd a great army, being joined by several of the governors of the provinces: They put the <i>Tiara</i> upon the head of <i>Ochus</i> , and proclaimed him king; upon which <i>Sogdianus</i> came to an accommodation with <i>Ochus</i> , who as soon as he got hold of him, ordered him to be smothered in ashes, after a reign of 6 months and 15 days; then <i>Ochus</i> changed his own name into <i>Darius</i> , and is commonly called <i>Darius Notus</i> , or <i>Darius</i> the bastard. he reigned 19 years as king of <i>Persia</i> .	II	134
3883	2576	423	The consuls were laid aside this year, and four military tribunes governed <i>Rome</i> in their stead.	IV	550
3883	2576	423	Three of the tribunes go against the <i>Veientes</i> , who had revolted; but differing among themselves, the <i>Veientes</i> defeat them; upon which <i>Mamercus Emilius</i> was again chose dictator, who entirely routed the <i>Veientes</i> and the <i>Fidenates</i> , took the city of <i>Fidene</i> , and the <i>Veientine</i> camp, the whole being performed in sixteen days. <i>Emilius</i> returns to <i>Rome</i> , had the honours of a triumph, and laid down his dictatorship.	IV	551
3883	2576	423	The <i>Athenians</i> having taken the island <i>Pylus</i> from the <i>Lacedaemonians</i> , and carried away all the <i>Spartans</i> prisoners, people it with a colony of <i>Messenians</i> , whom the <i>Spartans</i> had cruelly drove out of their own country.	II	508
3884	2577	422	The <i>Athenians</i> having overcome the <i>Corcyrians</i> , drew them out by 20 at a time, and put them to death with the utmost cruelty, for assisting the <i>Spartans</i> against them.	II	509

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3884	2577	422	The <i>Athenians</i> suspecting the <i>Chians</i> intended to revolt, sent a fleet with orders to break down the walls of their city of <i>Chios</i> , which was done accordingly.	II	510
3884	2577	422	The consulship again laid aside, and four patrician military tribunes chose at <i>Rome</i> .	IV	551
3885	2578	421	This year the government of <i>Rome</i> was also by four patrician military tribunes.	IV	551
3885	2578	421	The beginning of this year a great earthquake, and an eclipse of the sun, happened at <i>Athens</i> together.	II	510
3885	2578	421	The <i>Lacedemonians</i> and <i>Boeotians</i> having engaged the <i>Athenians</i> , who besieged <i>Megara</i> , got possession of the city, and drove out all those who sided with the <i>Athenians</i> , and then called home the exiles, who seized and got put to death 100 of their opponents, and then changed the democratic form of government into an oligarchy.	II	511
3886	2579	420	The <i>Lacedemonians</i> surprize, engage, and kill 600 <i>Athenians</i> , and rout the rest, with the loss only of seven men: In this battle both armies lost their generals, <i>Brasidas</i> for the <i>Spartans</i> , and <i>Cleon</i> for the <i>Athenians</i> .	II	512
3886	2579	420	A peace concluded between the <i>Athenians</i> and <i>Spartans</i> , which continued 50 years: This was called the <i>Nician</i> peace, from one <i>Nicias</i> , a great man of <i>Athens</i> who brought it about.	II	512
3886	2579	420	The consulship again restored at <i>Rome</i> , in the persons of <i>C. Sempronius Atratinus</i> and <i>C. Fabius Vibulans</i> .	IV	551
3887	2580	419	Upon the conclusion of the peace, the <i>Athenians</i> , at the request of the <i>Spartans</i> remove the <i>Helotes</i> and <i>Messenians</i> from <i>Pylus</i> to the island of <i>Cephalonia</i> .	II	513
3888	2581	418	The <i>Athenians</i> conclude a league with the <i>Argives</i> , &c. for 100 years.	II	514
3889	2582	417	<i>Agis</i> king of <i>Sparta</i> grants a truce of 4 months to the <i>Argives</i> , for which the <i>Epbori</i> mulct him a great fine, and threaten to raze his house, &c.	II	599
3889	2582	417	The <i>Athenians</i> bring back the <i>Helotes</i> and <i>Messenians</i> , and resettle them in <i>Pylus</i> .	II	515
3889	2582	417	<i>Agis</i> king of <i>Sparta</i> and his confederates defeat the <i>Argives</i> , <i>Athenians</i> , &c. and gain a compleat victory over them.	II	599
3889	2582	417	The tribunes opposing the election of consuls at <i>Rome</i> , <i>L. Papyrius Mugellanus</i> is chose inter-rex, who prevailed to have military tribunes chose instead of consuls, and two new questors to be added, to make up their number four.	IV	552
3890	2583	416	Four military tribunes govern <i>Rome</i> this year, in which a plot for setting fire to the city, and seizing the capitol by the slaves, was discovered and prevented, &c.	IV	553
3890	2583	416	<i>Agis</i> king of <i>Sparta</i> enters <i>Argos</i> , where the confederate <i>Greek</i> army lay: and just as the engagement was going to begin, a truce was clapp'd up, &c.	II	515
3890	2583	416	The <i>Athenians</i> invade <i>Sicily</i> , and besiege <i>Syracuse</i> , which defends itself bravely, and after being reduced to extreme necessity, is relieved by <i>Gylippus</i> , general of the <i>Corinthians</i> , their confederates.	III	29
3890	2583	416	The <i>Athenians</i> joining the <i>Argives</i> , &c. they break the truce concluded with the <i>Spartans</i> , the <i>Spartans</i> engage and overthrow them, and thereupon erect a trophy.	II	515
3890	2583	416	The <i>Argives</i> desert the <i>Athenians</i> , and make a league with the <i>Spartans</i> for 50 years, upon which they demolished democracy (or popular government) and establish aristocracy (or government by the nobles) among themselves.	II	515
3891	2584	415	The <i>Argives</i> disliking their new aristocratic government, abolish it, and return to democracy again, and fall upon the <i>Spartans</i> , and such citizens as were their friends, kill some and banish others, renounce their new league with the <i>Spartans</i> , and confirm their old one with the <i>Athenians</i> .	II	516
3891	2584	415	Three military tribunes govern <i>Rome</i> this year, when the city <i>Labicum</i> and the <i>Equi</i> revolt; the two tribunes who went against them, quarrelling, are entirely defeated by the <i>Equi</i> ; upon which <i>Q. Servilius</i> was again chose dictator, goes against the enemy, engages and defeats them, and takes <i>Labicum</i> , returns to <i>Rome</i> in 8 days after his departure from it, and lays down his dictatorship.	IV	553
3891	2584	415	The <i>Athenians</i> finding themselves betrayed by <i>Perdiccas</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> , renounce their league with him, and declare war against him.	II	516
3892	2585	414	The <i>Lacedemonians</i> begins the 10 years <i>Declian</i> war.		
3892	2585	414	The <i>Athenians</i> take <i>Melos</i> , and put every man able to bear arms to the sword, and carry the women and children captive to <i>Athens</i> .	II	516
3892	2585	414	<i>Rome</i> enjoyed profound peace this year under four military tribunes.	IV	553
3893	2586	413	Four military tribunes govern this year, when the 10 tribunes of the people create great disputes about (the <i>Agrarian</i> law, or) the distribution of the lands taken from the enemy.	IV	553
3893	2586	413	The <i>Hermæ</i> , or statues of <i>Mercury</i> , (of which there were abundance set up) were all in one night defaced in <i>Athens</i> , but could not be discovered by whom.	II	517
3893	2586	413	<i>Pisathnes</i> , governor of <i>Lydia</i> , revolts from <i>Darius</i> king of <i>Persia</i> , being supported by a great army of <i>Greek</i> mercenaries; against whom <i>Darius</i> sent <i>Tisaphernes</i> , who bought the mercenaries, and forced <i>Pisathnes</i> to surrender upon promise of life; which he doing, <i>Darius</i> ordered him to be smothered in ashes.	II	135
3893	2586	413	<i>Archelans</i> , the son of <i>Perdiccas</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> , upon the resignation of his father, succeeds him, and reigns 14 years.	III	271
3893	2586	413	<i>Alcibiades</i> , an <i>Athenian</i> general, being wrongfully accused, runs away to the <i>Spartans</i> , who entertain him courteously.	II	517
3893	2586	413	<i>Egypt</i> revolts from the <i>Persians</i> , and <i>Amyrteus Saites</i> , being joined by the inhabitants, came out of the <i>Fens</i> , and drove the <i>Persians</i> out of <i>Egypt</i> , and reigned over the whole country.	II	135
3894	2587	412	<i>Demosthenes</i> , the <i>Athenian</i> general, attacks <i>Epipolæ</i> , in the night, but is repulsed with a mighty slaughter.	II	519
3894	2587	412	The <i>Syracusans</i> attack, overthrow, and kill and take prisoners <i>Demosthenes</i> the <i>Athenian</i> general, and his whole army: — and a few days afterward attack <i>Nicias</i> , the other <i>Athenian</i> general, who was taken prisoner, and his whole remaining army. The two generals, and many of the soldiers, contrary to the capitulation, were put to death at the instigation of the people. Thus ended the <i>Sicilian</i> war, with great disgrace and prodigious loss to the <i>Athenians</i> .	II	521

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3894	2587	412	The four military tribunes keep all things quiet at Rome this year.	IV	553
3895	2588	411	<i>P. Postumius</i> , one of the military tribunes that governed this year, going against the <i>Equi</i> that had revolted, promis'd his soldiers the spoil of <i>Bala</i> , if they took it, but breaking his word after the reduction of the place, for it, and other disagreeable behaviour, was stoned to death by his legions, being the first general that was killed by his own soldiers since the foundation of Rome.	IV	554
3895	2588	411	The <i>Athenian</i> fleet engages and overcomes the <i>Peloponnesian</i> fleet; they take a part, and a storm disperses the rest.	II	526
3895	2588	411	The <i>Athenians</i> reduce the revolted <i>Lesbians</i> , <i>Clasmenians</i> , &c. to their obedience again.	II	521
3895	2588	411	<i>Alcibiades</i> , &c. twice defeat the <i>Spartans</i> , &c. and in the last engagement gained two victories in one day, one by sea, the other by land; took the enemies whole fleet, and more spoil than his and the remains of theirs could carry.	II	526
3896	2589	410	The consulship was again restored at Rome, in the persons of <i>A. Cornelius Cossus</i> , and <i>L. Furius Medullinus</i> . In this and the three following years, nothing remarkable but a plague happened.	IV	554
3896	2589	410	<i>Antiphon</i> (an <i>Athenian</i> of such extraordinary parts and eloquence, was so feared, that he was prohibited speaking in publick,) and <i>Pisander</i> induce the <i>Athenians</i> to abolish democracy, to choose five prytanes (or chief magistrates) who should choose 100, and each of these 100 should choose 3 colleagues, and that these 400 should be a senate with supreme authority.	II	523
3896	2589	410	The <i>Spartans</i> defeat the <i>Athenian</i> fleet, and take 22 ships out of 36, and kill most of the men in the residue, upon which <i>Eubœa</i> revolts from the <i>Athenians</i> .	II	524
3896	2589	410	The <i>Spartans</i> and <i>Athenians</i> engage again, the latter takes 21 of the former's fleet, which consisted of 73 sail, under <i>Mindarus</i> ; and the <i>Athenians</i> but of 55 under <i>Thrasibulus</i> , and of these 19 were sunk or taken in the beginning of the fight; a few days after the <i>Athenians</i> took 8 <i>Spartan</i> galleys coming from <i>Byzantium</i> , which had revolted, and reduced the city, and <i>Alcibiades</i> took nine more.	II	525
3896	2589	410	The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> besiege <i>Pylus</i> by land and sea; the <i>Athenians</i> send <i>Naxos</i> to relieve it, with a squadron of ships, &c. but the wind not proving favourable, he returned to <i>Athens</i> , where he is condemned to death for not performing his orders; and the <i>Spartans</i> take <i>Pylus</i> .	II	527
3896	2589	410	<i>Alcibiades</i> takes <i>Byzantium</i> , and puts all the <i>Spartan</i> garrison to the sword, except 500 which he sent prisoners to <i>Athens</i> .	II	527
3896	2589	410	<i>Eliashib</i> high-priest of the <i>Jews</i> dies, and is succeeded by his son <i>Joiada</i> (or <i>Judas</i>) who officiated in that station 36 years.	IV	26
3896	2589	410	<i>Myndarus</i> the <i>Spartan</i> admiral defeated and killed.	II	526
3897	2490	409	The expiration of the first seven weeks of the seventy weeks of <i>Daniel's</i> prophecy.	IV	27
3897	2490	409	<i>Alcibiades</i> and <i>Theramenes</i> return to <i>Athens</i> in triumph, with 200 ships, and an immense spoil.	II	527
3897	2490	409	<i>Antiochus</i> , the lieutenant of <i>Alcibiades</i> , breaks his master's orders, and in his absence attacks the <i>Spartan</i> fleet, is defeated and killed, and 15 of his ships taken by the enemy; upon which <i>Alcibiades</i> is accused, and deposed by the <i>Athenian</i> senate, and goes into voluntary banishment.	II	528
3898	2591	408	<i>Pausanias</i> , the son of <i>Plisioxar</i> , succeeds his father in the joint kingdom of <i>Lacedæmon</i> .	II	599
3898	2591	408	<i>Hannibal</i> (the son of <i>Gisco</i> the <i>Cartaginian</i>) makes an expedition into <i>Sicily</i> , takes and razes <i>Selinus</i> and <i>Himera</i> .	VI	715
3898	2591	408	<i>Conon</i> the <i>Athenian</i> general engages <i>Callicratides</i> the <i>Spartan</i> general in a sea-fight, is overcome, and loses 30 ships, and afterwards was closely besieged in <i>Myræne</i> .	II	528
3898	2591	408	The <i>Athenians</i> engage <i>Callicratides</i> a second time, and overcome and kill him, take and destroy 79 <i>Spartan</i> ships, with the loss of 19 of their own.	II	528
3899	2592	407	<i>Lysander</i> , the <i>Spartan</i> general, surprizes <i>Conon</i> the <i>Athenian</i> general, and intirely defeats him both by land and sea, upon which he fled to <i>Cyprus</i> , with only eight galleys full of men: This put an end to the maritime power of <i>Athens</i> at once. <i>Lysander</i> visits all the neighbouring cities, and reduces them to the <i>Spartan</i> subjection, changes their form of government, and puts <i>Spartan</i> governors in them to keep them in subjection.	II	602
3899	2592	407	<i>Darius</i> king of <i>Persia</i> invests <i>Cyrus</i> his youngest son, though but a youth of 16 years old, with the supreme command of all the provinces of <i>Asia Minor</i> .	II	136
3900	2593	406	Three of the four quaestors at Rome were this year, for the first time, chose out of the plebeians.	IV	554
3901	2594	405	This year Rome was governed by three patrician military tribunes; but the <i>Volsci</i> , &c. revolting, <i>P. Cornelius Rutilus</i> was made dictator, who gain'd a compleat victory over the enemy, returned to Rome, laid down the dictatorship, and the military tribunes resumed their government.	IV	555
3901	2594	405	<i>Artaxerxes</i> II. eldest son of <i>Darius</i> II. succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Persia</i> , and reigned 46 years; before his ascending the throne, he was called <i>Arfaxes</i> , (whom the <i>Greeks</i> for his extraordinary memory called <i>Menemon</i> , that is, the Rememberer.)	II	136
3901	2594	405	<i>Artaxerxes</i> (<i>Arfaxes</i>) upon the death of his father <i>Darius</i> , went to <i>Pasargada</i> , to be there inaugurated after the <i>Persian</i> custom, by the priests of <i>Belshazzar</i> , where he was informed his brother <i>Cyrus</i> in order to murder him; upon which <i>Cyrus</i> was seized and condemned, but at the intercession of their mother <i>Parysatis</i> , he was both pardoned and restored to his government of <i>Asia Minor</i> .	II	137
3902	2595	404	<i>Dionysius</i> Miles, son-in-law to <i>Hermocrates</i> the great <i>Syracusan</i> , began his tyranny at <i>Syracuse</i> , having by many insinuations got himself made generalissimo, and a guard allowed him for his own person, therewith seized the government, and held it with great cruelty 38 years.	III	45
3902	2595	404	<i>Hannibal</i> , the <i>Cartaginian</i> general, dies, with a great part of his army, of the plague, as they lay before <i>Agrirentum</i> in <i>Sicily</i> .	VI	714

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3902	2595	404	<i>Imilcar</i> , the <i>Carthaginian</i> general, after <i>Hannibal's</i> death, takes <i>Agrirentum</i> and <i>Gela</i> , and puts an end to the war, by concluding a treaty with <i>Dionysius</i> the <i>Syracusan</i> tyrant.	VI	715
3902	2595	404	Four patrician military tribunes govern <i>Rome</i> this year. The <i>Volsci</i> retake <i>Verrugo</i> , and put the <i>Roman</i> garrison to the sword; upon which the military tribunes go against them, surprize the <i>Volsci</i> while in quest of Booty, and cut them all to pieces.	IV	555
3903	2596	403	<i>Lyfander</i> , the <i>Spartan</i> general, having put <i>Philoetes</i> the <i>Athenian</i> general, and 300 captives, with all their officers, to death, took <i>Athens</i> , and pulled down the walls, and established an oligarchic government of 30, called the 30 tyrants, and so completed the ruin of <i>Athens</i> . <i>Lyfander</i> growing insolent, the ephori send him the scytale, or counter-tailly, to recall him.	II	529
3903	2596	403	<i>Lyfander</i> sends immense treasure, which he had taken from the <i>Athenians</i> , to <i>Sparta</i> , by <i>Gyllypus</i> , who stole a part of it, but being detected, was banished and branded with infamy.	II	603
3903	2596	403	Four patrician military tribunes are again chose, and revenge the affront offered to the <i>Roman</i> ambassadors, by taking <i>Anxur</i> by storm, &c. This year pay was first given to the plebeian foot soldiers.	IV	555
3904	2597	402	Six military tribunes chose to govern <i>Rome</i> , &c. this year.	IV	556
3905	2598	401	Six military tribunes chose to govern <i>Rome</i> , &c. this year, who closely besieged <i>Veii</i> , (one of the greatest cities in <i>Italy</i>) and took and razed the city of <i>Artena</i> , after having defeated the <i>Volsci</i> .	IV	556
3905	2598	401	<i>Thrasybulus</i> , the <i>Athenian</i> general, marches with his army into <i>Athens</i> , where laying down their arms, they sacrifice with the citizens, and restore the old democratic government, and expel the 30 tyrants.	II	532
3905	2598	401	<i>Socrates</i> , the great philosopher and soldier, wrongfully put to death by the <i>Athenians</i> .	II	533
3905	2598	401	<i>Plato</i> pleads for <i>Socrates</i> at <i>Athens</i> , but is forced to desist by the people, who would not permit him to go on.	II	535
3905	2598	401	<i>Cyrus</i> , the younger brother of <i>Artaxerxes</i> (<i>Artaxerxes</i>) king of <i>Persia</i> , aspires to the throne, and wars against him, with the help of <i>Zenophon</i> , the famous <i>Greek</i> commander, with 13,000 <i>Greeks</i> ; but <i>Cyrus</i> being overcome, and killed, <i>Xenophon</i> , with his remaining <i>Greeks</i> , returned home, 2325 miles through the enemies country, though continually harassed by their army.	II	539
3906	2599	400	The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> make war with the <i>Persians</i> .	II	540
3906	2599	400	<i>Conon</i> the <i>Athenian</i> made admiral of the <i>Persian</i> fleet: He engages the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> , kills their admiral, and totally defeats their whole fleet, consisting of 50 sail, and takes 50 of them, and 500 prisoners, and reduced many of the states dependant on <i>Sparta</i> to change sides.	II	536
3906	2599	400	<i>Agis</i> king of <i>Lacedæmon</i> dies, and is succeeded by his brother <i>Agisilaus</i> , who reigned 41 years.	II	558
3906	2599	400	<i>Conon</i> , after defeating the <i>Spartans</i> , returns to <i>Attica</i> , and in his way brings over the <i>Cyclades</i> to join the <i>Athenians</i> , and reduces <i>Cythera</i> , and confirms the <i>Corinthian</i> league; and upon his arrival at <i>Athens</i> , sets about rebuilding the walls, resortifying the city, &c. for which the <i>Persian</i> general puts him in prison.	II	537
3906	2599	400	The siege of <i>Veii</i> still carried on with great vigour, by the six military tribunes of this year, who are now said to invent lines of circumvallation and contravallation, and kept the army in the field all winter in wooden barracks covered with skins.		
3907	2600	399	This year a law was made, that the <i>Roman</i> cavalry should be paid out of the publick treasure.	IV	556
3907	2600	399	<i>Agisilaus</i> , king of <i>Sparta</i> , routs the <i>Persians</i> under <i>Tisaphernes</i> , takes a great deal of spoil, and over-runs all <i>Lydia</i> ; upon which <i>Tisaphernes</i> was put to death.		
3907	2600	399	<i>Amyntas</i> succeeds <i>Archelaus</i> in the kingdom of <i>Macedon</i> , and reigns only one year, and is then set aside.	III	271
3908	2601	398	<i>Pausanias</i> succeeds <i>Amyntas</i> in the kingdom of <i>Macedon</i> , and reigns only one year.	III	271
3908	2601	398	<i>Agisilaus</i> , king of <i>Sparta</i> , invades <i>Phrygia</i> , took many cities, amassed great sums, marched into <i>Paphlagonia</i> , joins <i>Spithridates</i> , a revolted <i>Persian</i> lord, then returns and takes <i>Dascylium</i> , a strong city of <i>Phrygia</i> , and winters in the palace of <i>Pharnabazus</i> the <i>Persian</i> general.	II	542
3909	2602	397	<i>Dionysius</i> , the <i>Syracusan</i> tyrant, having defeated his enemies, and confirmed himself by slaughter, cruelty, and bribery, in the government, addictes himself to poetry and other polite arts, in which he imagined himself a nonpareil.	III	58
3909	2602	397	<i>Amyntas</i> is restored, and succeeds <i>Pausanias</i> in the kingdom of <i>Macedon</i> , and reigned 6 years.		
3909	2602	397	Six new military tribunes were chose to govern <i>Rome</i> this year; but by the disagreement of two that commanded at the siege of <i>Veii</i> , they are routed by the <i>Talisci</i> and <i>Capenates</i> , and the fallies of the <i>Vicentis</i> ; which occasioned the deposition of all the six military tribunes, and the choice of six new ones.	IV	557
3909	2602	397	<i>Dionysius</i> the <i>Syracusan</i> breaks his faith with the <i>Carthaginians</i> , and seizes the persons, houses, and effects of all their subjects, which was very large, then trading at <i>Syracuse</i> .	VI	755
3910	2603	396	<i>Dionysius</i> the <i>Syracusan</i> invets <i>Moya</i> (a very strong city, in league with the <i>Carthaginians</i> , built in a small island about half a mile from the sea-shore, where the <i>Carthaginians</i> kept their military stores and provisions) and ravaged and reduced most of their other confederate cities and provinces; after some time spent in the siege, and several times attempting to storm it, was as often repulsed, with great loss on both sides, but at last he takes it, and puts every person to the sword, except some that sheltered themselves in the <i>Greek</i> temples; here he got immense riches.	VI	758
3910	2603	396	The <i>Carthaginians</i> enter the port of <i>Syracuse</i> in the night, with 10 galleys, and sunk most of the ships then there, and returned without the loss of one man.	VI	757

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3910	2603	396	Five patrician and one plebeian (<i>P. Licinius Calvus</i>) military tribune chose for the government of <i>Rome</i> this year.	IV	557
3910	2603	396	<i>Thrasybulus</i> reduces <i>Byzantium</i> and <i>Chalibis</i> ; then he goes to <i>Lesbos</i> , and reduces all the revolted cities to the subjection of <i>Athens</i> ; after which he goes to <i>Rhodes</i> , and exacts a great sum of money; the <i>Rhodians</i> , set upon him in the night, and kill him, and drive his army on board their ships.	II	58
3911	2604	395	<i>Nepherus</i> (or <i>Nepherites</i>) of the <i>Mendeſſi</i> , becomes king of <i>Egypt</i> , and reigns 6 years	I	274
3911	2604	395	<i>Licinius</i> behaved so well this last year, that five plebeians and one patrician were chose to be the military tribunes for governing <i>Rome</i> this year.	IV	557
3911	2604	395	The <i>Carthaginians</i> under <i>Himilco</i> retake <i>Moya</i> , reduces <i>Lipara</i> , the capital of the island <i>Lipara</i> , the principal of the 7 <i>Æolian</i> islands; then they invest <i>Messana</i> , take it, and raze it; upon this the <i>Siculi</i> revolt from <i>Dionysius</i> , and join <i>Himilco</i> : <i>Leptines</i> , the <i>Sicilian</i> admiral, engages <i>Mago</i> the <i>Carthaginian</i> , and is entirely defeated with great slaughter, losing 100 galleys, and more than 20,000 men. <i>Himilco</i> marches to <i>Syracuse</i> , lays all the country about it waste, takes <i>Acradina</i> , and plunders the rich temples of <i>Ceres</i> and <i>Proserpina</i> , then besieges <i>Syracuse</i> ; but a plague breaking out, carries off 150,000 of his men; <i>Dionysius</i> attacks the remainder by land and Sea, and entirely routs them, killing, burning taking and destroying, almost all their vast fleet and army; <i>Himilco</i> is forced to pay 300 talents for leave for himself and the citizens of <i>Carthage</i> to get away in the Night. Upon <i>Himilco's</i> return to <i>Carthage</i> , he kills himself.	VI	759 to 768
3911	2604	395	Upon <i>Himilco's</i> defeat, the <i>Africans</i> revolt from the <i>Carthaginians</i> , and with an army of 200,000 men they take <i>Tunis</i> , and come to <i>Carthage</i> ; but mutinying among themselves, they return home again.	VI	769
3911	2604	395	The <i>Carthaginians</i> imagining all their misfortunes happened to them for violating the temple of <i>Ceres</i> and <i>Proserpina</i> at <i>Syracuse</i> , to appease them they dedicated temples, and set up magnificent statues to their honour, and select priests out of the greatest families to sacrifice to them.	VI	769
3912	2605	395	Upon a great mortality that happened in the <i>Roman</i> army, by the sudden change of the weather from extreme cold to excessive heat, the <i>Sybyline</i> books were consulted: The <i>Duumviri</i> (who were their keepers) pretended to find a new expiation, called the <i>Lediferium</i> ; viz. three beds were placed in a temple, round a plentiful table, and the statues of <i>Apollo</i> , <i>Latona</i> , <i>Diana</i> , <i>Hercules</i> , <i>Mercury</i> , and <i>Neptune</i> taken down from their niches, were laid on the beds, and served with magnificent repasts for eight days; These ceremonies were imitated in private families; open houses were kept for friends, strangers, and enemies; all law-suits, disputes, &c. were suspended, and even the prisoners released, to partake of these public rejoicings.	IV	558
3913	2606	393	<i>Canon</i> comes to <i>Athens</i> with 80 ships, and 50 talents, and repairs the city of <i>Athens</i> , and offers a sacrifice of 100 oxen.	II	144
3913	2606	393	Six military tribunes, all patricians, chose this year, out of a superstitious notion that plebeians were of too low an extract, however well qualified, for the discharge of so high a station.	IV	558
3914	2607	392	Six patricians chose military tribunes for this year, who cause (in conformity to the answer of the oracle at <i>Delphos</i>) pioneers to make a canal to carry off the waters of the lake <i>Albano</i> , and convey them all over the fields in trenches, which wonderful work subsists to this day: The auguries being not auspicious, these six tribunes lay down; and after a short interregnum six new ones are chose in their stead, all plebeians.	IV	558
3914	2607	392	<i>Mago</i> the <i>Carthaginian</i> endeavours, by popular means, to retrieve their affairs in <i>Sicily</i> , uses the inhabitants courteously, encourages all deserters from <i>Dionysius</i> , &c. but engaging with <i>Dionysius</i> , is drove out of the field, with the loss of 800 men, and retires into <i>Abacenum</i> , and <i>Dionysius</i> returns to <i>Syracuse</i> .	VI	770
3915	2608	391	<i>Dionysius</i> the <i>Syracusan</i> tyrant, and <i>Mago</i> , the <i>Carthaginian</i> general, conclude a peace.	VI	770
3915	2608	391	The two military tribunes that carried on the war were intirely defeated; upon which <i>M. Furius Camillus</i> was made dictator, who pushes on the siege so vigorously, that after ten years siege, <i>Veii</i> was taken by storm, and the dictator entered the city in triumph, drawn in a chariot by four milk white horses, and his own face painted with vermillion, which gave great offence, &c.	IV	559
3915	2608	391	The <i>Roman</i> ladies, for voluntarily bringing in their golden toys to make a vase to present to <i>Apollo</i> , were allowed to have funeral orations for illustrious women, like those of the men, and liberty to ride in chariots at the publick games.	IV	559
3915	2608	391	<i>Evagoras</i> king of <i>Cyprus</i> revolts from the <i>Persians</i> .		
3915	2608	391	<i>Amyntas</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> is deposed by the <i>Illyrians</i> , who brought in <i>Arges</i> , but two years after <i>Amyntas</i> was restored again, and reigned 19 years.	III	271
3916	2609	390	Six patrician military tribunes rule this year, in which a proposal is made, that half the senators, knights, and people of <i>Rome</i> should remove to <i>Veii</i> ; but after vast struggles and much arguing, 'tis over-ruled.	IV	559
3917	2610	389	<i>Camillus</i> (general of the <i>Roman</i> army, and one of the military tribunes) by an act of justice and generosity towards the children of the nobles of <i>Falisci</i> , and their tutor, so wrought upon them, that they submit voluntarily to the <i>Romans</i> .	IV	560
3917	2610	389	<i>Acoris</i> succeeds <i>Nepherus</i> as king of <i>Egypt</i> , and reigned 13 years.	I	274
3918	2611	388	The consulship at <i>Rome</i> is restored again in the persons of <i>L. Lucretius Flavius</i> , and <i>Severus Sulpitius Camerinus</i> . This year great disputes happen between the tribunes of the people and the senate; who at last decreed that six acres of the <i>Veii</i> land should be given to every father of a family and every freeman that was single.	IV	561
3919	2612	387	<i>L. Valerius Potitus</i> and <i>M. Manlius Capitolinus</i> chose consuls at <i>Rome</i> , and begin their office with celebrating the great games in honour of <i>Jupiter</i> , <i>Juno</i> , and <i>Minerva</i> , &c. but a contagious distemper happening, with which the consuls were affected,		

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			the people depos'd them, and an inter-regnum followed, during which three pre- sidents ruled alternately, day by day, for a small time; and then six military tri- bunes were again chose.—A census being taken, the number of people fit to bear arms was reported to be 152,583	IV	561
3919	2612	387	The <i>Spartans</i> and <i>Persians</i> conclude the peace, called the peace of <i>Antalcidas</i> , greatly prejudicial to the <i>Greeks</i> .	II	141
3919	2612	387	<i>Camillus</i> , the great <i>Roman</i> commander, goes into voluntary banishment, and re- sides at <i>Ardea</i> .	IV	562
3919	2612	387	<i>Evagoras</i> expels <i>Abdymon</i> the <i>Citian</i> , the <i>Persian</i> governor for <i>Artaxerxes</i> , and takes possession of his paternal kingdom of <i>Cyprus</i> , by the help of the <i>Athenians</i> .	II	145
3920	2613	386	<i>Brennus</i> , king of those <i>Gauls</i> called the <i>Senones</i> , situate between <i>Paris</i> and <i>Meaux</i> , comes into <i>Italy</i> , and besieges <i>Clusium</i> ; the <i>Clusini</i> beg assistance of the <i>Romans</i> , who send the three <i>Fabii</i> ambassadors to <i>Brennus</i> ; who behaving haughtily, the ambassadors go into the town, and head the besieged in a sally, wherein they kill a principal <i>Gaulish</i> officer; this enrages <i>Brennus</i> , upon which he demands of the <i>Roman</i> senate, that the <i>Fabii</i> should be delivered up to him; but instead there- of, the people chose them military tribunes for the year ensuing; upon which <i>Brennus</i> marches towards <i>Rome</i> .	IV	562
3920	2613	386	<i>Dionysius</i> , the <i>Syracusan</i> tyrant, fond of being thought a great poet, sends his verses and chariots to the <i>Olympic</i> games, where he is despised, which makes him mad, and causes him to break out into extravagancies, killing some of his friends, and banishes others.	III	59
3920	2613	386	The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> fall upon the <i>Thebans</i> , and seize their capital; 400 principal <i>Thebans</i> fly to <i>Athens</i> for succour, where they are kindly received, and by their assistance retake <i>Thebes</i> .	II	539
3920	2613	386	The <i>Persians</i> , under the command of <i>Tiribazus</i> , invades <i>Cyprus</i> with 300,000 men, and 300 ships, and after an engagement with <i>Evagoras</i> king of <i>Cyprus</i> , obtain a great victory; upon which <i>Evagoras</i> flies to <i>Sallamine</i> , whither the <i>Persians</i> pursue, and besiege him by land and sea, where he is forced to yield on very hard terms.	II	146
3921	2614	385	The military tribunes assemble a <i>Roman</i> army of 40,000 men, and go to meet <i>Bren- nus</i> , king of the <i>Gauls</i> , whose army was 70,000: They meet and engage, up- on the banks of the river <i>Allia</i> , where the <i>Romans</i> were intirely defeated; upon which the people fled from the city of <i>Rome</i> into the neighbouring cities, and 4 days after the battle <i>Brennus</i> entered <i>Rome</i> , killed all the people he met with, ra- vaged and burnt the city, demolished the temples and publick edifices, and razed the walls to the ground, and besieged the capitol.	IV	563
3921	2614	385	The <i>Gauls</i> besiege <i>Ardea</i> , with a considerable force; but thinking themselves secure, neglect discipline; whereupon <i>Camillus</i> , the great <i>Roman</i> general, heads the <i>Ardean</i> youth, and sallies out in the night, surprizes the <i>Gauls</i> drowned in wine, and makes a dreadful slaughter; whereupon the scattered <i>Romans</i> send deputies to beg <i>Camillus</i> to take upon him the command of all the remaining <i>Roman</i> for- ces, but he refusing, the senate reverse his sentence of condemnation, and pro- claim him dictator.	IV	564
3921	2614	385	The <i>Gauls</i> besieging the capitol, find a private passage of very difficult ascent, gets up it undiscovered in the night; but some geese that were kept in the court of the capitol in honour of <i>Juno</i> , and near her temple, making a noise at the <i>Gauls</i> approach, <i>Manlius</i> (a gallant soldier, who had pass'd the consulate) attacks them, and beats them off the walls, and so saves the capitol; for which he was highly honoured, and geese were ever after had in honour at <i>Rome</i> , a flock of them being always kept at the publick expence: A golden image of a goose was erected in memory of them, and a goose every year carried in triumph, upon a soft litter finely adorned. From this time the <i>Dogs</i> were held in abhorrence, and every year one impaled on a branch of elder.	IV	565
3921	2614	385	<i>Gaus</i> , admiral of the <i>Persian</i> fleet, revolts from <i>Artaxerxes</i> , is joined by the <i>Egypt- ians</i> and <i>Lacedæmonians</i> ; but while vast preparations were making to support him, <i>Gaus</i> was murdered by one of his officers, and the whole affair dropt.	II	146
3921	2614	385	The plague and famine rage in <i>Brennus's</i> army, and so many of them died in one quarter of the city, as occasioned it to be called <i>Busta Gallica</i> , or the place where the dead bodies of the <i>Gauls</i> were burnt. Both sides suffering extremely, 'twas agreed upon oath, that upon the <i>Romans</i> paying 1000 l. weight of gold, the <i>Gauls</i> should raise the siege, and quit the <i>Roman</i> territories: When the gold was brought, the <i>Gauls</i> scales and weights were found to be false; upon which <i>Sul- picius</i> , one of the <i>Roman</i> military tribunes, complaining, <i>Brennus</i> , instead of ex- cusing it, threw his sword and belt into the scales where the weights were, crying out, <i>Væ Vitiis</i> , or <i>Woe to the Conquered</i> . This continuing the dispute, <i>Camillus</i> with his army comes up, and he with a few followers gets into the city, and orders the gold to be carried back to the treasury; upon which a scuffle happens, and in the following night, <i>Brennus</i> and his army retires to the <i>Gabinian</i> way, eight miles from <i>Rome</i> , and encamped there; in the morning <i>Camillus</i> pursued, engaged, and totally overthrew them, with a great slaughter, and the remainder were cut off, as they wandered up and down the fields by the inhabitants; so that there was not one left to carry the news home; and <i>Camillus</i> returned to <i>Rome</i> in tri- umph, loaded with spoils, the soldiers in their songs calling him <i>Romulus</i> , father of his country, and second founder of <i>Rome</i> , at which some of the great men being offended, the tribunes speak disrespectfully of <i>Camillus</i> , intimating he aimed to make himself king; but the senate voted his continuing in the dictatorship for one whole year, to put their confusions to rights, which ended in a decree for re- building the city, which <i>Brennus</i> had burnt down.	IV	566
3922	2615	384	<i>Camillus</i> laying down the dictatorship, an interregnum followed, wherein <i>Camillus</i> and <i>P. Cornelius Scipio</i> ruled alternately; and after some time, six military tri-		

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			bunes were chose, who immediately set about collecting what monuments, tables, of laws, treaties with nations, &c. that could be found in the ruins, &c.	IV	567
3922	2615	384	The <i>Ediles</i> have the care of rebuilding the city of <i>Rome</i> : The expence of building the private houses was defrayed out of the publick treasury; but through haste, ignorance, and covetousness, the plan was very illy projected and executed	IV	567
3922	2615	384	<i>Artaxerxes</i> , king of <i>Persia</i> , goes in person against the <i>Cadusians</i> , (a people inhabiting the mountain between the <i>Euxine</i> and <i>Caspian</i> sea) with an army of 300,000 foot and 20,000 horse; but the country being unable to furnish provisions, a famine ensues, whereby all the horse, and abundance of the foot, &c. were lost; but the <i>Cadusians</i> , by the artful negotiations of <i>Tiribazus</i> were brought to submit to the <i>Persians</i> .	II	147
3922	2615	384	<i>Achoris</i> king of <i>Egypt</i> dies, and is succeeded by <i>Psammuthis</i> , who reigned only one year.	II	147
3922	2615	384	<i>Sphodrias</i> , the <i>Spartan</i> commander at <i>Thebes</i> , attempts in the night to seize the fort of <i>Pyraum</i> at <i>Athens</i> ; but the sun rising when he came to <i>Eleusina</i> , his men refused to march any farther; upon which the <i>Athenians</i> declare war against the <i>Spartans</i> .	II	339
3923	2616	383	The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> , under <i>Agisilaus</i> , one of their kings, invades <i>Boeotia</i> , and braves the <i>Thebans</i> and their allies, in the neighbourhood of their own city.	II	540
3923	2616	383	The hardships and misfortunes of the <i>Romans</i> encourages their tributaries to revolt, upon which <i>Camillus</i> is again chose dictator, who, at the head of an army, attacks and defeats the <i>Volsci</i> and <i>Latins</i> , takes their camp and the city of <i>Bola</i> , the capitol of the <i>Equi</i> ; from whence he marches against the <i>Volsci</i> , whom he intirely reduced; from thence he went to <i>Sutrium</i> , (which the <i>Hetrurians</i> had taken, and turned out all the inhabitants, and in which they were revelling without guard) entered the city, put many to the sword, took a vast number of prisoners, and restored the natives again, and then returned to <i>Rome</i> in triumph a third time. Upon his return, the captives were sold, and with part of the amount of the sale the <i>Roman</i> ladies were repaid for their jewels they had formerly contributed to make a present to <i>Apollo</i> ; and the remainder bought three gold vases, which, with <i>Camillus</i> 's name inscribed on them, were put at the feet of <i>Juno</i> in the temple of <i>Jupiter</i> .	IV	569
3923	2616	383	<i>Nicoreon</i> , tyrant of <i>Salamis</i> , taking offence at a satirical expression of the philosopher <i>Anaxarchus</i> , ordered him to be pounded to death with iron peltles in a great mortar.	III	179
3923	2616	383	<i>Nepherotes</i> succeeds <i>Psammuthis</i> in the kingdom of <i>Egypt</i> , and reigns only four months.	I	275
3924	2617	382	<i>Nectanebis</i> (the first of the <i>Sebenytic</i> race) succeeds <i>Nepherotes</i> in the kingdom of <i>Egypt</i> , and reigns 12 years.	I	275
3924	2617	382	The <i>Romans</i> lay the country of the <i>Equi</i> waste, to prevent their revolting, and demolish the two cities of <i>Cortusca</i> and <i>Contenebra</i> , and repair and strengthen the capitol.	IV	569
3924	2617	382	<i>Dionysius</i> , the <i>Syracusan</i> , makes a descent into <i>Hetruria</i> , plunders a rich temple in the suburbs of <i>Agylla</i> , from whence he carries off 1000 talents in money, and rich spoils that he sold for 500 more.	III	60
3924	2617	382	The <i>Carthaginians</i> having declared war against <i>Dionysius</i> king of <i>Syracuse</i> , he engages <i>Mago</i> the <i>Carthaginian</i> general, and kills 10,000 of his men, takes 5000, and obliges the rest to sue for peace, which is refused.	VI	771
3924	2617	382	The <i>Carthaginians</i> having recruited under <i>Mago</i> 's son, engage and defeat the <i>Syracusans</i> at <i>Cronion</i> , and kill <i>Leptines</i> , the king's brother, and 14,000 <i>Syracusans</i> on the spot; upon which, to obtain peace, <i>Dionysius</i> was forced to pay 1000 talents, and deliver up the city and territories of <i>Selinus</i> , and part of the territories of <i>Agrigentum</i> .	III	60
3924	2617	382	<i>Chabrias</i> , the <i>Athenian</i> , engages the <i>Lacedæmonian</i> fleet, and after a very long and doubtful battle, at last gained an absolute victory, though with the loss of 18 galleys, the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> losing 24, besides 8 that were taken with all their men.	II	540
3924	2617	382	<i>Chabrias</i> , the <i>Athenian</i> general, after delivering the <i>Abderites</i> , while he was settling the affairs of the city was assassinated.	II	540
3925	2618	381	The <i>Athenians</i> and <i>Lacedæmonians</i> make a peace, wherein it was concluded that all the <i>Græcian</i> cities should be free, which was neither long nor well kept, the <i>Thebans</i> protesting against it, &c.	II	540
3925	2618	381	The <i>Persian</i> army and fleet come upon the coasts of <i>Egypt</i> , and attack <i>Pelusium</i> ; but <i>Nectanebis</i> , king of <i>Egypt</i> , having well fortified and garrisoned it, the <i>Persians</i> could not get any considerable advantage, and quarrelling among themselves, ended the war and returned home.	I	275
3925	2618	381	A temple, which in the <i>Gaulish</i> war had been vowed to <i>Mars</i> , is now built, and consecrated at <i>Rome</i> , and four tribes of the people beyond the <i>Tiber</i> added to make up the whole number of tribes 25, who all enjoyed the same common rights and privileges.	IV	569
3926	2619	380	<i>Camillus</i> chose by the <i>Romans</i> one of the military tribunes for this year, with full power to preside and direct in all warlike affairs; upon which he heads an army, and engages the <i>Antiates</i> , <i>Latins</i> , and <i>Hernici</i> , who had revolted, and overthrows them; after which, going to the relief of <i>Sutrium</i> , (then besieged, and in part taken by the <i>Hetrurians</i>) he makes a dreadful slaughter of the enemy, conquers the city, and goes to <i>Nepes</i> , which had submitted to the <i>Hetrurians</i> , and took it by assault, and put all the <i>Hetrurian</i> soldiers to the sword, and condemned those citizens to die by the liors axes, that had promoted the disaffection.	IV	516
3929	2622	377	<i>Manlius</i> , one of this year's military tribunes, endeavours by all possible acts of popularity to engage the peoples affections, in order to grasp the supreme power;		

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			upon which the <i>Volsci</i> revolting, <i>A. Cornelius Cossus</i> is chose dictator, who marching against the <i>Volsci</i> , defeats them; then returning to <i>Rome</i> , cites <i>Manlius</i> before him, and condemns him for an incendiary, &c. after which he was honoured with a triumph; upon which the senate orders a colony of <i>Roman</i> citizens to be sent to <i>Sutrium</i> , and allotted each man 2 acres and half of arable land.		
3929	2622	377	The <i>Carthaginians</i> land an army in <i>Italy</i> , and restore the inhabitants of <i>Hippo</i> (built by the <i>Locri</i>) to their city, from whence they had been expelled for being the allies of <i>Carthage</i> .	IV	572
3930	2623	376	A most terrible plague breaks out at <i>Carthage</i> , which swept away an infinite number of people, and almost depopulated the whole country; this distemper made the people so mad as to cause the afflicted to fall out of their houses, sword in hand, and kill all they met with: Upon this the <i>Africans</i> and <i>Sardi</i> revolt, and are reduced with difficulty: This Distemper is said to afflict the <i>Carthaginians</i> several years.	VI	772
3930	2623	376	<i>Agefilaut</i> , king of <i>Sparta</i> , comes ambassador to <i>Nectanebis</i> king of <i>Egypt</i> , to solicit succours for the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> against the <i>Thebans</i> .	VI	773
3930	2623	376	<i>Camillus</i> again chose one of this year's military tribunes, and <i>Manlius</i> condemned for aspiring to the regal dignity, and thrown headlong from the capitol; but a plague happening soon after, the populace ascribe it to be a judgment, for unjustly punishing <i>Manlius</i> .	I	272
3931	2624	375	The plague sweeping away great numbers of the <i>Romans</i> , the <i>Volsci</i> , &c. revolt, the military tribunes assemble an army, but can't go against them, through the violence of the plague; upon which the <i>Volsci</i> , &c. commit great ravages upon the <i>Roman</i> allies.	IV	574
3932	2625	374	Six military tribunes govern <i>Rome</i> this year; and the plague being ceased, they reduce part of the revolters to their obedience again.	IV	574
3932	2625	374	<i>Niocol</i> killed <i>Ewagoras</i> king of <i>Cyprus</i> , and reigned in his stead.	IV	574
3933	2626	373	<i>Camillus</i> is a 6th time chose military tribune, much against his will, and with <i>L. Furius</i> , his colleague, goes against the revolted <i>Volsci</i> , who overcome <i>Furius</i> , but are entirely defeated by <i>Camillus</i> .	IV	575
3933	2626	373	<i>Johanan</i> (or <i>John</i>) succeeds his father <i>Joiada</i> in the <i>Jewish</i> high-priesthood; but <i>Bagofes</i> , governor of <i>Syria</i> , &c. having promised it to <i>Jesbus</i> , (or <i>Jesus</i> his brother) upon his coming to act, <i>Johanan</i> raised his passion so high, that he killed him in the inner court of the temple; for which <i>Bagofes</i> (the <i>Persian</i> general) severely mulcted the temple seven years.	IV	28
3934	2627	372	The <i>Roman</i> patricians oppose the choice of censors, which occasions so great a disturbance, that the <i>Prænestines</i> revolt, and come up to the very gates of <i>Rome</i> ; upon which <i>Titus Quinctius</i> was chose dictator, and the <i>Prænestines</i> retire from the city to the banks of the <i>Allia</i> , whither the dictator followed, and overthrew them: Afterwards he pursued them, and overtook them before they reached <i>Præneste</i> , and overthrew them a second time, took all their strong holds, and appearing before <i>Præneste</i> , it capitulated. The Dictator returned to <i>Rome</i> in triumph, bringing from <i>Præneste</i> the statue of <i>Jupiter Imperator</i> , which was placed in the capitol between <i>Jupiter Capitolinus</i> and <i>Minerva</i> , and then laid down his dictatorship, which lasted but 25 days; upon which three patricians and three plebeians are chose military tribunes.	IV	576
3934	2627	372	The <i>Volsci</i> draw the <i>Roman</i> generals into an ambuscade, and kill many of their men, and take their camps.	IV	577
3934	2627	372	The <i>Athenians</i> and <i>Lacedæmonians</i> make peace again, proclaiming all the <i>Grecian</i> cities free, against which the <i>Thebans</i> again protest, &c.	II	541
3934	2627	372	The <i>Thebans</i> and <i>Lacedæmonians</i> being at war, the <i>Thebans</i> demand help of the <i>Athenians</i> , who send <i>Iphicrates</i> to their assistance, who succeeds but badly.	II	541
3935	2628	371	The <i>Spartans</i> having made a truce with the <i>Thebans</i> , &c. in their return home meeting <i>Archidamus</i> coming to their assistance with a great reinforcement, return, break the truce, engage, and are totally overthrown in the battle of <i>Leuctra</i> , whereby they lost the empire of <i>Greece</i> , which they had held for 500 years. This fatal news coming to <i>Sparta</i> , while the <i>Ephori</i> were superintending the <i>Gymnic</i> solemnities, went on without taking any notice of the calamity.	II	616
3935	2628	371	The <i>Volsci</i> entering the <i>Roman</i> territories, lay them waste; upon which the <i>Romans</i> enter the enemies country with two armies at once, and lay it waste, and return to <i>Rome</i> with great booty. Two censors are this year chose, but suspend their office upon account of the publick troubles.	IV	577
3935	2628	371	<i>Cleombrotus</i> , king of <i>Lacedæmon</i> , is killed in battle at <i>Leuctra</i> , and is succeeded by his son <i>Agefipolis</i> .	II	558
3936	2629	370	The <i>Latins</i> and <i>Volsci</i> join against the <i>Romans</i> , but are overthrown by the military tribunes <i>P. Valerius</i> and <i>L. Æmilius</i> .	IV	578
3936	2629	370	The <i>Latins</i> remaining obstinate against the <i>Romans</i> , enter the country of the <i>Tusculans</i> , and put many to the sword, and take their city: The <i>Romans</i> come to their relief, take the place by assault, and put every <i>Latin</i> to the sword, and return back to <i>Rome</i> , having reinstated the <i>Tusculans</i> .	IV	578
3936	2629	370	<i>Agefipolis</i> king of <i>Lacedæmon</i> dies, and is succeeded by his brother <i>Cleomenes</i> , who reigned about two years.	II	558
3936	2629	370	<i>Agefilaut</i> is made dictator at <i>Sparta</i> , with power even over the laws: He raises an army, marches into the <i>Arcadian</i> territories, ravages the country, takes some towns, and returns home.	II	617
3936	2629	370	The <i>Mantineans</i> rebuild their city, and fortify themselves therein; and the <i>Arcadians</i> rebuild <i>Megalopolis</i> , to which they repair from all their villages: The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> go against them, kill <i>Lycomedes</i> , the <i>Mantinean</i> general, and 200 men; upon which the <i>Thebans</i> send them assistance, under <i>Epaminondos</i> and <i>Pelopidas</i> ; the <i>Spartans</i> being retir'd, they invade <i>Laconia</i> , and come even to		

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			<i>Sparta</i> ; but by the wise management of <i>Agefilaut</i> , are forced to retire; and in their return laid waste the country as they marched off.	II	617
3936	2629	370	Two hundred <i>Spartan</i> rebels seize the temple of <i>Diana</i> at <i>Ifforion</i> ; but <i>Agefilaut</i> having artfully dispersed them, all were taken and put to death, without any trouble.	II	17
3936	2629	370	<i>Epaminondas</i> , the <i>Theban</i> general, upon his leaving <i>Sparta</i> rebuilt the city of <i>Mejona</i> , and recalled and replaced the ancient inhabitants, after they had been dispossessed 300 years.	II	617
3937	2630	369	<i>Epaminondas</i> , the <i>Theban</i> general, attacks and forces the lines of the <i>Spartans</i> and their confederates, and wastes the country of <i>Peloponnesus</i> , reduces <i>Sicyon</i> , and attacked <i>Corinth</i> .	II	618
3937	2630	369	<i>Taichet</i> , king of <i>Egypt</i> , (the successor to <i>Neftanebis</i>) while he was gone to oppose the <i>Perfians</i> in <i>Phœnicia</i> , was deposed at home, and <i>Neftanebis</i> his kintman set up in his stead.	I	275
3937	2630	369	The <i>Roman</i> state fall into a sort of anarchy for four years, by the contentions of the tribunes, there being only tribunes and ædiles chose governors during that time.	IV	579
3938	2631	368	The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> kill 10,000 <i>Arcadians</i> , without the loss of one man.	II	618
3938	2631	368	<i>Agefilaut</i> defeats the <i>Mendefian</i> that opposed <i>Neftanebis</i> , being king of <i>Egypt</i> , and thereby settles him upon the throne.	I	276
3938	2631	368	<i>Dionysius</i> the <i>Syracusan</i> breaks the peace, and falls upon the <i>Cartaginians</i> , takes several cities from them in <i>Sicily</i> , &c. but growing secure and negligent, the <i>Cartaginians</i> surprize his galleys in the port of <i>Erix</i> , and take and destroy most of them, upon which a peace ensues.	VI	773
3938	2631	368	<i>Cleomenes</i> succeeds his brother <i>Agefipolis</i> as joint king of <i>Sparta</i> , which he held only one year.	II	618
3939	2632	367	<i>Cleomenes</i> acts as first magistrate of <i>Sparta</i> , and <i>Archidamus</i> (son of <i>Agefilaut</i>) has the command of the army: He goes into <i>Arcadia</i> , takes <i>Carya</i> , and puts all to the sword. <i>Cissidas</i> , general of <i>Dionysius</i> , declaring his time was out, and that he must return home, which attempting, he was in part surrounded by the <i>Messenians</i> ; hereupon he sends to acquaint <i>Archidamus</i> with it, who comes to his assistance, falls upon the <i>Arcadians</i> , and utterly defeats them, and kills 10,000 upon the spot, without losing one <i>Spartan</i> ; which for that reason was called the tearless battle.	II	618
3941	2634	365	The <i>Velitrs</i> declaring war against <i>Rome</i> , and over-running the <i>Roman</i> territories besiege <i>Tusculum</i> , whose inhabitants were now admitted as <i>Roman</i> citizens. Six military tribunes are chose, who raise an army, defeat the enemy, relieve <i>Tusculum</i> , and invest <i>Velitræ</i> .	IV	579
3942	2635	364	The disputes between the patricians and plebeians at <i>Rome</i> arises to so great a height, that <i>Camillus</i> is chose a fourth time dictator; but the faction for the people was so strong, that he could do but little good, and therefore laid down his office; upon which, after a short inter-regnum, <i>P. Manlius</i> succeeded.	VI	581
3943	2636	363	Six military tribunes govern <i>Rome</i> this year; but upon an information that the <i>Gauls</i> were in full march against <i>Rome</i> , <i>Camillus</i> was a fifth time made dictator, though now 80 years of age; he goes against the <i>Gauls</i> , encamped upon the banks of the <i>Anio</i> , and by stratagem puts them into confusion, and entirely routs them; then goes against <i>Velitræ</i> , which immediately submits; then returns to <i>Rome</i> , where he is decreed a triumph both by senate and people. <i>Rome</i> being now delivered from publick danger, the private disputes rising too high to be allay'd, the senate is forced to enact the three following laws, the 1st. for suppressing the military tribuneship and restoring the consulate, one of which was to be a plebeian, the other a patrician; the 2d. that what interest any person in debt had paid, should be esteemed as so much principal, and his debts so much reduced, and the remainder to be paid by equal payments; the 3d. that no <i>Roman</i> should hold more than 500 acres of land; the surplus to be divided among the poorer citizens.	IV	582
3944	2637	362	The consulate restored in the persons of <i>L. Æmilius Mamercinus</i> , a patrician, and <i>L. Sextus</i> , a plebeian. The senate orders the great games, and a new Officer, called a <i>Prætor</i> , is chose out of the patricians, to be a judge in all civil matters: Likewise two patrician <i>Ædiles</i> are chose to take care of the temples, theatres, games, markets, tribunals of justice, and the city walls, &c.	IV	583
3944	2637	362	New commotions break out in <i>Peloponnesus</i> , between the <i>Tegetæans</i> and <i>Mantineans</i> , which draw in the <i>Athenians</i> and <i>Spartans</i> .	II	619
3945	2638	361	<i>Epaminondas</i> , in a very obstinate battle with the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> , &c. is killed, and a great number of men on both sides.	II	542
3945	2638	361	<i>Dionysius</i> , the <i>Syracusan</i> tyrant, having caused a tragedy composed by himself to be acted at <i>Athens</i> , for the prize of poetry at the feast of <i>Bacchus</i> , was proclaim'd victor, upon which he treated all <i>Syracuse</i> for several days, and drinking excessively, contracted a violent disorder, for the cure of which requiring an opiate, his physicians gave him one from which he never awoke.	III	61
3945	2638	361	<i>Perdiccas</i> , king of <i>Macedon</i> , goes against the <i>Illyrians</i> ; they engage, and the <i>Macedonians</i> are routed with a great slaughter; among the slain was <i>Perdiccas</i> himself, with many of the officers; his son <i>Amyntas</i> , then a child, was declared his successor.	III	287
3945	2638	361	<i>L. Genucius</i> , a plebeian, and <i>Servilius Abala</i> , a patrician, being Consuls this year at <i>Rome</i> , a dreadful plague broke out, which carried off great numbers of the people, one censor, three tribunes of the people, and one <i>Curule</i> ædile, and the great <i>Camillus</i> , whose character was, that he never fought a battle without getting a complete victory, never besieged a city without taking it, nor ever led an army into the field which he did not bring back loaded with glory, honour, spoil, and booty, &c.		

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3946	2639	360	<i>Dionysius II.</i> (the son of the late <i>Dionysius</i> , by his wife <i>Doris</i> , the <i>Locrian</i>) succeeds his father in <i>Syracuse</i> , and sends to <i>Athens</i> for <i>Plato</i> the philosopher, to instruct him in polite literature, who came accordingly.	III	63
3946	2639	360	<i>Dion</i> , a great man in <i>Syracuse</i> , being banished, conspires against <i>Dionysius</i> , and comes with 800 well disciplined troops, who were immediately joined by a vast multitude of malecontents; they enter <i>Syracuse</i> without opposition, take <i>Epipolæ</i> by storm, and set all the citizens at liberty who were prisoners in the fort, and then block up all the tyrants friends.	III	67
3946	2639	360	<i>Dionysius</i> returns from <i>Caunia</i> in <i>Italy</i> , and finding his affairs desperate, offers the <i>Syracusans</i> to restore the government of the democracy.	III	67
3946	2639	360	The parties of <i>Dion</i> and <i>Dionysius</i> engage, wherein many being killed on both sides, <i>Dion</i> at length prevails; upon which <i>Dion</i> is presented with a gold crown, &c. Soon after <i>Dionysius</i> offers to surrender the citadel, all the troops in garrison, and money to pay them five months, and to retire into <i>Italy</i> ; but this not being granted, he escaped in a single vessel, with his treasure, &c. into <i>Italy</i> , leaving his son <i>Apollocrates</i> governor in the citadel.	III	69
3946	2639	360	The <i>Macedonians</i> , under the king <i>Philip</i> , defeat <i>Mantius</i> , the <i>Athenian</i> general, who was assisting <i>Argæus</i> , <i>Philip's</i> competitor for the crown of <i>Macedon</i> .	II	342
3946	2639	360	<i>Philip</i> , brother of the deceased <i>Perdiccas</i> , returns from <i>Thebes</i> , and (though at first he pretended to act as guardian to his nephew) presently takes upon him the kingdom of <i>Macedon</i> , with the free consent of all parties; and to strengthen his interest, declares <i>Amphipolis</i> a free city, makes large presents to the great men of <i>Peonia</i> , and to <i>Pausanias</i> king of <i>Sparta</i> .	III	289
3946	2639	360	<i>C. Sulpitius</i> , a patrician, and <i>C. Licinius Stolo</i> , a plebeian, are chose consuls at <i>Rome</i> : The plague continuing, to appease the Gods they use the <i>LeSisternum</i> , and constitute new sports, called the <i>Scenici</i> , or pantomime dances, and revive the ceremony of driving a nail (by the dictator <i>T. Manlius</i> , who was now named for that purpose) into that part of the wall of <i>Jupiter Capitolinus's</i> temple: which divided it from the chappel of <i>Minerva</i> , under the same roof; which being performed, he offers to raise an army to go against the <i>Hernici</i> , but is opposed by the tribunes, who compel him to lay down his office, then impeach him for his ill conduct.	IV	585
3947	2640	359	<i>Agésilæus</i> , one of the famous <i>Spartan</i> kings, dies in his return from <i>Persia</i> , and is succeeded in the joint kingdom of <i>Sparta</i> by <i>Archidamus</i> the 2d. who reigned 23 years.	II	620
3947	2640	359	<i>Dion</i> is shamefully and ingratelully forced to fly, with his adherents, from <i>Syracuse</i> .	II	69
3947	2640	359	<i>Ochus</i> , son of <i>Artaxerxes</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Persia</i> , the most cruel and wicked prince that ever reigned in <i>Persia</i> , causing all of the bloodroyal of all ages and sexes to be murdered.	II	150
3947	2640	359	<i>Argæus</i> (a pretender to the crown of <i>Macedon</i>) comes with an army as far as <i>Æge</i> ; the inhabitants oblige him to retire, upon which <i>Philip</i> pursues him, engages and defeats him, with great slaughter.	III	289
3947	2640	359	<i>Philip</i> , king of <i>Macedon</i> , concludes a peace with the <i>Athenians</i> , invades the <i>Proconians</i> , takes their city, and reduces them to become his tributaries; then marches against the <i>Illyrians</i> , engages, totally routs, and kills 7000 upon the spot, and constrained them to buy a peace, at the expence of all their former conquests in <i>Macedonia</i> .	III	290
3947	2640	359	A terrible earthquake making a chasm that could not be stopped up at <i>Rome</i> , the augurs declared it could not be done till what the strength and power of the <i>Roman</i> people consisted in was thrown into it, and that such victim would secure the eternal duration of the <i>Roman</i> state: <i>M. Curtius</i> , a brave young patrician, explained this answer by arms and valour, puts on his habiliments of war, and riding upon a fine horse, richly caparisoned, jumped into the gulph. Upon this, <i>Genucius</i> the plebeian consul goes against the <i>Hernici</i> , but falls into an ambuscade, and the legions flying, he is killed; upon which <i>Appius Claudius</i> is made dictator, who with great loss and difficulty beat the <i>Hernici</i> , but is refused a triumph.	IV	586
3948	2641	358	<i>Nyffias</i> comes to the port of <i>Arathusa</i> , with a reinforcement of men and supply of corn, encourages the tyrants friends to hold out to the last extremity: The <i>Syracusans</i> set upon his ships, taking some, sink others, and disperse the rest; then give themselves up to debauchery; upon which the army of <i>Nyffias</i> falls upon them in the night, takes the city, and kills all they meet with, &c. and then retire into the citadel; upon which the citizens that were left send deputies to <i>Dion</i> , who makes all the haste possible to their relief: The next night <i>Dionysius's</i> soldiers fall out of the citadel, murder all they meet with, and set fire to the city; in the midst of this confusion <i>Dion</i> comes with what <i>Peloponnesian</i> troops he had, and marching through fire, blood, and dead bodies, attacked the enemy with the greatest fury imaginable; after many hours fight with a much superior number, the <i>Peloponnesians</i> forced the <i>Dionysians</i> into the citadel, after great loss on both sides: After some time, <i>Apollocrates</i> is allowed to retire, with all his friends and relations, to his father in <i>Italy</i> . Then <i>Dionysius</i> , having nobly rewarded those who had assisted him, dismissed his guards, lived like a private citizen, and soon after is murdered by one <i>Calippus</i> , an <i>Athenian</i> .	III	72
3948	2641	358	<i>Asia Minor</i> , <i>Syria</i> , <i>Phenice</i> , and many other provinces, revolt from <i>Ochus</i> , now king of <i>Persia</i> , through their hatred of his cruelty.	II	150
3948	2641	358	<i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> besieges and takes the city of <i>Amphipolis</i> by storm, puts all the partizans against his interest to death, and uses all the common inhabitants kindly: Then he reduced <i>Pydna</i> , and <i>Potidæa</i> , which last having an <i>Athenian</i> garrison, he dismissed with all the marks of military honour, and delivers up the city to the <i>Olynthians</i> .	III	290
3948	2641	358	<i>C. Licinius Stolo</i> , a plebeian, and <i>C. Sulpitius</i> (surnamed <i>Peticus</i>) being chose consuls at <i>Rome</i> , besiege and take <i>Terentium</i> from the <i>Hernici</i> : In their return to <i>Rome</i> , the gates of <i>Tybur</i> are shut against them, the <i>Tyburtes</i> being in alliance with the		

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			<i>Gauls</i> , who were in motion again; upon which <i>T. Quindius Pennus</i> is made dictator; the <i>Gauls</i> advance, and encamp upon the banks of the <i>Anio</i> , within three miles of <i>Rome</i> , and the <i>Romans</i> opposite to them. A <i>Gaul</i> of gigantic size and strength, challenging all the <i>Romans</i> to a single combat, <i>Manlius</i> accepts the challenge, engages and kills him; and tearing off a gold collar from his neck, put it on his own all bloody; from whence he was surnamed <i>Torquatus</i> . The following night the <i>Gauls</i> abandoned their camp, and retired into <i>Campania</i> .	IV	583
3949	2642	357	<i>Orontes</i> , governor of <i>Myfia</i> , being chose general of all the provinces of <i>Asia Minor</i> , and upon his receiving money sufficient to raise troops, to maintain them in their revolt, makes his peace with <i>Ochus</i> , by delivering up those who had brought it; and <i>Rheomites</i> , another chief, instead of using the help from <i>Egypt</i> , where he had collected 500 talents and 50 ships of war, assembles the ring-leaders, and delivers them into the hands of <i>Ochus</i> king of <i>Persia</i> .	II	151
3949	2642	357	<i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> takes <i>Grenides</i> , the capital city of the country, lying between the river <i>Strymon</i> and <i>Nessus</i> , famous for its gold mines; makes great alterations in the city, and new names it <i>Philippi</i> , directs the working the mines, more advantageously than heretofore, and gets 10,000 talents a year from them.	III	291
3949	2642	357	<i>C. Petilius Libo</i> and <i>M. Fabius Ambustus</i> , the two <i>Roman</i> consuls, having each an army, <i>Libo</i> goes against the <i>Tyburtes</i> , and <i>Ambustus</i> against the <i>Hernici</i> , who continued their revolt upon the <i>Gauls</i> coming into the neighbourhood of <i>Rome</i> , and blocks up the gate <i>Collina</i> ; upon which <i>Servilius Abala</i> is made dictator, who engaged the <i>Gauls</i> under the walls of <i>Rome</i> , from whence, after much blood shed on both sides, the <i>Gauls</i> are forced to run away, &c. <i>Fabius</i> overthrew the <i>Hernici</i> , in a general battle. <i>Libo</i> has a triumph, <i>Fabius</i> an ovation; and <i>Servilius</i> lays down the dictatorship.	IV	588
3950	2643	356	The <i>Cbians</i> , <i>Rhodians</i> , <i>Coans</i> , and <i>Byzantines</i> , revolt from <i>Athens</i> , and form the social war.	II	542
3950	2643	356	The <i>Rhodians</i> join in the social war against the <i>Athenians</i> , ravage the islands of <i>Imbros</i> and <i>Lesbos</i> , take many ships, and raise contributions sufficient to pay their fleet and army.	III	135
3950	2643	356	<i>Chares</i> , the <i>Athenian</i> general, accuses <i>Timotheus</i> and <i>Iphicrates</i> , his colleagues, for neglect of duty; upon which they are recalled, fined, and cashiered; <i>Timotheus</i> unable to pay the mulct laid on him, retir'd to <i>Chelos</i> , and there broke his heart with grief at his disgrace.	II	543
3950	2643	356	Advice is brought to <i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> , then in the field, that his wife <i>Olympias</i> (daughter of <i>Neoptolemus</i> king of <i>Epirus</i>) was brought to bed of a son at <i>Pella</i> , whom he named <i>Alexander</i> , and who was afterwards surnamed the Great; at the same time he received also advice, that his chariot had gained the prize at the <i>Olympick</i> games, and that <i>Parmenio</i> his general had beaten the <i>Illyrians</i> .	III	291
3950	2643	356	The <i>Tyburtes</i> come in the dead of the night to the very gates of <i>Rome</i> ; in the morning the two consuls march out at two different gates of the city against them, and drove them away immediately.	IV	588
3950	2643	356	The <i>Phocian</i> , or sacred war, breaks out, about the temple of <i>Apollo</i> , and the things therein dedicated to his use.	II	543
3951	2644	355	<i>C. Falsius Ambustus</i> the consul goes against the <i>Tarquinenfes</i> , and is defeated, they taking 307 <i>Roman</i> prisoners, first treat them barbarously, and then cut their throats. <i>C. Plautius Proculus</i> , the other consul, goes against and entirely subdues the <i>Hernici</i> .	IV	588
3951	2644	355	The <i>Boii</i> (or <i>Gauls</i>) advance to <i>Pedum</i> , ten miles from <i>Rome</i> ; <i>Sulpitius</i> is made dictator, who with his allies the <i>Latins</i> go against the <i>Gauls</i> , and after an obstinate fight obtain a complete victory, and kill and drive all away, for which he is honoured with a triumph, and lays down his dictatorship.	IV	590
3952	2645	354	<i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> besieges <i>Isbome</i> , which makes a stout defence, but at last surrendered, with leave to depart the place; which being done, <i>Philip</i> razed the city and divided the land among his soldiers: He is said to lose an eye in this siege.	III	291
3952	2645	354	Interest of money is now settled at <i>Rome</i> , at one per cent, which heretofore had been arbitrary, according to the avarice of the lender, and necessity of the borrower. <i>Licinius Stolo</i> , the late plebeian consul, is fined 10,000 asses of brass, for having more than 500 acres of land. The <i>Privernates</i> having revolted, are defeated, and their city taken by the consul <i>Marius</i> . The tribunes get a law passed, prohibiting any magistrate upon pain of death, to assemble the <i>Comitia</i> any where but at <i>Rome</i> .	IV	590
3953	2646	353	Upon the death of <i>Dion</i> , the deliverer of <i>Syracuse</i> , <i>Calippus</i> (or <i>Gylipus</i>) got into the supremacy of that territory, and practised all manner of cruelties, even greater than the former tyrants had done.	III	73
3953	2646	353	<i>Gylippus</i> marching his forces against <i>Catana</i> , <i>Syracuse</i> revolts, and going to <i>Messana</i> , the inhabitants shut their gates, and take up arms against him, and in a sally cut off the <i>Zaenibian</i> troops that had murdered <i>Dion</i> ; and all the <i>Syracusan</i> cities refusing him admittance, he retired to <i>Rhegium</i> , where he was slain by <i>Leptines</i> and <i>Polyperchon</i> .	III	73
3953	2646	353	<i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> , having partly by fraud, and partly by force, gained possession of the <i>Straits</i> of <i>Thermopylae</i> , <i>Demosthenes</i> , to route the <i>Athenians</i> , composed the first of those inimitable orations, still in being, called the <i>Philippics</i> .	II	545
3953	2646	353	<i>Artabazus</i> , governor of one of the <i>Asiatic</i> provinces, revolts from <i>Persia</i> , and gets <i>Chares</i> the <i>Athenian</i> to join him with a fleet and body of troops: <i>Ochus</i> , king of <i>Persia</i> , sends an army of 70,000 men against the rebel; which <i>Chares</i> cut all to pieces; for which service <i>Artabazus</i> gives him large gifts, &c. <i>Ochus</i> threatens the <i>Athenians</i> to join the <i>Cbians</i> , <i>Rhodians</i> , &c. with whom they were at war, if they did not recall <i>Chares</i> ; for fear whereof they recall him, his army and fleet, with which he returns home.	II	151

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3953	2646	353	At the request of the <i>Alcanda</i> , or chiefs, <i>Philip</i> marches his <i>Macedonians</i> against <i>Lycophron</i> , the tyrant of <i>Thessaly</i> , and engages him and the <i>Phocians</i> ; his allies, who were defeated by <i>Philip</i> , and the <i>Phocians</i> driven out of <i>Thessaly</i> ; but <i>Onomarchus</i> (the <i>Phocian</i> general) coming with his whole army to the assistance of <i>Lycophron</i> , discomfits <i>Philip</i> in two general battles, and forces him to retire out of <i>Thessaly</i> in great distress.	III	292
3953	2646	353	<i>Philip</i> again engages <i>Lycophron</i> , and his allies the <i>Phocians</i> , obtains a complete victory, kills the <i>Phocian</i> general, and 6,000 men, obliges <i>Lycophron</i> and his brother <i>Pitöolaus</i> to surrender the capital city <i>Phærea</i> into his hands, and swear to be quiet; then he restores all the cities to their liberty.	III	293
3953	2646	353	All the <i>Hetrurians</i> taking up arms, the <i>Romans</i> chuse the plebeian <i>C. Marius Rutilus</i> dictator, and he named <i>C. Plautius Proculus</i> , a plebeian, for his general of horie; which so enraged the patricians, that they used their utmost interest to hinder his having necessaries for the war; but the people being pleased with this promotion (it being the first time a plebeian had been made dictator) hasten the levies and stores, which being soon ready, he marches against the enemy, surprizes and forces their camp, kills a great number, and takes 5,000 prisoners; for which, in spite of all opposition, he entered <i>Rome</i> in triumph.	IV	591
3953	2646	353	The <i>Athenians</i> conclude the social war, upon very advantageous terms to the rebels, leaving <i>Rhodes</i> , <i>Chios</i> , <i>Cos</i> , and <i>Byzantium</i> , entirely freed from any dependency upon them.	III	136
3953	2646	353	<i>Mausolus</i> king of <i>Caria</i> , who had assisted the <i>Rhodians</i> and <i>Cosians</i> against <i>Athens</i> , declares for an aristocratic government, and makes himself master of the two islands <i>Rhodes</i> and <i>Cos</i> .	III	136
3954	2647	352	<i>Hipparinus</i> , brother of <i>Diomyfius</i> , arriving at <i>Syracuse</i> , possessed himself of the city, and held it for the space of two years.	III	75
3954	2647	352	<i>Artabazus</i> , the revolted <i>Persian</i> , gets 5,000 <i>Thebans</i> , under the command of <i>Pammenes</i> , to assist him, by whose help he gained two victories over the king's forces; upon which <i>Ochus</i> bribes <i>Pammenes</i> , with 300 talents, to return home; which they doing, <i>Artabazus</i> is forced to fly to <i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> for refuge.	II	151
3954	2647	352	<i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> being angry with the <i>Athenians</i> , arms a great number of light vessels, which continually harassed their trade, and took large prizes.	III	293
3954	2647	352	After great struggles and an interregnum, two patricians are chose consuls at <i>Rome</i> this year, after having for 11 successive years one of them plebeians.	IV	591
3955	2648	351	<i>Nectanebus</i> king of <i>Egypt</i> and the <i>Phenicians</i> revolt from <i>Persia</i> , and drive the <i>Persians</i> sent against <i>Phenice</i> out of their territories.	II	152
3955	2648	351	The <i>Sidonians</i> being betrayed by <i>Mentor</i> the <i>Rhodian</i> , and <i>Tennes</i> their king, to <i>Ochus</i> king of <i>Persia</i> , as soon as they saw the <i>Persians</i> within their walls, shut up themselves in their houses, to the number of 40,000, and burnt them and themselves together; upon which <i>Ochus</i> ordered <i>Tennes</i> throat to be cut, and marched into <i>Judea</i> , took <i>Jericho</i> , and sent many <i>Jews</i> captive, some into <i>Egypt</i> , and others into <i>Hyrcania</i> , along the <i>Caspian</i> sea.	II	28
3955	2648	351	<i>Ochus</i> makes peace with the <i>Cyprians</i> , redresses their grievances, and settles their kings in their respective governments.	II	152
3955	2648	351	After great opposition, <i>M. Fabius Ambustus</i> and <i>T. Quinctius Pennus</i> , both patricians, are chose consuls to govern <i>Rome</i> this year. <i>Fabius</i> totally subdues the <i>Tyrrhenians</i> ; and <i>Quinctius</i> in a bloody battle defeats the <i>Tarquinenfes</i> , who put all the prisoners to the sword (to revenge the death of the 307 <i>Romans</i> they had murdered) except 358 which he sent to <i>Rome</i> , where, after they had been scourged with rods, were beheaded: Upon this the <i>Samnites</i> (a people of <i>Italy</i>) enter into alliance with the <i>Romans</i> , who promise them protection, &c.	IV	591
3955	2648	351	<i>Mausolus</i> king of <i>Caria</i> dying, the nobility and people of <i>Rhodes</i> drive out the <i>Carian</i> garrisons, and recover their former liberty and government.	III	136
3955	2648	351	The <i>Rhodians</i> make a descent upon <i>Caria</i> ; <i>Q. Artemisia</i> (widow of <i>Mausolus</i>) orders the <i>Halicarnassians</i> to express a readiness to surrender by clapping of hands, &c. upon which the <i>Rhodians</i> leave their ships, and go unguarded into the city; the queen seizes the <i>Rhodian</i> fleet, mans it with <i>Carians</i> , sails to <i>Rhodes</i> , gets possession of the city, and puts the chief magistrates to death: But <i>Artemisia</i> dying soon after, they recovered their city and liberty again.	III	137
3956	2649	350	<i>Dionysius</i> comes with foreign troops, and defeats <i>Nysseus</i> , governor of <i>Syracuse</i> , reinitates himself in the government, and acts with the utmost revenge and cruelty towards the people, who apply themselves to <i>Ictas</i> , a <i>Syracusan</i> by birth, and at that time tyrant of <i>Leontini</i> .	III	75
3956	2649	350	<i>Ochus</i> , with his <i>Greek</i> assistants, overcome <i>Nectanebus</i> king of <i>Egypt</i> , who is forced to fly into <i>Ethiopia</i> , so that henceforward <i>Egypt</i> became a province of <i>Persia</i> . <i>Ochus</i> having now quelled all disturbances in his great empire, gives himself up to ease and luxury, and the direction of publick affairs to his two favourites, <i>Bagoas</i> and <i>Mentor</i> .	II	153
3956	2649	350	<i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> wars against the <i>Olynthians</i> , takes <i>Zeira</i> , a town in <i>Chalcidia</i> , and razed it to the ground; then takes <i>Mycaleia</i> and <i>Torone</i> , defeats the <i>Olynthians</i> twice in the fields, and shuts them up in their city of <i>Olynthus</i> .	III	294
3956	2649	350	The patricians keep the consulate, and promote <i>T. Manlius Torquatus</i> to the dictatorship, though he had never been consul, contrary to law; he goes against the <i>Carites</i> , who had revolted, who immediately submit, and for former kindnesses to the <i>Romans</i> was forgiven, and a truce made with them for 100 years.	IV	592
3957	2650	349	The disputes run so high, that to avoid a civil war, <i>P. Valerius Poplicola</i> , a patrician, and <i>C. Marcius Rutilus</i> , a plebeian, are chose consuls at <i>Rome</i> this year, who chose five persons, called bankers, to regulate the payment of debts.	IV	592
3958	2651	348	Almost all the cities of <i>Chalcidia</i> , fell into the hands of <i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> .	II	540
3958	2651	348	Two patricians are chose consuls at <i>Rome</i> this year, during which the <i>Tarquinenfes</i> and <i>Falisci</i> submit to the republick, and obtain a truce for 40 years; and <i>Caraceni</i>		

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3967	2660	339	<i>Mago</i> , the <i>Carthaginian</i> general, returns with his troops to <i>Carthage</i> , and there murders himself, to prevent being called to an account for his return without leave or command.	III	77
3967	2660	339	<i>Philip</i> endeavours to storm the city of <i>Perinthus</i> , but after a vast effusion of blood on both sides, is obliged to raise the siege both of it and also of <i>Byzantium</i> .	III	304
3967	2660	339	<i>Phocion</i> , the <i>Athenian</i> general, takes several of <i>Philip's</i> ships, and retakes several towns, and raises contributions throughout the maritime provinces of <i>Macedonia</i> .	III	305
3968	2661	338	The <i>Athenians</i> very much harass and distress the <i>Macedonians</i> by sea, permitting none of their ships to stir out of their Ports, by keeping large squadrons always cruising to take all they met with.	III	305
3968	2661	338	The enmity between the <i>Romans</i> and <i>Samnites</i> breaking out, upon account of the <i>Campanians</i> , who threw themselves into the protection of the <i>Romans</i> , by surrendering wholly up to them, upon which the <i>Romans</i> , under their consul <i>Valerius</i> , and the <i>Samnites</i> engage, and after a most desperate battle the <i>Samnites</i> retire in the night, and leave the <i>Romans</i> masters of the field and their camp.	IV	596
3968	2661	338	<i>Cornelius Cossus</i> , (surnamed <i>Arvina</i>) the other consul, being surrounded, and much harassed and endangered by the <i>Samnites</i> , was delivered by <i>P. Decius Mus</i> , a legi nary, and by a very bold stratagem surprized the <i>Samnites</i> , took and plundered their camp, after having cut 30,000 of them to pieces; upon which the consul honours <i>Decius</i> with a gold crown, 100 oxen, and a white bull with gilt horns, and to his men he assigned a double quantity of corn during their life, and gave them two <i>Saga</i> , or military habits; the legions crown <i>Decius</i> with an obsidional crown, made of the grass growing on the spot, and his own men crowned him with a crown of oak leaves, called the civic crown; thus crowned with three crowns, he offered up the white bull to <i>Mars</i> , and distributed the 100 oxen among his companions that shared the danger and glory with him.	IV	597
3968	2661	338	The <i>Samnites</i> recruit, and <i>Valerius</i> goes against them at <i>Suessula</i> , a town situate between <i>Nola</i> and <i>Capua</i> , where engaging, the <i>Romans</i> are conquerors; 40,000 bucklers are taken from the enemy, and 120 standards, and both consuls are honoured with a triumph, and the <i>Carthaginians</i> present a crown of gold of 20 pounds weight to <i>Jupiter Capitolinus</i> , as a thanksgiving for this victory. This year ended with a census that shewed 160,000 persons fit to bear arms were in the city of <i>Rome</i> , and the whole closed with a <i>Lustrum</i> .	IV	598
3968	2661	338	<i>Ochus</i> having displeased <i>Bagoas</i> by robbing the <i>Egyptian</i> temples, and killing their god <i>Apis</i> , and carrying away the sacred records from thence, 12 years afterwards kills him, causes his flesh to be cut to pieces and given to the cats and made handles of knives of his bones, then puts <i>Arjes</i> , <i>Ochus's</i> youngest son, on the throne, and murders all the rest, so gives <i>Arjes</i> the name of king, and himself all the power.	II	154
3969	2662	337	The <i>Macedonians</i> engage and defeat the <i>Athenians</i> and <i>Thebans</i> in the neighbourhood of <i>Cheronea</i> , with great slaughter, and thereby obtained the sovereignty of <i>Greece</i> ; after which they made a peace with the <i>Athenians</i> , and put a good garrison into <i>Thebes</i> , and then left the rest of the <i>Boeotians</i> unhurt.		
3969	2662	337	A rebellion breaking out at <i>Rome</i> , the rebels seize <i>T. Quinctius</i> (an excellent commander that had retired to his country seat to die in peace) in his bed, and compel him to be their captain. <i>Valerius Corvus</i> is chose dictator, and goes against them, and pacifies them, and the senate not only pardon them all, but consents to pass the following laws; 1st. That no person who was a legionary tribune one year, should be a centurion next; 2. That no <i>Roman</i> should lend money upon interest, and usury absolutely forbidden at <i>Rome</i> ; 3d. That both the consuls should be plebeians; 4th. That no man should bear the same office twice in ten years, or hold two different employments the same year.	IV	599
3970	2663	336	<i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> convokes a general assembly of the <i>Greeks</i> , wherein he was recognized generalissimo of all the <i>Greeks</i> , is endued with power to go against the <i>Persians</i> ; and after appointing each state its quota, dismisses them.	III	308
3970	2663	336	<i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> repudiates his wife <i>Olympias</i> , mother of <i>Alexander the Great</i> , and espouses <i>Cleopatra</i> , the niece of <i>Attalus</i> ; upon which <i>Alexander</i> quarrels with his father, and retires with his mother into <i>Epirus</i> , the kingdom of his grandfather.	III	310
3970	2663	336	<i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> calls home his son <i>Alexander</i> from <i>Epirus</i> , and is friends with him, and also marries <i>Cleopatra</i> (the daughter of his wife <i>Olympias</i>) to <i>Alexander</i> king of <i>Epirus</i> , her brother.	III	312
3970	2663	336	<i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> murdered by <i>Pausanias</i> , captain of his guards, at a publick festival made for the celebration of the marriage of his daughter <i>Cleopatra</i> with <i>Alexander</i> king of <i>Epirus</i> , and is succeeded in his kingdom of <i>Macedon</i> by his son <i>Alexander</i> by his wife <i>Olympias</i> , surnamed the Great, from his great natural, and acquired parts, and from his extraordinary exploits and conquests in war.	III	314
3970	2663	336	Upon the death of <i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> , the <i>Grecian</i> cities and states revolt from his son <i>Alexander</i> .	II	549
3970	2663	336	<i>Bagoas</i> , to prevent <i>Arjes</i> bringing him to an account for his father's death, murders him, and all his family, and then puts <i>Darius</i> the third upon the throne, before called <i>Codomanus</i> , governor of <i>Armenia</i> .	II	154
3970	2663	336	<i>Darius</i> not being so tractable as <i>Bagoas</i> wished him to be, purposed to poison him, of which <i>Darius</i> having notice, when he came with the poisoned potion, he compelled <i>Bagoas</i> to drink it, and so settled himself upon the throne.	II	154
3970	2663	336	The <i>Privernum</i> revolt from the <i>Romans</i> , but are reduced by the consul <i>Piancius</i> ; and the <i>Samnites</i> are so harassed, by <i>Emilius</i> his colleague, that they sue for peace and an alliance with <i>Rome</i> , which was granted.	IV	599
3971	2664	335	<i>Alexander</i> , now king of <i>Macedon</i> , rejects the <i>Athenian</i> ambassadors with scorn, but upon their sending <i>Phocion</i> , he was so influenced as to make a favourable peace		

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			with him for the <i>Athenians</i> : At the same time <i>Alexander</i> contracts a great intimacy with and friendship for <i>Phocion</i> .	II	549
3971	2664	335	<i>Attalus</i> , general of the <i>Macedonian</i> army in <i>Asia</i> , is killed by order of king <i>Alexander</i> for aspiring to the crown of <i>Macedon</i> .	III	318
3971	2664	335	<i>Alexander</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> engages and defeats the <i>Thiballians</i> , <i>Thracians</i> , &c. upon which all the neighbouring nations make peace with him.	III	319
3971	2664	335	<i>Alexander</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> defeats <i>Cytus</i> king of <i>Illyria</i> , that had revolted, and <i>Glacias</i> king of the <i>Taulanti</i> , who was come to his assistance, twice, and forces them to fly into the mountains for shelter.	III	320
3971	2664	335	<i>Alexander</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> takes <i>Thebes</i> by storm, kills all he meets for several hours, without regard to age or sex, and razes all the city but the house of <i>Pindar</i> the poet; the lands he shared among his soldiers, and the prisoners he sold for slaves, whereby he put 440 talents into his treasury; this severity was used towards the <i>Thebans</i> under pretence they were the allies of the <i>Persians</i> , and so enemies to <i>Greece</i> . As an atonement for razing <i>Thebes</i> , he orders the cities <i>Orchomenus</i> and <i>Platea</i> to be rebuilt; upon which all the states of <i>Greece</i> submit to him, and he is made generalissimo of all <i>Greece</i> , &c.	III	321
3971	2664	335	<i>Manlius Torquatus</i> , a patrician, and <i>Decius Mus</i> , a plebeian, are chose consuls at <i>Rome</i> , when <i>Alexander</i> king of <i>Epirus</i> , uncle to <i>Alexander the Great</i> , came into <i>Italy</i> , being invited by the <i>Tarentines</i> to assist them against the <i>Brutians</i> , and concludes an alliance of friendship with the <i>Romans</i> .	IV	599
3971	2664	335	The consuls summon 10 of the chiefs among the <i>Latins</i> to declare their reason for their warlike preparations: The <i>Latins</i> demand, that one of the consuls and half the senate be chosen from among them; which being rejected, both sides fly to arms. <i>Titus Manlius</i> , the son of one of the reigning consuls, having engaged one <i>Gemenius Metius</i> , a <i>Latin</i> , and overcome him in single combat, is punished with death by the consul his father, for fighting without leave, &c.	IV	601
3971	2664	335	The <i>Latins</i> and <i>Romans</i> engage, and the consul <i>Decius Mus</i> devoting himself to the <i>Dii Manes</i> , is slain in the midst of the <i>Latins</i> : The <i>Romans</i> having made a prodigious slaughter of the <i>Latins</i> , at length gain the victory over them at the foot of mount <i>Vesuvius</i> ; after which <i>Numicius</i> their general recruits, and again engages the consul <i>Manlius</i> at a village called <i>Trifana</i> , where he is a second time overthrown; upon which <i>Manlius</i> lays all <i>Latium</i> waste; and all the <i>Latin</i> cities surrender at discretion, likewise <i>Privernum</i> among the <i>Volsi</i> , and all <i>Campania</i> , with <i>Capua</i> its capital; the consul takes their lands from them, and distributes them among the <i>Romans</i> , except the lands of the <i>Laurentini</i> and the <i>Campanian</i> knights, who were not concerned in the revolt.	IV	602
3971	2664	335	The <i>Campanian</i> knights, to the number of 1800, for their faithfulness to the <i>Romans</i> , were made citizens of <i>Rome</i> , but without right of suffrage; and this privilege was engraved on brass, and fixed up in the temple of <i>Castor</i> and <i>Pollux</i> ; and an annual portion of 45 denarii assigned each of them out of the public revenues of <i>Campania</i> . <i>Manlius</i> falling sick, <i>L. Papirius Crassus</i> is made dictator, and goes with his troops into the country of the <i>Antiatres</i> , who had revolted, where he stays some months, living at free quarter, and then returns to <i>Rome</i> , to chuse consuls.	IV	603
3972	2665	334	<i>Anaximenes</i> , the great historian, comes to meet <i>Alexander</i> , and to intercede for <i>Lampiacus</i> , a city that <i>Alexander</i> had determined to destroy, for siding with the <i>Persians</i> . Upon seeing him, <i>Alexander</i> swears he would not grant him what he should require; whereupon <i>Anaximenes</i> begs him to burn <i>Lampiacus</i> , and so saved it.	III	325
3972	2665	334	<i>Alexander</i> crossing the river <i>Granicus</i> in <i>Asia</i> , engages the <i>Persian</i> army, and defeats them with great slaughter, and the taking many prisoners.—Then marching to <i>Sardis</i> , it immediately surrenders, and with it all <i>Lydia</i> . Then he goes to <i>Ephesus</i> , and restores the democracy, and orders the tribute heretofore paid to the <i>Persians</i> , to be applied to the rebuilding the temple of <i>Diana</i> ; and by another edict, he ordered the restoration of the popular government in all the Greek cities, and sent <i>Alimalus</i> with a body of troops to see it executed.	III	326
3972	2665	334	<i>Miletus</i> is taken by the <i>Macedon</i> troops by storm; <i>Alexander</i> treats the citizens with great humanity, and sells all the strangers for slaves.	III	327
3972	2665	334	<i>Alexander</i> besieges, takes, and demolishes <i>Halicarnassus</i> , and makes <i>Ada</i> governess of all <i>Caria</i> . Upon this, most of the <i>Asiatic</i> princes revolt from <i>Darius</i> , and submit to <i>Alexander</i> ; among whom was <i>Mitbridates</i> king of <i>Pontus</i> .	III	330
3972	2665	334	The <i>Marmarians</i> harass <i>Alexander's</i> army, upon which he pursues and besieges them; and after defending themselves some time, the young men murder the old men, women and children, burn their houses, and cut their way through <i>Alexander's</i> guards, and fly to the mountains.	III	330
3972	2665	334	<i>Alexander</i> , son of <i>Aeropus</i> , general of the <i>Thessalian</i> horse, corresponds with <i>Amyntas</i> , who was in the service of <i>Darius</i> . <i>Amyntas</i> promises him, in <i>Darius's</i> name, 1000 talents of silver, and the kingdom of <i>Macedon</i> , to murder the king <i>Parmenio</i> , the <i>Macedonian</i> general, communicates it to the king; upon which <i>Alexander</i> is seized and put to death.	III	331
3972	2665	334	<i>Publius</i> , a plebeian consul, goes against an army of the <i>Latins</i> , that had revolted; overcomes them, and is honoured with a triumph: but <i>Emilius</i> the patrician, his colleague, gaining only some smaller advantages against another <i>Latin</i> army, is denied that honour, which makes him exclaim extremely against the Patricians: They order him to name a dictator, and he chooses <i>Publius</i> , a plebeian, who also chose <i>Brutus Scaevola</i> , a plebeian, for his general of the horse.	IV	603
3973	2666	333	The <i>Macedonians</i> take the city of <i>Aspendus</i> , receive 100 talents, a great number of horses, and a constant tribute, for its redemption, and marches through <i>Phrygia</i> , to meet the rest of his troops at <i>Gordium</i> .	III	332

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3973	2666	333	<i>Darius</i> , by the persuasion of the <i>Persian</i> Lords puts <i>Chabridemus</i> to death, who had long been a famous <i>Athenian</i> officer under <i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> , for upbraiding them with cowardice, &c.	III	332
3973	2666	333	<i>Alexander</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> , waiting at <i>Gordium</i> for the arrival of the rest of his troops, undoes the knot in the cord, by which <i>Gordius's</i> chariot hung in the palace of <i>Midas</i> their king; concerning which the oracle is said to have declared, that he that could undo it, should reign over all <i>Asia</i> .	III	333
3973	2666	333	<i>L. Furius Camillus</i> , a patrician, and <i>C. Manius</i> , a plebeian, being consuls at <i>Rome</i> this year, overcome the united forces of the <i>Latins</i> , take the town of <i>Pedum</i> by assault, and bring all <i>Latium</i> into subjection; having finished the war, the consuls return to <i>Rome</i> , have a triumph, and two <i>Equestrian</i> statues in the forum.	IV	603
3973	2666	333	Upon <i>Alexander's</i> arriving at <i>Ancyra</i> , a city of <i>Galatia</i> , the province of <i>Paphlagonia</i> submits; he then proceeds to reduce <i>Cappadocia</i> , and possess himself of <i>Cilicia</i> ; soon after is taken with a violent illness, of which he is cured by <i>Philip</i> his physician, who was accused with designing to poison him.	III	333
3973	2666	333	<i>Harpalus</i> , one of <i>Alexander's</i> commanders, having misbehaved, flies from <i>Asia</i> , where he was governor, with prodigious wealth to <i>Athen</i> , from whence he is banished by the senate.	II	550
3973	2666	333	The <i>Latins</i> , from allies, become subjects to the <i>Romans</i> , and are differently treated, according as their cities had been more or less vigorous in the late revolt, &c.	IV	604
3974	2667	332	<i>Alexander</i> totally defeats <i>Darius</i> , with an army of 600,000 men, at the battle of <i>Iffus</i> , in which about 100,000 was killed, and the tent of <i>Darius</i> taken, wherein was his mother, wife, two daughters, and his little son, whom <i>Alexander</i> ordered to be treated with the utmost tenderness and respect, and by his universal good usage wrought upon all the provinces of <i>Cælo-Syria</i> to submit: <i>Parmenio</i> , one of <i>Alexander's</i> generals, takes all <i>Darius's</i> baggage, treasure, and equipage, left at <i>Damascus</i> .	III	337
3974	2667	332	<i>Alexander</i> takes <i>Tyre</i> by storm, after a long siege, kills about 8,000, sells 30,000 for slaves, and pardons king <i>Axelmicus</i> , and such <i>Tyrian</i> lords as were taken with him in the temple of <i>Hercules</i> , where <i>Alexander</i> , assisted with his whole army, offered sacrifice.	III	341
3974	2667	332	<i>Darius</i> offers 10,000 talents of silver for the ransom of his mother, wife, and children, that he would consent to the marriage of his daughter with <i>Alexander</i> , and would acknowledge him both for his friend and confederate.	III	343
3974	2667	332	<i>Alexander</i> goes with anger towards <i>Jerusalem</i> , where he is met by <i>Jaddua</i> the high-priest, and all the other priests in their vestments, at <i>Sapha</i> , or <i>Traphap</i> , an eminence that commanded a prospect of the whole city and temple, where <i>Alexander</i> pays them great respect, remits that year's tribute, and confirms them in all their privileges granted them by the kings of <i>Persia</i> , upon which many of the <i>Jews</i> list themselves in his army, &c.	II	48
3974	2667	332	<i>Gaza</i> (about five miles from the sea) a large and strong town at the entrance into <i>Egypt</i> , and the bridge of <i>Palestine</i> , after a stout resistance and great slaughter, is taken by <i>Alexander</i> , and thereby all <i>Syria</i> was lost from <i>Darius</i> .	III	344
3974	2667	332	<i>Alexander</i> goes into <i>Egypt</i> , <i>Pelufium</i> is surrendered by the <i>Persians</i> , without any opposition; from thence he sails up the <i>Nile</i> , lands and marches through the deserts to <i>Heliopolis</i> , crosses the river and comes to <i>Memphis</i> , and there offers sacrifice to all the <i>Grecian</i> deities, and to the <i>Egyptian Apis</i> , and celebrates magnificent games, sails down the river to the sea, passes round the city <i>Canopus</i> , and wherever he came, orders the erection of publick temples and structures.	III	345
3974	2667	332	<i>Demosthenes</i> the <i>Athenian</i> orator being convicted of bribery by the court of <i>Areopagus</i> , was fined 50 talents, and to avoid imprisonment flew to <i>Egina</i> .	II	550
3974	2667	332	The <i>Rhodians</i> submit voluntarily to <i>Alexander the Great</i> , which pleased him so much, that he shewed them upon all occasions marks of his esteem and friendship, and is said to have deposited his last will in their archives.	III	357
3974	2667	332	<i>Publius</i> , a plebeian, is chose prætor at <i>Rome</i> , which is the first time any of that order had been admitted into that dignity, which reconciled the people and nobility.	IV	604
3975	2668	331	<i>Alexander</i> goes to the temple of <i>Jupiter Ammon</i> , and sacrifices, then returns to <i>Memphis</i> , and settles the government of <i>Egypt</i> .	III	348
3975	2668	331	The <i>Samaritans</i> having killed <i>Andromachus</i> , governor of <i>Samaria</i> under <i>Alexander</i> , by burning his palace and him in it, and his attendants, <i>Alexander</i> revenged it by putting to death all who had any manner of concern in it, and drove out the rest, and then peopled the city with <i>Macedonians</i> , and granted the rest of their territories to the <i>Jews</i> .	II	30
3975	2668	331	<i>Alexander</i> engages <i>Darius</i> at the village of <i>Guagamela</i> , and routs his army consisting of 1,000,000 horse and foot, with great slaughter, and many prisoners, and pursues <i>Darius</i> himself 10 miles; <i>Parmenio</i> taking the enemies baggage, elephants, and camels, and so absolutely decided the fate of <i>Asia</i> .	III	351
3975	2668	331	<i>Alexander</i> marches against <i>Babylon</i> , upon whose arrival <i>Mazæus</i> the <i>Persian</i> governor retires, and the <i>Babylonians</i> come out joyfully to submit to <i>Alexander</i> .	III	353
3975	2668	331	<i>Agis</i> , king of <i>Sparta</i> , having revolted from <i>Alexander's</i> authority, is engaged by <i>Antipater</i> the <i>Macedonian</i> general, and killed, with 5,500 of his men, and the rest dispersed; which confirmed <i>Alexander</i> in his supremacy over all <i>Greece</i> .	III	354
3975	2668	331	<i>Alexander</i> marches to <i>Susa</i> , where was <i>Darius's</i> palace and treasure, which had been delivered into the hands of his general <i>Philoxenes</i> ; here he received 50,000 talents, being upwards of 9,000,000 sterling, and furniture and curiosities of immense value; then he reduces all the provinces as he passes.	III	354
3975	2668	331	<i>Bessus</i> , governor of <i>Bactria</i> , <i>Barnabantes</i> , president of <i>Aracofia</i> , and <i>Nabarzentes</i> , a general of horse, seeing <i>Darius's</i> misfortunes, revolt from and seize him, with intent to set up themselves: Upon <i>Alexander's</i> hearing of it, he pursues the rebels, and upon his coming up to them, they stab and kill <i>Darius</i> , and then fly.	III	359

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3975	2668	331	The <i>Sidicini</i> and <i>Aufones</i> , who had infested the country of the <i>Arunci</i> , at this time in alliance with <i>Rome</i> , are defeated by the consuls, &c.	IV	604
3976	2669	330	A conspiracy is formed against the life of <i>Alexander</i> , which being discovered, <i>Dymnus</i> , the person who was to have killed the king, upon his being apprehended stabs himself.	III	364
3976	2669	330	<i>Alexander</i> , after vast marches in a very rigorous season, and through difficult ways, comes into <i>Media</i> , and orders a city to be built, which he called <i>Alexandria</i> .	III	368
3976	2669	330	<i>Bessus</i> , the <i>Persian</i> rebel, having changed his name into <i>Artaxerxes</i> , upon hearing of <i>Alexander's</i> march against him, wastes all the country as he passes, and burns his ships, then retires to <i>Nautaca</i> , a city of <i>Sogdia</i> : <i>Alexander</i> continuing his march, reduces all <i>Bactria</i> , and <i>Bessus</i> is delivered into his hands.	III	370
3976	2669	330	The <i>Abii</i> , a people of <i>Scythia</i> , having revolted, and taken many cities, <i>Alexander</i> goes against them at <i>Caza</i> , takes it by storm, burns the city, kills all the males, and gives all the plunder and women to his soldiers, and went so on from place to place, destroying and conquering all where-ever he came.	III	371
3976	2669	330	<i>Pharnaces</i> , one of <i>Alexander's</i> generals, with 2,300 men, horse and foot, is cut off by <i>Spitamenes</i> , all but 340; upon which <i>Alexander</i> goes against him in person, but he flying, <i>Alexander</i> wastes and destroys all the country, and puts the people to death; then he marched to <i>Zariaspa</i> , and went into winter quarters; here he ordered <i>Bessus</i> to be brought into court, to have his nose and ears cut off, and then sent him to <i>Ecbatana</i> , to be tried according to the laws of the <i>Medes</i> and <i>Persians</i> , for the murder of <i>Darius</i> late king of <i>Persia</i> .	III	373
3976	2669	330	<i>M. Valerius Corvus</i> , now a fourth time consul, takes <i>Cale</i> , the metropolis of the <i>Aufones</i> , by means of covered galleries and moveable towers, which he invented to screen his men from their darts and stones.	IV	604
3977	2670	329	<i>Alexander</i> changes the anniversary festival of <i>Bacchus</i> into the festival of the <i>Dioscuri</i> , i. e. <i>Castor</i> and <i>Pollux</i> ; here at a sumptuous feast were present all the principal commanders, and particularly <i>Cyrtus</i> , the king's favourite, whom the king, in a fit of drunken madness, killed.	III	376
3977	2670	329	<i>Alexander</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> , now called the <i>Great King</i> , receives divine honours, with which being much elated, a conspiracy is formed to kill him, by several young noblemen; but being discovered, the conspirators are stoned to death.	III	381
3977	2670	329	The king of <i>Scythia</i> offers an alliance to <i>Alexander</i> , which he declines, but accepts of the offer of <i>Pharaimanes</i> king of the <i>Chorasmeni</i> , a people bordering on the <i>Euxine</i> sea, and makes an alliance with him.	III	381
3977	2670	329	The new <i>Roman</i> consuls enter the enemies country, and lay it waste, and then return to <i>Rome</i> ; when it being reported the <i>Samnites</i> had joined the <i>Sidicini</i> , <i>P. Cornelius Rufinus</i> was appointed dictator; but the augurs declaring his nomination defective, he was obliged to abdicate. A plague being now at <i>Rome</i> , they declared the inauguration of the consuls was faulty, upon which they were displaced, and an interregnum followed.	IV	604
3978	2671	328	<i>Alexander</i> marches into <i>Sogdia</i> , besieges and takes a fortress built on a rock, and thereby cut off the retiring place of the revolvers, wherein was <i>Roxana</i> , the wife of <i>Oxyrates</i> , the greatest beauty in the world, whom <i>Alexander</i> married; upon which <i>Oxyrates</i> surrenders, and with him all <i>Sogdia</i> , and is received with all the marks of esteem and friendship.	III	384
3978	2671	328	<i>Alexander</i> coming to the river <i>Cophesus</i> , sends a herald to <i>Taxiles</i> , and all the other princes on this side the river <i>Indus</i> , to come and meet him, which <i>Taxiles</i> does, with great presents; from thence <i>Alexander</i> goes to the river <i>Choe</i> , besieges and takes a city double walled with some difficulty, and razes it; then proceeds to <i>Andaca</i> , which was surrendered on terms; he goes on, and at last engages a great army of the natives, which he entirely conquered, killing 40,000 upon the spot, and taking 230,000 head of cattle, part of which, for their extraordinary size, goodness, and beauty, he sent to <i>Macedon</i> , to mend the <i>Greecian</i> breed, and to perpetuate the memory of this great victory.	III	387
3979	2672	327	<i>Alexander</i> passes the river <i>Indus</i> , and from thence goes to the river <i>Hydaspes</i> , where his passage is long hindered by king <i>Porus</i> ; but having by a stratagem cross'd the river, engages, overthrows, and kills 20,000 foot, and 3,000 horse, hacked 300 chariots to pieces, killed and took all the elephants and two of <i>Porus's</i> sons, and most of the officers of rank were also killed; <i>Porus</i> submits, and is received with the utmost civility by <i>Alexander</i> , who not only returned him his own kingdom, but added very large provinces and kingdoms to it, &c. To perpetuate the memory of this victory, <i>Alexander</i> ordered two cities to be built, one on the field of battle, called <i>Nicæa</i> , and the other on this side of the river where he encamped, called <i>Bucephala</i> , in honour of his horse, which died here of age, being 30 years old.	III	392
3979	2672	327	Several <i>Indian</i> princes confederate together; <i>Alexander</i> engages them before the city <i>Sangala</i> , seated on the top of a hill, defeats them with great slaughter, and takes the city by storm, kills 17,000, and takes 70,000 prisoners, 300 chariots, and 500 horse, razes the city, and goes on to the river <i>Hypafis</i> .	III	394
3979	2672	327	<i>Alexander's</i> army mutiny, and insist upon returning home, to which he consents, and having made proper preparations, embarks his troops, &c. In his passage he reduces the <i>Malli</i> , by taking their city by storm, and putting all to the sword he finds in it; he then passes the river <i>Hydraotis</i> , and engages a large army, which defeating, he besieges and storms the city where they had retired to, and being desperately wounded, is with great difficulty preserved alive; the soldiers in revenge put all they meet with to the sword; the <i>Malli</i> and <i>Oxydrac</i> submit, and make great presents, whose example several other kingdoms and provinces follow and do the like.	III	399
3979	2672	327	It being groundlessly reported the <i>Gauls</i> were coming against <i>Rome</i> , <i>Papirius Crassus</i> is named dictator, the <i>City</i> , now greatly increased, two new tribes, viz. the <i>Maecian</i> and <i>Scaptian</i> , are added to those that were already in being.	IV	604

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3980	2673	326	A great number of <i>Roman</i> ladies conspire and poison their husbands, which being discovered by a woman slave, the ladies drink the poison they were preparing, and so kill themselves.	IV	605
3981	2674	325	The <i>Privernates</i> and <i>Fundi</i> revolt from <i>Rome</i> , but after a long siege <i>Privernum</i> surrenders, and <i>Vitruvius</i> , the author of the revolt, being delivered up, was first beaten with rods, and then beheaded. The two consuls upon their return to <i>Rome</i> have a triumph, and <i>Emilius</i> is surnamed <i>Privernus</i> : After punishing some of the ringleaders, <i>Privernum</i> was declared a <i>Municipium</i> , and incorporated into the <i>Roman</i> state.	IV	606
3981	2674	325	<i>Alexander</i> loses a vast number of his troops, &c. as he is passing through <i>Gadrosia</i> , by drought and famine, &c. Upon his coming into <i>Camerania</i> , puts <i>Clitander</i> , <i>Sitalces</i> , and <i>Heracles</i> to death, for male administration during his absence: <i>Orsines</i> the <i>Persian</i> governor is crucified, and <i>Peucestas</i> appointed in his stead. <i>Atropas</i> , governor of <i>Media</i> , is put to death, for assuming the regal title and wearing the royal tiara.	III	404
3981	2674	325	<i>Calanus</i> the <i>Indian</i> philosopher, tutor of <i>Lyfimachus</i> , obtains leave of <i>Alexander</i> to have a funeral pile, on which laying himself at full length, remained without voice or motion in the midst of the flames till he was consumed.	III	405
3981	2674	325	<i>Alexander</i> goes to <i>Suffa</i> , where <i>Abulites</i> and his son <i>Oxathres</i> being proved guilty of male administration, are put to death; and then he gives a loose to luxury, pleasure and ease, takes <i>Barsine</i> , or <i>Statira</i> , the daughter of <i>Darius</i> , and <i>Parisatis</i> , the daughter of <i>Ochus</i> , for his wives: To <i>Hephestion</i> , <i>Craterus</i> , &c. he gave the greatest <i>Persian</i> ladies, to the number of 80, all which marriages were solemnized at once: Next, he ordered all his troops to make their demand, which coming to 20,000 talents, he pays them, and orders a crown of gold to be given to each of his favourites.	III	406
3981	2674	325	<i>Alexander</i> being returned to <i>Opis</i> , a city on the <i>Tygris</i> , he makes proclamation for such as were infirm, or desirous to have leave, to lay down their arms, &c. A mutiny arising, he orders 13 of the ringleaders to be put to death on the spot, and so prevented its spreading further.	III	406
3981	2674	325	The <i>Macedonians</i> come to the king's palace, and lay down their arms, protesting they would remain there day and night till he had compassion on them; which so melted him, that he came and kissed them, and ordered a publick feast, at which 9000 persons were present; the <i>Macedonians</i> sat next the king, next them the <i>Persians</i> , and next them people of all nations.	III	407
3982	2675	324	<i>Harpalus</i> having again robbed the king's treasury of 5000 talents, for fear of punishment, raises 6000 mercenaries, leaves them at <i>Tenarus</i> , and goes himself to <i>Athens</i> ; but being forced away from thence, returns to his troops, where he is killed by <i>Thimbro</i> , his intimate friend.	III	407
3982	2675	324	<i>Alexander</i> , upon <i>Harpalus's</i> revolt, marches immediately to <i>Ecbatana</i> , where he offered sacrifice, and exhibited solemn sports; but <i>Hephestion</i> dying, makes him melancholy; he honours him with great marks of his esteem, and orders him a monument at the expence of 1000 talents.	III	408
9982	2675	324	Near <i>Ecbatana</i> was a rude and barbarous people, called the <i>Cossians</i> , who had never been conquered by the <i>Persians</i> , and who continually made incursions, and committed robberies upon the neighbouring countries; these <i>Alexander</i> , after several encounters, forces to submit to his mercy.	III	408
3982	2675	324	<i>Ambassadors</i> come from all parts of <i>Greece</i> to <i>Babylon</i> , with garlands on their heads, presenting golden crowns to <i>Alexander</i> , thereby intending him divine honours.	III	410
3982	2675	324	<i>Alexander</i> quitting his throne to quench his thirst, a mean fellow a prisoner rushes through the eunuchs, and seats himself thereon, for which presumption he is put to death.	III	410
3983	2676	323	The <i>Palaeopolitans</i> , who were originally <i>Eubceans</i> , coming into <i>Italy</i> , built <i>Cuma</i> , and <i>Naples</i> , or <i>Neapolis</i> , make an irruption into the <i>Roman</i> territories: The <i>Samnites</i> also break the peace, <i>Publius</i> the late consul, a plebeian, is made <i>Proconsul</i> , and by stratagem takes <i>Palaeopolis</i> , and disperses the <i>Samnites</i> , and in spite of the nobles enters <i>Rome</i> in triumph, which is denied the two consuls, though they also had gained great advantages over the <i>Samnites</i> .	IV	607
3983	2676	323	<i>Alexander</i> dies at <i>Babylon</i> of a raging fever, said to be occasioned by poison given him by <i>Antipater</i> , &c. He left behind him a son named <i>Hercules</i> , by his wife <i>Barsina</i> , daughter of <i>Artabazus</i> , and widow of <i>Memnon</i> , who was afterward murdered; by <i>Roxana</i> daughter of <i>Oxyrates</i> the <i>Bactrian</i> , a posthumous son named <i>Alexander</i> , who for a time had the title of king; by <i>Cleopatra</i> queen of part of <i>India</i> , a son named <i>Alexander</i> , who succeeded his mother in her kingdom. He died lord of a multitude of fair provinces, sovereign of many large kingdoms, and held empire more extensive than any before him: <i>Macedon</i> was his hereditary kingdom; great part of <i>Thrace</i> and <i>Illyria</i> he subdued, and all <i>Greece</i> was under his protection: In <i>Asia</i> his conquests reached from the <i>Hellspont</i> to the <i>Indian</i> ocean, and <i>Egypt</i> and <i>Lybia</i> were his.	III	414
3983	2676	323	Upon the death of <i>Alexander</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> , (called the Great King) all the great men, having various interests to promote, are much divided about a successor; at last name <i>Aridaeus</i> , brother to <i>Alexander</i> , and change his name to <i>Philip</i> .	III	415
3983	2676	323	<i>Perdiccas</i> , master of the horse, causes a lustration of the army, takes 300 out of the phalanx of foot, and throws them to the elephants, who were openly devoured and destroyed; then pursues <i>Malcagre</i> into a temple, whither he had fled for safety, and orders him to be murdered, and so establishes himself in the power he aim'd at for a time.	III	416
3983	2676	323	<i>Alexander</i> , the new-born son of <i>Roxana</i> , (the late king <i>Alexander's</i> wife) is joined with <i>Aridaeus</i> (now <i>Philip</i>) in the regal authority; and the several kingdoms and provinces distributed to the late king <i>Alexander's</i> favourites, generals, &c.	III	417

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3983	2676	323	<i>Perdiccas</i> and <i>Roxana</i> (for her son) govern without controul. <i>Roxana</i> sends letters under <i>Alexander's</i> seal for <i>Statira</i> , and <i>Drypatis</i> the daughter of <i>Darius</i> , wives to the late king <i>Alexander</i> , and <i>Hephestion</i> , to come to <i>Babylon</i> immediately, where being arrived, they are murdered.	III	418
3983	2676	323	The mercenary <i>Greeks</i> assemble themselves under one <i>Philo</i> , to the number of 20,000 foot and 3000 horse, and endeavour to march home. <i>Perdiccas</i> sends one <i>Pitbon</i> against them, with orders to destroy them all, and to give their effects to the soldiers under him; which was accordingly executed.	III	419
3983	2676	323	The <i>Rhodian</i> s revolt from <i>Macedon</i> , drive out all the <i>Macedonian</i> garrisons, and become a free people.	III	137
3984	2677	322	Violent storms of rain, hail, thunder, &c. happen at <i>Rhodes</i> , whereby abundance of the inhabitants are killed and drowned, and the wall of the city broke down, which gives vent to the waters, and saves the city and people from intire destruction.	III	137
3984	2677	322	<i>Senthes</i> , descended of the antient race of the <i>Odrysian</i> kings, comes against <i>Lyfimachus</i> , governor of <i>Thrace</i> , with 20,000 foot and 8000 horse; which <i>Lyfimachus</i> is forced to engage, with 4000 foot and 2000 horse, and behaved so gallantly, that he kept the field, and preserved his government.	III	419
3984	2677	322	<i>Jaddua</i> the <i>Jewish</i> high-priest dies; and is succeeded in that office by his son <i>Onias</i> , who enjoyed that dignity about 21 years.	IV	30
3984	2677	322	Upon the death of <i>Alexander the Great</i> , the <i>Athenians</i> and their allies, under <i>Leofthene</i> s, go against the <i>Macedonians</i> with a great army; they engage <i>Antipater</i> , who being much inferior in number, is beaten, and forced to fly to <i>Lamia</i> (a city of <i>Thessaly</i>), whither <i>Leofthene</i> s follows, and besieges him; where <i>Leofthene</i> s being killed by a stone, <i>Antipater</i> is chose general in his stead; who engaging the <i>Macedonian</i> under the command of <i>Leonatus</i> , overthrew them; upon which growing careless and secure, <i>Leonatus</i> , being joined by <i>Antipater</i> and <i>Craterus</i> , they engage and overthrow <i>Antipater</i> and <i>Memnon</i> , which so dispirited the confederate <i>Greeks</i> , that they sued to <i>Antipater</i> for peace, which he granted them separately, and thereby reduced the power of <i>Athens</i> so much, as to force them to consent to the delivering up <i>Demosthenes</i> and <i>Hyperides</i> , and that the old method of taxing in the city should be restored, that they should receive a <i>Macedonian</i> garrison into <i>Munichia</i> , defray the charges of the war, &c. This being agreed to, <i>Demosthenes</i> poisoned himself.	II	551
3984	2677	322	<i>Timoleon</i> , full of age and possessed of the love of all the people, dies, and is buried with great pomp at the public expence, 200 <i>Mina's</i> being decreed for that purpose: 'Twas likewise enacted, that the day of his death should annually be honoured with publick sports, horse-races and <i>Gymnastic</i> games; and whenever the <i>Syracusans</i> were engaged in a war with the <i>Barbarians</i> , they should send to <i>Corinth</i> for a general.	III	79
3984	2677	322	<i>Perdiccas</i> goes against <i>Ariarathes</i> king of <i>Cappadocia</i> ; upon the frontiers they engage, and <i>Perdiccas</i> kills 1000, takes <i>Ariarathes</i> and 6000 more prisoners, and disperses the rest; crucifies <i>Ariarathes</i> , and settles <i>Eumenes</i> governor under the two kings of <i>Macedon</i> , &c.	III	420
3984	2677	322	<i>Perdiccas</i> , to revenge the death of <i>Balacrus</i> , the governor of <i>Lawranda</i> , and <i>Iffaurus</i> , whom the people had killed, assaults and takes <i>Lawranda</i> by storm, puts all able to bear arms to the sword, and sells the youth, women, and children, for slaves; then besieging <i>Iffaurus</i> , a strong and populous city, which was long defended with great bravery, but at last, rather than be taken, the <i>Iffaurians</i> burnt the city, with their parents, wives, and children.	III	420
3984	2677	322	The <i>Lucanians</i> are drawn, by a stratagem, to declare for the <i>Samnites</i> against <i>Rome</i> .	IV	608
3984	2677	322	The <i>Roman</i> senate make a law to abrogate the power of creditors over their debtors, appointing, that no citizen's person should be imprisoned for debt, but only for criminal matters.	IV	608
3985	2678	321	<i>Agathocles</i> , a potter by trade, being first a common soldier, for his beauty, strength, and activity, was by <i>Demas</i> the <i>Agrigentine</i> general made a <i>Chiliarch</i> (or commander of 1000 men) and upon <i>Demas's</i> dying, married his widow, and so became the richest citizen of <i>Syracuse</i> : But <i>Sosistratus</i> having usurped the supreme authority, drove him out of <i>Syracuse</i> ; from whence he retired to <i>Italy</i> , and settling at <i>Crotone</i> , attempted the sovereignty thereof, but was forced to fly from the rage of the multitude to <i>Tarentum</i> , from whence he was likewise driven for the like practices, and now all cities refusing him, he collected a body of exiles, and lived by robbery and plunder. <i>Sosistratus</i> coming into <i>Italy</i> besieged <i>Rhegium</i> ; <i>Agathocles</i> and his band unexpectedly fell upon him, and obliged him to return home, where he was soon after forced to abdicate the sovereignty, and quit <i>Syracuse</i> , with about 600 citizens suspected of designing to demolish <i>Democracy</i> , and set up <i>Oligarchy</i> ; upon which they apply to the <i>Carthaginians</i> , who espouse their cause; and the <i>Syracusans</i> call home <i>Agathocles</i> , and make him their commander in chief, who overthrows <i>Sosistratus</i> and the <i>Carthaginians</i> in a pitch'd battle, wherein he received seven wounds: Upon this beginning to exercise sovereign power, the <i>Syracusans</i> has recourse to <i>Corinth</i> , who sent <i>Acetorides</i> to command their army, who commanded <i>Agathocles</i> to go out of the city; but he got a young man that resembled him to go in his stead, who was seized, murdered, and buried, as soon as he came without the city, thinking him to be <i>Agathocles</i> , but were soon undeceived by <i>Agathocles</i> making his escape privately, and raising troops in the heart of <i>Sicily</i> ; upon which the <i>Syracusans</i> offered to recall him home, if he would disband his troops, which he agreed to, and being conducted to the temple of <i>Ceres</i> , swore to do nothing prejudicial to the established <i>Democracy</i> , then confuting of 600 of the chief citizens: He was again made commander in chief of the forces going against the revolted <i>Erbitans</i> ; he employs his army to seize <i>Syracuse</i> , under pretence of ridding them of the 600 tyrants, and their abettors, and murders all they		

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			meet with, without regard to age, sex, or rank, plundered the houses, and committed all manner of cruelties; so that a few hours strewed the streets with upwards of 4000 dead carcases. This horrid work continued two days; the 3d day <i>Agathocles</i> summons those citizens that were left alive, tells them his design was only to establish the <i>Democracy</i> free, and that he would live a private life: This said, his adherents proclaimed him king, with an absolute power. His first law was, that all the lands should be equally divided between the rich and the poor, which gained him the populace, and then behaved very mildly, freely, and equitably; and thus, in about two years time, he made himself master of all <i>Sicily</i> , when he behaved as cruelly and inhumanly as ever any before him had done.		
3985	2678	321	<i>Perdiccas</i> first murders <i>Cynane</i> , the daughter of <i>Philip</i> late king of <i>Macedon</i> , and promotes her daughter <i>Ada</i> (or <i>Eurydice</i>) to be the wife of king <i>Arideus</i> (or <i>Philip</i> ;) upon which <i>Antigonus</i> , governor of <i>Pamphilia</i> , &c. retires to <i>Greece</i> , to accuse <i>Perdiccas</i> to <i>Antipater</i> and <i>Craterus</i> .	III	82
3985	2678	321	<i>Ptolomy</i> , governor of <i>Egypt</i> , sends <i>Opbellas</i> against <i>Thimbro</i> ; who conquers, takes, and crucifies <i>Thimbro</i> , and so adds <i>Cyrene</i> to <i>Egypt</i> .	III	421
3985	2678	321	<i>Arideus</i> (one of <i>Alexander the Great's</i> commanders) after two years preparation for the burial of <i>Alexander</i> , late king of <i>Macedon</i> , &c. carries his body from <i>Babylon</i> into <i>Egypt</i> : <i>Ptolomy</i> goes as far as <i>Syria</i> in person, to meet and do honour to his dead master; and conducting his corps to <i>Alexandria</i> , buries him in a rich temple, built there on purpose.	III	421
3985	2678	321	<i>Perdiccas</i> hearing that <i>Ptolomy</i> , <i>Craterus</i> , and <i>Antipater</i> designed to unite and take his power from him, (which he exercised to the dislike of every body) raises a great army, takes the two kings with him, and goes into <i>Egypt</i> ; where, after losing a great many of his men, by death and desertion, &c. he is murdered by the remainder in his tent; upon which <i>Ptolomy</i> comes and treats the army with great tenderness; and <i>Arideus</i> and <i>Pitbon</i> were chose protectors of the kings persons and chief minister of state.	III	423
3985	2678	321	<i>Eumenes</i> obtains two victories over <i>Craterus</i> and <i>Antipater</i> for <i>Perdiccas</i> , in which <i>Craterus</i> , and <i>Neoptolemus</i> , the revolted governor of <i>Armenia</i> , were slain; upon hearing whereof, in two days after <i>Perdiccas's</i> death, the soldiers put all the friends of <i>Perdiccas</i> to death, proscribed <i>Eumenes</i> and 50 men of quality with him, and then left <i>Egypt</i> and returned into <i>Cælo-Syria</i> , under the command of <i>Arideus</i> and <i>Pitbon</i> . At their arrival at <i>Tryparadifus</i> , <i>Antipater</i> , governor of <i>Greece</i> , &c. join them. <i>Arideus</i> and <i>Pitbon</i> lay down their office, and <i>Antipater</i> is chose protector, with sovereign power: But <i>Eurydice</i> , wife of king <i>Philip</i> , behaving imperiously, is check'd by <i>Antipater</i> ; upon which, in a set oration, she accused him to the army, which occasions great disorders; but after some days matters were settled, and <i>Antipater</i> continued in the administration; upon which he made a new division of the provinces, and declares <i>Eumenes</i> a publick enemy, and orders <i>Antigonus</i> , general of the household troops, to prosecute the war against him; then returns with the two kings into his own province, highly commended and admired by all the <i>Macedonians</i> .	III	423
3985	2678	321	The <i>Vesini</i> (a people on the <i>Adriatick</i> sea) take arms against <i>Rome</i> : The consul <i>D. Junius Brutus</i> goes against them, defeats them, and takes the cities <i>Cutina</i> and <i>Cingalia</i> from them.	IV	608
3985	2678	321	The other Roman consul <i>L. Furius Camillus</i> falling sick, names <i>L. Papirius Cursor</i> to be dictator, and to act against the <i>Samnites</i> . He took the field, but is obliged to return home upon account of the auspices being reported unfavourable, and ordered <i>Fabius</i> , his general of horse, not to engage the enemy in his absence: He disobeyes, and overthrows the <i>Samnites</i> , and kills 20,000 of them on the spot; then burns the spoil, instead of lodging it in the hands of the <i>Quæstor</i> , that they might not encrease the pomp of the dictator's triumph. The dictator commands <i>Fabius</i> to be stripped, &c. which while the dictors are doing, he escapes, and great commotions and mutinies are in the army. <i>Fabius</i> goes to <i>Rome</i> , and appeals to the people; but the dictator gets the better of him; but all the orders of the people joining with <i>Fabius's</i> submission, the dictator pardons him, and so all is quiet again.	IV	609
5986	2679	320	<i>Eumenes</i> collects the best army he can, but when engaged with <i>Antigonus</i> , is betrayed by <i>Apollodorus</i> his general of horse, loses 8000 men, and is totally routed, but with the remains of his army returns into the field of battle, burns the bodies of the slain, makes two heaps of their ashes, and covers them with earth; then dismisses his army, all but 600 men, takes possession of the castle of <i>Nora</i> , (exceedingly strong, situate on the top of an inaccessible rock, which <i>Antigonus</i> not able to take, builds a strong wall round the bottom, leaves men to defend it, and goes against <i>Alceus</i> and <i>Attalus</i> , who sided with <i>Eumenes</i> .	III	424
3986	2679	320	<i>Antigonus</i> marches into <i>Pisidia</i> , engages and overcomes <i>Alceus</i> , who flying to <i>Trenessus</i> with 6000 troops, is there murdered, and his carcase delivered to <i>Antigonus</i> . <i>Attalus</i> , <i>Decimus</i> , and <i>Polemon</i> were taken prisoners, &c. Upon this <i>Antigonus</i> endeavours to make himself supreme in <i>Asia</i> .	III	425
3986	2679	320	<i>Papirius</i> endeavored continued dictator, engages the <i>Samnites</i> , totally overthrows them, and then over-run <i>Samnium</i> , and forced the enemy to sue for peace, which was granted them upon hard terms: Upon his return to <i>Rome</i> he is decreed and honoured with a triumph.	IV	610
3987	2680	319	The <i>Samnites</i> being joined by the <i>Apulians</i> , declare war against <i>Rome</i> : The consuls go against them, but they shutting themselves up in their strong holds, little could be done with them this year.	IV	610
3987	2680	319	The <i>Cartaginians</i> send <i>Imilcar</i> with a great fleet and army against <i>Agathocles</i> , which is much shattered by a violent storm, and the remainder <i>Agathocles</i> attacks near <i>Himera</i> , forces his trenches, and cut most of his troops to pieces:		

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			(953)		
3987	2680	319	But while his men were greedy after plunder, an unexpected reinforcement comes from <i>Carthage</i> ; they fall upon and rout <i>Agathocles</i> , who was forced to fly into his metropolis, whither they follow and besiege him.	III	83
3987	2680	319	<i>Agathocles</i> engages the <i>Carthaginian</i> fleet, beats and disperses them, then lands his men in <i>Carthage</i> , and burns his own ships, to make his men resolutely desperate, takes and plunders a place called the <i>Great City</i> , and likewise <i>Tunis</i> , which he razed to the ground; then advanced towards <i>Carthage</i> , and engaged <i>Hanno</i> and <i>Bomilcar</i> , kills <i>Hanno</i> , and defeats <i>Bomilcar</i> .	III	84
3987	2680	319	<i>Æaciades</i> king of <i>Epirus</i> is deposed, by a decree of the state; <i>Pyrrhus</i> his son, an infant, was conveyed to <i>Glaucias</i> king of <i>Illyrium</i> , by some <i>Epirote</i> lords, and by him brought up and protected against <i>Cassander</i> , who offered 200 talents for him. The <i>Epirots</i> enter into an alliance with <i>Cassander</i> , governor of <i>Macedon</i> , who sent <i>Lyciscus</i> his general to take the government in his name; but the <i>Epirots</i> , being soon weary of the <i>Macedonian</i> yoke, recal their king again, who is slain in a battle with <i>Philip</i> , brother to <i>Cassander</i> .	III	803
3988	2681	318	The <i>Romans</i> and <i>Samnites</i> engage; the <i>Romans</i> by stratagem defeat and cut off almost all the <i>Samnites</i> , both horse and foot, and their general. Upon this the <i>Samnites</i> submit to the <i>Romans</i> , and order <i>Erutulus Papius</i> , the ringleader of the revolt, to be delivered up to the <i>Romans</i> , to avoid which he killed himself. For this eminent service the <i>Romans</i> honour the consuls with a triumph.	IV	611
3988	2681	318	<i>A. Cornelius</i> is made dictator at <i>Rome</i> , to preside at the games, in the absence of the consul and sickness of the prætor.	IV	611
3988	2681	318	<i>Cassander</i> , son of <i>Antipater</i> , puts <i>Nicanor</i> in as governor of the garrison in <i>Athens</i> , who being opposed by <i>Polyperchon</i> , <i>Cassander</i> enters the port of <i>Athens</i> with a great fleet; upon which the <i>Athenians</i> submit to have the garrison, and <i>Cassander</i> appoints <i>Demetrius Phalerus</i> , an <i>Athenian</i> , to be governor of the city; which office he discharged so well, that the citizens set up 300 statues in honour of him in the several parts of the city and publick buildings.	II	554
3988	2681	318	<i>Antandrus</i> , governor of <i>Syracuse</i> , sallies out upon <i>Hamilcar</i> suddenly, and routs his army of 120,000 men, which had long besieged <i>Syracuse</i> , and took <i>Hamilcar</i> prisoner, whom after torturing terribly, they cut off his head.	III	85
3988	2681	318	<i>Polyperchon</i> and <i>Olympias</i> create <i>Eumenes</i> general in <i>Asia</i> , for the two kings; but to avoid contention and take away sedition, he proposed all the commanders should be equal, and consult in common upon the publick business.	III	426
3989	2682	317	<i>Jerusalem</i> being besieged by the <i>Egyptians</i> , through a superstitious fear of breaking the <i>Sabbath-day</i> , suffer the city to be taken by storm on that day, without resistance, and 100000 <i>Jews</i> are carried into <i>Egypt</i> captive, &c.	IV	31
3989	2682	317	<i>Agathocles</i> having greatly encreased his army, by a large addition of <i>Cyreneans</i> , calls himself king of <i>Africa</i> , and besieges <i>Carthage</i> , the conduct whereof he leaves to his son <i>Archagathus</i> , and returns into <i>Sicily</i> to quell and conquer the revolters there, which he soon did, and most places acknowledged his sovereignty.	III	86
3989	2682	317	The <i>Romans</i> refusing the <i>Samnites</i> peace, each side raise an army; the <i>Samnites</i> by stratagem bring the <i>Romans</i> into great distress, and oblige them to deliver up 600 <i>Roman</i> knights, as hostages for performing a very advantageous peace for the <i>Samnites</i> ; then the consuls and soldiers pass under the yoke, man by man; and if any <i>Roman</i> but returned a fierce look, he was immediately knocked down or killed. This so dispirited the consuls and soldiers, that at their arrival at <i>Rome</i> , each man as it were banished himself, by shutting themselves up in their houses. The consuls name <i>Q. Fabius Ambustus</i> dictator, but some defect being found in his nomination, <i>Æmilius Papus</i> was substituted in his room; but the people being highly dissatisfied, an interregnum follows; and <i>Papirius Cursor</i> a second time, and <i>Publius Philo</i> a third time, are chose consuls, who refuse to perform the <i>Samnian</i> peace, &c.	IV	612
3990	2683	316	<i>Agathocles</i> makes his escape from before <i>Carthage</i> , with a few friends. His two sons are murdered, and his army capitulate for themselves. Upon <i>Agathocles</i> 's return to <i>Sicily</i> , he reduces <i>Egestæ</i> , that had revolted in his absence, and put every person in it to the sword; and at <i>Syracuse</i> put all the relations of those he left in <i>Africa</i> to death; and even in <i>Sicily</i> , all that were related to the <i>African</i> army, from the great-grandfather to the sucking-child, were killed.	III	87
3990	2683	316	<i>Antigonus</i> marching to <i>Susa</i> , and finding the castle held by <i>Xenophilus</i> , he left <i>Seleucus</i> with a corps of troops to besiege it, and marched to engage <i>Eumenes</i> ; but having a part of his army cut off before his face, which had crossed the river, he retired and marched toward <i>Media</i> , but suffers greatly by the harassments of the <i>Cossæans</i> , through whose country he chose to pass for the sake of nearness.	III	426
3990	2683	316	<i>Eumenes</i> and his army at <i>Persopolis</i> are all magnificently feasted, by <i>Peucestas</i> ; and to prevent any defection, contrives a letter to be he wrote to <i>Peucestas</i> , as from <i>Orontes</i> governor of <i>Armenia</i> , acquainting him that the interests of the kings encreased every where, and that a great army of <i>Macedonians</i> were marching into <i>Asia</i> : This confirmed <i>Eumenes</i> in his authority.	III	427
3990	2683	316	<i>Eumenes</i> and <i>Antigonus</i> engage; <i>Eumenes</i> is conqueror, killing 8000 of <i>Antigonus</i> 's army, with the loss of only 1500 of his own men.	III	428
3990	2683	316	<i>Arideus</i> (called <i>Philip</i>) joint king of <i>Macedon</i> , &c. is murdered by <i>Olympias</i> and <i>Alexander Ægus</i> , son of <i>Alexander the Great</i> , bears the royal title alone.	III	435
3990	2683	316	<i>Alcetas</i> , brother of <i>Æaciades</i> , succeeds his brother in the kingdom of <i>Epirus</i> , from whence after two battles with <i>Lyciscus</i> , general under <i>Cassander</i> , he is driven out, and the city of <i>Eurymenes</i> is taken, plundered and razed: After some time, peace being concluded with <i>Cassander</i> , <i>Alcetas</i> gets the government again.	III	803
3990	2683	316	<i>Satricus</i> revolts from the <i>Romans</i> , and joins the <i>Samnites</i> , who surprize <i>Fregellæ</i> , a <i>Roman</i> colony, where the women and children fight in their own defence; upon which the <i>Samnites</i> offer quarter to all those who submitted, which many do, bu.		

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			are burnt alive; a few only escaped, that with great desperation cut their way through the enemies troops.		37
990	2683	316	The <i>Capuans</i> endeavour to shake off the <i>Roman</i> yoke; <i>C. Mænius</i> is named dictator, with orders only to examine and punish crimes against the state, which so frightened the <i>Capuans</i> , that the chief conspirators killed themselves. Then all being quiet, <i>Mænius</i> lays down his dictatorship.	IV 615	39
990	2683	316	<i>Cornelius Lentulus</i> is declared dictator, and leads his army against the <i>Samnites</i> ; the <i>Romans</i> fall upon them with so much fury, that they rout them at the first onset, take and plunder the <i>Samnite</i> camp, and put all to the sword they meet with.	IV 615	39
990	2683	316	<i>Papirius</i> , general of the horse to <i>Lentulus</i> , besieging <i>Luceria</i> , where the 600 <i>Roman</i> knights delivered as hostages were kept by the <i>Samnites</i> , <i>Lentulus</i> comes to his assistance; the <i>Samnites</i> keep themselves intrenched in their camp; the <i>Romans</i> force it, and put all they get hold of to the sword: The <i>Lucerians</i> distressed for food, offered to capitulate, and to release the 600 hostages; but <i>Papirius</i> insisted that all the soldiers should pass unarmed under the yoke, with <i>Pontius</i> their general at their head; all which was complied with.	IV 616	39
991	2684	315	2. <i>Aulus Cereianus</i> , now consul a second time, defeats the <i>Samnites</i> in <i>Apulia</i> , and takes <i>Ferentum</i> . And <i>Papirius</i> , now a third time consul, reduced <i>Saturnum</i> and put the <i>Samnite</i> garrison to the sword: The authors of the revolt were first whipped and then beheaded. At his return home he enters <i>Rome</i> in triumph.	IV 616	39
991	2684	315	<i>Agathocles</i> engages <i>Dinocrates</i> , puts him to flight, and obtains a complete victory. The remains of <i>Dinocrates's</i> army capitulates; but no sooner was their arms laid down, but their throats were cut to a man.	IV 617	39
991	2684	315	<i>Eumenes</i> is treacherously delivered to <i>Antigonus</i> , who after keeping him prisoner some time puts him to death. Likewise <i>Pithon</i> , governor of <i>Media</i> , deposes <i>Percellus</i> governor of <i>Persia</i> , and takes 5000 talents out of the treasury of <i>Susa</i> , and 10,000 out of other places.	III 87	39
992	2685	314	Many <i>Samnite</i> cities desire peace, but are only granted two years truce. <i>Plautius</i> the consul so frightened the cities of <i>Teanum</i> and <i>Canusium</i> , that they surrendered and gave hostages. The <i>Capuans</i> beg of the <i>Romans</i> to give them a governor, and new laws: Upon this <i>Campania</i> becomes a <i>Roman</i> praefecture. Two new tribunes are added to the <i>Roman</i> state, being now made 31. A census being taken this year, 250,000 men fit to bear arms are found in <i>Rome</i> .	III 430	39
992	2685	314	The consuls reduce all <i>Apulia</i> to the obedience of <i>Rome</i> . <i>Antium</i> desires a <i>Roman</i> governor and laws, which is granted.	IV 617	
992	2685	314	<i>Agathocles</i> goes into <i>Italy</i> , and subdues the <i>Bruttii</i> ; from thence goes to the <i>Lipari</i> islands, and compels the inhabitants to pay him 100 talents, and afterwards plunders and strips the temples, lading 11 ships with their gold and spoil, and returns to <i>Syracuse</i> ; but in his passage 10 of them are lost by shipwreck.	IV 617	4
992	2685	314	<i>Antigonus</i> marches with a great army to <i>Babylon</i> , where he pretends to call <i>Seleucus</i> the governor to account; upon which <i>Seleucus</i> flies to <i>Ptolemy</i> in <i>Egypt</i> , raises a great army, engages <i>Demetrius</i> , <i>Antigonus's</i> son, defeats him at <i>Gaza</i> , and kills and takes abundance of his men. They then take <i>Tyre</i> , and recover <i>Babylon</i> , <i>Media</i> , and <i>Susiana</i> .	III 87	4
993	2686	313	<i>L. Æmilius</i> being dictator, he besieges <i>Saticula</i> , a city of <i>Campania</i> . The <i>Samnites</i> their allies come with a numerous army to its relief; the dictator engages and defeats them; upon which they retire in the night, and leave their camp to the <i>Romans</i> .	III 432	
993	2686	313	<i>Cilles</i> , <i>Ptolemy's</i> general, being negligent, <i>Demetrius</i> sets upon him, overthrew and took <i>Cilles</i> , and 7000 men prisoners, and conquers <i>Syria</i> , <i>Phœnicia</i> , and <i>Judea</i> .	IV 617	4
994	2687	312	2. <i>Fabius Maximus</i> being dictator, continues the siege of <i>Saticula</i> ; the <i>Samnites</i> come again to relieve it: The two armies engage; the <i>Samnites</i> lose their general, and the <i>Romans</i> their general of horse; the <i>Samnites</i> are defeated, and <i>Saticula</i> capitulates. From thence he goes to besiege <i>Sora</i> , that had revolted and massacred a <i>Roman</i> colony, and in his way engages the <i>Samnites</i> , overthrows them, and takes and plunders their camp, and then forms the siege of <i>Sora</i> .	III 433	
994	2687	312	The king of <i>Egypt</i> by great largesses, privileges, and immunities, prevails with abundance of <i>Jews</i> to come and reside at <i>Alexandria</i> in <i>Egypt</i> .	IV 618	
995	2688	311	<i>Sora</i> is taken by stratagem, and abundance put to the sword. The consuls send 250 conspirators to <i>Rome</i> , where they are first whipped and then beheaded.	VI 35	
995	2688	311	The <i>Aufones</i> being accused of designing to revolt from <i>Rome</i> , the consular army takes <i>Aufona</i> , <i>Minturnæ</i> , and <i>Vesuvia</i> in one day, and put all to the sword; <i>Luceria</i> was also taken by assault, and all the defendants, whether inhabitants or <i>Samnites</i> , killed; and a colony of 25,000 <i>Romans</i> put in it.	IV 619	
995	2688	311	<i>Antigonus</i> sends <i>Athenæus</i> his general to seize <i>Petra</i> , (a chief city of the <i>Arabs</i>) while the men were gone to a fair, from whence he carries away a prodigious booty, and 5000 talents in ready money. The <i>Arabs</i> being informed of it, pursue, surround, and cut off all <i>Athenæus's</i> army, and recover the booty, &c.	VI 619	
996	2689	310	The <i>Campanians</i> revolt, and <i>C. Mænius</i> the dictator goes against them, now joined by the <i>Samnites</i> ; they engage, the <i>Samnites</i> are defeated, with the loss of 30,000 men, by the consul <i>Sulpitius</i> , for which he is honoured with a triumph at his return to <i>Rome</i> .	III 434	
997	2690	309	A peace is concluded between <i>Antigonus</i> and <i>Ptolemy</i> , &c. wherein it was agreed, that <i>Cassander</i> should hold <i>Macedonia</i> ; <i>Lyfimachus</i> , <i>Thrace</i> ; <i>Ptolemy</i> , <i>Egypt</i> ; and <i>Antigonus</i> <i>Asia</i> ; and that all the <i>Greek</i> cities should be free. Soon after this, <i>Cassander</i> puts the young king and his mother to death.	IV 619	
997	2690	309	<i>C. Pætillus Libo</i> (surnamed <i>Volsulus</i>) is chose dictator, and reduces <i>Fregellæ</i> , <i>Neto</i> , and the cities of <i>Atina</i> and <i>Calatia</i> , and keeps <i>Bovinum</i> blocked up.	III 435	
				VI 619	

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3998	2691	308	<i>C. Sulpicius Longus</i> is chose dictator, upon a report that all <i>Hetruria</i> would revolt; but they keeping quiet, the dictator did not think fit to meddle with them.	IV	620
3998	2691	308	<i>Claudius Appius</i> , the Roman censor, introduces into the senate the sons of freed slaves, and slaves into the <i>Potitii</i> , or priests of <i>Hercules</i> , whose rites till now were only executed by noblemen, for which he was much hated. He made the famous aqueduct at <i>Rome</i> , seven miles long, which supplied <i>Rome</i> with constant fresh water; and the famous road from <i>Rome</i> to <i>Capua</i> , which lasted 800 years; the remains whereof are the admiration of all nations to this day.	VI	620
3999	2692	307	<i>Antigonus</i> (one of <i>Alexander's</i> greatest captains) in opposition to <i>Cassander</i> , sends his son <i>Demetrius</i> with a great fleet to <i>Athens</i> , where he proclaims the city free, then takes the fortress of <i>Munichia</i> by storm, &c. for which the <i>Athenians</i> honour him and his father with the title of king, and pay them divine honours, and appoint them a priest, and call the year by the name of this priest, and put the figures of <i>Antigonus</i> and <i>Demetrius</i> his son among the gods, &c. adjudge <i>Demetrius Phalerus</i> (their former governor, who had deserved so well of them) to death, &c. order all his statues to be thrown down, and him to be way-laid and murdered, and democracy again restored.	II	555
3999	2692	307	<i>Cleopatra</i> , the sister of <i>Alexander the Great</i> , is put to death, by order of <i>Antigonus</i> governor of <i>Asia</i> , (now called king) for her endeavouring to make her escape from the confinement he had put her under.	III	436
3999	2692	307	<i>Alcetas</i> governing tyrannically and cruelly, the <i>Epirots</i> make a general insurrection, and murder both him and his two young sons, <i>Hefoncas</i> and <i>Nefus</i> ; but <i>Alexander</i> and <i>Teucer</i> made their escape, upon which <i>Glaucias</i> king of <i>Illyria</i> sends <i>Pyrrhus</i> at the head of a great army, and sets him upon the throne.	III	804
3999	2692	307	The new senators at <i>Rome</i> introduced by <i>Appius</i> last year are turned out, and the senate put upon its old footing: A law is likewise made, empowering the people to choose 16 legionary tribunes out of the 24; likewise two officers, called <i>Duumviri Navales</i> , are chose, to take care of sea affairs.	IV	621
3999	2692	307	<i>Q. Emilius Barbula</i> , the Roman consul, goes against the <i>Hetrurians</i> , who had revolted; whom he engaged, and after a very obstinate fight the <i>Hetrurians</i> retire in the night, and leave <i>Emilius</i> the field and their camp, for which he is honoured with a triumph. <i>Brutus</i> the other consul took from the <i>Samnites</i> first <i>Clavina</i> , and put all able to bear arms to the sword; then <i>Bovianum</i> was plundered by the soldiers, but the citizens lives are spared: The <i>Samnites</i> endeavoured to draw the <i>Romans</i> into an ambuscade, but the bravery and fury of the <i>Romans</i> cut their way through all difficulties, and killed 20,000 of them upon the spot, for which <i>Brutus</i> had also a triumph at his return to <i>Rome</i> .	IV	621
4000	2693	306	<i>Demetrius</i> (son of <i>Antigonus</i> governor of <i>Syria</i>) makes a descent into <i>Cyprus</i> , takes <i>Urania</i> and <i>Carpasia</i> , engages <i>Menelaus</i> brother of <i>Ptolomy</i> (now king of <i>Egypt</i>) defeats him, kills 1000 of his men, and takes 3000, and besieges <i>Salamis</i> , defeats <i>Ptolomy's</i> fleet and army coming to relieve it, took 40 ships of war, and sunk 80, also 100 transports with 8000 soldiers on board; also the city, &c. <i>Antigonus</i> upon receipt of this news puts a crown of gold upon his own head, and assumes the title of king, and gave the same to his son, and they reign jointly; upon which the <i>Egyptians</i> also give the title of king to <i>Ptolomy</i> , and <i>Lyfmachus</i> and <i>Seleucus</i> do the same in <i>Thrace</i> and <i>Babylon</i> ; <i>Cassander</i> at <i>Corinth</i> received the title of king, but did not use it in his writing.	III	437
4000	2693	306	The <i>Athenians</i> make a law, that no philosopher should teach, unless licensed by the senate and people; upon which <i>Theophrastus</i> the successor of <i>Aristotle</i> shut up his school. This law being soon found hurtful, was repealed, and the philosophers recalled, &c.	II	555
4000	2693	306	<i>Fabius</i> , now consul at <i>Rome</i> a second time, engages the <i>Hetrurians</i> near <i>Sutrium</i> , totally overthrows them, takes 38 standards, their camp and all their baggage: The remains of them took refuge in the <i>Ciminian</i> forest, whither he followed them, and got great advantages over them: But some time after he again engages them near <i>Sutrium</i> , surprizes and defeats them, kills and takes 60,000, and seizes and plunders their camp: Upon this, three <i>Lucumonies</i> immediately send deputies to <i>Rome</i> , who obtain a suspension of arms for 30 years.	IV	623
4000	2693	306	A Roman fleet (the first they had ever sent out) under the command of <i>P. Cornelius</i> making a descent beyond cape <i>Palinurus</i> , suffering his troops to go too far up the country, had his retreat cut off; several of the <i>Romans</i> being slain, were forced to quit their booty, and were driven to their ships. Upon this the <i>Samnites</i> engage the consul <i>Marcus</i> ; the battle was extremely obstinate and doubtful, abundance of Roman knights and several legionary tribunes were killed, and a lieutenant-general, and the consul much wounded. Upon this <i>Papirius</i> is made dictator, goes with an army to the assistance of <i>Marcus</i> , engages the <i>Samnites</i> , intirely overthrows them, takes and burns their camp, and upon his return to <i>Rome</i> has a triumph.	IV	624
4001	2694	305	<i>Cassander</i> (now king of <i>Macedon</i>) besieges <i>Athens</i> ; <i>Demetrius</i> (joint king of <i>Syria</i>) relieves it, and bestows several cities that he recovered from <i>Cassander</i> upon them, for which they honour him with lodgings behind the temple of <i>Minerva</i> , and thereby prostitute the virgins devoted to her service to his lust.	II	555
4001	2694	305	<i>Damocles</i> , the most beautiful youth in all <i>Greece</i> , jumps into a very large cauldron of boiling water, and was drowned, to avoid the unnatural lust of <i>Demetrius</i> .	II	555
4001	2694	305	The Roman consul <i>Q. Fabius</i> takes <i>Nuceria</i> , a city in alliance with the <i>Samnites</i> , and defeats them in a battle; and <i>Decius Mus</i> , the other consul, gained such advantages over the <i>Hetrurians</i> , that they all offered to be allies; but he only grants them a truce for a year, upon the condition of paying his troops, and finding every soldier with two suits of cloaths.	IV	624
4001	2694	305	The <i>Umbrians</i> arm all their youth, with a design to march directly to <i>Rome</i> ; <i>Decius</i> marches into the <i>Pupinian</i> field between <i>Umbria</i> and <i>Rome</i> , and <i>Fabius</i> marches and encamps near <i>Mevania</i> , a city on the banks of the <i>Clitumnus</i>		

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			in the heart of <i>Umbria</i> , where he subdued them without scarce drawing blood, making their whole army prisoners; upon which the rest of the nation submitted.	IV	625
4002	2695	304	The time of <i>Fabius's</i> consulate being expired, he is appointed proconsul, and so continued general of the army. He engages the <i>Samnites</i> at <i>Allife</i> on the banks of the <i>Vulturnus</i> , and gains so compleat a victory, that to save their lives and have the liberty of going home, they passed under the yoke with only one garment on: Their allies, to the number of 7000, were made slaves and sold by auction, &c.	VI	625
4002	2695	304	<i>Antigonus</i> (now king of <i>Syria</i>) besieges <i>Rhodes</i> by his son <i>Demetrius</i> , for its attachment to <i>Ptolemy</i> king of <i>Egypt</i> ; but after a year's time, and the loss of abundance of ships and men, is forced to raise the siege and make peace; upon which the <i>Rhodians</i> dedicate a grove to <i>Ptolemy</i> king of <i>Egypt</i> , where they offer him divine honours, and call it <i>Ptolomæum</i> , and him <i>Soter</i> , (or saviour) for the great assistance and relief he gave them during the siege.	III	143
4002	2695	304	<i>Antigonus</i> and <i>Demetrius</i> (now kings of <i>Syria</i> in <i>Asia</i>) invade <i>Egypt</i> by land and sea with a great fleet and army, but are forced to retire with great loss and shame.	III	439
4003	2696	303	<i>Marcus</i> the <i>Roman</i> consul, in a few days, took three different camps from the <i>Hernici</i> , and obliged them to surrender at discretion.	VI	625
4003	2696	303	<i>Marcus</i> and <i>P. Cornelius Arvina</i> , the two <i>Roman</i> consuls, engage and defeat the <i>Samnites</i> , and kill 30,000 of them, take and burn their camp; and while this is doing a fresh body of recruits arrives, which are also dispersed with great slaughter: Upon this they sue for peace; the consuls first oblige them to pay the soldiers of both armies one year, to furnish 13 months provisions, and give each soldier one habit, and then referred them to the senate at <i>Rome</i> .	IV	626
4003	2696	303	<i>Demetrius</i> and the <i>Rhodians</i> conclude a peace.	III	144
4003	2696	303	<i>Demetrius</i> sails for <i>Attica</i> with 330 gallees and a great army against <i>Cassander</i> , whom he overthrew, and has 6000 <i>Macedonians</i> revolt to him; elated with success, <i>Demetrius</i> grows proud, lives voluptuously, and very wickedly, and will be called a god.	III	439
4003	2696	303	<i>Demetrius</i> is admitted into the fraternity of the priests of <i>Ceres</i> , for which purpose the <i>Athenians</i> change the month of <i>March</i> first into the month of <i>November</i> , and then into <i>August</i> .	II	555
4004	2697	302	The cities of <i>Alatrium</i> , <i>Ferentinum</i> , and <i>Verulum</i> , belonging to the <i>Herauci</i> , which had remained faithful to <i>Rome</i> , had the liberty either to remain under their own laws (which they chose) or have the rights of <i>Roman</i> citizens: The other cities were governed by the laws of <i>Rome</i> , and the people declared <i>Roman</i> citizens, but without right of suffrage.	IV	626
4004	2697	302	Deputies come to <i>Rome</i> from <i>Carthage</i> , with a compliment and presents, which the <i>Romans</i> accept, and return others.	IV	626
4004	2697	302	The <i>Romans</i> engage the <i>Samnites</i> , and overthrow them with a dreadful slaughter, and took one and twenty ensigns. Soon after they engage again, where the battle being very bloody and obstinate, the <i>Roman</i> consul <i>Minucius</i> was killed, and <i>Statius Gellius</i> the <i>Samnite</i> general was taken; but the <i>Romans</i> got the day, and took twenty-six ensigns from the enemy. <i>Fulvius Curvus</i> being made consul in the room of <i>Minucius</i> , takes <i>Bovianum</i> and other cities, and has a triumph.	IV	626
3004	2697	302	<i>Cassander</i> , <i>Lyfmachus</i> , <i>Seleucus</i> , <i>Ptolemy</i> , &c. confederate themselves against <i>Antigonus</i> , &c. and take several provinces from him in <i>Asia</i> .	III	439
4004	2697	302	<i>Pyrrhus</i> , king of <i>Epirus</i> , goes to <i>Illyria</i> , to be present at the nuptials of one of <i>Glaucias's</i> sons, when the <i>Molossians</i> revolt, drive all his friends out of the kingdom, and crown <i>Neoptolemus</i> his great uncle; upon which <i>Pyrrhus</i> retired to <i>Demetrius</i> joint king of <i>Syria</i> .	III	804
4005	2698	301	<i>Onias</i> the high-priest and governor of the <i>Jews</i> dies, and is succeeded by his son <i>Simon</i> , who for his extraordinary virtues was surnamed the <i>Just</i> .	IV	36
4005	2698	301	<i>Antigonus</i> and <i>Demetrius</i> are so puffed up with pride, that all the successors of <i>Alexander</i> confederate against them, and drive them out of <i>Greece</i> into <i>Asia</i> , where <i>Antigonus</i> in one battle lost both his life and kingdom.		
4005	2698	301	<i>Demetrius</i> after his defeat in <i>Asia</i> , sailing from <i>Ephesus</i> towards <i>Athens</i> with a small squadron of ships, is met by ambassadors from the <i>Athenians</i> in the <i>Cycladian</i> islands, acquainting him, that, for all his extraordinary services, they had just made a law that prohibited all crown'd heads entering their city; upon which he only desired his ships and queen <i>Deidamia</i> , which he had left with them, should be delivered to him; which they comply'd with, and he sailed to <i>Chersonesus</i> .	II	556
4005	2698	301	<i>Lacharis</i> , an obscure citizen, seizes the sovereignty of <i>Athens</i> , and forces them to submit.	II	556
4005	1698	301	<i>Antigonus</i> engages <i>Seleucus</i> king of <i>Babylon</i> , &c. at <i>Ipsus</i> , a town and river so called in <i>Asia</i> , where <i>Antigonus</i> is killed, his army cut to pieces, and his kingdom lost, which was divided among the confederate princes, his son <i>Demetrius</i> retaining little more than the title.	III	441
4005	2698	301	The <i>Samnites</i> desire to be admitted into their ancient alliance with <i>Rome</i> , which the senate agrees to conditionally.	IV	627
4005	2698	301	The <i>Equi</i> having revolted, the <i>Romans</i> under their consuls go against them; but they retire into their city, which being invested, the consuls over-run all their country, and in 55 days become masters of 41 towns, most of which they razed or burnt, and so almost exterminated the whole nation. The consuls had a triumph, and the <i>Marfi</i> , <i>Peligni</i> , <i>Frentani</i> , and <i>Marrucini</i> demand an alliance with <i>Rome</i> , which is granted.	IV	627
4006	2699	300	<i>Seleucus</i> king of <i>Babylon</i> builds the famous city of <i>Antioch</i> , upon the river <i>Orontes</i> , equally distant from <i>Constantinople</i> and <i>Alexandria</i> in <i>Egypt</i> .	III	441

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4006	2699	300	<i>Seleucus</i> king of <i>Babylon</i> demands <i>Stratonice</i> , the daughter of <i>Demetrius</i> , in marriage; upon which he fits out a fleet to convey her to him, and in his passage seized and took away 200 talents at <i>Quinda</i> , then went to <i>Roffus</i> , where <i>Seleucus</i> and <i>Stratonice</i> were espoused.	III	441
4008	2701	298	The art of painting was introduced this year at <i>Rome</i> , by <i>C. Fabius</i> ; afterward consul, who painted the wall of a new temple dedicated to the goddess of health; from whence he was surnamed <i>Pictor</i> .	IV	627
4008	2701	298	<i>Pyrrhus</i> king of <i>Epirus</i> , being at the court of <i>Ptolemy</i> king of <i>Egypt</i> an hostage for <i>Demetrius</i> , so far ingratiates himself into his and his queen <i>Berenice's</i> favours, as to marry her daughter by a former husband; upon which he is furnished with troops, and recovers his kingdom.	III	804
4009	2702	297	<i>Rome</i> had no consuls this year, but was governed by two dictators created successively, viz. <i>Q. Fabius</i> and <i>Valerius Corvus</i> . <i>Fabius</i> marched against the <i>Marfi</i> , who had revolted, and reduced them to obedience in one single battle; and <i>Valerius</i> against the <i>Hetrurians</i> , who had beat <i>Sempronius Sophus</i> his general of the horse, and taken some standards, but are so mauled by <i>Valerius</i> , that they sue for peace, but can only obtain a truce for two years.	IV	627
4010	2703	296	Consuls chose at <i>Rome</i> this year, where great contests are agitated about choosing pontifices and augurs, but at last 'twas agreed, four new pontifices should be chose out of the plebeians, to make their number eight, and five new augurs to to encrease their number to nine.	IV	628
4011	2704	295	The consul <i>Fulvius</i> goes to carry on the siege of <i>Nequinum</i> , built on the edge of a steep rock, almost surrounded by the river <i>Nar</i> , and deemed almost impregnable, but by the treachery of the <i>Nequinians</i> the consul took it by surprize: The name of this city was changed into <i>Narina</i> . For this exploit the consul had a triumph.	IV	628
4011	2704	295	The consul <i>Manlius</i> being killed by a fall from his horse, <i>Valerius Corvus</i> was a sixth time made consul, who goes against the revolted <i>Hetrurians</i> , who fly to their cities, while he ravages their country, not daring to meet him in the field.	IV	629
4011	2704	295	<i>Demetrius</i> besieges <i>Athens</i> , and forces them through famine to surrender at discretion, when entering with his forces commands all the <i>Athenians</i> to be assembled in the publick theatre, which surrounding with his army, when they expected to be put all to the sword, <i>Demetrius</i> , after upbraiding them with their ingratitude, gave them 100,000 bushels of corn, and named magistrates agreeable to them.	II	556
4012	2705	294	Upon the death of <i>Cassander</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> , his two sons <i>Antipater</i> and <i>Alexander</i> get the kingdom between them.	III	442
4012	2705	294	<i>Alexander</i> king of (part of) <i>Macedon</i> , endeavours to murder <i>Demetrius</i> , but falls into the snare himself, who is dispatched by <i>Demetrius</i> , who succeeds him in the whole kingdom of <i>Macedon</i> , his brother <i>Antipater</i> being deposed by the people.	III	442
4012	2705	294	<i>Antipater</i> and <i>Alexander</i> , two of <i>Cassander's</i> sons, contesting for the whole crown of <i>Macedon</i> , <i>Pyrrhus</i> king of <i>Epirus</i> comes to the assistance of <i>Alexander</i> , and has a great part of the country and abundance of money for his reward.	III	465
4012	2705	294	<i>Demetrius</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> besieges and makes <i>Thebes</i> surrender at discretion, after a very obstinate resistance: He only punishes 13 of the principal revoltors.	III	466
4012	2705	294	The <i>Hetrurians</i> and <i>Samnites</i> having revolted from <i>Rome</i> , were both overthrown by <i>Fulvius</i> the plebeian consul, for which he had a triumph.	IV	629
4013	2706	293	<i>Menon</i> having dipped a tooth picker that <i>Agathocles</i> cleaned his teeth with after meals into poison, his teeth and gums putrified, and his whole body was tortured with most racking pains, in the height of which he was hurried away to the funeral pile, and burnt while he was yet alive; and <i>Menon</i> usurped the supreme authority, under the name of <i>Prætor</i> of <i>Syracuse</i> .	III	88
4013	2706	293	The consul <i>Fabius</i> by stratagem beats the <i>Samnites</i> ; they fly, and he takes 23 standards; and <i>Decius</i> , the other consul, gains a considerable victory over the <i>Apulians</i> , as they were marching to join the <i>Samnites</i> ; then both consuls laid <i>Samnium</i> waste; <i>Fabius</i> took the city of <i>Cimstra</i> , and razed it, and put all that bore arms to the sword.	IV	629
4013	2706	293	<i>Seleucus</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> builds 16 cities in <i>Lesser Asia</i> , in which large colonies of the <i>Jews</i> settled, with great privileges, especially at <i>Antioch</i> .	IV	35
4014	2707	292	The <i>Mamertini</i> being disbanded the service of <i>Syracuse</i> , are received into the city of <i>Messana</i> : After a small time they unexpectedly fall upon the inhabitants, killed all the men, and married the women, and not only defended themselves, but reduced the neighbouring country to their obedience.	III	88
4014	2707	292	<i>Decius</i> being proconsul, so harrassed the <i>Samnites</i> army, that he made them disband, and retire into the neighbouring countries: Then he took <i>Murgantia</i> , where he made 1110 prisoners: In <i>Romulea</i> he put 2,300 to death, and took 6000 prisoners; and at <i>Ferentinum</i> 3000 that defended it desperately were killed on the ramparts.	IV	630
4014	2707	292	The two consuls engage the revolted <i>Hetrurians</i> , and overthrow them with great slaughter, the enemy leaving 7,300 dead in the field; their camp was taken and plundered, and 2000 taken prisoners; and as <i>Volumnius</i> was returning into <i>Samnium</i> , he surprized the <i>Samnites</i> as they were ravaging <i>Campania</i> , engages them, slew 600, and retook all the spoil they had taken.	IV	631
4015	2708	291	<i>Decius</i> the consul seeing the enemy very numerous and bold, devoted himself to the <i>Dii Manes</i> , as his father had done before, and riding into the midst of the enemies troops, was there cut to pieces: Upon this the pontifex <i>Livius</i> cries out, <i>We have conquered</i> , &c. and renews the battle with great fury, and at last obtained a compleat victory, killing 25,000, and taking 8,000, &c. for which the consul <i>Fabius</i> had a triumph.	IV	634

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4015	2708	291	<i>Fabius</i> returns again into <i>Hetruria</i> , attacks them, killed 4500 upon the spot, and took 1740 prisoners: This quelled them a while.	IV	634
4015	2708	291	The <i>Samnites</i> still remained very troublesome, so that the proconsul <i>Volumnius</i> and the prætor <i>Appius</i> having engaged them, kill 16,300.	IV	634
4016	2709	290	The <i>Samnites</i> retire upon <i>Posthumus</i> the consul's coming to his colleague <i>Attilius</i> 's assistance, upon which the <i>Romans</i> pillage and lay waste the whole country, and take <i>Milernia</i> by assault, and kill 3200 <i>Samnites</i> upon the ramparts, and make 4200 prisoners; then they take <i>Troventum</i> without striking a blow, the inhabitants having deserted it. A few days after, <i>Attilius</i> again engages the <i>Samnites</i> , and after losing 7300 <i>Romans</i> , overthrows them, kills 4800, and takes 7000 prisoners, which he made pass under the yoke: Afterwards, in his return to <i>Rome</i> , he falls upon another body of <i>Samnites</i> , that had been ravaging the <i>Volsi</i> , cuts them to pieces, recovers the booty, and releases many <i>Roman</i> prisoners, whom they had taken.	IV	635
4016	2709	290	<i>Posthumus</i> marches into <i>Hetruria</i> without orders from the senate, took <i>Rufella</i> , and obliged the three <i>Lucumonies</i> of <i>Volsinii</i> , <i>Perrusia</i> , and <i>Arretium</i> to sue for peace. The senate refuses him a triumph, but the people give him one in spite of all opposition.	IV	636
4017	2710	289	The <i>Samnites</i> make a law, that all persons capable of bearing arms that did not appear at <i>Aquilonia</i> (a city of <i>Hirpinia</i>) upon the first summons of the general of their nation, should be put to death immediately: 40,000 were assembled, out of which 16,000 bound themselves by a solemn oath to do extraordinary matters under a linnen canopy, and were therefore called the linnen legion, &c. The <i>Roman</i> consul <i>Corvilius</i> enters <i>Samnium</i> , takes <i>Amitemum</i> , (a city in <i>Sabina</i>) cuts 2800 men to pieces, and takes 4270 prisoners. <i>Papirius</i> , the other consul, takes <i>Furcania</i> , and both lay the country waste where-ever they come. <i>Papirius</i> engages the <i>Samnites</i> , kills 12,000, and disperses the rest. <i>Corvilius</i> obliged <i>Cominium</i> to surrender at discretion, in which remained 15400 persons after 4380 had been killed in its defence. Afterwards, to complete the utter destruction of the <i>Samnites</i> , <i>Corvilius</i> took <i>Volturna</i> , <i>Palumbinum</i> , and <i>Hercluanum</i> ; and <i>Papirius</i> took <i>Sepinum</i> , deemed impregnable. <i>Corvilius</i> returns to <i>Rome</i> , which he enters in triumph.	IV	637
4017	2710	289	The <i>Hetrurians</i> being again in arms, <i>Corvilius</i> goes against them, take <i>Trofulum</i> by assault, forces the <i>Falisci</i> to sue for peace, but grants them only a year's truce, for which they pay 390,000 asses of brass, and then returns to <i>Rome</i> , whither also <i>Papirius</i> was come from <i>Samnium</i> , and has a triumph, graced with the spoils of the linnen legion.	IV	637
4018	2711	288	<i>Pyrrhus</i> and <i>Lyfimachus</i> divide the kingdom of <i>Macedon</i> between them, by consent, to avoid a war.	III	468
4018	2711	288	A plague raging in <i>Rome</i> , and two consuls not well qualified for military affairs being chose governors this year, encourage the <i>Falisci</i> to break their truce, and the remaining <i>Samnites</i> to take arms, and enter <i>Campania</i> : The consul <i>Brutus</i> over-run <i>Hetruria</i> , defeated the <i>Falisci</i> , and returned to <i>Rome</i> loaded with spoils: But the other consul <i>Fabius</i> attacking the <i>Samnites</i> , is defeated, has 3000 of his men killed, on the spot, and has more wounded, who died soon after: Upon this, <i>Fabius</i> the father of the consul goes with his son, and again engages and kills 20,000 <i>Samnites</i> upon the spot, and takes their general <i>Pontius</i> , and 4000 prisoners.	IV	638
4018	2711	288	<i>Demetrius</i> preparing to recover his kingdom of <i>Syria</i> , is attacked by <i>Seleucus</i> , <i>Lyfimachus</i> , <i>Ptolemy</i> , and <i>Pyrrhus</i> : <i>Demetrius</i> is forced by his own army to fly to <i>Cassandria</i> , and to abdicate <i>Macedon</i> : Upon this his wife <i>Philla</i> poisoned herself.	III	443
4019	2712	287	<i>Demetrius</i> goes to <i>Thebes</i> , raises an army, assumes the regal authority, and restores democracy. The <i>Athenians</i> insulting him, he besieges <i>Athens</i> , and reduces them to the necessity of begging his pardon, &c.	III	443
4019	2712	287	<i>Pyrrhus</i> wars against <i>Demetrius</i> , and takes <i>Athens</i> , &c. from him, uses the inhabitants extremely well, and sacrifices in their city with them, &c.	III	468
4019	2712	287	<i>Pyrrhus</i> drives <i>Demetrius</i> out of <i>Macedon</i> , and becomes king thereof, but is forced to admit <i>Lyfimachus</i> a partner with him in that kingdom.	III	468
4019	2712	287	The <i>Sibylline</i> books having been consulted upon account of the plague, the answer was, that the God <i>Æsculapius</i> must be fetched from <i>Epidaurus</i> in <i>Peloponnesus</i> , where he was worshipped under the figure of a serpent, which being done, the plague is said to cease.	IV	638
4019	2712	287	<i>Posthumus</i> the <i>Roman</i> consul despises the commands of the senate, and forces himself into the siege of <i>Cominium</i> , which <i>Fabius</i> , for the publick good, submits to; it is taken, and also <i>Venusium</i> , <i>Lucania</i> , and <i>Samnium</i> . Young <i>Fabius</i> is allowed a triumph, but <i>Posthumus</i> is refused, &c.	IV	639
4020	2713	286	<i>Demetrius</i> going into <i>Asia</i> , marries <i>Ptolemaida</i> at <i>Sardis</i> ; many of <i>Lyfimachus</i> 's forces revolt to him, and bring a large sum of money with them: He takes the city, &c. but a plague breaking out sweeps away most of his army, and he is relieved by <i>Seleucus</i> , &c.	III	444
4020	2713	286	<i>Seleucus</i> being influenced by his minister <i>Patrocles</i> , not only withdraws his kindness from <i>Demetrius</i> , but actually endeavours to take him by force, and by various successes at last compels <i>Demetrius</i> to surrender himself at discretion.	III	446
4020	2713	286	<i>Posthumus</i> 's consulate being out, he is brought to a trial before the <i>Comitia</i> , by tribes, and accused of employing part of his troops in grubbing up a forest in his own estate, for which he is condemned to pay a considerable fine.	IV	639
4021	2714	285	<i>Lyfimachus</i> drives <i>Pyrrhus</i> out of <i>Macedon</i> , and reigns king there alone.	III	468
4021	2714	285	The <i>Romans</i> having ravaged the country, and taken the city of the <i>Samnites</i> , obliges them to sue for peace, which being granted, put an end to a war that had lasted 49 years. The consul <i>Manius Curius Dentatus</i> returned to <i>Rome</i> in triumph.	IV	640

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4021	2714	285	The consul <i>Curius</i> goes against the <i>Sabines</i> , who had joined the <i>Samnites</i> , reduces them intirely, and returns to <i>Rome</i> , where he has a second triumph.	IV	641
4022	2715	284	The <i>Romans</i> send colonies into <i>Adria</i> , a maritime town that gave name to the <i>Adriatick</i> sea, to <i>Castrum</i> in <i>Picenum</i> , and to <i>Seno</i> at the mouth of the <i>Seno</i> .	IV	641
4022	2715	284	<i>Menon</i> the <i>Syracusan</i> governor going against the <i>Agrigentines</i> , who had revolted, as soon as he was out of the city of <i>Syracuse</i> , one <i>Tanion</i> possessed himself of the sovereign power, in which he was opposed by one <i>Sofistrates</i> , between whom a civil war was raised and carried on.	III	88
4022	2715	284	Three new judges, called <i>Triumviri Capitales</i> , were added to the <i>Roman</i> prætor, who had only the power of inflicting pecuniary fines, as likewise the care of the prisons where the greatest criminals were, and the direction of their execution; they were chosen annually in the <i>Comitia</i> by tribes, and from their sentence lay no appeal. This year a census being made, the number of <i>Roman</i> citizens fit to bear arms was found to be 273,000.	IV	641
4022	2715	284	<i>Ptolomy</i> , being by his father admitted joint king of <i>Egypt</i> , was surnamed <i>Philadelphus</i> by many favours bestowed upon the <i>Jews</i> in general, and great largesses to the priests and learned men in particular, obtained from them the <i>Greek</i> version of the <i>Old Testament</i> called the <i>Septuagint</i> .	IV	37
4022	2715	284	The famous watch-tower in the island of <i>Pharos</i> , esteemed one of the wonders of the world, is now finished.	III	626
4022	2715	284	<i>Demetrius</i> being the prisoner of <i>Seleucus</i> in the <i>Syrian Chersonesus</i> , dies, upon which <i>Seleucus</i> makes one empire of all <i>Demetrius</i> held in <i>Syria</i> and <i>Asia</i> .	III	518
4023	2716	283	The statue of <i>Serapis</i> is brought from <i>Sinope</i> (a city of <i>Pontus</i>) to <i>Alexandria</i> , and set up in a magnificent temple built on purpose.	III	628
4023	2716	283	A great dispute and commotion happens at <i>Rome</i> about repealing the debtors law, which causes all the common people to leave the city; whereupon <i>Q. Hortensius</i> is named dictator to compose their differences, but dying before the matter was compleated, <i>Q. Fabius Maximus</i> was raised to that dignity, who settled all things to the peoples intire satisfaction, and laid the foundation of <i>Rome's</i> future greatness.	IV	642
4023	2716	283	<i>Demetrius</i> being dead in captivity, his ashes are carried into <i>Greece</i> , where being put into a golden urn by his son <i>Antigonus</i> , all the honours of royalty were paid to them.	III	447
4023	2716	283	<i>Simon</i> , the just high-priest of the <i>Jews</i> , dies, in the 19th year of his pontificate, much regretted by all for his repairing and fortifying the temple and city, and finishing the canon of the <i>Old Testament</i> : He was succeeded by his brother <i>Eleazer</i> in the priesthood, and in the civil government by <i>Antigonus</i> of <i>Socho</i> , the chief of the <i>Sadducean</i> sect.	IV	36
4024	2717	282	<i>Ptolomy Soter</i> , joint king of <i>Egypt</i> , dies, (and leaves his son surnamed <i>Philadelphus</i> absolute king) after having reigned 39 years alone, and two years in partnership, being 84 years of age.	III	631
4024	2717	282	The <i>Tarentines</i> , originally a colony of <i>Spartans</i> that settled in the south part of <i>Italy</i> , stir up the <i>Boii</i> , <i>Senones</i> , and <i>Hetrurians</i> , against <i>Rome</i> ; the <i>Senones</i> go against the <i>Aretini</i> , the allies of <i>Rome</i> , upon which the <i>Romans</i> send ambassadors to dissuade them from their enterprise; but they murder them, and immediately march their troops before <i>Aretium</i> ; the consul <i>Lucius Cæcilius</i> engages them, is killed in the battle, and seven legionary tribunes, most of the <i>Roman</i> knights, and 13,000 private men: The senate immediately sends the famous <i>Curius Dentatus</i> against them; who goes into the country of the <i>Senones</i> , where he plundered and burnt their houses, put all able to bear arms to the sword, and carried the women and children away captive, and so rendered the whole country quite desolate.	IV	643
4024	2717	282	<i>Lyfimachus</i> engages <i>Seleucus</i> at <i>Carpedion</i> in <i>Phrygia</i> , where himself and children are slain, and <i>Seleucus</i> becomes king of <i>Macedon</i> , &c.	III	469
4025	2718	281	The <i>Romans</i> , under the consul <i>Cn. Domitius Calvinus</i> , meet and engage the <i>Senones</i> in their march towards <i>Rome</i> , and entirely overthrew them, so that only a few escaped into the country of the <i>Boii</i> , who together with the <i>Hetrurians</i> raised another large army, whom the other consul <i>P. Cornelius Dolabella</i> meets in their march towards <i>Rome</i> , engages them on the bank of the lake <i>Vademonis</i> , now <i>Il Lago di Bassano</i> , kills most of the <i>Hetrurians</i> and <i>Boii</i> , and almost entirely takes away the very name of the <i>Senones</i> as a nation.	IV	643
4025	2718	281	Several states of <i>Italy</i> having confederated together against <i>Rome</i> , the consul <i>C. Fabricius</i> goes into <i>Lucania</i> , and engages them, kills their general <i>Statilius</i> , and 25,000 soldiers, and makes himself master of their camp, for which the <i>Romans</i> return the God <i>Mars</i> publick thanks, &c.	IV	643
4025	2718	281	The <i>Tarentines</i> fall upon <i>Valerius</i> the <i>Roman</i> admiral and his fleet, now at the mouth of their harbour, with ten ships, sunk one and took four, all the prisoners fit to bear arms they put to the sword, and sold the others for slaves. The <i>Romans</i> send to demand satisfaction, but the ambassadors are treated with the utmost contempt and disrespect, and then besiege and take <i>Thurium</i> , defended by a <i>Roman</i> garrison, and send and invite <i>Pyrrhus</i> king of <i>Epirus</i> to assist them.	IV	644
4026	2719	280	<i>Antiochus</i> (surnamed <i>Soter</i>) succeeds his father <i>Seleucus</i> in his kingdom of <i>Assyria</i> , and reigned 19 years.	III	522
4026	2719	280	<i>Ptolomy Ceraunus</i> slays <i>Seleucus</i> , and flying to <i>Lyfimachia</i> , raises a company, and proclaims himself king of <i>Macedon</i> , &c.	III	469
4026	2719	280	<i>Ptolomy Ceraunus</i> applies to his sister <i>Arfinoe</i> , (widow of <i>Lyfimachus</i> , who was fled to the strong castle in the rich city of <i>Cassandria</i>) promises her marriage, to adopt her children, and make her the partner of his kingdom. She accepts the offer, puts <i>Cassandria</i> into his possession, and the day he celebrated the nuptials he murders her children, and turns her out, with only two servants, to lead		

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		a solitary life in <i>Samo-Thrace</i> , from whence she went into <i>Egypt</i> , where she married her other brother, <i>Ptolemy Philadelphus</i> . ————	III	469
2719	280	The <i>Bœii</i> being defeated by the <i>Romans</i> , are forced to sue for peace. ————	IV	643
2719	280	The <i>Achæans</i> having rendered themselves famous for their regularity, justice, and impartial behaviour, induced most of the <i>Greek</i> cities to join their democracy, and first <i>Patra</i> and <i>Dyma</i> shewed the example. ————	II	642
2719	280	The inhabitants of <i>Patra</i> and <i>Dyma</i> begin the <i>Achæan</i> league. ————	II	642
2719	280	<i>Lyfimachus</i> king of <i>Thrace</i> , and <i>Selucus</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> , &c. engage, and after a long and bloody battle, <i>Lyfimachus</i> is killed at the head of his troops. ————	III	521
4719	280	<i>Selucus</i> is murdered by <i>Ptolemy Ceraunus</i> , whom the soldiers proclaim king of <i>Macedon</i> , and <i>Antiochus Soter</i> , son of <i>Selucus</i> , enjoys his empire of <i>Asia</i> 19 years. ————	III	522
4719	280	The <i>Romans</i> , under the consul <i>L. Æmilius Barbula</i> , take cities, storm castles, and lay the country of <i>Tarentum</i> waste, force their army out of the field to shelter themselves within the walls of their city, &c. The <i>Tarentines</i> admit <i>Cyrus</i> , general of <i>Pyrrhus</i> king of <i>Epirus</i> , with 3000 <i>Epirots</i> into their citadel, and depose their governor <i>Agis</i> for his supposed attachment to <i>Rome</i> . ————	IV	645
2720	279	<i>Nicomedes</i> succeeds his father <i>Zipates</i> in the kingdom of <i>Bythinia</i> , and puts two of his brothers to death : <i>Zipates</i> the younger brother flies, and seizing part of the kingdom, wars with his brother, who calls in the <i>Gauls</i> , and by their assistance gets the whole kingdom, and bestows part of <i>Asia Minor</i> upon them, as a reward for their help : This part of the country was afterward called <i>Galatia</i> , and the inhabitants <i>Galatians</i> . ————	III	522
2720	279	<i>Ptolemy Ceraunus</i> , king of <i>Macedon</i> and <i>Syria</i> , engages the <i>Gauls</i> under the command of <i>Belgus</i> , is taken prisoner, and has his head cut off, &c. ————	III	470
2720	279	The <i>Macedonians</i> choose <i>Meleager</i> , the brother of <i>Ptolemy</i> , king ; but finding him unfit for government, after two months, depose him, and choose <i>Antipater</i> the son of <i>Philip</i> , the brother of <i>Cassander</i> , who held it only 45 days. ————	III	470
2720	279	<i>Patrocles</i> , general of <i>Antiochus Soter</i> king of <i>Syria</i> , entering into the country of the <i>Bythinians</i> , and committing great hostilities, is engaged by <i>Zipetes</i> , who drew him into an ambush, and cut off both himself and his whole army, for joy whereof <i>Zipetes</i> , being 76 years old, died in a transport, in the 41st year of his reign. ————	III	522
2720	279	<i>Q. Marcius Philippus</i> the <i>Roman</i> consul has a triumph, for vanquishing the <i>Hetrurians</i> ; and <i>Pyrrhus</i> king of <i>Epirus</i> comes to <i>Tarentum</i> , where he is received with great joy : He sets himself to reform the <i>Tarentines</i> , and inure them to the use of arms, and proclaims those guilty of death, who either abandoned their country or absented from the common musters. ————	IV	646
2720	279	The <i>Proletarii</i> , or meanest of the people, who till now had never been enlisted in the <i>Roman</i> army, nor suffered to bear arms, were enrolled in the army along with the other <i>Roman</i> people. ————	IV	646
2720	279	The <i>Roman</i> consul <i>P. Valerius Leuinus</i> ravaging the <i>Lucanians</i> , &c. is engaged by <i>Pyrrhus</i> , and after a stubborn fight the <i>Romans</i> are forced to quit the field, with the slaughter of many thousands on both sides, and 1800 <i>Roman</i> knights taken prisoners. Then <i>Pyrrhus</i> plunders and ravages the <i>Roman</i> territories, and possesses himself of <i>Campania</i> . ————	III	810
2720	279	<i>Pyrrhus</i> surprizes <i>Fregella</i> , sits down before <i>Præstè</i> , and views <i>Rome</i> ; but <i>Caurencianus</i> the other consul returning victorious over the <i>Hetrurians</i> , <i>Pyrrhus</i> returns into <i>Campania</i> , where he is met by <i>Leuinus</i> , who being recruited, again offers to engage him, but he declines it, and retires to <i>Tarentum</i> . ————	III	811
2720	279	<i>Ptolemy Philadelphus</i> , king of <i>Egypt</i> , repudiates his wife <i>Arfine</i> , for a conspiracy, and marries his half sister <i>Arfine</i> , though past child bearing. ————	III	633
2721	278	<i>Sophenes</i> , a young <i>Macedonian</i> nobleman, assembles a body of able youths, and disciplines them, and by degrees drives away the <i>Gauls</i> . He refused the royal honours, contenting himself with the name of general. ————	III	470
2721	278	The <i>Romans</i> and <i>Pyrrhus</i> , &c. engage near <i>Asculum</i> , where the <i>Roman</i> consul <i>Decius Mus</i> is killed, but at length the <i>Romans</i> got the day, and both armies parting, they go into winter quarters. ————	III	813
2722	277	<i>Nicius</i> , physician to <i>Pyrrhus</i> king of <i>Epirus</i> , writes a letter to the <i>Roman</i> consuls <i>C. Fabricius</i> and <i>Q. Æmilius Papus</i> , wherein for a large reward he offers to poison the king ; they abhorring the action, inform the king of it, without naming the person. ————	III	814
2723	276	<i>Brennus</i> king of the <i>Gauls</i> comes into <i>Macedonia</i> , with 140,000 foot and 10,000 horse, against whom <i>Sophenes</i> makes a vigorous defence, but is at last killed, and most of his army, and then <i>Brennus</i> glut himself and army with spoil. ————	III	470
2724	275	The inhabitants of <i>Eginum</i> having driven out the <i>Macedonian</i> garrison, acceded to the <i>Achæan</i> alliance ; and the inhabitants of <i>Bura</i> did the same, and also the <i>Ceraunians</i> . ————	II	642
2726	273	The <i>Romans</i> under their consul <i>Curius Dentatus</i> engage <i>Pyrrhus</i> , and finally overthrow him, killing 30,000 upon the spot, and take 1200 prisoners and eight elephants, the camp and all the baggage, &c. for which the consul has the most magnificent triumph that had ever yet been seen. ————	III	815
2726	273	The consul <i>Lentulus</i> having entirely defeated the <i>Samnites</i> , &c. was also honoured with a triumph, and the year ended with a census and lustrum, when 271,224 citizens were found in <i>Rome</i> fit to bear arms. ————	IV	647
2727	272	<i>Pyrrhus</i> returning to <i>Epirus</i> from <i>Italy</i> , recruits his army, and engages <i>Antigonus Gonatus</i> , king of <i>Macedon</i> , overcomes and takes all <i>Macedonia</i> from him, particularly <i>Æge</i> , the royal seat of the late kings of <i>Macedon</i> , where he is again proclaimed king, and uses the people with great severity : The garrison of <i>Gauls</i> which he left in it broke open the tombs of the kings, take out the riches buried with them, and scatter their bones about the streets, which gave great offence. ————	III	816

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4034	2727	272	<i>Ptolemy Philadelphus</i> sends ambassadors for the first time to <i>Rome</i> , to conclude an alliance with that republick. The <i>Romans</i> returns the compliment, and send four ambassadors to <i>Ptolemy</i> , and conclude an alliance.	III	634
4034	2727	272	<i>Ptolemy</i> , son of <i>Pyrrhus</i> , reigns in <i>Macedon</i> as vicegerent of his father: <i>Antigonus Gonatus</i> attacks him, but is entirely routed, flying only with seven attendants.	III	472
4034	2727	272	<i>Pyrrhus</i> warring against the <i>Lacedemonians</i> , has the rear of his army cut off by <i>Areus</i> king of <i>Sparta</i> , together with his son <i>Ptolemy</i> , &c.	II	817
4034	2727	272	<i>Pyrrhus</i> , contrary to his word, having entered <i>Argos</i> with his army, an engagement ensues, wherein <i>Pyrrhus</i> was killed, and so <i>Antigonus</i> recovered the kingdom of <i>Macedon</i> again.	III	473
4034	2727	272	Upon the death of <i>Pyrrhus</i> , <i>Milo</i> the <i>Epirot</i> general surrenders the citadel of <i>Tarentum</i> into the hands of <i>Papirius Cursus</i> , the <i>Roman</i> consul, and the inhabitants also surrender themselves.	III	820
4034	2727	272	<i>Alexander</i> , the son of <i>Pyrrhus</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Epirus</i> . invades <i>Macedon</i> , and engaging <i>Antigonus</i> , defeats him, and takes away his kingdom from him; upon which <i>Antigonus</i> is forced to fly into <i>Greece</i> for shelter.	III	820
4035	2728	271	<i>Demetrius</i> , son of <i>Antigonus</i> , raises an army, engages <i>Alexander</i> king of <i>Epirus</i> , and not only drives him out of <i>Macedon</i> , but also out of <i>Epirus</i> , and forces him to fly to the <i>Acarnanians</i> , from whence coming with a large army into <i>Epirus</i> , <i>Demetrius</i> retires into <i>Macedon</i> .	III	820
4036	2729	270	<i>Alexander</i> reigned several years in peace, and is succeeded by his son <i>Ptolemy</i> , and grandson <i>Pyrrhus</i> , who both died young, and also by his great grand-daughter <i>Deidamia</i> , who being murdered, the kingdom became a republick, &c.	III	821
4036	2729	270	<i>Claudius Carina</i> , the <i>Roman</i> consul, defeats the <i>Samnites</i> , &c. and has a triumph given him at his return to <i>Rome</i> .	IV	647
4037	2730	269	<i>Antigonus Gonatus</i> , king of <i>Macedon</i> , first waives the territories of the <i>Athenians</i> , and then besieges and takes <i>Athens</i> , and makes them accept a <i>Macedonian</i> garrison, &c.	II	557
4039	2732	267	News coming to <i>Samnium</i> , &c. of the death of <i>Pyrrhus</i> king of <i>Epirus</i> , the <i>Samnites</i> , <i>Lucanians</i> , and <i>Brutians</i> , in despair engage <i>L. Papirius Cursus</i> and <i>Sp. Corvilius</i> (surnamed <i>Maximus</i>) the two <i>Roman</i> consuls, and their armies, and are totally overthrown and subdued: Thus ended this bloody war, which had lasted 72 years, and produced the <i>Roman</i> generals 31 triumphs.	IV	647
4039	2732	267	<i>Milo</i> the <i>Epirot</i> general surrenders <i>Tarentum</i> to the consul <i>Papirius</i> , who disarmed all the inhabitants, took their ships from them, dismantled the city, and made it tributary to <i>Rome</i> .	IV	648
4040	2733	266	The <i>Roman</i> consul <i>L. Genucius Clepsina</i> goes against the <i>Roman</i> garrison at <i>Rhegium</i> , where they had, under false pretences, massacred all the chief men of the city at a banquet, and either put the rest to the sword, or else forced them to fly the city; and obliged the women to marry the murderers of their husbands and fathers: The rebels stood out vigorously, till their number from 4000 was reduced to 300, who were brought prisoners to <i>Rome</i> , and put to death by fifties.	IV	648
4041	2734	265	<i>Acrotatus</i> king of <i>Sparta</i> engages <i>Aristodemus</i> prince of <i>Megalopolis</i> , is slain, and his army routed: His young son <i>Areus</i> succeeds him in his kingdom, who dies in the 8th year of his reign, under the governments of <i>Leonidas</i> .	II	625
4041	2734	265	<i>C. Genucius</i> being consul, lead the <i>Romans</i> against the <i>Sarcinates</i> , (a people of <i>Umbria</i>) whom he conquered, and had a triumph.	IV	648
4042	2735	264	The consuls <i>Q. Ogulnius Gallus</i> and <i>C. Fabius Pictor</i> , go against one <i>Lollius</i> , a <i>Samnite</i> hostage who had made his escape from <i>Rome</i> , and being joined by the <i>Caracini</i> , laid the country under contribution; but at last, after an obstinate struggle, they take the city of the <i>Caracini</i> , &c.	IV	649
4042	2735	264	The <i>Romans</i> for the first time coin silver money, in the temple of <i>Juno Moneta</i> , for the use of commerce, which heretofore were only pieces of brass, with the figures of a bull, a ram, and a boar stamped on them.	IV	649
4043	2736	263	<i>Margas</i> , half brother to <i>Ptolemy</i> king of <i>Egypt</i> , being governor of <i>Libia</i> and <i>Cyrene</i> , revolts and makes himself king in those provinces.	III	635
4043	2736	263	<i>Antigonus Gonatus</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> besieges and takes <i>Athens</i> , through the misunderstanding between the <i>Spartans</i> and <i>Egyptians</i> that come to its relief.	III	634
4043	2736	263	<i>Patroclus</i> the <i>Egyptian</i> general orders the poet <i>Sotades</i> to be wrapped up in a sheet of lead, and cast into the sea, for writing invectives against his master <i>Ptolemy Philadelphus</i> .	III	634
4043	2736	263	The consul <i>Appius</i> with his <i>Roman</i> legions entering the country of the <i>Umbrians</i> , made himself master of the city of <i>Camerinum</i> , the people whereof, contrary to his agreement, he sold for slaves, and put the money into the publick treasury, and seized their lands; but the senate caused the people to be sought out, gave them the privileges of <i>Roman</i> citizens, granted them part of <i>Mount Aventine</i> for an habitation, and allotted each man as much land as they lost in <i>Umbria</i> .	IV	649
4043	2736	263	The <i>Roman</i> consul <i>Sempronius Sophus</i> takes <i>Asculum</i> , the capital of <i>Picenum</i> , and the whole nation of the <i>Pientes</i> gave themselves up to <i>Rome</i> ; this added to the strength of <i>Rome</i> 360,000 men fit to bear arms.	IV	649
4043	2736	263	The <i>Romans</i> to secure their conquests send two colonies of their own people, one into <i>Arminium</i> in the country of the <i>Pientes</i> , the other into <i>Beneventum</i> among the <i>Samnites</i> .	IV	649
4043	2736	263	The <i>Sabines</i> are this year admitted to the right of suffrage, and made entirely <i>Romans</i> , enjoying before only the right of incorporation into the <i>Roman</i> army, instead of serving as auxiliaries.	IV	649
4043	2736	263	<i>Antiochus</i> king of <i>Syria</i> engaging and entirely overthrowing the <i>Gauls</i> that were settled in <i>Asia</i> , by <i>Nicomedes</i> king of <i>Bythinia</i> , thereby delivered the neighbouring provinces from their frequent incursions; for which he is surnamed <i>Soter</i> , or the Saviour.	III	523

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7	262	<i>Antiochus Soter</i> , upon the death of <i>Philaretus</i> prince of <i>Pergamus</i> , invades his dominions, designing to add them to his own; but <i>Eumenes</i> , nephew and successor to the deceased, engages and overthrows him, and not only settles himself in his own country, but adds several provinces to it.	III 523	
8	261	The consuls, <i>Numerius Fabius</i> and <i>D. Junius Pera</i> , completed the conquest of the <i>Salentines</i> and <i>Sarcinates</i> , and were each honoured with two triumphs at their return to <i>Rome</i> , for the conquest of two nations which made <i>Rome</i> mistress of all the countries in <i>Italy</i> , from the remotest part of <i>Etruria</i> to the <i>Ionian</i> sea, and from the <i>Tyrrhenian</i> sea to the <i>Adriatick</i> .	IV 649	
8	261	<i>Apollonia</i> , a city in <i>Macedon</i> , sends ambassadors to <i>Rome</i> to desire her protection: <i>Fabricius</i> and <i>Apronius</i> (two young patricians, <i>Ædiles</i> for this year) having insulted the ambassadors, are degraded, and delivered into the hands of the ambassadors, to be carried into <i>Macedon</i> to be tried there; and a law was made, that if any person whatever insulted a foreign ambassador, he should be delivered up to that people, to be punished at their pleasure.	III 523	
8	261	<i>Antiochus Soter</i> upon his return to <i>Antioch</i> puts one of his sons to death, for attempting to raise a rebellion in his absence, and proclaims his son <i>Antiochus</i> king with himself.	III 523	
8	261	<i>Antiochus Soter</i> , king of <i>Syria</i> , dies, and is succeeded by his son <i>Antiochus</i> , surnamed <i>Theos</i> , so called by the <i>Milesians</i> for delivering them from the tyranny of <i>Timarchus</i> , governor of <i>Caria</i> for <i>Ptolemy</i> ; who having revolted, chose <i>Miletus</i> for the seat of his government; <i>Antiochus</i> engaged, defeated, and slew him.	III 523	
9	260	Now flourished <i>Berosus</i> , the famous <i>Babylonian</i> historian, and dedicated his history to <i>Antiochus Theos</i> , which contained the astronomical observations of 480 years: While he taught at <i>Athens</i> , his reputation for astrological predictions was so great, that the <i>Athenians</i> erected a statue to him in the <i>Gymnasium</i> , with a golden tongue.	III 523	
9	260	<i>Rome</i> having divided her conquests into four provinces, four new officers, called provincial <i>Quæstors</i> , are created, to take care of the publick revenues.	IV 650	
9	260	A plague breaking out at <i>Rome</i> , and the <i>Sybilline</i> books being consulted, the answer was, some secret crimes had drawn the wrath of heaven upon the commonwealth. Upon search, a vestal named <i>Carpania</i> was charged with incontinence, and condemned to be buried alive, to avoid which she strangled herself. Upon a census being taken, and a lustrum made, notwithstanding the havoc the plague had made, there were found in the city 292,214 men fit to bear arms.	IV 650	
9	260	The <i>Volturnenses</i> , one of the twelve <i>Leucomonies</i> of the <i>Etrurians</i> , beg the assistance of <i>Rome</i> , to free them from the tyrannical and abominable government of their magistrates; upon which the consul <i>Fabius Gurgus</i> goes against them with a small army, and is killed in a battle with them.	IV 651	
0	259	<i>M. Fulvius Flaccus</i> , the <i>Roman</i> consul, forces the <i>Volturnenses</i> to surrender at discretion, and puts all that had been guilty to death: The ancient citizens not concerned in the revolt were transplanted to another place, and the city razed. <i>Flaccus</i> at his return to <i>Rome</i> was honoured with a triumph.	IV 651	
0	259	The <i>Romans</i> and <i>Carthaginians</i> declare war against each other, called the first punic war. In the beginning the <i>Roman</i> general <i>Claudius</i> going to the assistance of the <i>Mamertines</i> at <i>Messana</i> , over-reaches <i>Hanno</i> the <i>Carthaginian</i> general, and gets the town and citadel from him; for which <i>Hanno</i> was crucified at his return to <i>Carthage</i> .	IV 653	
0	259	Another <i>Hanno</i> the <i>Carthaginian</i> admiral comes into <i>Sicily</i> , and besieges <i>Claudius</i> and his <i>Romans</i> ; and upon his refusing to surrender <i>Messana</i> , orders all the <i>Italians</i> in his army to be massacred. The consul <i>Appius</i> coming to <i>Rhegium</i> , sends from thence to <i>Hiero</i> king of <i>Syracuse</i> to desire him to withdraw his forces that he had joined <i>Hanno</i> with; but <i>Hiero</i> instead of complying, reproaches the <i>Romans</i> with encouraging tyrants and treachery, rebellion, &c. but <i>Claudius</i> having overthrown <i>Hiero</i> in an engagement with him, thinking himself betrayed by the <i>Carthaginians</i> , returns with his troops to <i>Syracuse</i> ; upon which <i>Claudius</i> falling out upon the <i>Carthaginians</i> , routed them with great slaughter, and so raised the siege of <i>Messana</i> , then over-run and laid waste the country of the <i>Syracusans</i> to the gates of <i>Syracuse</i> , for which he is said to have a triumph at his return to <i>Rome</i> .	IV 654	
1	258	War breaks out between the <i>Rhodians</i> and <i>Byzantines</i> , upon account of the latter's laying a tax upon all ships trading to the <i>Pontic</i> sea, but is soon after composed by the mediation of <i>Cavarus</i> king of the <i>Thracian Gauls</i> .	III 145	
1	258	The two <i>Roman</i> consuls, with each a large army under his command, go into <i>Sicily</i> , where 68 cities and towns heretofore subject to the <i>Carthaginians</i> submit to them; then besiege <i>Syracuse</i> , upon which <i>Hiero</i> desires peace, which the consuls grant, upon condition that he release all the <i>Roman</i> prisoners without ransom, and pay the republick 100 talents of silver; this <i>Hiero</i> performing, the <i>Romans</i> contract to acknowledge <i>Hiero</i> for a friend, and to protect his dominions from all hostilities.	IV 655	
1	258	The inhabitants of <i>Segesta</i> and <i>Aliena</i> massacre the <i>African</i> garrison, and open their gates to the <i>Roman</i> consuls. The cities of <i>Bilava</i> , <i>Tyrina</i> , and <i>Asiela</i> are besieged, taken by assault, and treated with great rigour. Upon <i>Valerius</i> 's return to <i>Rome</i> , he has a triumph. This year <i>Cn. Fulvius Centumales</i> was made dictator, to drive a nail into the temple of <i>Jupiter Capitolinus</i> , to stop the plague now raging at <i>Rome</i> .	IV 655	
2	257	<i>Leonidas</i> becomes king of <i>Sparta</i> , and after a reign of 13 years, was outed by his son-in-law <i>Cleombrotus</i> , who reigned his stead; upon which his daughter fled with him, leaving her husband for the sake of her father.	II 627	
2	257	The consuls <i>L. Postumius Megellus</i> and <i>Q. Manlius Vitellus</i> go into <i>Sicily</i> , and besiege <i>Agrigentum</i> , which the <i>Carthaginians</i> had made their magazine for arms		

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			and provisions, a place rendered almost impregnable by art and nature, defended by a numerous garrison under the command of <i>Hannibal</i> , besides 50,000 inhabitants : After five months siege comes <i>Hanno</i> from <i>Carthage</i> , with an army of 50,000 soldiers, &c. to whom <i>Erbesfa</i> (a city where the <i>Romans</i> had their magazine) surrenders : After the city had been besieged seven months, both armies engage, and the <i>Romans</i> defeat the <i>Carthaginians</i> , with great slaughter on both sides ; upon which <i>Hannibal</i> in the night sallies out, and cut his way through the <i>Roman</i> camp, and escapes ; upon which the <i>Agrigentines</i> massacre all the remaining <i>Carthaginians</i> , and the consuls deliver up the city to be plundered, which had not surrendered at discretion, and 25,000 free persons are made slaves : This important siege, battle, &c. cost the <i>Romans</i> and their allies upwards of 30,000 men.	IV 656
4050	2743	256	About this time a dreadful earthquake happened at <i>Rhodes</i> , which threw down the great <i>Colossus</i> , the arsenal, and most part of the walls of <i>Rhodes</i> , towards repairing which, all the <i>Grecian</i> states and other princes sent them very large presents, which enabled them in a small time to appear in their former splendor.	III 146
4051	2744	255	The <i>Roman</i> consul <i>Cn. Cornelius Scipio</i> , with a squadron of 17 galleys full of men, are drawn into a snare by <i>Hannibal</i> , and are all taken prisoners ; but 103 more <i>Roman</i> galleys soon after fall upon, sink, take and disperse <i>Hannibal's</i> fleet, himself escaping with great difficulty : Quickly after the <i>Romans</i> , under the consul <i>Dulius</i> , attacked the <i>Carthaginian</i> fleet again, and by help of an engine called the <i>Corvus</i> , they grappled the <i>Carthaginians</i> , and boarding them, overcame and took 80 of them, and 7000 prisoners, and killed 7000 men in the two engagements, and sunk 13 ships or galleys ; <i>Hannibal</i> a second time escaped with difficulty, and is degraded by the <i>Carthaginian</i> senate ; then the consul going on shore, relieves <i>Sagasta</i> , besieged by <i>Hamilcar</i> , takes <i>Marcella</i> , and returns to <i>Rome</i> , where he was honoured with a triumph, in the most magnificent and extraordinary manner, by medals, &c.	IV 657
4051	2744	255	During the absence of <i>Dulius</i> the <i>Romans</i> and <i>Sicilians</i> quarrel, and part from one another ; whereupon <i>Hamilcar</i> attacks the <i>Sicilians</i> , and puts 4000 of them to the sword, drove the <i>Romans</i> from their posts, took several cities, and over-run great part of the country.	IV 650
4052	2745	254	The <i>Roman</i> slaves form a conspiracy to burn <i>Rome</i> , &c. and are joined by 4000 <i>Samnites</i> ; but the plot is discovered by <i>Erins Politius</i> , the commander of the confederates : The slaves were put in irons, and the <i>Samnites</i> imprisoned.	IV 660
4052	2745	254	The consul <i>C. Aquilius Florus</i> having the command of the <i>Roman</i> navy, sails to <i>Corfica</i> , and soon made himself master of the island : Afterwards going to <i>Sardinia</i> , he besieged <i>Olbia</i> , where <i>Hanno</i> the <i>Carthaginian</i> general was killed, whom <i>Aquilius</i> , after taking the city, honoured with magnificent obsequies, attending his burial in person ; after which he took most of the maritime cities, driving the <i>Carthaginians</i> away where-ever he came.	III 634
4053	2746	253	The <i>Carthaginians</i> desiring assistance of the <i>Egyptians</i> against the <i>Romans</i> , are denied by <i>Ptolemy</i> .	IV 660
4053	2746	253	<i>Aquilius</i> being made proconsul, and going into <i>Sicily</i> , recovers what <i>Hamilcar</i> the <i>Carthaginian</i> general had taken, and drove him quite out of the field ; and besieging <i>Mystratum</i> , reduced it to such straits, that it surrendered to the consul <i>Attilius</i> soon after his arrival ; and both <i>Aquilius</i> and his colleague <i>Cornelius</i> are honoured with triumphs upon their return to <i>Rome</i> , for their extraordinary services.	IV 661
4053	2746	253	The consul <i>Attilius</i> falls into an ambuscade, from which <i>M. Calpurnius Flaminius</i> , with only 300 men, relieved him, but with the loss of all his men, and himself extremely wounded, for which he was rewarded with a crown of gramech. <i>Attilius</i> takes <i>Camerina</i> , and sells all the <i>Carthaginians</i> for slaves ; then he goes to <i>Emma</i> , where the people open their gates to him, and deliver up all the <i>Carthaginians</i> , whom he puts to the sword. <i>Sittana</i> he took by assault, and put the army sent to relieve it to flight. Then he went into <i>Agrigentum</i> , and drove the <i>Carthaginians</i> quite out of the country.	IV 661
4053	2746	253	<i>Sulpicius</i> , the <i>Roman</i> consul and admiral, engages <i>Hannibal</i> the <i>Carthaginian</i> admiral, but they are parted by a storm, which drove both of them into the <i>Sardinian</i> harbours ; the storm abating, <i>Sulpicius</i> surprises, sinks, and takes most of the <i>Carthaginian</i> ships, for which the remainder crucify their admiral. <i>Sulpicius</i> returns to <i>Rome</i> , and is honoured with a triumph.	IV 661
4054	2747	252	<i>Aratus</i> comes to <i>Athens</i> , and prevails upon <i>Diogenes</i> the <i>Macedonian</i> governor to give up the three fortresses, <i>Pyraum</i> , <i>Munichia</i> , and <i>Museum</i> , for 150 talents, towards which he paid 20 out of his own fortune, and then left the <i>Athenians</i> absolutely free, under the protection of the <i>Acheans</i> to guard their freedom.	II 557
4054	2747	352	<i>C. Attilius Regulus</i> , consul for this year, having the command of the <i>Roman</i> fleet, goes with 10 galleys to reconnoitre the <i>Carthaginian</i> fleet, is surrounded, and most of them taken, but with great difficulty he escapes to the remainder of his fleet, with which he attacks the enemy, and routs them, taking 10 galleys and sinking eight, with all their crews, forces the rest to fly to the port of <i>Lipara</i> . Both consuls at their return to <i>Rome</i> are honoured with a triumph ; and <i>Q. Ogulnus</i> is created dictator to preside at the <i>Feræ Latine</i> , now revived upon account of some prodigies that had appeared during the campaign.	IV 662
4055	2748	251	The consuls <i>L. Manlius Vulso</i> and <i>Marus Attilius Regulus</i> , with a fleet of 330 <i>Roman</i> galleys, each manned with 120 soldiers and 300 rowers, engage the <i>Carthaginian</i> fleet, consisting of 360 sail, (and better manned than the <i>Romans</i>) near <i>Heraclea</i> in <i>Sicily</i> , and after an obstinate and very bloody battle the <i>Carthaginians</i> were entirely routed, 30 of their ships being destroyed, and 63 taken	

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			with their crews, and the Romans had 24 sunk. After this the Romans sailed for Carthage, and took Clupea (or Apis) which they fortified, and made a key to Africa, ravaged the country, and returned with immense booty and 20,000 prisoners.		
4055	2748	251	Aspater, in revenge for an affront upon the modesty of his brother, by Agathocles governor of Parthia, &c. gets some friends and murders him, and at last he drove out the Macedonians, and made himself king, &c.	IV	663
4055	2748	251	Theodotus governor of Bactria revolts from Antiochus, and makes himself king, &c.	III	525
4055	2748	251	Elexzer the Jewish high-priest dies, and is succeeded by Manasses, uncle of Simon the Just.	III	525
4056	2749	250	Sicyon, by the persuasion of Aratus becomes a member of the Achaean league.	IV	41
4056	2749	250	Attilius, now proconsul of the Roman army, besieges Adis, or Adda, not far from Carthage, and engages the Carthaginian army, kills 17,000, takes 5000 and 18 elephants: This victory brought the submission of 80 towns to the Romans, of which Utica was one. Then Regulus (Attilius) besieged Tunis, but nine miles from Carthage, and took it; upon which the Numidians entered the territories of the Carthaginians, laid all the country waste, which soon brought a famine in Carthage, the metropolis of the whole country, which Attilius had now invested, and offering conditions of peace too hard for the senate to accept, they put their army under the command of Xanthippus, a Lacedaemonian auxiliary, who engaging the Romans, routs them intirely, cuts off about 30,000, and takes Attilius prisoner, with whom he enters Carthage in triumph, who was treated with all the scorn, &c. that an enraged enemy could invent, and soon after Xanthippus himself was forced to retire to Lacedaemon in disgrace privately.	II	643
4057	2750	249	Manasses the Jewish high-priest dies, and is succeeded by Onias, the son of Simon the Just, who by his avaricious sordid way of behaving himself, had well nigh ruined the whole nation of the Jews.	IV	666
4057	2750	249	The Roman fleet under the consuls Fulvius and Aemilius engage the Carthaginian fleet off cape Hermea, or cape Mercury, and sunk 104 of their ships, took 30, and killed 15,000 men; then proceed to Clupea, where, as soon as landed, they are engaged by the two Hanno's, father and son, whom they defeat, and kill 9000 of their men, but for want of provisions are forced to quit Clupea and Utica, and instead of returning home, they go to the northern coast of Sicily, where the fleet is almost entirely destroyed by a prodigious storm, saving but 80 (and they much shattered) out of 370 sail, losing the crews, army, and riches of Africa which they had taken: This was the greatest loss that Rome had ever yet met with.	IV	41
4058	2751	248	The Romans, after recruiting their fleet and army, send their consuls and proconsuls into Sicily, where the city of Cephaladium, near the mouth of the Himera, was delivered to them by the inhabitants; then besieging Panormus, they reduced the inhabitants to such extremities, as to give 6l. 9s. 2d. per head for their ransom; and those who could not do it, to the number of 30,000, were sold for slaves; but in their return to Rome, the transports that carried the money and spoils were taken by the Carthaginians.	IV	666
4059	2752	247	The Romans make descents upon the eastern coasts of Africa, where they surprize and plunder several towns and villages, and returning with great booty, were overtaken by a violent storm, and lost 160 galleys and a great number of transports; upon which the senate enact, that no more than 50 vessels should be equipped at a time for the future.	IV	667
4060	2753	246	Antiochus, king of Syria and Macedon, makes peace with Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt, and contracts to put away his wife Laodicea, and marry Berenice, Ptolemy's daughter, and settle the crown upon her children.	IV	667
4060	2753	246	The Romans take Himera in Sicily, and afterwards Lipara, by storm, and put most of the inhabitants to the sword.	III	525
4060	2753	246	Tib. Cornucanius was this year made Pontifex Maximus, though a plebeian, who concurred with the consuls and the cenors to punish the profane, irreligious, and disobedient; 13 senators were ignominiously struck off the list, and 400 knights degraded. By the census 297,797 men fit to bear arms were found in Rome.	IV	668
4062	2755	244	The Roman consul Metellus artfully draws Asdrubal the Carthaginian general into a disadvantageous piece of ground, near Panormus in Sicily, then sets upon him, kills 20,000 upon the spot, and many elephants, and takes several, which made his triumph at Rome very remarkably magnificent; but Asdrubal upon his return to Carthage is crucified for his misfortunes.	IV	669
4062	2755	244	Ptolemy Euergetes (or the Beneficent) succeeds his father Ptolemy Philadelphus in the kingdom of Egypt, who is supposed to have died of grief at the death of his beloved wife Arsinoe.	III	637
4062	2755	244	Ptolemy Euergetes king of Egypt takes Seleucia, a famous city 15 miles from Antioch, from the Syrians near the mouth of the Orontes, and puts a strong Egyptian garrison into it.	III	635
4062	2755	244	Conon the mathematician, to appease Ptolemy's wrath against the priests of the Zephyrian Venus, for losing the hair his queen Berenice cut off from her own head as a token of joy for his Syrian victory, points out to him seven stars, near the tail of the lion, declaring them to be Berenice's hair, and which still remain a constellation under that name.	III	639
4062	2755	244	Antiochus Theos, as soon as he heard Ptolemy Philadelphus was dead, removed his daughter Berenice from his bed, and recalled Laodicea and her children, Seleucus Callinicus and Antiochus Hierax. Laodicea first poisons her husband, and then gets her son Seleucus Callinicus proclaimed king of Syria; she then endeavoured to murder Berenice and her son, who fled to Antioch, where she was besieged, taken, and murdered, with all the Egyptians that attended her, before her bro-		

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			ther could come with his army to her relief: But the <i>Assians</i> joining the <i>Egyptians</i> , severely revenge the murder, by conquering most of the provinces, and carrying away 40,000 talents of silver, a prodigious quantity of gold and silver vessels, and 2500 statues, &c.	III	527
4063	2756	243	<i>Demetrius</i> , the son of <i>Antigonus Gonatus</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Macedon</i> , which he enjoyed 10 years, full of much trouble and many wars, &c.	III	474
4063	2756	243	The <i>Carthaginians</i> send the consul <i>Regulus</i> (their prisoner, having sworn him to return) to <i>Rome</i> , with other ambassadors, to treat of a peace; <i>Regulus</i> persuades the <i>Romans</i> to continue the war, for which the <i>Carthaginians</i> put him to death with extreme torments, and the <i>Romans</i> severely revenge his death upon the <i>Carthaginian</i> prisoners.	IV	669
4063	2756	243	<i>Ptolemy</i> king of <i>Egypt</i> , in his return from <i>Syria</i> comes through <i>Jerusalem</i> , and offers sacrifice to the God of <i>Israel</i> .	III	640
4063	2756	243	<i>Agis</i> and <i>Cleombrotus</i> , kings of <i>Sparta</i> , go where the <i>Epbari</i> were sitting, removed them from their seats, and puts others in their stead, and then proposed a cancelling of debts, and an equal distribution of lands; upon which the bonds and obligations for debt were brought in and burnt, &c.	II	627
4063	2756	243	The <i>Carthaginians</i> rally out of <i>Lilybæum</i> in <i>Sicily</i> , where the <i>Romans</i> had long besieged them, and burn all the <i>Roman</i> engines, and destroy all their works, &c. which disaster raised such high disputes in the <i>Roman</i> senate, that they come to blows, and one senator was killed for zealously persuading the rest to conclude a peace.	IV	672
4064	2757	242	The <i>Roman</i> consul <i>Claudius Pulcher</i> , upon hearing the sacred chickens refuse feeding, takes up the coop and throws it and them into the sea, saying, <i>If they wont eat, let them drink</i> ; and then engaging <i>Adherbal</i> , is defeated, with the loss of 90 vessels, 8000 men killed, and 20,000 taken prisoners, without the loss of one <i>Carthaginian</i> : <i>Claudius</i> escaping with 30 galleys, the senate order him to name a dictator; he names <i>Claudius Glycias</i> , (a very mean person, a viator or tipstaff of his own;) this highly affronts all, but <i>Glycias</i> laying down, <i>M. Attilius Catulinus</i> was chosen. The consul <i>Junius Pullus</i> goes with a great fleet towards <i>Lilybæum</i> , but by a mighty storm the whole is intirely destroyed by being shipwreck'd.	IV	674
4064	2757	242	<i>Aratus</i> takes <i>Acro-Corinth</i> by surprize, and <i>Megara</i> , from the <i>Macedonians</i> , and unites them to the <i>Achæans</i> . <i>Trezena</i> , <i>Epidaurus</i> , and <i>Megalopolis</i> , by his persuasion, also join the league, and the <i>Argives</i> , &c.	II	643
4064	2757	242	The consul <i>Junius</i> takes <i>Erix</i> (a strong city situate on the declivity of the mountain <i>Erix</i> , the highest in <i>Sicily</i> except <i>Ætna</i> ;) To secure it he built a fort at the foot of the mountain, and put a garrison of 800 men in it; but <i>Carthalo</i> soon after took it by assault, and put the garrison to the sword, and killed <i>Junius</i> in the defence of it, &c.	IV	674
4465	2758	241	<i>Carthalo</i> , the <i>Carthaginian</i> general, being forced out of <i>Italy</i> , his mercenaries murmured for want of pay, for which he punishes some by transporting them to desolate islands, and others he sent to <i>Carthage</i> , where they were executed, &c. but this severity begat a general hatred, so that <i>Carthalo</i> was recalled, and <i>Hamilcar</i> (surnamed <i>Borcas</i>) sent into <i>Italy</i> in his stead, who first appeased the discontent in the army, and took an immense booty from the <i>Locrians</i> and <i>Brutians</i> , &c.	IV	675
4066	2759	240	Private persons in <i>Rome</i> build and fit out ships that make descents upon the <i>African</i> coasts, and do great mischiefs by ravaging the country, entering into the port of <i>Hippo</i> , firing the ships and houses, and bringing off great booty.	IV	675
4066	2759	240	The <i>Romans</i> and <i>Carthaginians</i> exchange prisoners, and the difference in number is made up by money to the <i>Romans</i> . The <i>Roman</i> citizens appear to be but 251,220 by this year's census.	IV	675
4067	2760	239	<i>Leonidas</i> is restored to his kingdom of <i>Sparta</i> again, and <i>Cleombrotus</i> sentenced to perpetual banishment; and <i>Agis</i> the other king is strangled by order of the <i>Epbari</i> , together with his mother and grandmother, and <i>Leonidas</i> reigned alone.	II	628
4068	2761	238	<i>Leonidas</i> dies, and is succeeded by his son <i>Cleomenes</i> III. in the whole kingdom of <i>Sparta</i> , who enjoyed it 16 years, when he was outed by <i>Antigonus</i> .	II	629
4068	2761	238	<i>Cleomenes</i> king of <i>Sparta</i> , having built a fortress in the territories of the <i>Megalopolitans</i> , occasioned the war called the <i>Cleomenic</i> war.	II	645
4068	2761	238	<i>Claudia</i> , a <i>Roman</i> lady, is forced to appear before the tribes, and fined 25,000 asses of brass, for speaking contemptibly of the <i>Roman</i> populace, with which a chappel was built on the hill <i>Aventinus</i> , dedicated to liberty.	IV	675
4068	2761	238	The <i>Roman</i> privateers gain a considerable victory over the <i>Carthaginian</i> fleet, and are afterwards dashed in pieces by a storm.	IV	676
4068	2761	238	<i>Hamilcar</i> takes the strong city and forts of <i>Erix</i> from the <i>Romans</i> by surprize, and puts all in arms to the sword, and sends the others prisoners to <i>Drepanum</i> .	VI	849
4069	2762	237	The <i>Achæans</i> under <i>Aratus</i> , and <i>Spartans</i> under <i>Cleomenes</i> engage, and the <i>Achæans</i> are defeated; but <i>Aratus</i> rallying part of his troops, goes to <i>Mantineæ</i> , and takes that important place belonging to <i>Sparta</i> ; but the two armies meet again, the <i>Achæans</i> are again terribly beaten under <i>Lysidas</i> .	II	615
4069	2762	237	The <i>Gauls</i> deliver a fort in <i>Erix</i> to the <i>Romans</i> , and are admitted into the <i>Roman</i> service, being the first time the republick took foreign forces into their pay.	IV	676
4070	2763	236	The <i>Romans</i> having chose <i>C. Lutatius Catulus</i> one of this year's consuls, the <i>Pontifex Maximus</i> would not let him exercise the office of a general, because he was high-priest of <i>Mars</i> , upon which a second prætor was chose, one to command in the army, and the other to distribute justice in the city.	IV	677
4070	2763	236	The <i>Romans</i> having by a voluntary contribution built 200 quinqueremes, hired the most skilful of all nations to help to man them; with this fleet the prætor <i>Valerius Falto</i> embarked for <i>Sicily</i> , where, in conjunction with the consul <i>Lutatius</i> ,		

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4070	2763	236	they besieged <i>Drepanum</i> ; but <i>Lutatius</i> being much wounded as he was entering a breach, was carried back to the camp, and the attack given over.	IV 677
4070	2763	236	The <i>Romans</i> attack the <i>Carthaginian</i> fleet, consisting of 400 sail, overcome and defeat it, take 73 ships and their crews, and sink 125, and disperse the rest, then advances to <i>Erix</i> , and cut off 2000 <i>Carthaginians</i> , and so put an end to the first punic war. The consul proposed a peace upon the following terms: 1st. That the <i>Carthaginians</i> should intirely evacuate <i>Sicily</i> : 2d. That they should pay 10 talents of silver yearly for 20 years: 3d. That they should restore all the <i>Roman</i> captives and deserters without ransom, and redeem their own with money: 4. That they should not make war upon <i>Hiero</i> king of <i>Syracuse</i> , or his allies. But the <i>Roman</i> senate would have two new articles added, viz. 1000 talents down, and 220 talents yearly for 10 years, and that the <i>Carthaginians</i> should quit all the little islands about <i>Italy</i> and <i>Sicily</i> , and never come near them with ships of war, or raise mercenaries there. <i>Hamilcar</i> was forced to comply, but went home with a filled hatred of the <i>Romans</i> . The peace was ratified by the solemn sacrifice of a sow, and the mutual oaths of both nations. In this war the <i>Romans</i> lost 700 ships, and the <i>Carthaginians</i> 500.	I 679
4070	2763	236	The disbanded mercenaries of the <i>Carthaginian</i> army revolt for want of their pay, and encamp before <i>Tunis</i> , invite all the city to accede to them, and throw off the <i>Carthaginian</i> yoke, by which means their number is increased to 72000. <i>Guisco</i> , their former general, coming to appease them, is seized and put in chains, and the military chest broke open and divided, the women of the several <i>African</i> cities, furnish <i>Mathos</i> and <i>Spendius</i> (the rebels general) with all their toys and ornaments to make money, &c. besiege <i>Utica</i> and <i>Hippacra</i> , and treat every <i>Carthaginian</i> with great cruelty, &c. that falls into their hands. <i>Hanno</i> goes against them at <i>Utica</i> , engages and defeats them; but being negligent, they rally and fall unexpectedly upon him, take his camp, and all the provision brought for the relief of the city, &c. the like he was guilty of at <i>Gaza</i> , where he twice defeated the enemy, for which he is deposed, and <i>Hamilcar</i> put in his stead, who with only 10000 horse and foot, and 70 elephants, engages <i>Mathos</i> , defeats him, kills 8000 upon the spot, and takes 2000 prisoners: A while after, 2000 <i>Numidians</i> revolting to <i>Hamilcar</i> , he engages the rebels again, and after an obstinate battle intirely routs them, with the slaughter of 10,000 and 4000 prisoners, of whom <i>Hamilcar</i> took so many into his own army as were willing to enter, and the rest he set at liberty. Upon this the rebels put <i>Guisco</i> and 700 <i>Carthaginians</i> to death, &c. <i>Utica</i> and <i>Hippacra</i> join the rebels, and put the <i>Carthaginian</i> garrison to death, consisting of 500 men, and then the rebels went to <i>Carthage</i> , and besieged it: The <i>Carthaginians</i> recal <i>Hanno</i> , and send <i>Hannibal</i> in his stead, into their army under <i>Hamilcar</i> , who so harassed the rebels, that they were forced to raise the siege, and soon after <i>Hamilcar</i> surrounded them upon a mountain, and reduced them to eat one another, when a peace was concluded, that ten of the rebel ringleaders should be delivered to <i>Hamilcar</i> , and that the whole army should be disbanded, every man retiring with a single coat: This agreed to, <i>Hamilcar</i> seized the negotiators, &c. the army not knowing the agreement, fly to arms: <i>Hamilcar</i> surrounds them, and cuts 40,000 of them to pieces; after which scouring the country, most of the revolted cities return to their duty: But <i>Mathos</i> with the remains of the army got into <i>Tunis</i> , where <i>Hannibal</i> and <i>Hamilcar</i> besieged them, and crucified <i>Spendius</i> and the rest of the prisoners near the walls in open view: <i>Mathos</i> makes a sudden sally into <i>Hannibal's</i> quarter, routs them, kills many, and takes many prisoners, and among them <i>Hannibal</i> , whom, after having taken <i>Spendius</i> down from the cross, he put on it in his stead, and thirty <i>Carthaginians</i> round him, who all died in exquisite torture. Many skirmishes afterwards happened, in which the rebels generally were defeated; but at last coming to a general battle, most of them were killed upon the spot, and <i>Mathos</i> and his attendants pursued and taken alive. Upon this the rest of the revolted towns submitted, except <i>Utica</i> and <i>Hippo</i> , which <i>Hamilcar</i> soon reduced, and so put an end to this bloody and destructive war, called the <i>Libian</i> war, after it had lasted three years and a half. <i>Mathos</i> , first adorning the publick triumph, was afterwards put to most exquisite torments, and so died.	VI 864
4070	2763	236	The mercenaries in <i>Sardinia</i> revolt from the <i>Carthaginians</i> , seize upon <i>Boslar</i> , and the garrison in <i>Olbia</i> , and massacre them. <i>Hanno</i> goes against them, and is deserted by his men, who crucify him, and put all the <i>Carthaginians</i> they can get to death: But the inhabitants having drove them out, the <i>Romans</i> assist them, and replace them, forcing the <i>Carthaginians</i> to pay the expence, and a fine of 1200 talents.	VI 864
4070	2763	236	The <i>Falisci</i> having revolted from the <i>Romans</i> , the consuls go against them, and in six days have two pitched battles; in the first both sides were equal, but in the second the <i>Romans</i> entirely defeat the <i>Falisci</i> , kill 1500 on the spot, force them to lay down their arms, and surrender their capital, built on a mountain, which was razed, but they are allowed to build another in the plain; their arms, horses, and half their lands were confiscated; for which the consuls had a triumph at their return to <i>Rome</i> .	IV 679
4070	2763	236	The whole island of <i>Sicily</i> , except the kingdom of <i>Syracuse</i> , is declared a <i>Roman</i> province, and a prætor is sent annually to govern in civil causes, and a quaestor to receive the revenues.	IV 679
4070	2763	236	The <i>Tyber</i> at <i>Rome</i> suddenly overflowed with such violence, as to overturn a great many houses in the lower grounds; and the water stagnated so long in the forum, as to damage the foundations of the houses there; and then a fire broke out in the upper city, and spread to the forum, in both which disasters a prodigious number of people are supposed to have lost their lives; for by this year's census the inhabitants are said to be but 160,000 fit to bear arms.	IV 680

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4071	2764	235	<i>Lucius</i> and <i>Andronicus</i> reform the <i>Roman</i> stage, by introducing the <i>Grecian</i> manner of acting at <i>Rome</i> .	IV	680
4071	2764	235	<i>Archidamus</i> , brother to <i>Agis</i> late king of <i>Sparta</i> , is recalled; but upon his arrival at <i>Sparta</i> is murdered.	II	629
4071	2764	235	<i>Cleomenes</i> returns with part of his army to <i>Sparta</i> , seizes the <i>Epheori</i> at supper, kills four of them, proscribes 80 citizens of the greatest rank, then makes proclamation for an equal distribution of lands, &c. raises a great army, and disciplines them in a new method, then associates his brother <i>Eurildes</i> in the kingdom, and ordains that there shall be two kings for the future, as used to be theretofore; prohibited all luxury, both of furniture and living, in his own court, and throughout the kingdom, and reigned with the greatest oeconomy, justice, and affability.	II	630
4072	2765	234	<i>Cleomenes</i> king of <i>Sparta</i> being attacked by <i>Aratus</i> the <i>Achaean</i> general, marches into the territories of <i>Achaia</i> , and takes many cities from them, but treats the inhabitants with great mildness, &c.	II	631
4072	2765	234	<i>Ennius</i> the poet born at <i>Rudis</i> , a city in <i>Calabria</i> near <i>Tarentum</i> , the inventor of hexameter verse among the <i>Latins</i> , though himself a <i>Greek</i> ; the life of <i>Scipio Africanus</i> was his masterpiece; he also wrote the history of <i>Rome</i> in 18 books in verse.	IV	680
4072	2765	234	<i>Hamilcar</i> the <i>Carthaginian</i> general swears his son <i>Hannibal</i> , a boy of but nine years old, by laying his hand upon the altar, that he would be an eternal enemy to <i>Rome</i> .	VI	685
4073	2766	233	The <i>Italic Gauls</i> , called the <i>Boii</i> , join the <i>Falisci</i> , and defeat the consul <i>Q. Valerius Falto</i> , and kill and take 3500 of his men; but <i>Valerius</i> falls upon the enemy again, and killed 14,000, and took 2000 prisoners; and <i>Sempronius</i> the other consul gained a victory over the <i>Ligurians</i> : Then <i>Sempronius</i> goes into <i>Sardinia</i> , obliges the <i>Carthaginians</i> to resign that island, pay the expence of this expedition, and a fine of 1200 talents.	IV	682
4073	2766	233	<i>Antigonus</i> , surnamed <i>Dofon</i> , brother of <i>Demetrius</i> late king of <i>Macedon</i> , being appointed tutor and guardian to <i>Philip</i> the son of <i>Antigonus</i> , now but two years old, so ingratiates himself with the people and the widow, whom he married, that he is soon after saluted by the name of king, in which character he performed many extraordinary actions, as appears by his life.	III	477
4074	2767	232	The consul <i>Cornelius</i> engages the <i>Ligurians</i> , kills 24,000 of them, and takes 5000 prisoners, for which he is honoured with a triumph upon his return to <i>Rome</i> .	IV	682
4075	2768	231	The <i>Boii</i> make a truce with the <i>Romans</i> , and engage their countrymen the <i>Transalpine Gauls</i> , who came in great numbers to join them, kills their two generals or kings, <i>Alys</i> and <i>Galatius</i> , and a vast number of men, and put the rest to flight, for fear they should dispossess them of their <i>Italian</i> habitations; upon which <i>Lentulus</i> the <i>Roman</i> consul subdues both the <i>Boii</i> and <i>Ligurians</i> , &c.	IV	681
4075	2768	231	The <i>Corficans</i> being incited by the <i>Carthaginians</i> revolt, and <i>Claudius Glycias</i> being sent with a <i>Roman</i> squadron, makes a peace; but the consul <i>Lentulus</i> refuses to confirm it, and reduces the island by force of arms: <i>Claudius</i> is delivered to the <i>Corficans</i> , who send him to <i>Rome</i> , where he is put to death, and then dragged by an iron hook from the <i>Scala Gemonia</i> , and then thrown into the <i>Tiber</i> .	IV	682
4075	2768	231	<i>Arfaces</i> having established himself king of <i>Parthia</i> , engages, overthrows, and takes <i>Seleucus</i> king of <i>Syria</i> his master prisoner. The day of this victory was annually observed by the <i>Parthians</i> for many ages afterwards with great solemnity.	III	529
4076	2769	230	<i>T. Manlius Torquatus</i> the <i>Roman</i> consul recovered <i>Sardinia</i> that had revolted, and made it tributary. <i>Rome</i> being now universally at peace, the temple of <i>Janus</i> was shut.	IV	683
4077	2770	229	The <i>Sardinians</i> , <i>Corficans</i> , and <i>Ligurians</i> league together, and revolt from <i>Rome</i> . The consul <i>Corvilius</i> first reduces the <i>Corficans</i> , and then defeats and subdues the <i>Sardinians</i> , &c. The censors finding the number of <i>Rome's</i> inhabitants decrease, obliged all the citizens to swear they would marry only with a view of getting children: This occasioned <i>Corvilius Ruga</i> , a man of distinction to divorce his wife, whom he passionately loved, upon account of her being barren, and marry another: This is the first instance of a divorce since the foundation of <i>Rome</i> ; which introduced marriage contracts, to secure the womens portions in case of a divorce, &c. This year the poet <i>Nævius</i> introduced the first regular comedy after the <i>Greek</i> manner on the <i>Latin</i> stage.	IV	683
4077	2770	229	<i>Hamilcar</i> the <i>Carthaginian</i> general goes with an army into <i>Spain</i> , and fixes his head-quarters at <i>Gades</i> , (now <i>Cadiz</i>) where he continued nine years, and gained great advantages, and took abundance of spoil, which he divided among his troops and the great men at <i>Carthage</i> ; but at last was slain in battle; with abundance of his men; upon which <i>Asdrubal</i> his son-in-law is chose general in his stead.	VI	867
4077	2770	229	<i>Seleucus Callinicus</i> , fits up a mighty fleet, and goes to recover what <i>Ptolemy</i> had taken from him in <i>Syria</i> ; but a violent storm destroys almost all of it, himself and few more escaping with great difficulty; however, the <i>Syrians</i> pitying him, many of them voluntarily submit: He raises a great army, and engages <i>Ptolemy</i> , but is intirely defeated, and flies to <i>Antioch</i> , where promising his brother <i>Antiochus</i> the <i>Lesser Asia</i> , he prepares an army to assist him, upon which <i>Ptolemy</i> makes a truce for ten years.	III	528
4078	2771	228	The consul <i>Fabius</i> drove the revolted <i>Ligurians</i> out of the plain country, and forced them to shelter themselves among the <i>Alps</i> ; and <i>Pomponius</i> the other consul gaining considerable advantages over the <i>Sardinians</i> , is honoured with a triumph.	IV	684
4078	2771	228	A new tribunal of justice established among the <i>Romans</i> , called the <i>Centum Viri</i> , though their true number was 105, who were divided into four courts of chambers, under whose cognizance came proscriptions, guardianships, last-wills, in-		

heritances,

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			heritances, &c. In future times these courts consisted of 130 persons, but still bore the name of <i>Centum Viri</i> .	IV	684
4079	2772	227	<i>Seleucus</i> king of <i>Syria</i> , having been prisoner in <i>Parthia</i> four years, dies by a fall from his horse, as he was riding to take the air.	III	529
4079	2772	227	<i>Seleucus</i> (surnamed <i>Ceraunus</i> , or the thunderer) succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Syria</i> , who after a disagreeable reign of three years was poisoned.	III	530
4080	2773	226	The consuls <i>M. Pomponius Matro</i> and <i>C. Papirius Maf</i> finished the conquest of <i>Sardinia</i> and <i>Corfica</i> , and reduced them to a Roman province. <i>Papirius</i> being refused a triumph, marched at the head of his victorious army, crowned with myrtle instead of laurel, to the temple of <i>Jupiter Latialis</i> , on the hill of <i>Alba</i> , in a triumphant manner, which method was afterwards followed by many others.	IV	685
4081	2774	225	<i>Teuta</i> , queen of <i>Illyricum</i> , having commissioned her subjects to pirate upon all ships that came upon her coasts, the Romans send ambassadors to her to demand satisfaction for themselves and allies; the queen answers haughtily, they reply, and she orders them to be put to death; which being done, the Romans order a fleet and army to go and revenge the affront: upon which the queen submits, denies the fact, and offers to deliver up the murderers; but in the mean time her fleet having got an advantage over the <i>Albani</i> , and taken <i>Corfica</i> , &c. she forgets to perform her promise.	IV	685
4082	2775	224	The Romans equip a fleet of 100 galleys, and raise an army of 20,000 foot, besides a body of horse, and send them under the command of the consuls <i>Cn. Fulvius Centumalus</i> , and <i>P. Posthumius Albinus</i> : Upon <i>Fulvius</i> 's coming with his fleet to <i>Corcyra</i> , <i>Demetrius</i> of <i>Pharos</i> , governor for queen <i>Teuta</i> , puts the city and island into his hands, and persuades the inhabitants of <i>Appollonia</i> to drive out the <i>Illyrian</i> garrison, and submit to the Romans. Upon this <i>Posthumius</i> penetrates into the heart of the queen's dominions, while the fleet cruised along the coast, and the <i>Andyean</i> , <i>Parthini</i> , and <i>Atintanes</i> submit to the Romans; after which <i>Posthumius</i> took <i>Nutria</i> , a place of great strength, though with great loss, and 40 <i>Illyrian</i> vessels laden with booty in their return home.	IV	686
4082	2775	224	Upon the death of <i>Seleucus</i> king of <i>Syria</i> , the army and several provinces offer the crown of <i>Syria</i> to <i>Antiochus</i> , but he generously refused it for <i>Antiochus</i> , the brother of <i>Seleucus</i> , a youth of 15 years of age, who, for his illustrious actions, was surnamed the Great.	III	530
4083	2776	223	<i>Molo</i> and <i>Alexander</i> (two brothers, governors of <i>Media</i> and <i>Persia</i>) revolt, and set up for themselves. They first defeat <i>Zeno</i> and <i>Theodotus</i> , <i>Antiochus</i> 's generals, and afterwards in a second engagement cut off <i>Xenætus</i> and his whole army, and thereby acquired the province of <i>Babylonia</i> and all <i>Mesopotamia</i> without opposition.	III	531
4083	2776	223	<i>Epigenes</i> , general of <i>Antiochus</i> , is treacherously accused, and falsely put to death, by <i>Hermias</i> the king's prime minister.	III	532
4083	2776	223	Queen <i>Teuta</i> sues for peace, but the Romans refuse to treat with her; but make peace with the young king upon severe terms. She lays down the regency, and <i>Demetrius</i> succeeds her in it.	IV	686
4083	2776	223	Rome growing jealous of her rival <i>Carthage</i> , upon account of her great acquisitions in Spain by <i>Asdrubal</i> their general, and his building the famous city of <i>Carthage</i> , to secure his conquests they agree, that <i>Carthage</i> should not extend her conquests beyond the river <i>Iberus</i> , and that <i>Saguntum</i> (a colony of <i>Zacynthian</i>) should remain free.	VI	686
4083	2776	223	<i>Cleomenes</i> king of <i>Sparta</i> invades <i>Achaia</i> , takes <i>Pellene</i> by surprize, then masters <i>Phœæon</i> and <i>Pentelcon</i> , and <i>Argos</i> , and by this means raises <i>Sparta</i> to greater power than it ever had.	II	631
4084	2777	222	<i>Cleomenes</i> king of <i>Sparta</i> engages <i>Antigonus</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> , &c. at <i>Sellasia</i> , where, through the superiority of the enemies troops and the treachery of <i>Damoteles</i> , he is defeated, with a vast slaughter of his mercenaries, and almost all his own troops, having but 200 left out of 6000; after which he retired to <i>Egypt</i> , where <i>Ptolomy Evergetes</i> entertained him kindly: In him ended the <i>Heracleian</i> race of <i>Spartan</i> kings, and <i>Sparta</i> fell under the government of <i>Antigonus</i> .	II	632
4084	2777	222	<i>Antiochus</i> king of <i>Syria</i> goes against the rebel <i>Molo</i> , governor of <i>Media</i> , overcomes his army, and pursues him; <i>Molo</i> for fear of falling into the king's hands kills himself, as does also several of his attendants: <i>Neolaus</i> , or <i>Nicholas</i> his brother, escaping, fled to his other brother <i>Alexander</i> , the rebel governor of <i>Persia</i> , who upon hearing of the defeat, &c. of his brother <i>Molo</i> , they first killed their mother, afterwards their wives and children, and then dispatched themselves. The rebel provinces returned to their duty, and the king was established in his authority.	III	534
4085	2778	221	Two Greeks, a man and a woman, and two Gauls, a man and a woman, are buried alive at the Ox-market in <i>Rome</i> , by command of the consuls, to appease the superstition of the commonalty.	IV	687
4085	2778	221	<i>Asdrubal</i> , the famous <i>Carthaginian</i> general, after having done his country the greatest services for eight years successively with extraordinary success, was publicly murdered by a Gaul, whose master he had put to death; and <i>Hannibal</i> succeeded him as general of the <i>Carthaginian</i> army in Spain, with universal applause.	VI	686
4085	2778	221	<i>Antigonus</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> having engaged the <i>Illyrians</i> , &c. who had in his absence invaded <i>Macedon</i> , behaved with so much wisdom and valour as gained him a complete victory; but overstraining himself in the fight, died soon after of a spitting of blood.	III	477
4085	2778	221	<i>Philip</i> , son of <i>Antigonus</i> , succeeds his uncle in the kingdom of <i>Macedon</i> , where he reigned more than 30 years; but behaving disagreeably at last fell into the hatred of his people, and a slave to <i>Rome</i> , who obliged him to send his son <i>Deme-</i>		

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4086	2779	220	<i>trius</i> a hostage, to deliver up his ships of war, pay 1000 talents, and suffer many provinces to be clipped from his kingdom.	III	478
4086	2779	220	<i>Hannibal</i> conquers the <i>Olcades</i> , a people near the <i>Iberus</i> , and taking <i>Althæa</i> their capital, the rest submit: <i>Hannibal</i> divides the spoil among his soldiers, and pays them all their arrears, which fixed him immoveably in their affections.	VI	869
4086	2779	220	The <i>Romans</i> having raised an army of 274,000 <i>Romans</i> , and 526,000 auxiliaries, the consul <i>Attilius Regulus</i> was sent with a part of it into <i>Sardinia</i> ; and the other consul <i>L. Æmilius Papus</i> against the <i>Gauls</i> , who invaded the <i>Roman</i> territories with an army of 200,000 men, commanded by the two kings <i>Concolitanus</i> and <i>Aneroestus</i> , who harassed the country terribly in their passage, and took great spoil; and then engaging an army commanded by a <i>Roman</i> prætor, killed 6000 of his men, and obliged the rest to fly in confusion to a neighbouring hill, which the <i>Gauls</i> invetted, and reduce them to great straits. The consul <i>Attilius</i> engaging the enemy, was killed, and his head was carried through the enemies files stuck upon a lance; but at last the <i>Gauls</i> were defeated, with the slaughter of 40,000, and 10,000 taken prisoners, among whom was <i>Concolitanus</i> : <i>Aneroestus</i> escaped to a neighbouring village, where he killed himself, and most of his officers did the same: Then <i>Æmilius</i> plundered the country of the <i>Boii</i> , and when his soldiers were loaded with plunder, he marched to <i>Rome</i> , where his triumph was as pompous as his victory was great.	IV	688
4086	2779	220	<i>Antiochus</i> being falsely accused of entertaining treacherous designs against king <i>Antiochus</i> , after he had taken from <i>Attalus</i> king of <i>Pergamus</i> what he had wrested from <i>Syria</i> , in his own defence proclaims himself king of <i>Asia</i> , &c. where he was governor.	III	535
4086	2779	220	<i>Antiochus</i> besieges and takes <i>Seleucia</i> from <i>Ptolemy</i> king of <i>Egypt</i> , restores the inhabitants to their antient privileges, and uses them with great humanity.	III	536
4087	2780	219	<i>Theodotus</i> , general for <i>Ptolemy</i> , having been ill used, out of revenge delivers up the cities of <i>Tyre</i> and <i>Ptolemais</i> , the magazines, and 40 sail of ships to <i>Antiochus</i> .	III	536
4087	2780	219	<i>Cleomenes</i> king of <i>Sparta</i> is shut up in prison at <i>Alexandria</i> , and failing in an attempt to get his liberty, &c. himself and friends kill one another; upon which <i>Ptolemy</i> ordered his body to be flead, and hung up on a cross, and sentences his mother <i>Cratiselea</i> , his children, &c. to death.	III	644
4087	2780	219	The <i>Spartans</i> revolt from the <i>Macedonians</i> ; but upon the arrival of an army under <i>Philip</i> the son of <i>Antigonus</i> , they submit.	II	634
4087	2780	219	The <i>Roman</i> consuls are hindered from passing the <i>Po</i> , and following the <i>Gauls</i> into their own country, by a great plague that raged in <i>Rome</i> and in the army.	IV	688
4087	2780	219	<i>Hannibal</i> besieges and takes <i>Salmantica</i> , and after a very resolute defence <i>Arbucala</i> : The <i>Olcades</i> and <i>Carpetani</i> , to the number of 10,000, endeavour to fall upon him; but he crossing the <i>Tagus</i> in the night, they pursue him irregularly, and are most of them destroyed in the water, &c. Then <i>Hannibal</i> lays the country of the <i>Carpetani</i> waste, upon which they all submit.	VI	870
4087	2780	219	The <i>Carthaginians</i> besiege <i>Saguntum</i> , with 150,000 foot and 20,000 horse, which the inhabitants defend with incredible bravery, by frequent sallies, and drive the <i>Carthaginians</i> away with prodigious slaughter, when they attempted the place by storm; but a small time after they take the city by storm, and put most of the inhabitants to the sword, &c.	VII	5
4088	2781	218	The <i>Ephori</i> murdered by the <i>Spartans</i> , who choose <i>Agepolis</i> and <i>Lycurgus</i> to be their kings: <i>Lycurgus</i> drove out <i>Agepolis</i> ; <i>Cbilo</i> conspires against him, murders the <i>Ephori</i> , and forces <i>Lycurgus</i> to fly; but <i>Cbilo</i> not being beloved, was obliged to retire to <i>Macedon</i> , and <i>Lycurgus</i> returned and reigned many years.	II	635
4088	2781	218	<i>Antiochus</i> defeats <i>Nicholaus</i> the <i>Egyptian</i> general, takes many cities, and some provinces, and then winters in <i>Ptolemais</i> with his army.	III	538
4089	2782	217	<i>Theodotus</i> the <i>Ætolian</i> going in the night into <i>Ptolemy's</i> camp, went to his tent and killed his physician, thinking it was the king, but <i>Ptolemy</i> that night lay elsewhere, and so escaped.	III	533
4089	2782	217	<i>Antiochus</i> and <i>Ptolemy</i> come to engagement, wherein <i>Antiochus</i> is defeated, with the loss of 10,000 killed and 4000 taken prisoners; upon which he is forced to withdraw to <i>Antioch</i> , and quit all his conquests.	III	538
4089	2782	217	<i>Ptolemy</i> being addressed and congratulated by all the cities of <i>Cela-Syria</i> , that through force had submitted to <i>Antiochus</i> , goes a progress through them, restoring all to their former privileges, comes to <i>Jerusalem</i> , offers sacrifice to the God of <i>Israel</i> , and bestows great gifts upon the temple, but attempts to enter the holy of holies, and is struck with a sort of madness and terror, upon which he repents it highly, and uses the <i>Jews</i> ill, &c.	III	539
4089	2782	217	The <i>Romans</i> deny peace to the <i>Insubres</i> , cross the <i>Po</i> , and besiege <i>Acerra</i> , whereupon the <i>Gauls</i> cross the <i>Po</i> , and with an army of 90,000 men invell <i>Calssidium</i> ; upon which <i>Marcellus</i> the consul comes with a detachment to relieve the place; they offer to attack him; both armies are ready, when <i>Viridomarus</i> , the <i>Gaulish</i> king, challenges <i>Marcellus</i> to a single combat, which he accepts, and kills him, and afterwards routs the whole army. While this was doing, <i>Scipio</i> the other consul took <i>Acerra</i> , <i>Mediolanum</i> , &c. and so all <i>Italy</i> from the <i>Alps</i> to the <i>Ionian</i> sea became <i>Roman</i> provinces. <i>Marcellus</i> is decreed an extraordinary triumph at his return to <i>Rome</i> , and carries the rich armour and spoils of <i>Viridomarus</i> , and dedicated the 3d and last <i>Opimia Spolia</i> to <i>Jupiter Feretrius</i> ; a gold cup was sent to <i>Apollo</i> at <i>Delfbos</i> , and great presents to <i>Hiero</i> king of <i>Syracuse</i> .	IV	650
4089	2782	217	The <i>Romans</i> having crossed the <i>Po</i> , engage the <i>Gauls</i> , kill 9000, and take 17000 prisoners, and thereby obtain a compleat victory.	IV	689
4089	2782	217	<i>Ptolomy Philopater</i> succeeds his father <i>Euergetes</i> in the kingdom of <i>Egypt</i> , murders his brother <i>Magos</i> , and then gives himself up to all manner of vicious living, &c.	III	642

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4089	2782	217	<i>Antiochus</i> king of <i>Syria</i> besieges and carries by assault the city of <i>Silicia</i> , (then held by the <i>Egyptians</i>) treats the inhabitants with the utmost humanity, and restored them to their ancient privileges.	III	556
4090	2783	216	<i>Antiochus</i> cedes <i>Cele-Syria</i> to <i>Ptolemy</i> , and concludes a peace with him.	III	555
4090	2783	216	The <i>Istrians</i> having taken some <i>Roman</i> ships, the consuls <i>M. Minutius Rufus</i> and <i>P. Cornelius Scipio Afina</i> go against them, and reduce all <i>Istria</i> , but with the loss of much blood on both sides.	IV	90
4091	2784	215	A census being taken at <i>Rome</i> , the number of <i>Roman</i> citizens fit to bear arms are found to be 272,213.	IV	61
4091	2784	215	<i>Demetrius</i> of <i>Pharos</i> , whom the <i>Romans</i> had appointed governor of <i>Illyricum</i> , acts against their orders, and sets up for himself, persuading the <i>Aintanes</i> also to revolt, and also sent 50 ships of war to pillage the <i>Cyclades</i> . The <i>Romans</i> send an army against him, who take <i>Dimalum</i> , a city he imagined impregnable, in seven days: They then go to <i>Pharos</i> with a large fleet, which they take, plunder, and raze, and <i>Demetrius</i> escapes to <i>Macedon</i> . The consuls at their return to <i>Rome</i> are accused of keeping the spoil for their own use, &c. <i>L. Æmilius Paulus</i> is acquitted; but <i>M. Livius Salinator</i> is condemned; upon which he retires to his country house, and lives private.	IV	61
4091	2784	215	This year the art of surgery was introduced into <i>Rome</i> , by one <i>Archagathus</i> a <i>Pe-lopontnesian</i> .	IV	61
4092	2785	214	The second punic or <i>Carthaginian</i> war breaks out. The <i>Roman</i> and <i>Syracusan</i> fleets engage the <i>Carthaginian</i> fleet, and defeat them: take seven ships, kill abundance of men, and take 1700 prisoners, with a very small loss.	IV	63
4092	2785	214	<i>Hannibal</i> marching from <i>Spain</i> to <i>Italy</i> , went about 1000 <i>English</i> miles in five months and a half, and lost by sickness, desertion, fatigue, and various engagements 30,000 foot, and 3000 horse, having upon a review in the fruitful plain of <i>Insubria</i> no more than 26,000 effective men. The <i>Taurini</i> refusing to conclude a treaty with him, he enters their territories, and takes their capital by storm, and put all to the sword that made any resistance; upon which all the <i>Gauls</i> surrender at discretion. Soon after <i>Hannibal</i> and <i>Scipio</i> engage, and after a very stubborn fight the <i>Romans</i> are routed, the consul being wounded, and the greatest part of the army cut off; the rest fly precipitately. Upon this the <i>Gauls</i> join <i>Hannibal</i> , recruit his army, and give him all manner of necessaries.	IV	64
4092	2785	214	The <i>Romans</i> and <i>Carthaginians</i> engage on the banks of the <i>Trebia</i> , where the <i>Romans</i> are beaten with great slaughter, &c. A small time after <i>Hannibal</i> takes a small city of <i>Insubria</i> , called <i>Vidunuvia</i> , and commits most monstrous cruelties upon the garrison and inhabitants.	IV	70
4092	2785	214	<i>Hannibal</i> marches his army through marshy ground, where for the space of four days and nights they were in mud and water up to the thighs, during which time many of his men and most of his horses die with cold, and himself loses one of his eyes, but at last gets into <i>Hetruria</i> .	IV	70
4092	2785	214	<i>Cneius Scipio</i> , brother to the consul <i>P. Cornelius Scipio</i> , goes into <i>Spain</i> with an army of <i>Romans</i> , &c. and reduces all the country from the <i>Pyrenees</i> to the <i>Iberus</i> , then engages and entirely routs the <i>Carthaginians</i> under the command of <i>Hanno</i> , whom he takes prisoner, together with <i>Indibilis</i> , a <i>Spanish</i> prince intirely devoted to the <i>Carthaginians</i> ; their camp was forced, 6000 slain, and 2000 taken prisoners; all the heavy baggage was taken, and many of the <i>Spanish</i> nations conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with <i>Scipio</i> .	VII	20
4092	2785	214	<i>Achæus</i> , after having sustained the siege of <i>Antiochus</i> and <i>Attalus</i> king of <i>Pergamus</i> above a year in <i>Sardis</i> , was betrayed into the hands of <i>Antiochus</i> , by the treachery of two <i>Cretans</i> . <i>Achæus</i> is put to death, and all <i>Asia</i> submits to <i>Antiochus</i> .	III	541
4092	2785	214	<i>Antiochus</i> drives <i>Arfaces</i> out of <i>Media</i> , which he had taken from <i>Antiochus</i> while he was employed in <i>Egypt</i> .	III	541
4092	2785	214	<i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> forces the <i>Ætolians</i> to make peace upon very disadvantageous terms.	II	70
4093	2786	213	<i>Antiochus</i> gains great advantages over <i>Arfaces</i> in <i>Parthia</i> and <i>Hircania</i> , but at last peace is made between them, upon condition that <i>Arfaces</i> shall assist <i>Antiochus</i> in reducing all the revolted provinces, except <i>Parthia</i> and <i>Hircania</i> .	III	542
4093	2786	213	The <i>Romans</i> under the rash conduct of the consul <i>Flaminius</i> are drawn into an ambush, where 15,000 are killed, and <i>Flaminius</i> himself, and 6000 taken prisoners; and of those that escaped most of them died of their wounds.	IV	65
4093	2786	213	<i>Hannibal</i> sends <i>Adherbal</i> after 6000 <i>Romans</i> that had escaped from the late defeat, who surrender upon condition of giving them their lives and liberty; but <i>Hannibal</i> orders all the <i>Romans</i> to be put in chains, and sets the auxiliaries at liberty, declaring he fought only against <i>Rome</i> . The consul <i>Servilius</i> having sent a detachment of 4000 <i>Romans</i> to reinforce his colleague, they come too late, and 2000 are killed and the rest surrender.	IV	70
4093	2786	213	The <i>Romans</i> raise <i>Fabius Maximus</i> (surnamed <i>Verrucosus</i>) to the power of dictator, but call him pro-dictator, as not being chose in the ordinary way; and also named <i>Minucius Rufus</i> for his general of the horse. <i>Fabius</i> consulting the <i>Sybilline</i> books, is told the present calamities are for the non-performance of a vow of <i>Aulus Cornelius</i> to <i>Mars</i> , to sacrifice all the pigs, lambs, kids, and calves that should be brought forth in one spring, viz. from 1st <i>March</i> to 1st <i>May</i> , called <i>Ver Sacrum</i> : This vow being renewed, and others made, he goes to head the army <i>Servilius</i> had commanded, to which he added two new legions, and appoints the city of <i>Tibur</i> for the rendezvous, from whence he sent order to the country people to burn their houses, &c. He only watched and followed <i>Hannibal</i> , harassed his rear, and took all advantages. The senate call him home, and make him general of the horse his equal, who venturing upon a battle, is defeated and surrounded by <i>Hannibal</i> ; <i>Fabius</i> saves him from being cut to pieces, and drives away the enemy with great slaughter.	IV	703

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4093	2786	213	The <i>Illyretes</i> in <i>Spain</i> , notwithstanding they had given <i>Scipio</i> hostages for their fidelity, declare for the <i>Carthaginians</i> . <i>Scipio</i> invests their capital city <i>Athania</i> , and takes it, pardons the people, and takes fresh hostages, after exacting a good sum of money from them. While this was doing he cut off 12000 <i>Auge-naians</i> , who came to their assistance : Soon after the Roman and <i>Carthaginian</i> fleets engage ; the <i>Romans</i> force the <i>Carthaginians</i> in the mouth of the <i>Iberus</i> , killed abundance of seamen and marines, and carried off 35 gallees.	VII	27
4093	2786	213	After the naval defeat, <i>Scipio</i> advancing to <i>Hmofa</i> took it by storm, and razed it ; then makes a descent into <i>Africa</i> , ravages all about <i>Carthage</i> , burning houses up to the walls and haven, and returned loaded with spoil ; then lands in the island <i>Ebusus</i> , now <i>Ywica</i> , plundered it, and burnt some streets in the capital city ; upon this 120 different cantons of the <i>Spaniards</i> submit to <i>Rome</i> , who afterwards overthrew <i>Asdrubal</i> twice, kill him 15,000 men, and take 4000 prisoners, and three fortresses by assault.	VII	27
4093	2786	213	<i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> besieges and takes <i>Thebis</i> , or <i>Phthiotis</i> , and after having plundered the town, and sold the inhabitants, re-peopled it with a colony of <i>Macedonians</i> , changing its name into <i>Philippolis</i> .	II	662
4094	2787	212	<i>Hannibal</i> having fixed a price upon his prisoners, which the <i>Romans</i> refusing to pay, part he sent to <i>Carthage</i> , and the remainder he made gladiators of, forcing even relations to fight together for the diversion of his army. <i>Capua</i> surrenders to <i>Hannibal</i> ; they kill the <i>Roman</i> garrison, &c.	IV	714
4094	2787	212	<i>Hannibal</i> sends his brother <i>Mago</i> to acquaint the senate at <i>Carthage</i> , that in six pitched battles he had killed 200,000 <i>Romans</i> , and taken 50,000 prisoners ; and that <i>Apulia</i> , <i>Bruti</i> , <i>Lucania</i> , and <i>Campania</i> had submitted to <i>Carthage</i> , and presented them with three bushels of rings taken from the <i>Roman</i> knights.	IV	715
4094	2787	212	The two <i>Scipios</i> in <i>Spain</i> engage and entirely defeat <i>Asdrubal</i> , and thereby prevent the <i>Carthaginians</i> in <i>Spain</i> joining <i>Hannibal</i> in <i>Italy</i> .	IV	715
4094	2787	212	The dictator <i>Marcellus</i> sallies out upon <i>Hannibal</i> , now besieging <i>Nola</i> , and cuts off 5000 of his men, and drives all away in confusion.	IV	716
4094	2787	212	<i>Hannibal</i> after a long siege takes <i>Casilinum</i> , and obliges each freeman to pay seven ounces of gold for his redemption, and then takes <i>Petilia</i> , after an obstinate defence.	IV	717
4094	2787	212	<i>M. Fabius Buteo</i> is made dictator at <i>Rome</i> , to name new senators to supply the place of those killed, &c. and names 177 to the people's satisfaction, and then lays down his dictatorship.	IV	718
4094	2787	212	The <i>Romans</i> and <i>Carthaginians</i> engage at <i>Cannæ</i> , a small city in <i>Apulia</i> on the banks of the <i>Aufidus</i> ; the <i>Romans</i> are entirely routed, and the consul <i>Emilius</i> , the two proconsuls <i>Servilius</i> and <i>Attilius</i> , two military quæstors, 29 legionary tribunes, 80 senators, and 45 soldiers are killed, and about 34,000 escaped in the night to <i>Canusium</i> . <i>Hannibal</i> is said to lose but 4000 <i>Gauls</i> , 1500 <i>Africans</i> and <i>Spaniards</i> , and 2000 horse.	IV	711
4094	2787	212	<i>Aratus</i> the <i>Achean</i> prætor is poisoned by order of <i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> .	II	665
4094	2787	212	<i>Ptolemy Philopater</i> , king of <i>Egypt</i> , reverses the former decrees that gave great privileges to the <i>Jews</i> at <i>Alexandria</i> , and uses them cruelly, putting many to death, and exposing a great number of them to be destroyed by 500 elephants, from which they are miraculously preserved, which so affected <i>Ptolemy</i> , that he ordered all in chains and prison to be released, and restored them to all their former privileges, and reversed all his severe decrees.	III	685
4095	2788	211	The consul <i>Posthumus Albinus</i> and all his army are cut off by the <i>Boii</i> , in a vast forest through which he was obliged to pass.	IV	718
4095	2788	211	The consul <i>Sempronius</i> engages the revolted <i>Campanians</i> , kills their general <i>Alfus</i> with 2000 soldiers, and puts the rest to flight, and then retires to <i>Cumæ</i> , where <i>Hannibal</i> besieges him, but after losing 1300 men, is forced to raise the siege. The other consul <i>Marcellus</i> engages <i>Hannibal</i> , kills him 5000 men, takes 600 prisoners, 19 standards, and two elephants : Upon this 1270 horse revolt from <i>Hannibal</i> to <i>Marcellus</i> .	IV	719
4095	2788	211	The <i>Roman</i> prætor <i>Manlius Torquatus</i> defeats the <i>Sardinians</i> , who had revolted, and a <i>Carthaginian</i> army under <i>Asdrubal</i> , killed 12,000, took <i>Asdrubal</i> , <i>Hanno</i> and <i>Mago</i> , his chief officers, prisoners, with many soldiers.	IV	720
4095	2788	211	The <i>Romans</i> and <i>Ætolians</i> sign a peace, which was concluded two years before.	II	703
4095	2788	211	<i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> twice defeats the <i>Ætolians</i> , under the command of <i>Pyræus</i> in conjunction with <i>Attalus</i> king of <i>Pergamas</i> .	II	666
4096	2789	210	<i>Sempronius</i> with an army of <i>Volones</i> (or slaves) engages <i>Hanno</i> the <i>Carthaginian</i> , overthrows him, and out of 182,00 horse and foot, only 2200 escaped ; and <i>Marcellus</i> defeated <i>Hannibal</i> , killing him 2000 men with the loss of only 400 <i>Romans</i> . Then <i>Marcellus</i> besieges and takes <i>Casilinum</i> , and puts all to the sword that made any resistance : Then <i>Fabius</i> lays waste great part of <i>Campania</i> , and killed and took 25,000 men.	IV	722
4096	2789	210	<i>Hiero</i> king of <i>Syracuse</i> by will bequeaths the kingdom to his grandson <i>Hieronymus</i> , who being but 15 years old, he appointed him 15 guardians ; and now, being 90 years old, he dies in the 54th year of his reign, exceedingly bewailed and beloved by all his subjects, who honoured him with a pompous funeral.	III	100
4096	2789	210	<i>Hieronymus</i> king of <i>Syracuse</i> becomes vain, debauched, cruel, and exceedingly vicious, joins the <i>Carthaginians</i> , and breaks from the <i>Romans</i> : His subjects hate him, conspire against and kill him in the street, where they leave his mangled carcass to rot ; and soon after all the royal race were also dispatched.	III	106
4096	2789	210	<i>Marcellus</i> the <i>Roman</i> consul goes against the revolted <i>Leontines</i> , and takes the city by assault, and puts 2000 <i>Roman</i> deserters to death, but restores the inhabitants both their goods and their liberty.	III	109

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4096	2789	210	<i>Hippocrates and Epycides</i> (two <i>Carthaginian</i> generals) ingratiate themselves into the <i>Syracusan</i> mercenaries, get into <i>Syracuse</i> , put the senators to the sword, and reign arbitrarily.	III	111
4096	2789	210	<i>Marcellus</i> the <i>Roman</i> consul besieges <i>Syracuse</i> (a city in <i>Sicily</i> 22 miles in circumference) which is defended by the engines contrived by the famous mathematician <i>Archimedes</i> 3 years, against the whole art, courage, and industry of <i>Rome</i> , with such destructive methods and engines as were never heard of before.	III	112
4096	2789	210	<i>Hamilco</i> coming from <i>Carthage</i> into <i>Syracuse</i> , with 20,000 foot and 3000 horse, and 12 elephants, takes many cities that had submitted to <i>Marcellus</i> . <i>Hippocras</i> breaks out of <i>Syracuse</i> with 10,000 foot and 1500 horse to join <i>Hamilco</i> ; <i>Marcellus</i> meets, engages, and kills 8000 of them, and then returns to the siege of <i>Syracuse</i> .	III	114
4097	2790	209	The consuls having laid the country round <i>Capua</i> waste, <i>Hanno</i> goes to their relief, and is intirely routed by the <i>Romans</i> under <i>Fulvius</i> , who killed him 6000 men, and took 7000 prisoners, with an exceeding great booty of corn, forage, waggons, horses, <i>Hanno's</i> baggage, &c. <i>Hanno</i> himself escaping to <i>Brutium</i> , attended only with a small body of horse.	IV	724
4097	2790	209	The proconsul <i>Sempronius</i> is deceived by one <i>Fulvius</i> a <i>Capuan</i> , surrounded and killed, with most of his men. <i>Hannibal</i> pays his corps all the military honours due to a great commander.	IV	724
4097	2790	209	The <i>Romans</i> in <i>Spain</i> having hired 30,000 <i>Celtiberians</i> into their service, <i>Asdrubal</i> the <i>Carthaginian</i> bribes them, and they desert. <i>Scipio</i> is engaged by a conjunct army of <i>Numidians</i> , <i>Carthaginians</i> , and <i>Spaniards</i> , is killed, and his army almost cut to pieces: Soon after his brother <i>Cneius</i> was likewise killed, and most of his men; those who escaped retired under <i>T. Fonteius</i> into a neighbouring tower, where they all perished by fire.	IV	726
4097	2790	209	<i>Marcus</i> , a young <i>Roman</i> nobleman, collected the scattered troops of the <i>Romans</i> in <i>Spain</i> together, &c. and being attacked by <i>Asdrubal</i> , repulsed him, and the next night set <i>Asdrubal's</i> camp on fire, and killed him 37,000 men, and took 1850 prisoners.	IV	727
4097	2790	209	<i>Hannibal</i> takes <i>Metapontum</i> , and the inhabitants put all the <i>Romans</i> to the sword; <i>Heraclea</i> did the same, and submitted to the <i>Carthaginians</i> ; and <i>Thurium</i> treacherously shut the gates, and denied the <i>Romans</i> entrance at their retreat from a sally, whereby they were all cut to pieces by <i>Hanno</i> , except <i>Atinus</i> the commandant, and a few with him.	VII	54
4098	2791	208	The <i>Romans</i> now at war with the <i>Carthaginians</i> , send ambassadors to <i>Egypt</i> to desire a renewal of their old alliance of friendship, with great presents.	III	646
4098	2791	208	As the <i>Romans</i> were irregularly straggling about <i>Capua</i> , and ravaging the country, <i>Mago</i> overtakes them, and kills 1500 of them, and recovers all the booty, takes many prisoners, and disperses the rest. Soon after <i>Hannibal</i> meets with <i>M. Centenius Penula</i> with 16,000 men, and cuts off <i>Centenius</i> and 15,000 of his men: Quickly after <i>Hannibal</i> engages <i>Cn. Fulvius</i> the prætor with 18,000 men, cut off 16,000, so that only the prætor and 2000 escaped.	VII	55
4098	2791	208	The <i>Romans</i> and <i>Ætolians</i> join, and lay waste all the fertile country between <i>Sicyon</i> and <i>Corinth</i> ; but upon <i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon's</i> coming against them, they retire with great precipitation.	II	706
4098	2791	208	<i>Hannibal</i> attempts the relief of <i>Capua</i> , and the garrison falls out at the same time; but both are defeated, <i>Hannibal</i> having 8000 men killed, and the <i>Capuans</i> 3000; 15 colours taken from the first, and 18 from the last.	IV	727
4098	2791	208	<i>Hannibal</i> marches up to the gates of <i>Rome</i> , but durst not attempt to storm it, or run the hazard of a battle, but suddenly marches back to <i>Capua</i> , and fell upon <i>Appius's</i> camp, and kills a great many of his men, and then marches off: Soon after <i>Capua</i> submitted, the <i>Carthaginian</i> garrison were made prisoners of war, but the senators were tried by the proconsuls, out of whom 25 were sent to <i>Calo</i> , and 28 to <i>Teanum</i> , to be confined till their fate should be determined; but <i>Fulvius</i> went and put them all to death. <i>Rome</i> kept the fruitful plains as its own property, and transplanted freed-men thither to manure the land, and annually sent a præfect for their governor.	IV	729
4098	2791	208	<i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> and the <i>Ætolians</i> besiege <i>Elis</i> , into which the <i>Romans</i> had flung 4000 men under <i>Sulpitius</i> : A bloody conflict happens, <i>Philip</i> is unhorsed and near being taken, but escapes, and after much bloodshed is obliged to retire, but next day takes a strong hold of the <i>Eleans</i> , with 20,000 head of cattle and 4000 <i>Eleans</i> , whom he sold for slaves.	II	667
4099	2792	207	<i>Scipio</i> , the son of the deceased proconsul, besieges and takes <i>New Carthage</i> , where he kills abundance of <i>Carthaginians</i> , &c. and takes 10,000 freemen and a prodigious number of women, children, and slaves prisoners, 120 great and 281 lesser <i>Catapultas</i> , 23 large and 52 smaller <i>Balists</i> , 74 ensigns, an immense quantity of gold and silver both in money and plate, &c.	VII	60
4099	2792	207	The plague rages extravagantly in and about <i>Syracuse</i> , of which <i>Hamilcar</i> , <i>Hippocrates</i> , and almost all the <i>Carthaginian</i> army die. The senate sends <i>Bonilcar</i> with 130 galleys, 7000 transports, and a large army into <i>Sicily</i> , against <i>Marcellus</i> , who goes with the <i>Roman</i> fleet against him, upon which <i>Bonilcar</i> runs home, and <i>Syracuse</i> submits to <i>Marcellus</i> , after a siege of three years.		
4099	2792	207	<i>Marcellus</i> takes <i>Salapia</i> in <i>Apulia</i> , and cuts off all the <i>Carthaginian</i> garrison but 50 who surrender themselves: Then he goes into <i>Samnium</i> , takes upwards of 3000 <i>Carthaginians</i> prisoners, and reduces abundance of towns to the obedience of <i>Rome</i> .	IV	730
4099	2792	207	The <i>Tarentine</i> fleet intirely defeat a <i>Roman</i> Squadron of ships that were coming to supply the citadel with provisions; and <i>Hannibal</i> surprizes and kills the proconsul <i>Fulvius Centumalus</i> , and cuts off 11 legionary tribunes, with 13,000 men, upon which <i>Marcellus</i> comes up and gives him battle; but the loss on both sides was nearly equal, and the night obliged them to part.	IV	730

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4099	2792	207	After the taking <i>Syracuse</i> , <i>Marcellus</i> engages <i>Epicides</i> and <i>Hanno</i> , who puts them to flight at the first onset, and pursues them to <i>Agrirentum</i> , killing many thousands, and takes eight elephants, and then goes to <i>Rome</i> .	III	125
4099	2792	207	<i>Sulpitius</i> the Roman general, and <i>Attalus</i> king of <i>Pergamus</i> first sail to <i>Lemnos</i> , and then go to <i>Orcum</i> , a chief city in <i>Eubœa</i> , which <i>Plator</i> the Macedonian commander treacherously delivers up to them.	II	667
4099	2792	207	<i>Attalus</i> king of <i>Pergamus</i> besieges and takes the city of <i>Opus</i> in <i>Achaia</i> ; <i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> presently after comes to its relief, upon whose approach <i>Attalus</i> quits it, and retires with precipitation to his ships.	II	667
4100	2793	206	<i>Marcellus</i> being chose consul at <i>Rome</i> , gets the <i>Syracusans</i> an edict of the senate to reinstate them in their ancient laws and liberties; in return for which the <i>Syracusans</i> senate make a decree, that whenever <i>Marcellus</i> or any of his posterity should come to <i>Sicily</i> , the people should walk before him crowned with garlands, and celebrate the day with sacrifices.	III	126
4100	2793	206	The consul <i>Levinus</i> , with an army of <i>Romans</i> coming into <i>Sicily</i> , is invited by <i>Mutines</i> to <i>Agrirentum</i> , whither <i>Hanno</i> , <i>Epicides</i> , and the <i>Carthaginians</i> were retired, takes it, and puts all the <i>Carthaginians</i> to the sword; the chiefs of the <i>Agrirentines</i> he first beat with rods, and then beheaded; and the common people were made slaves and sold; and all <i>Sicily</i> was reduced to the subjection of <i>Rome</i> , and became one of its provinces.	III	127
4101	2794	205	<i>Levinus</i> being ordered to name a dictator refuses it; upon which the tribunes of the people take upon them that office, and named <i>Fulvius Flaccus</i> the proconsul. <i>Lælius</i> arriving at <i>Rome</i> from <i>Spain</i> , with <i>Mago</i> , the senators of <i>New Carthage</i> , and the rich booty taken there, <i>Scipio</i> is continued proconsul, not as usual for one year, but till an order should be made for recalling him.	IV	732
4101	2794	205	<i>Hannibal</i> engages <i>Marcellus</i> , and routs him, and kills 2700 of his men on the spot, four centurions, two military tribunes, and takes six standards. The next day they engage again, when <i>Hannibal</i> is defeated, with the loss of 8000 of his best troops; but <i>Marcellus</i> having 3000 of his legionaries killed, and almost all wounded, could not pursue him. <i>Fulvius</i> recovers <i>Lucania</i> , <i>Hirpinia</i> , and great part of <i>Brutium</i> , without loss of blood.	IV	733
4101	2794	205	<i>Fabius</i> takes <i>Tarentum</i> , out of which the quæstors are said to have received for the publick treasury 87,000 l. of gold, and 3000 talents of silver; 30,000 inhabitants that escaped the massacre were sold for slaves, &c.	IV	733
4101	2794	205	<i>Scipio</i> engages <i>Asdrubal</i> , kills him 8000 men, and takes 10,000 foot and 2000 horse, gives the <i>Carthaginian</i> camp to the <i>Roman</i> soldiers to plunder, released all the <i>Spanish</i> prisoners without ransom, but sells the <i>Carthaginians</i> for slaves.	VII	63
4102	2795	204	<i>Marcellus</i> (now a fifth time consul) projects the taking <i>Locri</i> , a strong city in the interest of <i>Hannibal</i> : The troops encamped before <i>Tarentum</i> go to besiege it; <i>Hannibal</i> falls upon them, kills 2000, and takes 1200 prisoners. Soon after <i>Marcellus</i> falls into an ambush, as he was viewing an eminence with his colleague, and is killed; <i>Hannibal</i> first takes his ring off his finger, then burns the body, puts the ashes into a silver urn, and puts a crown of gold and a crown of laurel on it, and so sent it to his son, who honoured with the highest marks of respect: <i>Quintius</i> also, the other consul, was mortally wounded.	IV	735
4102	2795	204	<i>Hannibal</i> , now master of <i>Marcellus</i> 's ring, sends a feigned letter to <i>Apulia</i> sealed therewith, by a <i>Roman</i> deserter, signifying that he would be with them as on the morrow, when he sent a detachment to surprize the town, most of them <i>Roman</i> deserters; the <i>Salapians</i> admit about 600 of them within the gates, draw up the bridge, fall on and kill them, and from the walls disperse the rest, <i>Quintius</i> having sent them and the country round word of the death of <i>Marcellus</i> , for fear of such accidents, and so they escaped being surprized.	IV	735
4102	2795	204	<i>Levinus</i> the <i>Roman</i> admiral makes a descent on <i>Africa</i> with 100 sail of ships, and brings away immense booty, after having defeated the <i>Carthaginian</i> fleet, consisting of 83 sail, and taking 18 of them. About the same time the <i>Romans</i> having besieged <i>Locri</i> , <i>Hannibal</i> marches to its assistance, upon whose arrival <i>Mago</i> falls out, so that the <i>Romans</i> were forced to raise the siege, and leave all the military engines, &c. behind them.	VII	64
4102	2795	204	The <i>Ætolians</i> conclude a very disadvantageous peace with the <i>Macedonians</i> and <i>Achaïans</i> .	II	669
4102	2795	204	<i>Ptolemy Philopater</i> dying, is succeeded by his son <i>Ptolemy Epiphanes</i> , a child between four and five years old; upon which <i>Antiochus</i> the great king of <i>Syria</i> , and <i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> join, in order to take and divide his kingdom: The <i>Jews</i> side with <i>Antiochus</i> , who obliged them in every thing they requested, and presented them with 20,000 pieces of silver, 1400 measures of fine wheat, and 375 measures of salt, &c.	IV	45
4103	2796	203	<i>Claudius Nero</i> being consul with <i>M. Livius Salinator</i> , engages <i>Hannibal</i> , defeats him, kills 8000 of his men, and takes 7000 prisoners; then pursues him, in his retreat; they engage again near <i>Venusia</i> , and he kills 2000 more, when <i>Hannibal</i> makes the best of his way to <i>Metapontus</i> to join <i>Hanno</i> .	IV	736
4103	2796	203	<i>Asdrubal</i> having passed the <i>Alps</i> in order to join <i>Hannibal</i> , is met by the two consuls, and forced to fight in <i>Umbria</i> upon the banks of the <i>Metaurus</i> , where he has 56,000 men killed, and himself and abundance of prisoners are taken: <i>Nero</i> cuts off his head, and carries it with him to his camp at <i>Canusium</i> , from whence he sent some of the <i>Carthaginian</i> prisoners in chains to <i>Hannibal</i> 's camp, to inform him of the matter: Afterwards <i>Hanno</i> and <i>Mago</i> joining their forces, many of which being new raised troops, were attacked by the <i>Romans</i> and dispersed; and <i>Hanno</i> and <i>Mago</i> coming to their assistance, were likewise defeated and <i>Hanno</i> taken prisoner.	VII	68
4103	2796	203	The <i>Rhodians</i> join <i>Attalus</i> , king of <i>Pergamus</i> , and declare war against <i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> , who gains some advantages over them.	III	146

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4104	2797	202	<i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> engages <i>Attalus</i> and the <i>Rhodiums</i> at sea, over against <i>Cbios</i> , but is defeated, with the loss of 300 <i>Macedonians</i> and 600 allies, and 2700 taken prisoners, while the <i>Rhodiums</i> lose but 60 and <i>Attalus</i> 70 men.	III	145
4104	2797	202	<i>Macbanidas</i> having some how got the sovereignty, was called the tyrant of <i>Sparta</i> , who with a great army went to <i>Blantinæa</i> in <i>Achaia</i> , where he was engaged by <i>Philopæmen</i> , who intirely routed his army and killed himself: To perpetuate the memory of this victory, the <i>Achaëans</i> cast a brazen statue of <i>Philopæmen</i> , in the same attitude he killed <i>Macbanidas</i> , and set it up in the temple of <i>Apollo</i> at <i>Delfos</i> .	II	669
4104	2797	202	<i>Scipio</i> engages the united force of <i>Carthage</i> in <i>Spain</i> , under the command of <i>Mago</i> , <i>Asdrubal</i> the son of <i>Gisco</i> , and <i>Massinissa</i> king of <i>Numidia</i> , and intirely destroy their army, consisting of 70,000 foot and 4900 horse, scarce 6000 escaping.	IV	37
4105	2798	201	<i>Scipio</i> engages <i>Syphax</i> king of the <i>Masæssili</i> to abandon the <i>Carthaginians</i> , and enter into an alliance with <i>Rome</i> ; took <i>Elliturgi</i> by storm, that had revolted, and levelled it with the ground, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. <i>Capsals</i> is surrendered, and a <i>Carthaginian</i> garrison made prisoners of war, <i>Ge. Ana spa</i> being besieged by <i>Martius</i> , the inhabitants sally out, and all die fighting except 50, who were left in the city to guard their wives, children, and effects, who upon hearing what had happened, set fire to a great pile, upon which they had put the women and children and most valuable effects, and then jumped into the flames themselves, and so all perished, and left the <i>Romans</i> an empty city.	VII	71
4105	2798	201	<i>Scipio</i> being taken very ill, a report was spread that he was dead; upon which <i>Indibilis</i> and <i>Mandonius</i> (two petty <i>Spanish</i> kings that had come over to the <i>Romans</i>) revolted, and raised an army of 20,000 foot and 2500 horse; and 8000 legionary troops also revolt, and choose themselves commanders: <i>Scipio</i> soon recovering, gets the two chiefs of his own men that had rebelled, and cuts off their heads, upon which the rest submit. He goes against the princes, engages them, and obtains a complete victory by killing 17,000. Soon after he took <i>Gader</i> , and so became master of all <i>Spain</i> .	IV	738
4106	2799	200	<i>Scipio</i> is recalled from <i>Spain</i> to <i>Rome</i> , where with <i>P. Licinius Crassus</i> he is chosen consul, and sent to <i>Sicily</i> , from whence he sent <i>Lælius</i> to <i>Africa</i> , where he greatly incommoded the <i>Carthaginians</i> , and returned to <i>Sicily</i> , and <i>Scipio</i> took <i>Lori</i> by surprize.	IV	739
4106	2799	200	<i>Scipio</i> being recalled from <i>Spain</i> , <i>Mandonius</i> and <i>Indibilis</i> revolt; the proconsul goes against them, kill 17,000, and <i>Indibilis</i> , and take 8000 prisoners. Soon after the <i>Spaniards</i> take and surrender <i>Mandonius</i> to obtain their own pardon. In <i>Italy</i> the plague made dreadful havock in both armies.	IV	740
4107	2800	199	<i>Hannibal</i> attacks the consul <i>Sempronius</i> , kills 1200 <i>Romans</i> , and obliges the rest to retire in disorder: A few days after they engage again, when 4000 <i>Carthaginians</i> are slain, and 300 taken prisoners, with 11 standards, and then <i>Sempronius</i> returned to <i>Rome</i> to erect a temple to <i>Fortune</i> , which he had vowed before the last battle.	IV	740
4107	2800	199	<i>Scipio</i> lands in <i>Africa</i> , where he first encounters <i>Hanno</i> , a young <i>Carthaginian</i> nobleman, and cut him off, with most of the troops under his command, and lays waste the country to the very gates of <i>Carthage</i> , and took an opulent city in its neighbourhood, which he pillaged, and made 8000 inhabitants prisoners; then defeats another <i>Hanno</i> with a body of 4000 men, and kills and takes 3000 of them.	VII	76
4108	2801	198	<i>Scipio</i> in the night-time sets fire to the barracks of the armies under <i>Syphax</i> king of <i>Numidia</i> , and <i>Asdrubal</i> , by which means he destroyed men, beasts of burthen, and elephants, by the fire and by the sword, to the number of 40,000, and took 5000 prisoners; but <i>Syphax</i> and <i>Asdrubal</i> escaped with 2000 foot and 500 horse, who soon after recruited to the number of 30,000 men, whom <i>Scipio</i> again engages, and intirely overthrows; <i>Lælius</i> and <i>Massinissa</i> pursues <i>Syphax</i> into the heart of <i>Numidia</i> , where they engage him alone, defeat his army, and take himself and his son <i>Vermina</i> prisoners; upon which <i>Cyrtis</i> his capital city surrenders, where his queen <i>Sophonisba</i> is taken prisoner, and <i>Massinissa</i> marries her, but she is poisoned by order of <i>Scipio</i> , who honours <i>Massinissa</i> with the title of king and robes of royalty.	IV	744
4109	2802	197	The <i>Romans</i> and <i>Carthaginians</i> engage, and after a very obstinate battle, <i>Mago</i> being mortally wounded, the <i>Romans</i> became masters of the field, killed 5000, and took 18 standards. <i>Mago</i> embarked his troops for <i>Africa</i> , but died of his wounds on the coast of <i>Sardinia</i> .	VII	80
4110	2803	196	<i>Hannibal</i> being recalled to <i>Carthage</i> , has an interview with <i>Scipio</i> about a peace; but differing about the conditions, they come to a battle at <i>Zama</i> , where the <i>Carthaginians</i> was entirely routed, 20,000 being killed, and as many taken prisoners, among whom was many <i>Macedonians</i> , and <i>Sosipater</i> their commander: <i>Hannibal</i> escaped with a few attendants, and agrees with <i>Scipio</i> to conclude a peace, which was confirmed by both senates on the following terms, viz. 1. The <i>Carthaginians</i> shall live according to their own laws, and enjoy all the cities and provinces which they had in <i>Africa</i> before the war; but the <i>Romans</i> should hold <i>Spain</i> , with all the islands in the <i>Mediterranean</i> . 2d. The <i>Carthaginians</i> shall deliver up all the <i>Roman</i> deserters, fugitive slaves, prisoners of war, and all the <i>Italians</i> <i>Hannibal</i> forced to follow him. 3. That they should deliver to <i>Scipio</i> all their ships of war, except 10 <i>trirems</i> (which being done, <i>Scipio</i> burnt to the number of 500) and all their tamed elephants, and some no more; (these <i>Scipio</i> sent part to <i>Rome</i> , and gave part to king <i>Massinissa</i> .) 4. <i>Carthage</i> should enter into no war without the consent of <i>Rome</i> . 5. That they should restore to <i>Massinissa</i> all they had taken from him or his ancestors, and enter into an alliance with him. 6. That they should supply the <i>Romans</i> with corn, and pay their auxiliaries, till their ambassadors returned from <i>Rome</i> . 7. That they should pay the <i>Romans</i> 200 talents a year for 50 years. 8. That		

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			they should deliver up 100 such hostages as <i>Scipio</i> should choose, the youngest not under 14, and the oldest not more than 30 years of age. 9. Neither the peace nor the truce should take place, till the <i>Carthaginians</i> had restored the ships and effects they had taken from the <i>Romans</i> at their breaking the last truce, (for which they paid 25,000 pounds weight of silver.) 10. That the <i>Roman</i> army should leave <i>Africa</i> within 50 days after the conclusion of the treaty. <i>Scipio</i> treated the <i>Latin</i> and <i>Roman</i> deserters with extreme severity, beheading the former and crucifying the latter. Thus in the 18th year ended the second punic war, one of the most remarkable in history for its wonderful vicissitudes and prodigious expence of blood and treasure.	VII	84
4110	2803	196	Upon <i>Scipio's</i> return to <i>Rome</i> , he brought into the publick treasury 120,000 pounds weight of silver; his triumph was the most magnificent that had ever yet been at <i>Rome</i> ; the senate offered him the perpetual dictatorship, but he refused it, contenting himself with the glorious name of <i>Africanus</i> .	IV	749
4110	2803	196	The consul <i>Ælius Petus</i> sends <i>Oppius</i> against the <i>Boii</i> , who surprized him, and killed 7000 of his men: But the consul forces the <i>Ingauni</i> to make an alliance with <i>Rome</i> ; and the senate sends <i>Lævinus</i> with a fleet into <i>Macedon</i> , &c.	IV	751
4110	2803	196	<i>Nabis</i> succeeds <i>Machanidas</i> in the government of <i>Sparta</i> , in which he behaved so monitrously cruel, as no tyrant ever before him had done.	II	636
4111	2804	195	The <i>Boii</i> , &c. spirited up by <i>Hamilcar</i> , a <i>Carthaginian</i> captain, make a sudden irruption, and seize <i>Placentia</i> , and put all the inhabitants to the sword; the <i>Romans</i> under the prætor <i>Furius Purpureo</i> march against them, and at <i>Cremona</i> engage and intirely defeat them, by killing <i>Hamilcar</i> and 30,000 of them upon the spot, for which at his return to <i>Rome</i> he is honoured with a triumph.	IV	750
4111	2804	195	<i>Massinissa</i> makes himself master of part of the <i>Carthaginian</i> territories in <i>Africa</i> , which the <i>Romans</i> oblige them to cede to him, and to enter into an alliance with him by the 5th article of the peace.	VII	85
4111	2804	195	<i>Simon</i> II. high-priest of the <i>Jews</i> dies, and is succeeded by his son <i>Onias</i> III. a person of great piety and clemency.	IV	45
4112	2805	194	The <i>Carthaginians</i> sending 50 <i>Enboic</i> talents to pay their annual fine, upon examination they are found too light by one fourth part, which the ambassadors are forced to borrow and make up the full sum.	VII	85
4112	2805	194	<i>Hannibal</i> has the command of the <i>Carthaginian</i> forces taken from him, and is made prætor, in which office he reformed abundance of abuses that had crept into the state, and got a law passed, that the civil judges should be chose annually, who before had those places for life, and acted very cruelly and unjustly: These re-formations drew the hatred of the nobility upon him, so that he was forced to fly to <i>Ephesus</i> to king <i>Antiochus</i> , who received him very graciously.	VII	86
4113	2806	193	The <i>Achaïans</i> joins the <i>Romans</i> and <i>Attalus</i> king of <i>Pergamus</i> against <i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> in the siege of <i>Corinth</i> , but are forced to raise the siege.	II	671
4113	2806	193	The <i>Ætolians</i> join the <i>Romans</i> against the <i>Macedonians</i> , and with king <i>Aminander</i> make an irruption into <i>Macedon</i> and <i>Thessaly</i> , committing great ravages; but lying carelessly without encamping, are surprized by king <i>Philip</i> , who cuts most of them to pieces.	II	708
4114	2807	192	<i>Philocles</i> the <i>Macedonian</i> general, joined by <i>Nabis</i> tyrant of <i>Sparta</i> , marches into the heart of <i>Achaïa</i> , and takes <i>Argos</i> , which being ceded by <i>Philip</i> to <i>Nabis</i> , he plundered it of all its wealth, and then obliged the senate to pass two decrees, 1. That all old debts should be cancelled; 2. That there should be an equal distribution of lands, &c.	II	672
4114	2807	192	The <i>Ætolians</i> enter <i>Thessaly</i> , take and plunder many cities, destroying in the flames what they could not carry away, and kill many of the inhabitants, and sell the rest for slaves.	II	709
4114	2807	192	The <i>Achaïans</i> attack <i>Androsthenes</i> , <i>Philip's</i> general over 6000 men, in his camp, after he had detached a good part of them into the country to ravage it, overthrew him, and kill the greatest part of the moroders, and thereby delivered <i>Achaïa</i> from all fear of <i>Macedon</i> .	II	672
4114	2807	192	<i>Flaminius</i> the <i>Roman</i> consul engages <i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> in <i>Thessaly</i> , upon the plains of <i>Cynocephalæ</i> , and entirely defeats him, killing 8000 of his men, and taking 5000 prisoners: Upon this a peace is concluded between <i>Rome</i> and <i>Macedon</i> , obliging <i>Philip</i> to evacuate all the places he possessed in <i>Greece</i> , and withdraw his garrisons before the celebration of the <i>Isthmian</i> games: Upon commencement of the games, freedom was declared to all <i>Greece</i> , by the publick herald, for which the <i>Achaïans</i> voluntarily purchased the redemption of all the <i>Roman</i> slaves that had been sold by <i>Hannibal</i> , to the number of 12,000, for 100 talents, and presented them to the <i>Roman</i> proconsul <i>Flaminius</i> , who upon his return to <i>Rome</i> was honoured with a triumph that lasted three days.	II	674
4114	2807	192	<i>Cethegus</i> the <i>Roman</i> consul engages the revolted <i>Gauls</i> in <i>Italy</i> , and gains a complete victory over them on the banks of the <i>Mincius</i> , and kills 30,000 on the spot, and takes 57,00 prisoners: And <i>Minucius</i> the other consul over-run the country of the <i>Ligures</i> and <i>Boii</i> , and laid it waste; the senate orders publick thanksgivings for these successes in all the temples at <i>Rome</i> for four days, and increase the number of prætors to six, appointing two for <i>Spain</i> , having divided it into two provinces, <i>Hither Spain</i> and <i>Further Spain</i> . The <i>Spaniards</i> revolt, and cut off <i>Sempronius</i> , prætor of <i>Hither Spain</i> , with most of his troops, and almost a total defection prevails in <i>Further Spain</i> .	IV	751
4115	2808	191	The <i>Roman</i> consuls destroy two <i>Gaulish</i> armies in <i>Italy</i> , plunder their country, and return to <i>Rome</i> loaded with booty. A new sacerdotal college is erected at <i>Rome</i> , called <i>Epulones</i> , whose office was only about religious feasts.	IV	749
4115	2808	191	<i>Nabis</i> tyrant of <i>Sparta</i> besieges <i>Gythium</i> , a sea-port now belonging to the <i>Achaïans</i> ; <i>Philopæmen</i> the <i>Achaïan</i> prætor raises an army, and fits out a fleet to relieve it; <i>Nabis</i> defeats him by sea, at the first onset taking some of his ships and sink-		

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			ing others, escaping with great difficulty himself; but soon after he sets upon <i>Nabis</i> , in the night-time, fires his camp, and destroys all his forces then at <i>Plisia</i> ; nevertheless <i>Nabis</i> took <i>Gytium</i> , upon which <i>Phibpamen</i> goes towards <i>Lacedæmon</i> ; <i>Nabis</i> pursues him, a battle follows, and <i>Nabis</i> is intirely defeated, and almost all his troops cut off; the <i>Ætolians</i> send him a reinforcement, who instead of assisting, murdered him, and the <i>Spartans</i> cut off all the <i>Ætolians</i> , and join themselves to the <i>Achæans</i> .	II	639
4116	2809	190	The <i>Appian</i> law, whereby the <i>Roman</i> women were forbid wearing more than half an ounce of gold in their cloaths or about their persons, &c. repealed.	IV	752
4116	2809	190	The consul <i>M. Porcius Cato</i> engages the revolted <i>Spaniards</i> , and drives them out of the field; upon which all the neighbouring cities send their submissions: He orders all the fortifications of <i>Neiber Spain</i> to be demolished, and then goes into <i>Further Spain</i> , taking several towns and prodigious booty in his passage; he bestows a pound weight of silver on each soldier, then returns to <i>Rome</i> , and is honoured with a triumph, and then retired to a private life, spending his time in study, and writing the origin of the cities in <i>Italy</i> , and several books of <i>Agriculture</i> .	IV	752
4117	2810	189	The consul <i>Tib. Sempronius Longus</i> engages the <i>Cisalpine Gauls</i> , and gains a victory over them, killing 11,000 at the expence of 5000 <i>Romans</i> .	IV	753
4117	2810	189	The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> endeavour to revolt from the <i>Achæans</i> , but are discovered, and severely punished, and have their walls demolished, their mercenaries disbanded, &c.	II	679
4118	2811	188	Three ambassadors come to <i>Rome</i> from <i>Antiochus</i> king of <i>Syria</i> , to propose an alliance; but the senate requiring his renunciation to <i>Thrace</i> , <i>Æolis</i> , and <i>Ionia</i> , they return dissatisfied.	IV	753
4118	2811	188	<i>P. Cornelius Scipio</i> (surnamed <i>Nasica</i>) gained a considerable victory over the <i>Lufitanians</i> , (now called <i>Portugal</i>) and <i>Fulvius</i> defeated the united forces of the <i>Vaccæi</i> , <i>Vedones</i> , and <i>Celtiberians</i> , (in <i>Further Spain</i>) and took <i>Hilernus</i> , one of their kings, prisoner. In <i>Hither Spain</i> <i>Flaminius</i> took <i>Illucia</i> , a strong town, and cleared the country of banditti. In <i>Cisalpine Gaul</i> the consul <i>Merula</i> defeated the <i>Boii</i> near <i>Mutina</i> , killed 14,000 upon the spot, took 2000 prisoners, three generals, 212 colours, and 36 <i>Gallic</i> carts loaded with baggage.	IV	753
4119	2812	187	The <i>Ligurians</i> are engaged by the proconsul <i>Thermus</i> , and defeated with the loss of 9000 men, and their camp taken and plundered.	IV	753
4119	2812	187	<i>Ptolemy</i> king of <i>Egypt</i> presents the <i>Achæans</i> with 6000 shields and 200 talents, and renews an alliance with them: <i>Eumenes</i> king of <i>Pergamus</i> offers 120 talents to them for an alliance, but they refuse him; and <i>Seleucus</i> king of <i>Syria</i> offers them 10 ships of war completely equipped, which they accept.	II	679
4119	2812	187	<i>Antiochus</i> king of <i>Syria</i> goes into <i>Greece</i> with 10,000 foot, 500 horse, and 6 elephants, having first sacrificed to <i>Minerva</i> at <i>Ilion</i> , takes <i>Chalcis</i> and winters there, where he married <i>Cleopolemus</i> , a beautiful woman about twenty years old, in whose house he lodged.	III	554
4119	2812	187	The <i>Romans</i> coming into <i>Greece</i> , engage <i>Antiochus</i> at <i>Thermopylae</i> , and entirely defeat him there with a great slaughter, <i>Antiochus</i> himself escaping with great difficulty to <i>Ephesus</i> .	III	554
4119	2812	187	The <i>Syrian</i> and <i>Roman</i> fleet engage near <i>Cyffus</i> , where the <i>Romans</i> are conquerors, sinking ten and taking thirty of <i>Antiochus's</i> ships.	III	555
4119	2812	187	<i>Scipio Nasica</i> having reduced the <i>Boii</i> absolutely, their lands were divided among the <i>Roman</i> colonies sent thither, and he honoured with a triumph, adorned with all sorts of spoils, chariots made after the <i>Gallic</i> fashion, standards, vases of brass, 1470 collars of gold, 1220 horses, 2340 pounds weight of gold, and many captives. At the same time <i>Fulvius</i> had an ovation for his victory in <i>Spain</i> , adorned with spoils of great value, 130,000 pieces of silver money, 1000 pounds of silver in bars, and 125 pounds of gold in ingots, &c.	IV	754
4120	2813	186	<i>Polyxenidas</i> , admiral of the <i>Syrian</i> fleet, deceives <i>Pausistratus</i> admiral of the <i>Rho-dian</i> fleet, kills him, and takes and destroys his fleet. <i>Antiochus</i> and his son <i>Seleucus</i> invade the kingdom of <i>Pergamus</i> , but are drove out again.	III	557
4121	2814	185	<i>Scipio</i> the <i>Roman</i> consul engages <i>Antiochus</i> king of <i>Syria</i> at <i>Magnesia</i> , totally overthrows him, kills 50,000 foot, 4000 horse, and takes 1500 prisoners, and 15 elephants; the spoil of the camp was inexpressible; the <i>Romans</i> lost but 300 foot and 25 horse: All the neighbouring country submitted, and the consul was surnamed <i>Asiaticus</i> . <i>Antiochus</i> sues for peace, which is granted upon the following conditions; 1. That he should quit all pretensions to <i>Europe</i> , and confine himself to <i>Asia</i> beyond mount <i>Taurus</i> , pay 15,000 <i>Euboic</i> talents, 500 down, 2500 upon the senate's confirming the articles, and 1000 a year for 12 years successively. 2. That he should satisfy <i>Eumenes</i> king of <i>Pergamus</i> , by paying 400 talents due to him, and that he should deliver up <i>Hannibal</i> the <i>Cartaginian</i> , <i>Tboas</i> the <i>Ætolian</i> , <i>Moresibolus</i> the <i>Acarnanian</i> , and <i>Philo</i> and <i>Eubulus</i> , (two <i>Caledonians</i>) and 20 hostages, such as <i>Scipio</i> should choose, his son <i>Seleucus</i> to be one: <i>Antiochus</i> sends the hostages, strangers, &c. to <i>Rome</i> , all but <i>Hannibal</i> and <i>Tboas</i> , who had retired: <i>Hannibal</i> poisoned himself.	III	565
4121	2814	185	<i>Antiochus</i> dies, and is succeeded by his son <i>Seleucus</i> in the kingdom of <i>Syria</i> , where he reigned upwards of 12 years, being extremely reduced by the annual sum of 1000 talents he was forced to pay the <i>Romans</i> .	III	569
4122	2815	184	The consul <i>Cn. Manlius Vulso</i> goes into <i>Asia</i> , and attacks the <i>Gall Grecians</i> , or <i>Gallatians</i> , for their past services to <i>Antiochus</i> : He first goes against the <i>Tolytebii</i> , who had posted themselves upon mount <i>Olympus</i> , forced their intrenchments, killed great numbers, and took 40,000 prisoners; then went against the <i>Ted-sagi</i> and <i>Troemi</i> , and had the like success, and so forced the whole nation to sue for peace upon his terms.	IV	756

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4123	2816	183	The <i>Messenians</i> having revolted from the <i>Achaëans</i> by the instigation of one <i>Dinocrates</i> , <i>Philopamen</i> marches against them, but is defeated, taken prisoner, and poisoned. The <i>Achaëans</i> to revenge his death send <i>Lycortas</i> , their most able general against them; the people frightened, immediately submit, and surrender up the ringleaders of the rebellion, and those concerned in <i>Philopamen's</i> death, bound in chains, who were afterwards carried to <i>Megalopolis</i> to be sacrificed on the deceased hero's tomb; but <i>Dinocrates</i> became his own executioner. <i>Philopamen</i> after being burnt as usual, had his ashes carried to <i>Megalopolis</i> , his native city, with all imaginable funeral pomp, attended by the whole army. Statues were erected for him in most of the <i>Grecian</i> cities, and the magistrates of <i>Megalopolis</i> passed a decree, ordering a bull to be yearly sacrificed at his tomb, when a panegyrick was pronounced and hymns sung by young children.	II	683
4124	2817	182	The Roman consuls go against and reduce the revolted <i>Ligurians</i> , and so made all quiet between <i>Hetruria</i> and the <i>Alps</i> .	IV	756
4124	2817	182	The proconsul <i>L. Fulvius Nobilior</i> having reduced <i>Ætolia</i> , upon his return to <i>Rome</i> was honoured with a triumph, adorned with a great number of golden crowns, a vast quantity of gold in ingots, silver in bars, and immense sums of <i>Attic</i> and <i>Macedonian</i> money, &c. He exhibited publick games, among which were the <i>Atletæ</i> , for the first time, and the hunting of lions and panthers.	IV	758
4126	2819	180	Three commissioners are sent into <i>Greece</i> , to terminate the dispute of <i>Greece</i> and <i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> ; they appoint the vale of <i>Tempe</i> and <i>Cite</i> , the contending parties to appear there before them; the seats were so disposed that the judges sat uppermost, the accusers next, and the king lowest, as a criminal. After the pleadings of both sides were heard, the commissioners declared, <i>Our Will and Pleasure is, That the Macedonian Garrisons immediately evacuate all the places in dispute, and that the Kingdom of Macedon be reduced to its ancient Limits.</i> Thus <i>Rome</i> began to determine the fate of monarchs, and treat them as vassals to their commonwealth.	IV	758
4126	2819	180	The Roman prætors in <i>Spain</i> , <i>Quintius</i> and <i>Calpurnius</i> , engage the <i>Lusitanians</i> , and are defeated with the loss of 5000 men; but soon after engaging again, they obtained a complete victory, killing and taking 30,000 of the enemy, which quieted the country some time.	IV	758
4126	2819	180	The two consuls going against the revolted <i>Ligurians</i> , <i>Sempronius</i> attacks the <i>Apuanis</i> in the east of <i>Liguria</i> , ravaging the fields, pillaging the villages, and burning the woods, and thereby opens a way into the heart of the country, while <i>Calpurnius</i> fights several successful battles with the <i>Ingauni</i> , takes six of their cities, makes many prisoners, and puts 43 of the principal ringleaders to death.	IV	758
4127	2820	179	The Roman censors, <i>Cato</i> and <i>Valerius Flaccus</i> , degrade seven senators; <i>Quinctius</i> , for killing with his own hands a <i>Boian</i> nobleman; <i>Manlius</i> , or <i>Manilius</i> , for having saluted his wife in the presence of his daughters; and five others. Then fine moveables, jewels, &c. were greatly taxed.	IV	759
4127	2820	179	<i>Callicrates</i> , <i>Lyfades</i> , and <i>Aratus</i> , being sent ambassadors from the <i>Achaëans</i> to <i>Rome</i> , <i>Callicrates</i> having betrayed his country by subtle speeches, brought back an answer, that the <i>Achaëans</i> should restore the <i>Lacedæmonian</i> exiles, and submit absolutely to the senate's orders, &c.	II	685
4127	2820	179	<i>Heliodorus</i> is sent by <i>Seleucus</i> king of <i>Syria</i> to fetch away all the treasure that was in the temple at <i>Jerusalem</i> ; the high-priest and people oppose his entry, upon which the gates were ordered to be thrown down, &c.	IV	46
4127	2820	179	<i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> dies with grief, for having credulously consented to put his son <i>Demetrius</i> to death, and by other great misfortunes subjecting himself to the <i>Romans</i> , and is succeeded by his natural son <i>Perseus</i> , notwithstanding he had recommended his cousin <i>Antigonus</i> to the <i>Macedonians</i> , who sent an embassy to <i>Rome</i> , to desire their acknowledgment of his title, and to renew the alliance they had made with his father, for which he promised to be their faithful ally, to let his neighbours live in peace, and to make no war without their permission; and at home strove to ingratiate himself by all manner of popular artifices, by which means <i>Antigonus</i> was rejected, and <i>Perseus</i> established.	III	482
4127	2820	179	<i>Orcius</i> , a tribune of the people, got the Roman senate to make a law, that no man should spend more than 100 asses of brass, or 6s. 5d. at one feast.	IV	759
4130	2823	176	<i>Seleucus</i> is poisoned by <i>Heliodorus</i> , his treasurer, who places the crown upon his own head, but is engaged by <i>Antiochus Epiphanes</i> , brother to the deceased <i>Seleucus</i> , overthrown and drove out of the kingdom, and <i>Antiochus</i> crowned in his stead; who conquered <i>Egypt</i> , and twice ravaged <i>Jerusalem</i> , murdering the people by thousands, and selling as many for slaves, profaned the temple, &c.	III	571
4130	2823	176	<i>Jason</i> the brother of <i>Onias</i> high-priest of the <i>Jews</i> , taking advantage of king <i>Antiochus's</i> necessity, goes to <i>Antioch</i> and buys the high-priesthood of him for 350 talents, with an order that <i>Onias</i> should be sent to and confined in <i>Antioch</i> ; he likewise purchases for 150 talents more liberty to build at <i>Jerusalem</i> a <i>Gymnasium</i> , to train and exercise the <i>Jewish</i> youth in the <i>Grecian</i> manner, and to make them free of <i>Antioch</i> ; which doing, the <i>Jewish</i> religion and customs were set aside by these heathenish practices.	IV	47
4131	2824	175	The proconsul <i>Paulus Æmilius</i> defeats the revolted <i>Ligurians</i> , and reduces the whole country to obedience: And <i>Q. Fulvius Flaccus</i> , prætor of <i>Hisber Spain</i> , engages the <i>Celtiberians</i> , and kills 25,000, makes 4800 prisoners, and takes also 500 horses and 98 standards: <i>Gentius</i> , one of the <i>Illyrian</i> kings, having committed piracies in the <i>Adriatick</i> , submits and is pardoned.	IV	760
4131	2824	175	<i>Jasin</i> the apostate <i>Jewish</i> high-priest sends a great number of his partizans to <i>Antioch</i> , whom he had made free to assist at the <i>Olympick</i> games, with a great sum of money to be spent in sacrifices to the <i>Tyrian Hercules</i> <i>Antigonus</i> going against <i>Ptolemy</i> king of <i>Egypt</i> , calls at <i>Jerusalem</i> in his way, and is magnificently treated by <i>Jasin</i> .	IV	48

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4132	2825	174	<i>Vilius Tappulus</i> got the famous plebiscitum passed, whereby it was enacted, that no man should be quæstor before he was 31 years of age, curilè edile under 37, prætor under 40, consul under 43; which law continued in force till the fall of the republick.	IV	760
4133	2826	173	<i>Jafon</i> the Jewish high-priest sending his brother <i>Menelaus</i> to <i>Antioch</i> , to negotiate something with king <i>Antiochus</i> , he instead of doing his brother's business, offers the king 300 talents more, and was by him granted the high-priesthood; upon which each side struggle with their friends to keep the post; but <i>Menelaus</i> having promised to renounce <i>Judaism</i> , is assailed by <i>Antiochus</i> , and drives <i>Jafon</i> away.	IV	48
4134	2827	172	<i>Menelaus</i> , high-priest of the <i>Jews</i> , being sent for to <i>Antioch</i> upon account of not paying the money he had promised the king, orders his brother <i>Lyfimachus</i> to strip the temple of <i>Jerusalem</i> of its golden vessels, &c. with which he raises money, both to pay his arrears and to bribe the courtiers into his favour; but <i>Onias</i> making a great out-cry against him, flies to <i>Daphne</i> , an assylum near <i>Antioch</i> ; <i>Menelaus</i> having bribed <i>Andronicus</i> the king's lieutenant, he went and murdered <i>Onias</i> , notwithstanding he solemnly swore the contrary.	IV	49
4134	2827	172	The <i>Egyptians</i> demand <i>Sale Syria</i> and <i>Palestine</i> of <i>Antiochus</i> king of <i>Syria</i> , upon which, the request not being comply'd with, war was proclaimed between the two nations, and carried on very vigorously.	III	572
4134	2827	172	<i>Claudius</i> the consul, by taking <i>Nephatium</i> , <i>Mutula</i> , and <i>Faveria</i> , and the losses they had met with in the preceding years, brought all the <i>Istrian</i> nation under the <i>Roman</i> subjection: <i>Sempronius</i> took and killed 20,000 of the <i>Corseans</i> and <i>Sardinian</i> rebels, for which at his return to <i>Rome</i> he was honoured with a triumph. The consul <i>Claudius</i> going against the <i>Ligurians</i> , kills and takes 15,000 of them.	IV	760
4135	2828	171	<i>Antiochus</i> being returned from the reduction of <i>Cilicia</i> to <i>Antioch</i> , great complaints were exhibited against <i>Andronicus</i> the governor, upon hearing whereof the king ordered him to be carried to the place where he had murdered <i>Onias</i> , and to be put to death for so flagrant a villany.	IV	49
4136	2829	170	The <i>Jews</i> enraged at the great oppression and wicked apostacy of <i>Menelaus</i> and his brother <i>Lyfimachus</i> , mutiny and kill <i>Lyfimachus</i> , and great part of the 3000 men he had for his guard. <i>Menelaus</i> corrupts <i>Antiochus's</i> courtiers with such large bribes, that the three Jewish deputies are condemned and executed.	IV	50
4136	2829	170	The consul <i>Petilius</i> attempting to force the <i>Ligurian</i> camp, was killed by a javelin's being run through him, notwithstanding which the <i>Romans</i> gained a considerable victory, and killed above 5000 of the enemy.	IV	760
4137	2830	169	<i>Antiochus</i> enraged against the <i>Jews</i> , takes <i>Jerusalem</i> after a stout defence, kills 40,000 of them, and carries away as many of them prisoners. He stripped the temple of all its golden vessels, &c. and 1800 talents of gold and silver.	IV	50
4137	2830	169	The <i>Achaens</i> declare war against <i>Perfes</i> , in conjunction with the <i>Romans</i> , by the persuasion of <i>Archon</i> their prætor.	IV	86
4138	2831	168	<i>Antiochus</i> king of <i>Persia</i> issued out a decree, that all nations subject to him should forsake their old religion and gods, and worship the kings, under the severest penalties: This was principally levelled against the <i>Jews</i> , now under a most violent persecution.	IV	52
4138	2831	168	The streets of <i>Rome</i> are paved for the first time, having not been so yet since the building the city.	IV	760
4139	2832	167	<i>M. Popilius Lenas</i> the consul goes against the <i>Stelliates</i> (a people in <i>Liguria</i> , bordering on the river <i>Tenarus</i>) kills 10,000, and takes 7000 prisoners, and 83 standards, with the loss of 3000 <i>Romans</i> killed, and a vast number wounded; upon which the <i>Stelliates</i> surrender at discretion: <i>Popilius</i> takes away their arms, dismantles their cities, and sells the people for slaves; but the senate thinking this procedure too severe, decrees them to be redeemed, returns their effects, and allows them money to purchase new arms, closing their decree with saying, <i>Victory is glorious when confin'd to the subduing an untractable enemy, but shameful when used to oppress the unfortunate.</i>	IV	761
4139	2832	167	The <i>Samaritans</i> disown all right to the Jewish religion, and desire <i>Antiochus</i> to let them dedicate their temple to <i>Jupiter</i> , which is granted them.	IV	52
4139	2832	167	<i>Athenas</i> persecutes the <i>Jews</i> most cruelly, all over <i>Judea</i> , and dedicates the temple at <i>Jerusalem</i> to <i>Jupiter Olympus</i> , and sets up his statue upon the altar of burnt offerings, &c. All who were known any way to favour or practice any of the Jewish rites, were cruelly tortured and put to death, unless they immediately became heathens, and sacrificed to their idols, &c.	IV	52
4139	2832	167	<i>Matthias</i> (an old Jewish priest, father of the <i>Maccabees</i>) resolutely denies to obey the king's command by refusing to sacrifice to idols, draws a large number to him, especially the sect called the <i>Assideans</i> , and retires into the deserts of <i>Judea</i> , where they come to a resolution to act offensively or defensively, as well on the <i>Sabbath</i> , as any other day, having heretofore suffered themselves to be killed on that day, &c. In these deserts the people practised the pure worship of God according to the law of <i>Moses</i> : But soon becoming very numerous, he marched out from city to city, overturned the idolatrous altars, opened the Jewish synagogues, collected the sacred books, &c. all which he effected in one year's time, and then died.	IV	56
4139	2832	167	<i>Perfes</i> engages <i>Paulus Æmilius</i> the <i>Roman</i> general, is so totally overthrown that all <i>Macedonia</i> submits to <i>Rome</i> , upon which <i>Æmilius</i> turns the kingdom into a commonwealth, &c.	III	493
4139	2832	167	The <i>Romans</i> having defeated <i>Perfes</i> , they appoint a commission, and order the chiefs of all the <i>Greek</i> cities to appear, and condemn to death and confiscation all those who had in any capacity whatever assisted <i>Perfes</i> ; in consequence whereof a thousand <i>Achaens</i> were imprisoned, &c.	VII	686

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4139	2832	167	<i>Antiochus</i> king of <i>Syria</i> goes into <i>Egypt</i> with his army, and engages <i>Ptolemy's</i> troops between mount <i>Cassus</i> and <i>Pelusium</i> , on the frontiers of <i>Egypt</i> , and routs them at the first onset.	III	575
4140	2833	166	<i>Judas Maccabeus</i> succeeded his father <i>Mattathias</i> in the command of the <i>Jews</i> , and with an army of but 6000 drove their enemies out of their cities, towns, villages, &c. <i>Appollonius</i> , governor of <i>Jerusalem</i> for <i>Antiochus</i> , raises a great army, and goes against <i>Judas</i> , who increased daily; they engage, <i>Appollonius</i> is killed, and abundance of his men, and <i>Judas</i> takes a rich spoil, after having routed the whole army. <i>Antiochus</i> swore the intire destruction of all the <i>Jews</i> , and <i>Simon</i> (deputy-governor of <i>Cælo-Syria</i>) marches against them, is killed, with 800 of his men, &c. <i>Lyfias</i> send 40,000 men to the governor to see the king's commands fulfilled; and to raise money he publishes that he would sell 90 <i>Jewish</i> captives for a talent. <i>Gorgias</i> coming with a detachment of 5000 men to surprize <i>Judas's</i> camp, <i>Judas</i> falls on him, kills 3000, and disperses the rest, then burns <i>Gorgias's</i> camp, takes his baggage, &c. which he dispersed his men, that they fled, and <i>Judas</i> in the pursuit killed 6000 more of them. Soon after <i>Timotheus</i> , governor beyond <i>Jordan</i> , and <i>Bacchides</i> comes against <i>Judas</i> , who by this time was grown numerous; they engage, <i>Judas</i> entirely overthrows them, and kills 20 000, gets much spoil, takes several strong fortresses, which he manned and armed, &c.	IV	60
4140	2833	166	Two plebeians, for the first time, are advanced to the consulate, viz. <i>P. Acilius Ligus</i> and <i>C. Popilius Lænas</i> , though afterwards it was common.	IV	761
4140	2833	166	<i>Perfes</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> , hires ruffians to murder <i>Eumenes</i> king of <i>Pergamus</i> , (for being in alliance with <i>Rome</i>) as he was going to <i>Delpbos</i> .	IV	761
4140	2833	166	The commissioners sent from the <i>Roman</i> senate into <i>Achaia</i> , to enquire who had favoured <i>Perfes</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> , cites more than a 1000 great men to <i>Rome</i> to answer the information given against them by <i>Callicrates</i> : Upon their arrival at <i>Rome</i> , they were all banished into different cities of <i>Italy</i> , and there kept close prisoners.	II	689
4140	2833	166	<i>Antiochus</i> goes again into <i>Egypt</i> , engages and routs the <i>Egyptians</i> with great slaughter; to prevent an utter extirpation he rode about from place to place to forbid the slaughter, and so gained the love of the <i>Egyptians</i> ; and takes <i>Pellusium</i> , and lead their army into the very heart of the kingdom, when all submitted to him; so that he was master of <i>Memphis</i> and all <i>Egypt</i> , except <i>Alexandria</i> : He got <i>Ptolemy Philopater</i> into his hands, and pretended to act as his friend and guardian; but <i>Antiochus</i> seized all that was valuable for himself, pillaging the cities, and causing unheard of desolations and cruelties to be committed, enriching himself and soldiers with the spoil.	III	576
4140	2833	166	The <i>Alexandrians</i> proclaim the brother of <i>Ptolemy Philometer</i> king of <i>Egypt</i> , who took the name of <i>Ptolemy Euergetes the Second</i> , which was afterwards changed into <i>Phyfeon</i> (or the great bellied;) but <i>Antiochus</i> a while after sets up <i>Ptolemy Philometer</i> against him, but by the mediation of <i>Cleopatra</i> their sister, and the <i>Roman</i> deputies, 'twas agreed they should reign jointly.	III	650
4140	2833	166	<i>Phyfeon</i> having drove his brother <i>Philometer</i> out of <i>Egypt</i> , <i>Philometer</i> goes on foot to <i>Rome</i> , in a very mean garb and small attendance; but the senate ordered him lodgings, &c. suitable to his condition, and the quaestor to allow him every thing he wanted at the publick expence: Appearing before the senate, he made his ill usage appear in such a light to them, that they decreed him his crown, and sent <i>Quinctius</i> and <i>Canuleius</i> , two of their own members, to attend him to <i>Alexandria</i> , to see their decree put in execution, so great was the power of <i>Rome</i> now become. Accordingly, upon their arrival an accommodation was brought about, and <i>Phyfeon</i> was put in possession of <i>Lybia</i> and <i>Cyrene</i> , and <i>Philometer</i> of all <i>Egypt</i> and the island of <i>Cyprus</i> , and each prince was declared independant of the other.	III	651
4141	2834	165	<i>Lyfias</i> came from <i>Antioch</i> into <i>Judea</i> , with an army of 60,000 foot and 500 horse, <i>Judas</i> meets and engages him at <i>Bethsura</i> , with only 10,000 men, defeats him, and kills 5000. <i>Lyfias</i> returns home, and <i>Judas</i> goes to <i>Jerusalem</i> , cleanses and purifies the temple and city, and having made new altars, vessels, and vestments, out of the spoils taken from the <i>Syrians</i> , he began the divine worship with the dedication of the new altar, utensils, &c. on the 25th of <i>Cislea</i> , having lain three years polluted and demolished, &c. This feast lasted eight days with great joy and devotion, and was annually observed by the name of the feast of dedication by the whole nation, till the destruction of the temple by the <i>Romans</i> .	IV	61
4141	2834	165	<i>Antiochus Epiphanes</i> being greatly bruised by a fall from his chariot as it was driving furiously along, mortified, and bred such a large number of worms that made the stench intolerable, the pain whereof threw him into a frenzy, in which condition he died, but before his departure sends for <i>Philip</i> , his chief favourite, and appoints him guardian of his son, regent of the <i>Syrian</i> empire, during his son <i>Antiochus's</i> minority, and delivers him the seal of the empire, and the other ensigns of royalty; but this office was seized upon and usurped by <i>Lyfias</i> , who had proclaimed the young <i>Antiochus Eupator's</i> the senate of <i>Rome</i> , thought fit to send three persons into <i>Syria</i> to perform that office, with the cruel instructions, that as soon as they should be in possession of the guardianship, to burn all the ships with decks, that the king of <i>Syria</i> had, to hamstring all his elephants, and to weaken by all means possible the strength of that powerful kingdom.	III	583
4141	2834	165	<i>Phyfeon</i> dissatisfied with his share, petitions the senate to add <i>Cyprus</i> to his part, which they do, but <i>Philometer</i> refuses to comply. The <i>Cyrenians</i> disliking <i>Phyfeon's</i> government, revolt; he goes against them and is defeated. <i>Phyfeon</i> sends ambassadors to <i>Rome</i> : the senate confirms their former decree, orders <i>Phy-</i>		

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			<i>loneter's ambassadors to be gone in five days, and renounces all friendship and alliance with him: Phrycon receiving this news, and having quelled the rebellion, behaved so disagreeably to the Cyrenians, that they set upon and wounded him in several places, leaving him for dead; but recovering, he goes to Rome, shews his scars, and charges his brother with the assassination: The senate angry with Philometor for not submitting to their decree about Cyprus, refuse to hear his ambassadors, and send five ambassadors along with Phrycon to settle him in Cyprus, requiring all their allies in those parts to furnish him with forces for that purpose. Philometor comes against him in person, engages and routs his forces: Phrycon shuts himself up in Lanitba, a city of Cyprus, where he is besieged, taken, and delivered to Philometor, who forgave him, restored Lybia and Cyrene to him, and gave him his daughter in marriage, and other lands in lieu of Cyprus, and so ended the war between the two brothers.</i>	III 653
4141	2834	165	The senate make two laws, viz. That all under 46 years of age should appear in order to be incorporated in the legions; and, That all come from Macedonia within three years last past should return to their duty.	IV 762
4142	2835	164	Judas the Jewish captain falls on the Idumeans, &c. at Acrabattene, and kills 20,000, then drove the children of Bezan into their two strong towers, where he besieged them; but some of the officers having received 70,000 drachms to let part of them escape, he put them to death for it, and took the fortresses by assault, put both garrisons (consisting of 20,000) to death, and burnt the towers to the ground.	IV 63
4142	2835	164	Timotheus the Syrian general comes into Judea with a great army; Judas meets him, kills 30,500 foot, and 600 horse, and forced him to retreat to Gazara, whither he follows and besieges him, takes the place, and slays him, his brother, and Apollaphanes another Syrian general. The successes of Judas made the Jews every where hated and persecuted, to relieve whom Judas first fell on the city Bassora, took it, destroyed all the males, delivered his brethren, and set fire to the city; then engages another Syrian general, named Timotheus, slew 8000 of his men, and dispersed the rest; then went to the other Gileaditish cities, and served them as he had done Bassora, and then returned to Jerusalem laden with spoil and a vast number of delivered Jews. Simon, Judas's brother, was as successful in Galilee; but Joseph and his brother going against Jamnia, was defeated by Gorgias, having 2000 men killed. Judas goes against Hebron, the metropolis of Idume, takes and demolishes it, with all the neighbouring towns, from whence he carried off great plunder; he then went through the land of the Philistines, destroyed their fortresses, and all their altars and groves dedicated to idolatry.	IV 66
4143	2836	163	Perfes is intirely routed at Pydna by the Roman consul Paulus Emilius, who killing 20,000 of his troops, &c. then ships himself and money (amounting to 2000 talents) for Samo-Thrace: Emilius gives the plunder of the camp to the infantry, and of the adjacent country to the horse, but would not suffer the city to be medled with; and all the royal treasure he carried to Rome. In two days all Macedonia, except Pydna, submitted to Rome. Perfes is taken prisoner by the Roman admiral. Emilius at Amphipolis changes the Macedonian government into a number of republicks, then strips the kingdom of its wealth, and returns to Italy with the two kings, Perfes and Gentius, prisoners, who graced the consul's triumph.	III 438
4143	2836	163	Demetrius, son of Seleucus Philopator, who was kept as a hostage at Rome, making his escape from thence, upon his arrival in Syria is universally acknowledged king; and Lyfias and his ward Antiochus Eupator being delivered to him, he orders them both to be put to death. He is honoured by the Babylonians with the surname of Soter, and is also acknowledged king by the senate of Rome.	III 590
4143	2836	163	Demetrius sets up and supports one Holofernes, a pretended child of the queen of Cappadocia, in opposition to Ariaratbes, the true heir.	III 592
4143	2836	163	Lyfias the Syrian, who had usurped the regency, comes into Judea with an army of 80,000 men, all the cavalry of the kingdom, and 80 elephant, and besieged Bethsura; but being defeated by Judas, with the loss of 11,000 foot and 1000 horse, strikes up a peace with him, by which the Jews were allowed the free exercise of their religion every where; but the other neighbouring countries being dissatisfied with it, enter Judea with 120,000 foot and 5000 horse, under the command of Timotheus, and put all to the fire and sword; but Judas attacked him, and killed 30,000 of them, and pursuing them comes up with them again at the city of Carnion. many of them taking sanctuary in the temple of Atargatis, he consumed it and them with fire, and puts all in the town to the sword, to the number of 25,000, and razed the city to the ground; after which he made himself master of Idumea, and the Philistines country, and took Azotus, or Ashdod; then returning to Jerusalem, he besieged the Syrian garrison in the fortrets there, to whose relief came 100,000 foot, 20,000 horse, 32 elephants, and 300 chariots of war, the king in person, with Lyfias the regent: They first besieged Bethsura, where Judas attacks them in the night, kills 4000, and puts the whole in confusion, and retires without the loss of one man; but after another engagement, Judas having but a small army, was obliged to retire to Jerusalem, and Bethsura forced to surrender, from whence Antiochus marches to Jerusalem. In the mean time Philip, whom the late king had appointed regent and guardian of his son, raised a great army, and seized Antioch, the capital of Syria, and took upon him the government of the kingdom; upon this Lyfias makes peace with the Jews, and goes against Philip.	III 583
4143	2836	163	Ariaratbes, king of Cappadocia, offers the Roman ambassadors an army to protect their persons, and to support them in their pretended regencies, but they refuse	

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			it, and go unarmed in the senate's name to <i>Laodicea</i> (a sea-port town) and caused the <i>Syrian</i> ships to be burnt, and the elephants disabled, for which <i>Octavius</i> was killed in the <i>Gymnasium</i> there by an <i>African</i> . <i>Demetrius</i> , now at <i>Rome</i> , petitions the senate a second time, but is refused; upon which the senate sends three ambassadors into <i>Syria</i> to watch the event there. Upon <i>Demetrius's</i> landing in <i>Tripolis</i> , he is acknowledged and proclaimed king; and he gave out that the <i>Roman</i> senate had sent him, and that they would support him; upon which all the army and officers came over to him; the city and strong holds strive who shall first submit; so that in a few days the whole kingdom was his: <i>Antioch</i> threw open her gates to him, and joyfully invite him to the palace of his ancestors. <i>Lyfias</i> and <i>Eupator</i> are seized and delivered to him, and both put to death. <i>Demetrius</i> immediately delivers the <i>Babylonians</i> from the tyranny of <i>Timarchus</i> and <i>Heraclides</i> , by putting the first to death and banishing the last, for which he is called <i>Soter</i> .	III	59 ¹
4143	2836	163	This year <i>Terence</i> the famous dramatick poet was in his highest reputation at <i>Rome</i> .	IV	76 ⁵
4143	2836	163	<i>Paulus Æmilius</i> being one of this year's censors, by the census taken 337,522 citizens are found in <i>Rome</i> fit to bear arms. Soon after he died in a private station, very poor, notwithstanding the large sums he had taken from the enemy and brought into the publick treasury.	IV	76
4143	2836	163	The consul <i>Tib. Sempronius Gracchus</i> goes with an army against the revolted <i>Ligurians</i> ; and the consul <i>M. Juventus Thalna</i> sails into <i>Corfica</i> , to quell a rebellion there, both which were easily effected.	IV	76 ⁵
4144	2837	162	The <i>Rhodians</i> having taken <i>Calymda</i> , a famous city of <i>Caria</i> , sends to offer it to the <i>Roman</i> senate, and so made up all differences between them.	III	15 ⁷
4144	2837	162	The <i>Roman</i> senate, instead of making <i>Illyricum</i> and <i>Macedon</i> two <i>Roman</i> provinces, change them into two republicks, and send 10 commissioners to settle them. <i>Æmilius</i> plunders <i>Epirus</i> : When <i>Anicius</i> , <i>Octavius</i> , and <i>Æmilius</i> returned to <i>Rome</i> , they were all honoured with triumphs, of which <i>Æmilius's</i> was by much the finest that <i>Rome</i> had ever seen. <i>Rome</i> was so enriched by the spoils brought from <i>Macedon</i> , that she had no occasion to tax the people from this time to the time of <i>Augustus</i> .	III	157
4144	2837	162	<i>Demetrius</i> (now king of <i>Syria</i>) sends presents to <i>Rome</i> , which are accepted, and gets himself acknowledged king of <i>Syria</i> by the senate.	III	59 ²
4145	2838	161	<i>Demetrius</i> king of <i>Syria</i> , by the wicked misrepresentations of the <i>Jewish</i> high-priest, who went to <i>Antioch</i> on purpose to make <i>Demetrius</i> large presents, and to complain of <i>Nicanor</i> the <i>Syrian</i> general, who had concluded a peace with the <i>Jews</i> , sends positive commands for his general <i>Nicanor</i> to break the peace he had concluded with <i>Judas</i> , and not to sheath his sword till he had killed him.	IV	72
4146	2839	160	<i>Nicanor</i> marches into the neighbourhood of <i>Bethoron</i> with an army of 35,000 men to attack <i>Judas</i> , where they engage; <i>Nicanor</i> is killed, and his army routed, and the <i>Jews</i> kill them all in their flight, so that not one returned to <i>Antioch</i> : This victory was obtained on the 13th day of <i>Adar</i> (<i>February</i>) which is kept as a festival annually ever since by the name of the <i>Day of Nicar</i> .	IV	76
4146	2839	160	<i>Alcimus</i> , a <i>Jewish</i> apostate, being general of the <i>Syrian</i> army and governor of <i>Jerusalem</i> , was struck with the dead palsy, and died immediately, after he had blasphemed the <i>Jewish</i> religion, and ordered the wall of the temple to be demolished.	IV	76
4146	2839	160	<i>Judas</i> , general of the <i>Jews</i> in <i>Judea</i> , sends <i>Eupolemus</i> son of <i>John</i> , and <i>Jason</i> the son of <i>Eleazer</i> to <i>Rome</i> , with proposals of an alliance, &c. which being accepted, the senate made a decree, and sent it ingraven upon copper to <i>Jerusalem</i> , importing that the <i>Jews</i> were thenceforth acknowledged as friends and allies of the <i>Romans</i> , that both nations should succour each other, and their allies, &c. and they sent a letter to <i>Demetrius</i> king of <i>Syria</i> , enjoining him to forbear hostilities against the <i>Jews</i> , threatening him with an invasion by land and sea if he did not comply with their orders.	IV	74
4146	2839	160	<i>Demetrius</i> sends <i>Bacchides</i> and <i>Alcimus</i> into <i>Gallilee</i> , with an army of 20,000 foot and 2000 horse, and kills a great many <i>Jews</i> ; then goes to <i>Eleasa</i> , where <i>Judas</i> had only 3000 men, who all deserted him but 800, with which he was forced to engage <i>Bacchides</i> , but being overcome with numbers he was slain, in the 6th year of his generalship and the 3d year of his high priesthood, and was succeeded by his brother <i>Jonathan</i> (surnamed <i>Apphus</i>) but the people through fear and famine submitted to <i>Bacchides</i> as their governor, upon which broke out a terrible persecution.	IV	75
4147	2840	159	<i>Demetrius</i> king of <i>Syria</i> having offered his sister <i>Laodicea</i> to <i>Ariarathes</i> king of <i>Cappadocia</i> for his wife, which he not accepting, <i>Demetrius</i> sets up one <i>Holofernes</i> as the right heir to the crown of <i>Cappadocia</i> : He goes with his army and drives <i>Ariarathes</i> out of <i>Cappadocia</i> , and set <i>Holofernes</i> on the throne, notwithstanding he was assisted by <i>Eumenes</i> king of <i>Pergamus</i> by express order of the senate. <i>Ariarathes</i> flew to <i>Rome</i> for safety, whither <i>Holofernes</i> having sent presents and ambassadors, they are ordered to reign jointly; but <i>Attalus</i> assisting <i>Ariarathes</i> , drives <i>Holofernes</i> out of the kingdom, and <i>Ariarathes</i> reigns alone, and <i>Holofernes</i> retires to <i>Antioch</i> to his patron <i>Demetrius</i> .	III	766
4148	2841	158	<i>Jonathan</i> the <i>Jewish</i> general discovers a plot laid against him and his friends, to seize and deliver them into the hands of <i>Bacchides</i> ; he gets the chief of the conspirators and puts 50 of them to death. <i>Bacchides</i> besieges him in <i>Bethbasi</i> , with a very numerous army: <i>Jonathan</i> and his brother <i>Simon</i> by frequent sallies cuts off great part of it, and at last routed him. <i>Bacchides</i> puts many of those to death who had invited him out of <i>Syria</i> . Upon this a peace is concluded, and <i>Bacchides</i> returns to <i>Antioch</i> , and <i>Jonathan</i> is appointed governor of		

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			<i>Judea</i> , and settled in <i>Mickmah</i> , and made very severe examples of the apostate <i>Jews</i> .	IV	77
4149	2842	157	The <i>Dalmatians</i> bordering upon <i>Illyricum</i> made incursions and committed great robberies there, though tributary to <i>Rome</i> : <i>Faminius</i> being sent ambassador from the senate, they would scarce give him audience	IV	765
4149	2842	157	<i>Massinissa</i> having invaded <i>Tyfa</i> , a rich province of <i>Carthage</i> , ten commissioners are sent by the senate to settle the dispute: but the <i>Carthaginians</i> appealing to the settlement formerly made, <i>Cato</i> becomes their enemy, and always prompted the senate to a war.	IV	766
4150	2843	156	The consul <i>C. Marcius Figulus</i> having influenced the senate to proclaim war against the <i>Dalmatians</i> , goes against them, and is defeated.	IV	766
4151	2844	155	The consul <i>Scipio Nasica</i> besieges and takes <i>Delminium</i> , the metropolis of <i>Dalmatia</i> , and then brought the whole country under subjection, all in one campaign.	IV	766
4152	2845	154	The consul <i>L. Posthumius Albinus</i> goes into <i>Cisalpine Gaul</i> , to assist the inhabitants of <i>Marfeilles</i> against the <i>Ligurians</i> , defeats them and the <i>Deceate</i> , and reduced their whole country, comprehending the present territory of <i>Antibes</i> and <i>Grasse</i> : This was the first <i>Roman</i> conquest beyond the <i>Alps</i> .	IV	767
4153	2846	153	<i>Demetrius</i> having given himself up to pleasure, particularly drunkenness, neglects the government, and gains the ill-will of his people; upon which one <i>Alexander Balas</i> is set up by the <i>Romans</i> , <i>Egyptians</i> , &c. to be the son of <i>Antiochus Epiphanes</i> , who lays claim to the crown at the head of a great army, upon which <i>Demetrius</i> engages him, is overcome, and loses his life and kingdom.	III	596
4153	2846	153	2. <i>Fulvius Nobilior</i> and <i>T. Annius Lucus</i> being chose consuls, the exigencies of state requiring it, they enter upon their office the 1st of <i>January</i> , which from this time forward was observed instead of the 15th of <i>March</i> , which used to be the day. <i>Fulvius</i> was sent into <i>Spain</i> , where all things was in an uproar, where being arrived, he marched against the <i>Segedani</i> and <i>Aravacæ</i> ; their general <i>Carus</i> with 25,000 men lay in ambush for the consul in a wood, surprised him, and killed 6000 legionaries; but pursuing them too eagerly, the <i>Roman</i> horse attacked him and killed him, and killed 6000 of his men. The <i>Spaniards</i> having chose two new generals, are again attacked near <i>Numantia</i> , and overthrown by the elephants sent by <i>Massinissa</i> ; the consul endeavoured to scale the walls, but one of the elephants being wounded, made such a hideous noise, that the rest turned upon the <i>Roman</i> army and put them in disorder; the <i>Numantians</i> sally out at the same time, and defeat the consul's troops, and kills 4000 of them: After this defeat great numbers of his men perished with cold, want and fatigue, he keeping them encamped all the winter.	IV	767
4153	2846	153	The <i>Roman</i> prætor <i>Mummius</i> engaging the <i>Lusitanians</i> , puts them to the rout; but pursuing them disorderly, they rally, kill 9000 of his men, and take and plunder his camp: Being now reduced to 5000, the <i>Romans</i> wait in an advantageous post to retrieve their honour, from whence they cut off a <i>Lusitanian</i> detachment, and recover the <i>Roman</i> standards.	IV	767
4153	2846	153	<i>Demetrius</i> king of <i>Persia</i> , to prevent <i>Jonathan</i> the <i>Jewish</i> general's siding with <i>Alexander Balas</i> against him, offers him by letter great presents to accept him as his friend and ally, to give the <i>Jews</i> liberty all over his dominions to exercise their own religion unmolested, to set free what hostages and captives he had, &c. upon which <i>Jonathan</i> repairs to <i>Jerusalem</i> , repairs both the city and temple, &c. <i>Balas</i> writes to him, offers him the high-priesthood, and sends him a purple robe and golden crown, which he accepted and joined him.	IV	78
4154	2847	152	<i>Andriscus</i> , a native of <i>Adrymitium</i> , pretends to be <i>Philip</i> , one of the late <i>Perses</i> 's sons, sets up, and is acknowledged king of <i>Macedon</i> ; but after various battles and successes, is at last led captive to <i>Rome</i> , where he was a principal trophy in <i>Metellus</i> the consul's triumph.	III	501
4154	2847	152	<i>M. Claudius Marcellus</i> goes into <i>Spain</i> with 8000 foot and 500 horse, was attacked, but put the <i>Spaniards</i> to flight, and made dreadful havock of the fugitives, &c. They sue for peace, which he grants, but the senate refuses to confirm it.	IV	763
4154	2847	152	A war breaks out in <i>Africa</i> between <i>Massinissa</i> and the <i>Carthaginians</i> , and <i>Archobazanes</i> , king of part of <i>Numidia</i> , joins the <i>Carthaginians</i> . The <i>Roman</i> senate send <i>Scipio Nasica</i> to compose the differences, which he does, and <i>Massinissa</i> was ordered to restore the lands that occasioned the quarrel; but <i>Guisco</i> , a <i>Carthaginian</i> senator, stirs up the multitude, so that <i>Nasica</i> was forced to fly to <i>Rome</i> , and 40 <i>Carthaginian</i> senators that approved the peace were put to death.	IV	768
4155	2848	151	The tribunes of the people of <i>Rome</i> went so far as to imprison the two consuls <i>L. Licinius Lucullus</i> and <i>A. Posthumius Albinus</i> , for forcing some <i>Roman</i> youths to serve in the army designed for <i>Spain</i> ; but <i>Scipio Emilianus</i> , son of <i>Paulus Æmilius</i> , offering his service, the rest followed: But both the consuls in their several provinces acted most shamefully, covetous, mercenary, and vile.	IV	769
4156	2849	150	<i>Alexander Balas</i> (now king of <i>Syria</i>) invites <i>Jonathan</i> the <i>Jewish</i> chief to his marriage, where he was received with great respect at <i>Ptolemais</i> , when the king clothed him in purple, set him by him, and declared him generalissimo of <i>Judea</i> , confirmed his former grants, &c. The <i>Jews</i> now had respite every where, and in <i>Egypt</i> <i>Onias</i> and <i>Dositheus</i> were the king's chief favourites, so that <i>Onias</i> built a temple, and was high priest thereof, &c.	IV	79
4156	2849	150	A bloody war breaks out between <i>Massinissa</i> and the <i>Carthaginians</i> ; a battle is fought, wherein the <i>Carthaginians</i> lose 50,000 men, &c.	IV	770
4156	2849	150	<i>P. Juventus Thalma</i> and <i>C. Cælius</i> are sent by the <i>Roman</i> senate against the new king of <i>Macedon</i> ; they engage, and the <i>Romans</i> are entirely routed, and <i>Juventus</i> and <i>Cælius</i> slain; and thus <i>Macedon</i> was again freed, and a passage opened into <i>Thessaly</i> , which he united to <i>Macedon</i> .	III	504

			(983)		
Y. of World	Y. of Flood	Before Christ		Vol.	Page
4156	2849	150	Three hundred of the exiles of <i>Achaia</i> return home from <i>Rome</i> , out of a thousand, after seventeen years imprisonment.	II	630
4157	2850	149	The <i>Carthaginians</i> care for <i>Philip</i> , now king of <i>Macedon</i> , and desire his assistance against the <i>Romans</i> , which he promises, but neglects to perform it, and gives himself up to cruelty and vice, plundering his people, and murdering all that disliked him or that he disliked.	III	504
4157	2850	149	The <i>Romans</i> take the advantage of the <i>Carthaginians</i> , distress and declare war against them: <i>Utica</i> , the second city in <i>Africa</i> submits; the consuls <i>M. Manilius Nepos</i> and <i>L. Marcus Censorinus</i> go against them with 80,000 foot, 4000 horse, and a fleet of 50 quinquerems, &c.	VII	97
4157	2850	149	The <i>Carthaginians</i> send ambassadors to make their submission to <i>Rome</i> , who first require 300 young noblemen for hostages, which being delivered to the consuls at <i>Lilybaeum</i> , were told, when they came to <i>Utica</i> they should know what was further required of them; accordingly, when they come there, the <i>Romans</i> demanded, 1. A supply of corn for their troops. 2. To surrender all their triremes, and military machines, and bring in all their arms to the <i>Roman</i> camp, which were all comply'd with; and then <i>Censorinus</i> ordered them to demolish their city, but they resolved rather to die than yield to this. <i>Manilius</i> attacks <i>Carthage</i> by land, and <i>Marcus</i> by sea, but <i>Asdrubal</i> with an army of 20,000 men, annoyed <i>Manilius</i> very much, so that the siege went on slowly; but <i>Manilius</i> took the strong city of <i>Texaga</i> , killed 12,000, and took 6000 prisoners.	VII	110
4157	2850	149	<i>Maffinissa</i> approaching his end, desires <i>Æmilianus</i> to assist his three sons, <i>Micipsa</i> , <i>Gulussa</i> , and <i>Maffanabal</i> , with his advice, and to divide his dominions among them, which he performed in the most prudent and equitable manner.	VII	126
4157	2850	149	<i>Æmilianus</i> by his address gained <i>Phameas</i> , the general of the <i>Carthaginian</i> horse, to come over to the <i>Romans</i> , with 2200 horse under his command.	VII	101
4157	2850	149	The <i>Achaean</i> quarrelling with the <i>Lacedaemonians</i> , sends <i>Democritus</i> , their prætor, against them, defeats them, and kills 1000 of their men.	II	692
4158	2851	148	<i>Apollonius</i> , governor of <i>Cælo-Syria</i> and <i>Palestine</i> , revolt to <i>Demetrius</i> , son of the late king of <i>Syria</i> , in opposition to <i>Alexander Balas</i> , now king: <i>Joratan</i> the Jewish chief goes against him; but <i>Joppa</i> shutting its gates against him, he took it in fight of the enemy: He then engaged the army and routed it; the foot fled to <i>Axetus</i> , and took sanctuary in the temple of <i>Dagon</i> ; the Jews pursue them, take the town, and destroy it and the temple by fire. Thus he killed 8000.	IV	80
4158	2851	148	<i>Metellus</i> is sent by the senate against <i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> ; they engage several times with various success, but at last <i>Metellus</i> routed him, and he flies to the <i>Thracians</i> , where he raises another army and engages <i>Metellus</i> again, and is again overthrown with great slaughter, then he flew to <i>Byzas</i> , a <i>Thracian</i> prince, who delivered him up to <i>Metellus</i> , who was honoured with a triumph at his return to <i>Rome</i> , at which <i>Philip</i> was led. <i>Metellus</i> appointed new magistrates, and wholly changed the <i>Macedonian</i> government.	III	505
4158	2851	148	Soon after the taking <i>Philip</i> prisoner, one <i>Alexander</i> sets himself up, pretending to be another of <i>Perseus</i> 's sons, but is quickly defeated, and <i>Macedonia</i> declared a <i>Roman</i> province.	III	505
4158	2851	148	<i>Diaus</i> the <i>Achaean</i> prætor, at the request of <i>Metellus</i> , makes a truce with the <i>Lacedaemonians</i> , which <i>Menalcidas</i> their general breaks; the <i>Spartans</i> would have punished him for it, but he killed himself to prevent it.	II	692
4158	2851	148	The <i>Roman</i> deputies or commissioners landing at <i>Corinth</i> , orders <i>Corinth</i> , <i>Lacedaemon</i> , <i>Argos</i> , <i>Heraclea</i> , and <i>Oreboemes</i> to be separated from the general or <i>Achaean</i> league, and to be governed by their own laws independantly of the confederacy. The populace enraged, fall upon all they <i>Lacedaemonians</i> they could find, and either strip them or put them to death; those who flew to the commissioners for refuge were dragged out from thence, though the deputies threatened them with the highest resentment of <i>Rome</i> . Upon their return they did all they could to infligate the senate against them, who thought fit only to send three new deputies for the present.	II	633
4158	2851	148	The consul <i>Calpurnius Piso</i> invests <i>Clupea</i> , but is obliged to abandon it with shame and disgrace, the inhabitants by frequent sallies having killed great numbers of his men. He then went to <i>Neapolis</i> , which, though a neutral town, and even under the protection of <i>Rome</i> , he plundered, &c.	IV	774
4159	2852	147	<i>Metellus</i> sends deputies to <i>Corinth</i> , to prevail with the <i>Achaean</i> s to be quiet with <i>Lacedaemon</i> , who are ill treated and drove away with all manner of affronts, and <i>Critolaus</i> their prætor declares open war with the <i>Lacedaemonians</i> , and consequently with <i>Rome</i> , under whose protection they are. <i>Metellus</i> engages <i>Critolaus</i> , kills him and many others, takes 1000 prisoners, and disperses the rest, then cuts 1000 <i>Arcadians</i> to pieces. <i>Diaus</i> the prætor succeeding <i>Critolaus</i> , orders 12,000 slaves to be freed and armed, all the jewels, and gold and silver ornaments to be brought in to raise money, &c.	II	696
4159	2852	147	The <i>Roman</i> prætor <i>Metellus</i> coming to <i>Thebes</i> , found <i>Pythias</i> the governor and most of the inhabitants were fled, so that he entered without opposition, used the people with great clemency, and saved the temples and houses from destruction. The people of <i>Megara</i> opened their gates to him, and put him in full possession of <i>Achaia</i> . <i>Metellus</i> sends three deputies to <i>Corinth</i> to treat of peace, but <i>Diaus</i> imprisoned them and condemned them to die.	II	697
4159	2852	147	The consul <i>Scipio Æmilianus</i> takes <i>Megalia</i> , a part of <i>Carthage</i> , which so enraged <i>Asdrubal</i> the governor, that he caused all the <i>Roman</i> prisoners which he had to be thrown headlong from the ramparts, in the sight of the <i>Roman</i> army, after having cut off their hands and feet, and pulled out their eyes and tongues.	IV	776

52	147	<i>Laelius</i> , lieutenant of <i>Æmilianus</i> , engages <i>Diogenes</i> the <i>Carthaginian</i> general at <i>Nepheris</i> , overcomes, kills and takes 80,000 of his men : Upon this the <i>African</i> revolt to the <i>Romans</i> , who take the city of <i>Nepheris</i> , and soon after <i>Carthage</i> was taken by storm. <i>Asdrubal</i> and many others submitted to the <i>Romans</i> , but his wife and 900 deserters committed themselves to the flames, and thereby destroyed themselves, the citadel, and the famous temple of <i>Æsculapius</i> : The plunder and spoil was past all belief.	VII	104
352	147	A new pretended <i>Philip</i> sets up for the throne of <i>Macedon</i> , and makes a great progress, many of the people and cities joining him. <i>Junius Tremelius</i> is sent against him with a great <i>Roman</i> army ; they engage, and <i>Philip</i> is defeated and slain, and <i>Macedonia</i> made a <i>Roman</i> province, which <i>D. Junius Syllanus</i> governing with great severity and injustice, the <i>Macedonians</i> accuse him to the senate, who cite him to appear ; but <i>Titus Manlius Torquatus</i> his father got the matter to be referred to him, and to be heard at his own house : the deputies appear, and the father condemns the son, who soon after hanged himself.	III	507
353	146	<i>Ptolemy Philometer</i> gives his daughter <i>Cleopatra</i> to wife to <i>Demetrius</i> , the son of <i>Demetrius Soter</i> , and goes against <i>Balas</i> near <i>Antioch</i> ; they engage, where <i>Balas</i> is entirely overthrown, and escaping with only 500 horse, goes into <i>Arabia</i> , where he is murdered by <i>Zabdiel</i> . <i>Ptolemy</i> died of his wounds, and <i>Demetrius</i> ascended the throne of <i>Syria</i> , and called himself <i>Nicator</i> , or the conqueror. <i>Jonathan</i> the <i>Jewish</i> chief being cited by <i>Demetrius</i> to <i>Ptolemais</i> , went, and there to answer the complaints exhibited against him, that the king annexed to <i>Judea</i> the three governments of <i>Apherama</i> , <i>Lydda</i> , and <i>Ramatba</i> , and freed the country from all future taxes for 300 talents ready money.	III	601
853	146	The consul <i>Mummius</i> comes before <i>Corinth</i> with a <i>Roman</i> army, consisting of 23,000 foot and 3500 horse, besides a large number of <i>Cretan</i> archers. <i>Diæus</i> comes out, is coaxed into a snare, and is entirely defeated ; upon which he runs full speed to his house in <i>Megalopolis</i> , sets it on fire, throws his wife and children into the flames, and poisons himself ; the inhabitants fly out of the city, the <i>Romans</i> enter it, put what men they find in it to the sword, and sell the women and children for slaves ; then the city was ransacked by the soldiers, and fire being put to all the corners of the city at the same time, reduced it all to ashes, and afterwards the walls were demolished : Thus <i>Corinth</i> was destroyed 950 years after its foundation by <i>Alæus</i> the son of <i>Hippotes</i> . Soon after commissioners came from <i>Rome</i> , who abolished popular government in all the cities of <i>Greece</i> , and appointed governors under the <i>Roman</i> prætor, who was sent annually. Thus <i>Greece</i> was reduced to a <i>Roman</i> province. <i>Mummius</i> at his return to <i>Rome</i> was honoured with a triumph, adorned with the finest paintings, statues, &c. of <i>Greece</i> , to an immense value.	II	300
854	145	<i>Demetrius</i> king of <i>Syria</i> being angry with the <i>Antiochians</i> , demanded their arms, upon which the inhabitants revolt, and besiege the king in his palace with an army of 120,000 men. <i>Jonathan</i> comes with 3000 men to assist <i>Demetrius</i> ; they sally out, and kill 100,000, and set fire to the city ; upon which the rest submit, and a pardon is granted them, notwithstanding which <i>Demetrius</i> put many to death, confiscated their estates, and oppressed them with all manner of cruelty, and then breaks with <i>Jonathan</i> , demanding taxes, &c.	III	602
855	144	<i>Viriathus</i> the <i>Lusitanian</i> general had gained great advantages for seven years together in <i>Spain</i> , over the several prætors, in three pitched battles and several skirmishes ; but this year <i>Q. Fabius Æmilianus</i> gained two victories over him, but the senate did not grant him a triumph, it being customary not to allow that honour unless the general had killed at least 5000 of the enemy in one battle.	IV	780
855	144	<i>Tryphon</i> comes into <i>Syria</i> , with <i>Antiochus</i> the son of <i>Alexander Balas</i> , and claims the crown, styling himself guardian and protector of the young king. <i>Demetrius</i> being hated, is deserted by many, and forced to come to a battle, is entirely routed, all his elephants taken, and he forced within the walls of <i>Seleucia</i> for shelter. <i>Antiochus</i> goes straight to <i>Antioch</i> , whose gates being opened to him, he mounts the throne of <i>Syria</i> , and has the surname of <i>Theos</i> given him.	III	603
855	244	<i>Antiochus Theos</i> king of <i>Syria</i> confirms to <i>Jonathan</i> the <i>Jewish</i> chief all the former grants of favour, and adds several others to them ; he made <i>Simon</i> his brother general of all his forces, and governor of all the sea coasts. <i>Jonathan</i> and his brother crossed the <i>Jordan</i> at the head of their troops, and defeated <i>Demetrius's</i> forces, killing 3000, &c. They sent an embassy to <i>Rome</i> to renew their alliance with the senate, ordering them at their return to do the same with <i>Lacedæmon</i> and all <i>Greece</i> .	IV	82
856	143	<i>Tryphon</i> prevails upon <i>Jonathan</i> to disband his troops, and wheedled him to <i>Ptolemais</i> with only 1000 men, which being done, <i>Tryphon</i> murders all his retinue, and seizes him, demands a large ransom for him and his two sons hostages, upon the receipt whereof he murdered him and his sons also. <i>Simon</i> his brother is declared commander and high-priest of the <i>Jews</i> at <i>Jerusalem</i> : Immediately he raised a considerable army, and finished the walls of the city ; then sends to renew the alliance with <i>Rome</i> , <i>Lacedæmon</i> , and <i>Greece</i> , which was readily complied with ; then sends to <i>Demetrius</i> , offers to assist him in the recovery of his kingdom, and presents him with a gold crown ; <i>Demetrius</i> accepts the conditions, ratifies all his dignities, and styled him prince and high-priest of the <i>Jews</i> , which the <i>Sanhedrim</i> also confirmed to him, and his children after him.	IV	83
857	142	The <i>Syrian</i> garison in the strong fortress of <i>Acra</i> , after two years siege, capitulates and marches out ; <i>Simon</i> and his men enter, with palms in their hands, trumpets and other instruments sounding, accompanied with songs, &c. he first ordered it to be lustrated and cleaned from all idols, but afterwards he resolved		

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			to demolish it, and the hill upon which it stood, which took up three years to complete.	IV	86
4164	2857	142	<i>Metellus</i> gained so vast a reputation by his strict adherence to military discipline and generosity to captives, that many places submit voluntarily to him; and he admits the <i>Nertabrigians</i> in <i>Hither Spain</i> into an alliance with <i>Rome</i> ; but at the same time the consul <i>Servilius</i> was defeated in <i>Further Spain</i> , by <i>Viriathus</i> , with the loss of 3000 men.	IV	781
4164	2857	142	<i>Metellus</i> goes into <i>Further Spain</i> in the winter, and recovers <i>Escadia</i> , <i>Gemella</i> , <i>Obolula</i> , &c. put some of the head revolvers to death, and sold 9000 for slaves; but hearing his successor was near at hand, was so exasperated with not having the command till the war was finished, that he disbanded the best part of his troops, exhausted the magazines, let the elephants die, and broke and threw into the river the arrows designed for the <i>Cretan</i> archers.	IV	782
4165	2858	141	The consul <i>Pompeius Rufus</i> succeeding <i>Metellus</i> in the command of the army, was offered very advantageous terms by the <i>Termantians</i> and <i>Namantines</i> ; but he insisting upon their delivering up their arms, a new war was begun: He besieges <i>Namantia</i> , but is forced to raise it, and then goes towards <i>Termantia</i> , where his success is worse, losing abundance of his men. In <i>Further Spain</i> <i>Viriathus</i> overcame the consul <i>Servilius</i> , and concludes a peace with him.	IV	783
4165	2858	141	Upon the death of <i>Ptolemy Philometor</i> king of <i>Egypt</i> , his brother <i>Ptolemy Physcon</i> , king of <i>Cyrene</i> , &c. marries <i>Cleopatra</i> , widow of the deceased, and immediately puts her son <i>Philometor</i> to death, in his mother's arms, on the marriage day, and continues murdering all those who disapproved of the fact, and ever after behaved in the most cruel and wicked manner of any of his predecessors.	III	546
4166	2859	140	<i>Simon</i> renews his alliance with <i>Rome</i> , and sends a present of a golden shield weighing 1000 <i>Minae</i> , (about 60,000 <i>l.</i> of our money;) the senate writes to the kings of <i>Syria</i> , <i>Egypt</i> , <i>Pergamus</i> , and <i>Cappadocia</i> in their favour, &c.	IV	87
4166	2859	140	<i>Servilius Cæpio</i> breaks the peace with <i>Viriathus</i> , and at first reduces him to extremum difficulties, and then influences with large promises <i>Audax</i> , <i>Ditalio</i> , and <i>Minur</i> , his favourites, to murder him; which they performing, he denies them their reward. One <i>Tantalus</i> succeeds him, who besieging <i>Saguntum</i> , was surprised by <i>Cæpio</i> , defeated, and forced to surrender at discretion; which put an end to this troublesome war, after it had continued 14 years.	IV	784
4167	2860	139	The <i>Roman</i> senate unjustly breaks the peace that <i>Pompey</i> had made, notwithstanding they had delivered up the deserters, hostages, and money agreed upon; but <i>Popilius</i> who came with the <i>Roman</i> army against them, is so weakened by the defeat they give him, that he could not attempt any thing further this campaign.	IV	784
4167	2860	139	<i>Cendebeus</i> , governor of all the coasts of <i>Phœnicia</i> and <i>Palestine</i> , comes with a great army, commits depredations in <i>Judea</i> ; but <i>John</i> and <i>Judas</i> , the sons of <i>Simon</i> , going against him, engage and rout him with a great slaughter.	IV	88
4167	2860	139	<i>Cleopatra</i> brings forth a son while his father <i>Physcon</i> was performing certain religious <i>Egyptian</i> rites at <i>Memphis</i> , and he called his name <i>Memphites</i> . At his return to <i>Alexandria</i> , he gave his guards (consisting of <i>Greek</i> and <i>Asiatick</i> mercenaries) leave to plunder and murder the inhabitants of that city at their pleasure, who accordingly used them with inexpressible cruelties; those who escaped death fled away, so that the city was uninhabited; to supply it with people he invited strangers from all parts to come and live there, and gave them the former citizens houses to dwell in, and endowed them with large privileges: But soon after he used these new inhabitants as ill as he had done the former. He fell in love with his wife's daughter, named also <i>Cleopatra</i> , first debauched her, then divorced her mother and married her. Hated by all, the murmurs of the people made him dread an insurrection; to prevent which, as the young people were assembled in the <i>Gymnasium</i> to see and perform the publick exercises, he caused it to be set on fire, and placed his mercenaries at the avenues, so that what escaped the fire fell by the sword: The inhabitants run to the palace set it on fire, and reduced it to ashes; but <i>Physcon</i> , his young wife, and <i>Memphitis</i> his son escaped to the island of <i>Cyprus</i> ; and the <i>Alexandrians</i> set his divorced wife <i>Cleopatra</i> upon the throne: He sends for his son, who was governor of <i>Cyrene</i> , and when he came to <i>Cyprus</i> to him, he caused him to be assassinated; upon which the people pull down and dash to pieces all the statues that had been erected to him, and he in requital caused his young son to be killed, cut to pieces and put in a box, and so sent to <i>Alexandria</i> to his mother for a present on her birthday, which still greatly heightened the resentment of the people.	III	657
4168	2861	138	<i>Attalus Philometor</i> , son of <i>Eumenes</i> , succeeds his uncle <i>Attalus</i> in the kingdom of <i>Pergamus</i> , and gives himself up to all manner of cruelties, causing most of his relations and best friends to be murdered, &c. He became melancholly, and shut himself up, and after a reign of five years died, and left the <i>Romans</i> heirs of all his goods, in consequence of which they seized his kingdom, &c. and made it a province under the name of <i>Asia Propria</i> .	III	782
4168	2861	138	The rebellion of the slaves in <i>Sicily</i> breaks out, who choose one <i>Eunus</i> for their king (who took the name of <i>Antiochus</i>) under whom they commit extravagant cruelties, &c. and defeat <i>Mansius</i> the governor of <i>Sicily</i> , and take and plunder his camp: The like happened to <i>P. Cornelius Lentulus</i> and <i>Gaius Calpurnius Piso</i> the two following years, by which means the rebels grew very strong, and were reinforced by one <i>Cleon</i> , a native of <i>Cilicia</i> , with 5000 men, so that when the prætor <i>L. Plautius Hypsæus</i> landed in <i>Sicily</i> , he found 200,000 of them in arms, under sundry leaders. <i>Hypsæus</i> no sooner appeared in the field with his 8000 men, but he was attacked and defeated; and so they went on continually for many years, taking and subduing all before them.	IV	796
2862		137	<i>Brutus</i> passes the <i>Minus</i> in <i>Further Spain</i> , enters the country of the <i>Bracarini</i> , and though opposed with the utmost bravery, both by men and women, yet he		

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			at last conquers the whole country. But <i>Maanius</i> the Roman consul decamping from <i>Numantia</i> , is pursued but by 4000 <i>Numantines</i> , and has 20,000 men killed, his camp taken, and the rest dispersed. A peace is concluded, to which the consul, quaestor, and all the chief officers swear for the inviolable performance.		IV	385
4170	2863	136	<i>Simon</i> , with his two sons <i>John</i> and <i>Judas</i> being invited to an entertainment by his son-in-law <i>Ptolemy</i> , (whom he had made governor of <i>Jericho</i>) the son of <i>Abdus</i> , they going, after eating and drinking very friendly and cheerfully, are treacherously murdered by some ruffians <i>Ptolemy</i> had hired for that purpose: <i>Hyrca</i> , another son of <i>Simon's</i> , was immediately proclaimed prince and high-priest of the <i>Jews</i> , who fortified the city and raised a good army.		IV	89
4171	2864	135	<i>Antiochus</i> comes with a great army, and drives <i>Hyrca</i> into the city of <i>Jerusalem</i> , which he besieged, and compelled the <i>Jews</i> to accept of a peace, upon the conditions of surrendering up their arms, demolishing their city wall, paying a tribute for <i>Joppa</i> , &c. that the fortrefs of <i>Acra</i> should be rebuilt, and that they should receive a Syrian garison: To get off the last, <i>Hyrca</i> paid 500 talents, 300 down, 200 some time after. Hostages are given for the due performance of this peace.		IV	90
4171	2864	135	<i>Brutus</i> makes great conquests in <i>Lusitania</i> , and penetrates into the country of the <i>Gallaici</i> , engages an army of 60,000 <i>Spaniards</i> , kills 50,000, takes 6000 prisoners, and almost extirpates the whole nation. The <i>Vardæi</i> , a people of <i>Illyricum</i> , revolt, and refuse all amicable measures: upon which the consul <i>Flaccus</i> goes against and effectually reduces them, and has the honour of a triumph for his services.		IV	786
4172	2865	134	<i>Jugurtha</i> is sent by <i>Micipsal</i> with an army of <i>Numidians</i> to the assistance of the consul <i>Scipio</i> into <i>Spain</i> , where he contracts an intimacy with <i>Marius</i> .		IV	786
4173	2866	133	<i>Scipio</i> besieges <i>Numantia</i> (a city difficult of access, situate on a hill, with large fields within its walls, and about three miles in compass) with 60,000 men: The <i>Numantines</i> sue for peace: <i>Scipio</i> requires them to deliver up the city, themselves and arms, at discretion; the <i>Lutians</i> would have come to their assistance, but <i>Scipio</i> being informed of it, demanded the ringleaders, who to the number of 400 young men were delivered up, whose right-hands he cut off: The city reduced by famine surrenders, and all <i>Spain</i> soon after submits.		IV	788
4173	2866	133	<i>Tib. Gracchus</i> , tribune of the people, endeavouring to put the <i>Licinian</i> law in execution, (which forbids any one holding more than 500 acres of land) a great struggle and riot being several times raised, he was at last killed, and 300 of his friends, and their bodies thrown into the <i>Tiber</i> : <i>Caius Bilius</i> was shut up in a cask with snakes and vipers, and so perished.		IV	793
4173	2866	133	<i>L. Calpurnius Piso</i> the Roman consul goes against the rebel-slaves in <i>Sicily</i> , and attacks them under the walls of <i>Messana</i> , which they had invested, put them to the rout, obliged them to raise the siege, and killed 6000 of them upon the spot.		IV	796
4174	2867	132	The consul <i>P. Rupilius</i> goes into <i>Sicily</i> , besieges the slaves in <i>Tanrominium</i> , which being of a difficult access on all sides, he reduced it to such straits by famine that they eat one another: At last, the city being betrayed by a Syrian slave named <i>Serapion</i> , the consul ordered the governor and all his garison to be thrown headlong from the top of the rock. From hence the consul went to <i>Euna</i> , where king <i>Eunus</i> was, which after an obstinate defence was treacherously delivered up to the consul, who put all the slaves to the sword: In these two places 20,000 rebels were killed: <i>Eunus</i> escaping with 600 guards, being surrounded by the Romans, kill one another; but <i>Eunus</i> was taken alive, who soon after died of sickness in prison.		IV	796
4174	2867	132	Upon the death of <i>Attalus Philometor</i> , <i>Aristonicus</i> (the son of <i>Eumenes</i> brother to the deceased king by an <i>Ephesian</i> courtesan) claims the crown of <i>Pergamus</i> , and with a great army settles himself in the kingdom.		III	783
4175	2868	131	<i>Rupilius</i> continuing in <i>Sicily</i> in the quality of proconsul, retook all the cities from the rebels, delivered up the slaves to their masters, and drew up a new code of laws for the <i>Sicilians</i> , that were ever after observed: Thus having settled his province in peace, he returned to <i>Rome</i> .		III	784
4175	2868	131	<i>P. Licinius Crassus</i> , who was <i>Pontifex Maximus</i> , and <i>Valerius Flaccus</i> , who was <i>Flamen Martialis</i> , (or the high-priest of <i>Mars</i>) two persons devoted to religion, were for the first time chose consuls; and <i>Q. Cæcilius Metellus</i> , surnamed <i>Macedonicus</i> , and <i>Q. Pompeius</i> , both plebeians, were also for the first time chose cen-sors, which for 220 years before, one was a patrician and the other a plebeian: They found 317,823 men in <i>Rome</i> able to bear arms. These cenors got a law passed obliging all Romans to marry at a certain age.		IV	796
4175	2868	131	<i>Crassus</i> the Roman consul, with the united forces of <i>Pontus</i> , <i>Cappadocia</i> , <i>Bythinia</i> and <i>Paphlagonia</i> , goes against <i>Aristonicus</i> , who had seized the crown of <i>Pergamus</i> , and having laid the country waste, and taken immense spoil, was attacked by <i>Aristonicus</i> , defeated and entirely routed: <i>Ariarathes</i> king of <i>Cappadocia</i> was killed, and the consul in his flight was taken and killed, and all the spoil recovered.		III	784
4176	2869	130	<i>M. Perperna</i> being chose consul, comes against <i>Aristonicus</i> , defeats him, and afterwards besieged him in <i>Stratonice</i> , where the garison and people being reduced to great straits, submit to the consul, and deliver up <i>Aristonicus</i> , who afterwards having graced his triumph, was murdered by order of the senate.		III	784
4176	2869	130	<i>Antiochus</i> king of <i>Syria</i> being killed, <i>Demetrius</i> , who had been nine years driven out, re-assumes the crown, and reigns three years; but behaving disagreeably to his subjects, was opposed by an impostor set up by <i>Ptolemy Phycow</i> , called <i>Alexander Zebina</i> , who engaging him at <i>Damascus</i> , intirely routed him; and he flying to <i>Ptolemais</i> , they shut the gates against him, from whence he went to <i>Tyre</i> , where he was murdered.		III	611

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4176	2869	130	<i>Antiochus</i> being slain and his army defeated, <i>John (Hircan)</i> threw off the <i>Syrian</i> yoke, and the <i>Jews</i> continued free from it ever after, taking several cities suitable for him, and also takes <i>Scherben</i> and mount <i>Gerizim</i> from the <i>Samaritans</i> , and the temple built by <i>Sanballat</i> , and destroyed it, after it had stood 200 years.	IV	92
4177	2870	129	<i>John</i> , captain of the <i>Jews</i> , takes all <i>Idumea</i> , and makes proclamation that all should depart, unless they submitted to be circumcised, which they doing, are incorporated into the <i>Jewish</i> commonwealth.	IV	92
4177	2870	129	<i>Scipio Africanus</i> (one of the greatest men <i>Rome</i> ever bred) is found dead in his bed, supposed to be murdered by the treachery of his wife <i>Sempronia</i> and the <i>Triumvirs</i> appointed to divide the lands among the people.	IV	798
4177	2870	129	The consul <i>Tuditanus</i> goes against the revolted <i>Japudians</i> , whom he intirely reduced, and made all quiet, for which he was honoured with a triumph.	IV	749
4177	2870	129	The consul <i>Aquilius</i> having reduced all <i>Pergamus</i> to the subjection of <i>Rome</i> ; the senate appoints ten commissioners, with <i>Aquilius</i> at their head, to settle <i>Pergamus</i> into a <i>Roman</i> province, and to make the proper subdivisions, each to depend on the metropolis, where the <i>Roman</i> prætor resided.	III	786
4177	2870	129	<i>Laodice</i> , wife of <i>Ariarathes</i> 6th king of <i>Cappadocia</i> , poisons five of her six children; but the youngest escaping, she is put to death by her subjects, who set up her son <i>Ariarathes</i> VII. who marries <i>Laodice</i> , the daughter of <i>Mithridates</i> the great king of <i>Pontus</i> , who got him poisoned, and seized the kingdom under pretence of being guardian to his children; but having held the kingdom till the children were grown up, the <i>Cappadocians</i> drove him out, and set up <i>Ariarathes</i> VIII.	III	766
4178	2871	128	<i>Hircan</i> governor of the <i>Jews</i> sends an embassy to renew the alliance with <i>Rome</i> , with large presents, which are accepted, and the senate gives him <i>Joppa</i> and <i>Gazara</i> .	IV	92
4178	2871	128	<i>Marfyas</i> , general for queen <i>Cleopatra</i> , engages <i>Phyfeon's</i> army under <i>Hagelochus</i> , is entirely defeated and taken prisoner, most of their army being cut to pieces.	III	657
4179	2872	127	<i>Cleopatra</i> sends to her son-in-law <i>Demetrius</i> , now king of <i>Syria</i> , for help, and promises him the crown of <i>Egypt</i> for his reward: He comes with a great army and besieges <i>Pelufium</i> , but being forced to raise the siege, and return into <i>Syria</i> to quell a rebellion there, <i>Cleopatra</i> puts all her valuables aboard a ship, and flies to her daughter at <i>Ptolemais</i> , and so <i>Phyfeon</i> was resettled in <i>Alexandria</i> , and reigned over all <i>Egypt</i> .	III	658
4179	2872	127	<i>Hircan</i> sends another embassy with fresh presents to the <i>Roman</i> senate, with thanks for their last favours, and to beg their ratification, which the senate grants.	IV	93
4180	2873	126	Upon the death of <i>Demetrius</i> , <i>Alexander Zabina</i> gets possession of the greatest part of the kingdom of <i>Syria</i> , and concludes an alliance with <i>Hircanus</i> , prince of the <i>Jews</i> .	III	611
4181	2874	125	<i>Selencus</i> , eldest son of the late <i>Demetrius</i> , sets up for the kingdom of <i>Syria</i> , and goes by the title of king in those parts his mother <i>Cleopatra</i> held; for which she, having invited him to a feast, killed him with her own hands, after he had bore that character one year.	III	612
4181	2874	125	<i>M. Fulvius Flaccus</i> the <i>Roman</i> consul goes against the <i>Sabes</i> , who had ravaged the country of the <i>Maffilians</i> ; and during his absence from <i>Italy</i> , <i>Fregelle</i> (a city of the <i>Volsci</i>) revolts; but they being prevailed on to submit, the ringleaders were put to death, and the city razed to the ground.	IV	800
4181	2874	125	A great part of <i>Africa</i> being covered with locusts, destroyed all the produce of the earth, &c. and being afterwards blown into the <i>African</i> sea, were thrown upon the shore in prodigious quantities and bred a plague, which swept away an infinite number of men and all kind of animals, and in <i>Numidia</i> only 800,000 people perished, in <i>Africa Propria</i> 200,000 and 30,000 <i>Roman</i> soldiers, about <i>Utica</i> and in that city 1500 a day.	VII	127
4183	2876	123	<i>Gracchus</i> being chose a tribune of the people, strives by all popular methods to gain the affections of the populace; he first set up stones or columns at every mile's end, and put stones along the roads to assist travellers to mount their horses, got the law passed to give lands to the poor allies, &c. then got a law passed to build publick granaries, and to fill them with corn at the publick expence, and that monthly distributions of it should be made to the poor at low rates; and other laws relating to the service and cloathing of the troops, by which means, in spite of the senate, &c. he was chose tribune a second time.	IV	301
4183	2876	123	The consul <i>Metellus</i> landing in the <i>Balarick</i> islands, who had revolted, overthrew and slaughtered them so terribly, that out of 30,000 he scarce left 1000 alive: Then he built <i>Palm</i> (now <i>Majorca</i>) and <i>Pollentia</i> , and was forced to bring 3000 <i>Romans</i> from <i>Spain</i> to people them.	IV	802
4183	2876	123	The proconsul <i>Sextius</i> gained a compleat victory over the <i>Sabes</i> , took their capital, and sold the inhabitants for slaves; then built a new city, and called it <i>Aquia Sextia</i> , from the hot and cold springs in and about it (now called <i>Aix</i>) in <i>Provence</i> ; then returned to <i>Rome</i> and had a triumph.	IV	802
4183	2876	123	<i>Gracchus</i> studied all means possible to humble the patricians; he got a law passed to make 600 <i>Roman</i> knights (who were the most wealthy plebeians) senators; and another, that the judging of all private laws should belong to the knights, exclusive of the senators.	IV	802
4183	2876	123	<i>Cleopatra</i> , now queen of part of <i>Syria</i> , sends to <i>Athens</i> for her son <i>Antiochus</i> , commonly called <i>Grypus</i> , who was gone thither for education, and proclaims him king, reserving the power in her own hands; he being under twenty years of age, submitted to wear only the title for some time.	III	612
4184	2877	122	A civil war breaks out at <i>Rome</i> between the plebeians and patricians, the first headed by <i>Gracchus</i> and <i>Fulvius</i> , and the last by the consul <i>Opimius</i> : A skirmish happens in <i>Rome</i> , wherein many are killed; upon which the consul proclaims an amnesty for all, except <i>Gracchus</i> and <i>Fulvius</i> , for whom he offers their weight		

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			in gold; the mob disperse, <i>Fulvius</i> and his son is killed, and 3000 of his party; but <i>Gracchus</i> is said to retire to a sacred wood dedicated to the <i>Furies</i> , and there orders his slave to kill him, who as soon as he had dispatched his master killed himself. The head of <i>Gracchus</i> was carried to the consul, who gave 17 pounds and a half of gold for it. The consul punished all concerned in the riot with great severity; and so the patricians got again the superiority they had before lost.	IV	809
4184	2877	122	<i>Domitius</i> , the Roman proconsul in Spain, overthrows the <i>Allobroges</i> at <i>Vindalius</i> upon the <i>Rhone</i> , and kills 20,000 <i>Gauls</i> , and takes 3000 prisoners.	IV	810
4184	2877	122	<i>C. Gracchus</i> , tribune of the Roman people, conducts a colony of 6000 Roman citizens into <i>Africa</i> (being the first colony that was ever sent out of <i>Italy</i>) and a large number of workmen, and begins to rebuild <i>Carthage</i> in <i>Africa</i> , calling it <i>Junonia</i> .	VII	105
4185	2878	121	The <i>Averni</i> , under their king <i>Bitulick</i> , with 200,000 men comes against the Roman proconsul <i>Q. Fabius Maximus</i> , who was encamped in the plains of <i>Cucari</i> : The <i>Gauls</i> are routed with the slaughter of 120,000 men, and their king taken prisoner by stratagem, and sent to <i>Rome</i> ; upon which peace was settled in the eastern part of <i>Gaul</i> . <i>Bitulick</i> was made a publick shew at the consuls triumph, and kept a prisoner all his life at <i>Alba</i> .	IV	811
4186	2879	120	<i>Physcon</i> king of <i>Egypt</i> gives his daughter <i>Tryphena</i> to <i>Grypus</i> king of <i>Syria</i> as wife, and demands of <i>Zebina</i> (whom he had made king of great part of <i>Syria</i>) homage, and an annual tribute for his dominions; which <i>Zebina</i> refusing, he sends a great army under <i>Grypus</i> against him; they engage, <i>Zebina</i> is routed, and flies to <i>Antioch</i> , where robbing the temples to pay his men, the inhabitants drive him out with great slaughter; and <i>Physcon's</i> army coming against him, he flies into a ship, with intent to go to <i>Greece</i> , but is taken by a pirate, who delivers him up to <i>Grypus</i> , who puts him to death, and so settles himself upon the throne of <i>Syria</i> .	III	613
4187	2880	119	<i>Grypus</i> now acting as king, as well as bearing the name, his ambitious mother took it into her head to poison him; but he being advertised of her treachery, when she offered him the cup he desired her to drink first, which she refusing, he called in some lords of the court and charged her with it; they insist upon her drinking the preparation, which she doing, dies in a few minutes. She had been the wife of three kings of <i>Syria</i> , and mother of four.	III	613
4187	2880	119	<i>Antiochus Cyzicenus</i> , half-brother to <i>Antiochus Grypus</i> , sets up for the throne of <i>Syria</i> , by the assistance of his wife <i>Cleopatra</i> (daughter of <i>Physcon</i> late king of <i>Egypt</i>) who had been divorced from her brother <i>Lathurus</i> , the present king of <i>Egypt</i> : They engage, <i>Cyzicenus</i> is defeated, and flies to <i>Antioch</i> that had declared for him; <i>Grypus</i> takes <i>Antioch</i> , and in it <i>Cleopatra</i> , who, though own sister to his wife <i>Tryphena</i> , she caused to be murdered in a temple where she flew for sanctuary. Soon after <i>Cyzicenus</i> engaged and overthrew <i>Grypus</i> , and took and sacrificed <i>Tryphena</i> , and drove <i>Grypus</i> out of the kingdom.	III	614
4187	2880	119	The consul <i>L. Cæcilius Metellus</i> was sent into <i>Illyricum</i> to reduce the <i>Segestani</i> , who had shaken off the Roman yoke: He defeated them in the field, and made himself master of their city and territory; and then he unjustly made war upon the <i>Dalmatians</i> , who were forced to submit to his superior strength. At his return to <i>Rome</i> he took the surname of <i>Dalmaticus</i> , and was honoured with a triumph.	V	1
4187	2880	119	<i>L. Licinius Crassus</i> , a young orator of twenty years of age, accused <i>Papirius Carbo</i> at the tribunal of the prætor <i>Q. Fabius Eburnus</i> , and pleaded so strongly against him, that to avoid punishment he poisoned himself: This oration was so highly valued, that it was put into the hands of all learners of oratory, as a copy for them to imitate; and <i>Cicero</i> called it the inimitable.	V	1
4187	2880	119	<i>Marius</i> , though of obscure birth among the <i>Volsii</i> , began now to appear as a publick person, (a man of an extraordinary size, great strength, uncommon understanding, courageous and enterprising, and of a fine aspect and savage manners) being tribune of the people, threatens the consul <i>L. Aurelius Cotta</i> to send him to prison, for opposing a law he had proposed about collecting the suffrages for curule magistrates, and so becomes the idol of the people.	V	II
4188	2881	118	The Roman consul <i>Marius</i> , surnamed <i>Rex</i> , opens a way from the <i>Alps</i> to the <i>Pyrenees</i> for the Roman army, and founds a city called <i>Narba-Marius</i> , since <i>Narbonne</i> . The people called the <i>Stoeni</i> , at the foot of the <i>Maritime Alps</i> , finding themselves by this means surrounded by the Roman troops, and that they could not escape, set fire to their houses, killed their wives and children, and then threw themselves into the flames. <i>Marius</i> was honoured with a triumph at his return to <i>Rome</i> .	V	3
4188	2881	118	<i>Grypus</i> returns, and overcomes <i>Cyzicenus</i> , and then they agree to part the kingdom, and <i>Cyzicenus</i> reigned at <i>Damascus</i> over <i>Cele-Syria</i> and <i>Phœnicia</i> ; and <i>Grypus</i> at <i>Antioch</i> , over all the other provinces. Peace being now established, both brothers give themselves up to all manner of debaucheries and luxuriousness, &c. they likewise continually quarrel between themselves about the extent of their dominions, and neglected the due administration of justice, which gives opportunities to several cities to revolt, and set up seigneries in themselves independent of the kingdom of <i>Syria</i> , viz. <i>Tyre</i> , <i>Sidon</i> , <i>Ptolemais</i> , <i>Gaza</i> , and <i>Thebodonus</i> caused himself to be called sovereign lord of <i>Gadara</i> and <i>Amathus</i> .	III	615
4189	2882	117	<i>C. Marius</i> chose prætor by open bribery, for which he was tried, but came off.	V	3
4190	2883	116	<i>C. Marius</i> is appointed governor of <i>Further Spain</i> , where he behaved unblameably, and cleared the country of the banditti, and cured the people of their old way of living by rapine.	V	3
4191	2884	115	<i>Æmilius Scaurus</i> and <i>L. Cæcilius Metellus</i> being consuls, <i>Scaurus</i> reforms <i>Rome</i> by proscribing games of hazard, concerts of musick, restraining luxury, &c. In his time a census being made, 394,336 citizens were found able to bear arms		

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			in <i>Rome</i> . He subdued the <i>Gentifci</i> and <i>Carni</i> , and made a fine road from <i>Rome</i> to the <i>Alps</i> , for which he is honoured with a triumph.	V	3
4192	2885	114	<i>C. Porcius Cato</i> , consul, going into <i>Macedon</i> against the <i>Scorifci</i> , a people of <i>Thrace</i> that had invaded that province, was by them drawn into narrow passes, &c. and all his army cut off to a man, <i>Porcius</i> saving himself alone by flight. Upon his return to <i>Rome</i> he was banished to <i>Tarracon</i> in <i>Spain</i> , where he spent the remainder of his life.	V	4
4192	2885	114	Some vestal virgins are detected with polluting themselves; for which they are punished by being buried alive, and their gallants are whipped to death.	V	4
4193	2886	113	The <i>Cimbri</i> from the northern part of <i>Germany</i> near <i>Jutland</i> , attempt invading the <i>Roman</i> provinces, and defeat the consul <i>Papirius's</i> army; then they invade <i>Helvetii</i> , and enter <i>Transalpine Gaul</i> , and commit great ravages.	V	5
4193	2886	113	<i>Jugurtha</i> , <i>Hiempsal</i> and <i>Adherbal</i> succeed <i>Micipsa</i> in the kingdom of <i>Numidia</i> : <i>Jugurtha</i> hires the chief officer of <i>Hiempsal's</i> guards to murder him, and gets the kingdom divided between himself and <i>Adherbal</i> .	VII	129
4194	2887	112	<i>Drusus</i> the consul prevails with the <i>Scordifci</i> to quit the country they now possessed, and repass the <i>Danube</i> , which river ever after was a barrier between them and the <i>Roman</i> provinces; for which <i>Drusus</i> at his return to <i>Rome</i> was honoured with a triumph.	V	5
4194	2887	112	<i>Jugurtha</i> makes war upon <i>Adherbal</i> , overcomes and disperses his army, and besieges him in <i>Cirtba</i> , his capital; who appealing to <i>Rome</i> , they send commissioners, who return without doing any thing; whereupon <i>Adherbal</i> capitulates, but as soon as <i>Jugurtha</i> enters the city he puts <i>Adherbal</i> to death with cruel torments, and kills the soldiers and inhabitants, &c.	VII	129
4194	2887	112	Upon the death of <i>Phycon</i> king of <i>Egypt</i> , he bequeathed the kingdom of <i>Cyrene</i> to his natural son <i>Apion</i> , <i>Egypt</i> to his queen <i>Cleopatra</i> and one of her own sons; she prefers <i>Alexander</i> the youngest, but the people oblige her to take <i>Lathyrus</i> , the eldest, whom she compels to divorce <i>Laodicea</i> his eldest sister, whom he had married, and to take <i>Selene</i> , his younger sister; and after the death of her daughter <i>Cleopatra</i> , she gave <i>Cyprus</i> to her youngest son <i>Alexander</i> .	III	659
4195	2888	111	The senate of <i>Rome</i> resolve to make war upon <i>Jugurtha</i> , upon which <i>Jugurtha</i> sends his son to <i>Rome</i> to solicit for him, who is sent back without success.	V	9
4195	2888	111	<i>Bellia</i> and <i>Scaurus</i> , the <i>Roman</i> generals, clap up a peace with <i>Jugurtha</i> , upon very dishonourable terms, for the sake of large sums paid themselves.	VII	129
4196	2889	110	<i>Jugurtha</i> summoned to appear at <i>Rome</i> , appears, but through bribery escapes, and gets <i>Massiva</i> (the natural son of <i>Gulussa</i> , brother to <i>Micipsa</i>) murdered, to prevent his getting the crown from him. The senate disannuls the peace, and sends the consul <i>Albinus</i> against <i>Jugurtha</i> , who does nothing considerable, <i>Jugurtha</i> delaying the time by amulements.	VII	130
4196	2889	110	<i>Antla</i> marches into a defile, where <i>Jugurtha</i> obliges him and the whole <i>Roman</i> army to pass under the yoke, and to quit <i>Numidia</i> in 10 days; from whence he went into <i>Africa Propria</i> to winter.	VII	130
4196	2889	110	<i>Hyrca</i> high-priest of the <i>Jews</i> besieges and takes <i>Samaria</i> , defeats <i>Antiochus</i> , (who came with a great army to relieve it) and so made himself master of all <i>Palestine</i> , and the provinces of <i>Gallilee</i> and <i>Samaria</i> .	IV	94
4197	2890	109	<i>Scaurus</i> at the head of the commission appointed to examine into <i>Jugurtha's</i> affair, ended their enquiries, and banished several consular men and one pontifex, &c.	V	12
4197	2890	109	The <i>Cimbri</i> and <i>Teutones</i> defeat and rout the <i>Romans</i> under the consul <i>M. Junius Silenus</i> , in <i>Narbonne Gaul</i> , at the first onset.	V	12
4197	2890	109	The consul <i>Q. Cæcilius Metellus</i> reduces <i>Vacca</i> , (a large opulent city, and the greatest mart in all <i>Numidia</i>) and defeats <i>Jugurtha's</i> army in a pitch'd battle.	VII	131
4198	2891	108	<i>Jugurtha</i> is again several times defeated by <i>Marius</i> , lieutenant-general of the <i>Roman</i> army under <i>Metellus</i> the general and proconsul; upon which <i>Jugurtha</i> sends his submission to <i>Metellus</i> , who ordered him to send the <i>Romans</i> 200,000 pounds weight of silver, all his elephants, a number of horses and arms, and deliver up all the deserters, &c. which he performing, was ordered to go to <i>Tifsidium</i> : Upon this he flies to arms again, and the <i>Numidians</i> massacre the <i>Romans</i> in a city called <i>Vacca</i> , which <i>Metellus</i> revenges very amply.	V	17
4199	2892	107	<i>Marius</i> becomes an enemy to <i>Metellus</i> , and uses all possible means, both just and unjust, to undermine and defame him; gets himself declared one of the consuls for this year, and is appointed general in <i>Numidia</i> instead of <i>Metellus</i> by the people, and behaves most audaciously impudent to all the nobility, &c. <i>L. Cassius Longinus</i> the other consul is defeated and killed, and the <i>Roman</i> army shamefully made to pass under the yoke in <i>Narbonne Gaul</i> by the <i>Tigurini</i> .	V	19
4199	2892	107	<i>Jugurtha</i> is defeated by <i>Metellus</i> before <i>Marius's</i> arrival from <i>Rome</i> with his army, who also pursued <i>Jugurtha</i> , and besieged him in the city <i>Thala</i> , whither he had carried most of his treasure: He flies from thence, and when the garrison found they must be prisoners, they take all the valuable effects they can find and put them into the king's palace, and burn it, the treasure, and themselves. Upon <i>Metellus's</i> return to <i>Rome</i> he is honoured with a triumph, and the surname of <i>Numidicus</i> .	V	21
4199	2892	107	<i>Marius</i> marches to <i>Cassa</i> in the middle of the burning sands of <i>Africa</i> , takes it, levels it, puts all the citizens able to bear arms to death, and sells the rest for slaves, &c. Then he took <i>Mulucha</i> , (situate on the summit of a rock, and the strongest fortress in the world) puts the inhabitants to the sword, and seized the king's treasure.	V	22
4199	2892	107	<i>Sylla</i> and <i>Marius</i> defeat <i>Jugurtha</i> and his confederates several times, and kill a prodigious number of people each time.	V	24
4199	2892	107	<i>Hyrca</i> dying, his eldest son <i>Aristobulus</i> succeeded him in all his dignities, to which he added that of king, &c. At first he admitted his brother <i>Antigonus</i> a partner with him in his kingdom, but soon after put him to death, and kept his		

- other three brothers prisoners during his reign, and murdered his mother, all in one year.
- 106 *Bocchus* king of *Mauritania* having made a truce with *Marius*, which is confirmed by the senate, promises *Sylla* to deliver up his ally *Jugurtha*.
- 106 *Jugurtha* is treacherously delivered up to *Sylla*, by *Bocchus*: *Jugurtha*, laden with chains, is carried by *Sylla* under a strong guard to *Marius*, who was then at *Cirtba*, from whence *Marius* sent him to *Rome*, where he is imprisoned.
- 106 *Q. Servilius Cæpio* the Roman consul recovers *Toulouse* from the *Cimbri*, and plunders the temple of *Apollo* of 100,000 pounds weight of gold, 100,000 pounds weight of silver, &c.
- 106 *Pompey the Great* born at *Rome*, and *Cicero* the orator in *Arpinum*, a city of the *Falſci*.
- 106 *Aristobolus* king of the *Jews* dies, and is succeeded by his brother *Jannæus*, who puts his brother to death for raising a commotion against him, then marches to *Ptolemais*, but is forced to raise the siege and come back to oppose *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, who besieged and took *Azobis* in *Gallilee*, and carried off 10,000 prisoners.
- 105 The *Cimbri*, &c. cut off all the Roman army under *M. Aurelius Scaurus*, and make him prisoner.
- 105 *Cæpio* the proconsul, and *Mallius*, having quarrelled and separated, are engaged, and so intirely defeated by the *Gauls* and *Cimbri*, that out of the two Roman armies under their command but 10 men and two generals escaped, above 110,000 being slain, &c. The conquerors destroyed all the spoils they took, pursuant to a vow they had made before the battle; the gold and silver they threw into the *Rhone*; the horses they had taken they drowned; and the prisoners they put to the sword. The people frighted and enraged at *Rome*, depose *Cæpio*, and declare him for ever incapable of serving the state.
- 105 The consul *Rutilius* for the first time introduced fencing-masters into *Rome*, and obliges all the inhabitants without distinction to take up arms.
- 104 *Marius*, upon the same day that he entered his second consulate, also had his triumph for his *Numidian* conquest: He was preceded by 3700 l. weight of gold in ingots, 5775 pounds weight of silver in bars, and 287,000 drachmæ in specie, and by *Jugurtha* and his two sons in chains, &c.
- 104 *Vettius*, a young Roman knight, having spent his fortune in debaucheries, encourages all the slaves in and about *Capua* to make an insurrection, and proclaimed himself their king. The prætor *Lucius Lucullus* goes against him, and is strongly repulsed; but having gained one *Apollonius*, general under *Vettius*, he got the city; but *Vettius* to prevent his being punished laid violent hands upon himself. Another insurrection upon the like account happened in *Sicily*, where the prætor *Vicinus* cut off vast numbers of them; but others assembling, chose one *Salvius* a flute-player for their king, who engaging, *Vicinus* killed 600 and took 4000 prisoners.
- 104 *Jannæus* (or *Alexander*) king of *Jerusalem*, and *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, king of *Egypt*, engage, wherein *Jannæus* loses 30,000 men: *Cleopatra* comes to his assistance, and saves him from utter destruction.
- 102 *Alexander* king of *Judea* goes to *Ptolemais* to wait upon *Cleopatra* queen of *Egypt*, to return her thanks and make her presents for her assistance, and makes an alliance with her.
- 102 The famous orator *M. Antonius* is sent with a Roman fleet against the *Cilician* pirates, who had carried his daughter into captivity: He soon cleared the seas of the robbers, and is honoured with a triumph.
- 102 *Marius* engages, defeats, and cuts off a vast number of *Ambrones*; pursuing them, their wives arm and fight violently; but being overcome, offer to surrender upon assurance given them that their honour should be safe; which being denied, they first killed their children and then themselves. Three days afterwards the *Teutones* fall upon the *Romans*, even in their camp; but after a long dispute they are intirely defeated. In these two battles more than 100,000 *Gauls* were killed, and their king *Teutobocchus* taken prisoner: Their camp was plundered, &c. For this *Marius* was a fifth time elected consul, and allowed a triumph.
- 101 *Publius Malleolus* having killed his mother, (this was an unheard-of crime, which the law had appointed no punishment for) the parricide was ordered to be sewed up in a leathern sack, and with a thousand execrations cast into the *Tiber*.
- 101 *Marius* and *Catulus* engage and gain a compleat victory over the *Cimbri*, kill 120,000, and take 60,000, with two of their kings or generals, who were all sold for slaves: They also took 33 colours, and the brazen bull that they worshipped, for which both the consuls had a triumph upon their return to *Rome*.
- 101 *Arbenio*, the captain of the revolted slaves in *Sicily*, attacks the Roman prætor, defeats him, routs his army, takes his camp, and then besieges and takes *Macella*. The senate sends *Aquilius* the consul with an army against him, who reduced him to great straits for want of provisions; and being continued proconsul the next year, he engaged him and put an end to the war by first killing *Arbenio* in single combat, and then a prodigious number of his men, only 10,000 escaping to their camp, where they killed one another rather than surrender: Being reduced to 1000, one *Satyrus* capitulated with the proconsul; he promised them their lives, but afterwards sent them to *Rome* to fight the wild beasts in the shows in the *Circus*; but they chose rather to kill one another. Thus ended a rebellion that had lasted four years, at the expence of near 1,000,000 of slaves. For this *Aquilius* had only an ovation, the senate not allowing triumphs for the conquering of rebels.
- 101 *Cleopatra* wickedly and falsely accuses her own son *Lathyrus* with offering violence to her person; for which the *Alexandrians* set on him with an intent to kill him; but he escapes into a ship, and flies; then *Cleopatra* proclaims *Alexander* her colleague in the crown of *Egypt*, and obliged *Lathyrus* to accept of *Cyprus*.

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4206	2899	100	<i>Nonius</i> being chose tribune, his competitor <i>Apuleius</i> stabbed him, and got him self proclaimed tribune, which <i>Marius</i> (now a 6th time consul) confirmed, and by treachery got the great <i>Metellus</i> banished, and then they governed the state just as they pleased.	V	43
4206	2899	100	<i>Theodotus</i> , the son of <i>Zeno</i> tyrant of <i>Philadelphia</i> , having laid up an immense treasure in <i>Amathus</i> , <i>Jannæus</i> king of the <i>Jews</i> (<i>Alexander</i>) besieges it and takes all the treasure; but the prince coming with a great army, suddenly falls upon him, kills him 10,000 men, routs the rest, and recovers the plunder, with a very considerable addition made thereto by <i>Alexander's</i> baggage, which he likewise took and carried off.	IV	99
4206	2899	100	<i>Julius Cæsar</i> born, in the sixth consulate of <i>Marius</i> , on the 12th day of the month <i>Quintilis</i> , which afterwards occasioned that month to be called <i>July</i> in honour of him.	V	43
4207	2900	99	<i>Glaucia</i> being disappointed of being chose consul, kills <i>Memmius</i> who was nominated: Then he and <i>Apuleius</i> break into open rebellion; but after much mischief done they submit to their friend <i>Marius</i> , the then consul, who, notwithstanding the orders of the senate expressly against it, he let march out of the capitol great numbers of their adherents; but the people seized <i>Glaucia</i> , and cut off his head; and <i>Marius</i> shut up <i>Apuleius</i> and many of his followers, and placed a guard over them to preserve them from the rage of the people, as it he intended to punish them; but the senate drives away the guards, and murders <i>Apuleius</i> and the heads of his gang. The new consuls begin their year with purifying the city, polluted with much bloodshed in the late troubles.	V	43
4207	2900	99	By the careful and diligent management of the consul <i>Antonius</i> , the factious <i>Sextius Titius</i> is banished, and the great <i>Metellus</i> with all possible marks of esteem is recalled from banishment, which so enrages <i>Marius</i> , that he retires into <i>Asia</i> to stir up disturbances.	V	44
4207	2900	99	<i>Alexander</i> king of <i>Jerusalem</i> after a year's siege takes <i>Gaza</i> , and murders the people most cruelly, and then razed the city.	IV	99
4208	2901	98	The consul <i>Didius</i> overcomes the revolted <i>Spaniards</i> of <i>Nether Spain</i> , and cuts of 20,000 in a pitched battle; then treacherously invited a colony of <i>Spaniards</i> that were settled five years before by a <i>Roman</i> general, into his camp, and separating the men, women and children, into three companies, orders every one of them to be massacred, not one escaping.	V	45
4208	2901	98	<i>Mucius Scaevola</i> in <i>Pergamus</i> punished very exemplarily the publicans, or <i>Roman</i> knights, for misapplying the publick money, using extortions, &c.	V	45
4210	2903	96	<i>Grypus</i> is assassinated by <i>Heracleon</i> , and is succeeded by his eldest son <i>Seleucus</i> ; but his uncle <i>Seleucus</i> having seized <i>Antioch</i> , <i>Seleucus</i> goes against him with an army, and defeats him and kills him, takes <i>Antioch</i> , and makes himself king over all <i>Syria</i> : But <i>Antiochus Eusebes</i> (the son of the deceased <i>Antiochus</i>) having escaped, fled to <i>Aradus</i> , and was proclaimed king of <i>Syria</i> , and goes against <i>Seleucus</i> , and having cut great part of his troops to pieces, <i>Seleucus</i> shut himself up in <i>Mopsuestia</i> , a city of <i>Cilicia</i> ; but using the people ill, they invest his palace and set fire to it, and so destroy him and all his attendants. <i>Antiochus</i> and <i>Philip</i> , the twin-sons of <i>Grypus</i> , to revenge the death of their brother <i>Seleucus</i> , raise an army and march against <i>Mopsuestia</i> , took it by assault, put all the inhabitants to death, and razed the city. Their cousin <i>Eusebes</i> engages them at their return, upon the banks of the <i>Orentes</i> ; <i>Antiochus</i> was drowned, but <i>Philip</i> retreated and disputed the kingdom with <i>Eusebes</i> a long time. <i>Eusebes</i> married <i>Selene</i> , the widow of <i>Grypus</i> , which made <i>Lathurus</i> king of <i>Egypt</i> (whose wife she had been) angry, so that he sent for <i>Cnidus</i> the fourth son of <i>Grypus</i> , and makes him king of <i>Damascus</i> . <i>Philip</i> at last conquered <i>Eusebes</i> , and forced him to fly to the <i>Parthians</i> ; so that now all <i>Syria</i> was divided between <i>Philip</i> and <i>Demetrius</i> ; but <i>Demetrius</i> striving to depose <i>Philip</i> , was conquered and driven out himself, and died a prisoner in <i>Parthia</i> . The <i>Syrians</i> quire tired out with the continual wars between the princes of the <i>Seleucan</i> family, resolved to banish all of them, and chose <i>Tigranes</i> king of <i>Armenia</i> to be their king, who governed them 18 years with great peace and humanity.	III	617
4211	2904	95	<i>Tigranes</i> at the death of his father was a hostage among the <i>Parthians</i> , who set him at liberty and let him succeed his father in the kingdom of <i>Armenia</i> , upon condition of yielding up to them a good part of his kingdom for his ransom: This done he enters into a league with <i>Mithridates</i> , king of <i>Pontus</i> , against the <i>Romans</i> , agreeing, that the conquered cities and countries should be <i>Mithridates's</i> , and the captives and plunder <i>Tigranes's</i> . Upon this <i>Tigranes</i> marries <i>Cleopatra</i> , daughter of <i>Mithridates</i> ; then marches into <i>Cappadocia</i> , and takes all the kingdom immediately, <i>Ariorbarxanes</i> their king flying to <i>Rome</i> ; upon which he proclaims <i>Ariarathes</i> (the son of <i>Mithridates</i> his brother-in-law) king of <i>Cappadocia</i> , to the satisfaction of all the people, who was soon after dispossessed by the <i>Romans</i> , and <i>Ariorbarxanes</i> restored.	III	700
4211	2904	95	The <i>Romans</i> declare <i>Cappadocia</i> and <i>Paphlagonia</i> free, upon which the <i>Cappadocians</i> affirm they can't live without a king, and choose <i>Ariorbarxanes</i> , whom the <i>Romans</i> acknowledge and confirm. He was three times driven out of his kingdom, and as often restored to it by the <i>Romans</i> .	III	767
4211	2904	95	<i>Alexander</i> being both high-priest and king of the <i>Jews</i> , and having quarrelled with the sect of <i>Pharisees</i> , as he was performing his office at the great altar, was pelted and ignominiously used by that sect; which so enraged the pontiff, that ceasing from his office he was then about, orders his soldiers to fall upon the mob, who by his command killed 6000 of them, and disperses the rest; a while after these commotions broke out into a civil war that lasted 6 years, in which time he killed 50,000 of the rebels, and lost abundance of men himself: However, pitying the people, he promised to grant any thing reasonable that		

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			they would ask, for the sake of peace; but the Pharisees required him to cut his own throat: They join <i>Demetrius</i> , surnamed <i>Eucharus</i> , who comes against <i>Alexander</i> with an army of 3000 horse and 40,000 foot: <i>Alexander</i> is defeated, and forced to fly into the mountains with a few attendants.	IV 100
4213	2906	93	<i>Tigranes</i> invades <i>Armenia Minor</i> , kills king <i>Artanes</i> , routs his army, and conquers his whole kingdom in one campaign. From hence he marches among the <i>Asiatick Greeks</i> , and obliged all to acknowledge him for their sovereign; and where-ever he came, enriching himself with vast booties and great spoils; and then invades <i>Cappadocia</i> a second time, and plunders the country and carries off 300,000 captives; with these and other prisoners he builds and peoples a new and large city called <i>Tigranocerta</i> .	III 700
4213	2906	93	<i>Bocchus</i> king of <i>Mauritania</i> sent <i>Sylla</i> a present of 100 lions, and some <i>Mauritanian</i> hunters to fight them in the <i>Roman circus</i> : This sight vastly pleased the <i>Romans</i> , and contributed much to <i>Sylla's</i> promotion.	V 46
4214	2907	92	<i>Arbaces</i> king of <i>Parthia</i> sends an embassy to <i>Sylla</i> as he was returning from <i>Cappadocia</i> , where he had resettled <i>Ariobarzanes</i> in his kingdom, desiring to make an alliance with the <i>Romans</i> .	V 47
4214	2907	92	<i>Apion</i> king of <i>Cyrene</i> bequeaths his kingdom (consisting of <i>Cyrene</i> , <i>Berenice</i> , <i>Arfusae</i> , <i>Ptolemais</i> and <i>Apollonia</i> .) to the <i>Roman</i> republick.	III 62
4215	2908	91	<i>Drusus</i> the tribune with great difficulty got a law passed, that a sufficient quantity of bread should be given to the poor citizens in <i>Rome</i> gratis; alledging the publick treasury could afford it, being then loaded with 1,620,829 pounds weight of gold: Shortly after he was murdered.	IV 48
4216	2909	90	The <i>Marfi</i> , <i>Peligni</i> , <i>Samnites</i> , <i>Campanians</i> , and <i>Lucanians</i> revolt at once, and erect themselves into a separate republick, choosing consuls, praetors, and 500 senators to govern them. <i>Corfinum</i> (a great and strong town of the <i>Peligni</i>) is made their capital. The proconsul <i>Q. Servilius</i> , governor of the province of <i>Picenum</i> , is cut off, his lieutenant and all the <i>Romans</i> , by the revolvers. <i>Cn. Pompeius</i> comes with an army from <i>Rome</i> against them; but they put them to flight with great slaughter. The consul <i>Rutilius</i> and the <i>Marfi</i> engage, and after a long obstinate battle the <i>Romans</i> fly with the loss of 4000 men. A few days after they have another engagement, wherein the <i>Romans</i> lose 8000 men, the consul and many officers of distinction. A small time after <i>Pompeidius Silo</i> (chief commander of the <i>Italians</i>) deludes <i>Q. Cæpio</i> the <i>Roman</i> general, draws him into narrow defiles, and then kills him and the greatest part of his army. The confederate revolvers had great successes in other places: The consul <i>L. Julius Cæsar</i> , uncle to the emperor <i>Julius Cæsar</i> , at first was defeated at <i>Samnium</i> , by <i>Vettius Cato</i> , which with the revolt of many of his men, so imboldened <i>Asinius</i> , that he braved the <i>Romans</i> at the gates of their camp, who sallying suddenly, put him to the rout and killed him 6000 men, which occasioned such joy, that the soldiers saluted <i>Cæsar</i> by the name of <i>Imperator</i> , which the senate confirmed. <i>Marius</i> likewise defeated the <i>Maracini</i> under <i>Herrius Asinus</i> , and forced him to fly into the strong holds, where <i>Sylla</i> attacked them, killed their general, and cut off most of their troops, and so completed the victory. <i>Servius Sulpicius</i> also defeated the <i>Peligni</i> in a pitched battle, and reduced their whole country; then marched to the relief of <i>Pompey</i> , who was besieged in <i>Fiernum</i> by <i>Afranius</i> , whom he killed, and the greatest part of his men: But <i>Marius</i> was overcome by the <i>Marfi</i> , upon which he retired to <i>Rome</i> and laid down his command. The <i>Umbrians</i> and <i>Ætrurians</i> revolt, and are defeated.	IV 50
4216	2909	90	<i>Selene</i> having prevailed with many of the <i>Syrian</i> cities to join her against <i>Tigranes</i> , he goes against her with an army 500,000 men, besieges her in <i>Ptolemais</i> , takes it, and carries her to <i>Seleucia</i> in <i>Mesopotamia</i> , where she was put to death.	III 617
4216	2909	90	<i>Mithridates</i> king of <i>Pontus</i> invades <i>Bythinia</i> , and drives out <i>Nicomedes</i> , the natural son of the late king just now deceased, and seizes the kingdom, but is driven out again by the <i>Roman</i> legates, and <i>Nicomedes</i> reinstated, who enters <i>Pontus</i> , laying waste whole provinces, and destroys all with fire and sword: <i>Mithridates</i> complains first to the legates, and then to the senate, but without redress. All sides arm, and as <i>Nicomedes</i> was going to take possession of an advantageous post, <i>Mithridates</i> engages and defeats him, by cutting off almost his whole army and forcing the rest to fly; he takes all their money, baggage, provisions, &c. He then attacks the <i>Roman</i> general <i>Aquilius</i> , kills 10,000 of his men, takes 300, and disperses the rest: Soon after, his admirals takes the greatest part of the 300 ships that guarded the passage of the <i>Euxine</i> sea at <i>Byzantium</i> : The <i>Romans</i> retiring, he over-run all <i>Asia</i> to <i>Ionia</i> , the people readily submitting to him, calling him their deliverer, their god, &c.	III 730
4216	2909	90	The consul <i>Julius Cæsar</i> got a law passed, That all the <i>Nations</i> of <i>Italy</i> , whose Alliance with <i>Rome</i> was indisputable, should enjoy the Rights of <i>Roman</i> Citizens. (This ever after was called the <i>Julian</i> law.) As war was begun for refusing this privilege, it caused many to remain friends that would have deserted, and some to return who had.	IV 51
4217	2910	89	The consul <i>Cn. Pompeius Strabo</i> (father of <i>Pompey the Great</i>) went to carry on the siege of <i>Asculum</i> , and destroyed the whole army of <i>Marfi</i> that came to relieve it, with their general <i>Francus</i> . The tribunes got the <i>Julian</i> law amended, ordaining, That all the Citizens of the allied Cities that were in <i>Italy</i> at the Promulgation of this Law, should be deemed Citizens of <i>Rome</i> if they registered their Names with any of the three <i>Prætors</i> in 60 Days. This brought great numbers, and the censors incorporated them into new tribes. They likewise took the authority from the <i>Roman</i> knights, who had most shamefully abused it, and ordered each tribe to choose 15 of their own members to administer justice in	

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			civil matters. The consul <i>Pompeius</i> defeated <i>Vettius Cato</i> , and put an end to the war of the <i>Vestini</i> . The consul <i>Porcius Cato</i> attempting to force the camp of the <i>Marfi</i> , was killed, and the whole Roman army routed with great slaughter. But the proconsul <i>Cosconius</i> defeated and killed the famous <i>Samnite</i> , <i>Marius Eg- natus</i> , and his successor <i>Trebetius</i> , killing him 15,000 men, and reduced the countries of the <i>Larinates</i> , <i>Venusians</i> and <i>Peduli</i> , to obedience.	IV	52
4217	2910	89	<i>Sylla</i> took <i>Stabie</i> in <i>Campania</i> by assault, then incorporates the Roman army that had killed their general <i>Posthumus</i> into his legions, and besieges <i>Pompeii</i> ; <i>Clau- entius</i> , general of the allies, coming to relieve it, he repulsed him with great loss; but soon after coming with a great reinforcement of <i>Gauls</i> , <i>Sylla</i> cut off 30,000 of them, and took <i>Pompeii</i> : He then went after <i>Cluentius</i> to <i>Nola</i> , and fought him under the walls, killed him and 20,000 <i>Samnites</i> , plundered his camp, and went into <i>Hirpinia</i> , and reduced the capital <i>Asculana</i> and the whole country; then passed into <i>Samnium</i> , where he was reduced to great distress by <i>Aponius</i> , but got away by night and conquered the enemy, and took <i>Bovianum</i> by storm. The consul <i>Pompeius</i> reduced the city of <i>Asculum</i> , punished the in- habitants with the utmost severity for the murder of a Roman prætor, and saved only a few chiefs to grace his triumph, and confiscated all the lands.	IV	53
4217	2910	89	<i>Q. Oppius</i> , governor of <i>Pamphilia</i> , is delivered into the hands of <i>Mitbridates</i> by the people of <i>Laodicea</i> upon the <i>Lycus</i> : The <i>Lesbians</i> also send him <i>Marius A- quilus</i> in chains, with many other Romans of distinction, who upon his arrival at <i>Pergamus</i> , he orders first to be whipt, and then hot liquid gold to be poured down his throat. All places wherever he came submitted to him, so that his wealth was so great as to keep his vast army five years without taxing his subjects.	III	731
4218	2911	88	The rebels are generally reduced, but a civil war breaks out in <i>Rome</i> , between <i>Sulpicius</i> and <i>Marius</i> against <i>Sylla</i> , now consul. <i>Sylla</i> comes from the siege of <i>Nola</i> , enters <i>Rome</i> , and kills abundance of <i>Marius's</i> partizans, then proposes the following laws; 1. That no law should be brought before the people till it was approved of by the senate. 2. That the <i>Comitia</i> should be held by centu- ries, and not by tribes. 3. That no citizen who had been tribune of the people should be capable of any other magistracy. 4. That <i>Sulpicius's</i> laws should be void; which were all agreed to. Impeachments were drawn up against <i>Ma- rius</i> , his son, <i>Sulpicius</i> , and many others; they were all prosecuted, declared enemies to <i>Rome</i> , and a reward set upon their heads. <i>Sulpicius</i> was taken and beheaded; but <i>Marius</i> being taken and carried to <i>Minturnæ</i> , the citizens help him to escape.	IV	58
4218	2911	88	<i>Mitbridates</i> king of <i>Pontus</i> besieges <i>Rhodes</i> with a vast fleet and a great land army, which by the assistance of the Romans were defeated and the siege raised.	III	158
4218	2911	88	<i>Mitbridates</i> orders all the <i>Italians</i> , men, women and children, all over <i>Asia</i> , to be murdered, promising great rewards to them that did it; upon which 150,000 suffered death. He then went to <i>Rhodes</i> , whither the Romans that escaped flew, but was twice defeated: But <i>Archelaus</i> his general goes to <i>Athens</i> , takes it, puts all the Romans and their friends to death; and so went on, till <i>Mitbridates</i> was master of all <i>Asia</i> , <i>Greece</i> , and the adjacent islands, except <i>Rhodes</i> .	III	733
4219	2912	87	<i>Cinna</i> (one of the present Roman consuls) cites <i>Sylla</i> the late consul to answer for his con- duct: <i>Sylla</i> retires to the east; <i>Cinna</i> orders the new citizens to come armed into the fo- rum; <i>Octavius</i> the other consul orders the old citizens to do the like; a battle ensues, and much blood is spilt; at last the new citizens are drove out of the city, and the consul <i>Cinna</i> and six tribunes. The senate deposes <i>Cinna</i> , and chose <i>L. Cornelius Merula</i> in his room. <i>Cinna</i> raises a great army, and the revolted <i>Italians</i> join him in vast numbers. He sends for <i>Marius</i> , to whom abundance of slaves, &c. resort: They besiege <i>Rome</i> ; <i>Marius</i> takes all the maritime places; <i>Ostia</i> he took by treachery, pillaged it, put most of the people to the sword, built a bridge over the <i>Tiber</i> , and cut off the city's communication with the sea, and blockaded up <i>Rome</i> on the side of the <i>Janiculum</i> .	IV	63
4219	2912	87	<i>Athens</i> sides with <i>Mitbridates</i> against the Romans, is besieged, and holds out long, but at last is taken by storm by <i>Sylla</i> the Roman general, when the slaughter was so merciless, that the very channels of the streets ran down with blood, &c.	II	736
4219	2912	87	<i>Rome</i> by its intestine disturbances is brought to a most deplorable condition, the plague destroying great numbers, famine more, but the sword most; for when the gates were opened to let <i>Cinna</i> and <i>Marius</i> in, all manner of butcheries and cruelties were committed, particularly by a band of slaves that constantly attended <i>Marius</i> , which he called <i>Bardiæans</i> ; but <i>Cinna</i> in the night-time or- dered them all to be cut off. <i>Cinna</i> , <i>Marius</i> , and <i>Sertorius</i> conclude to murder all the senators, &c. who had opposed them, which for five days they executed, killing most of them and sticking their heads upon poles, and their mangled bodies being dragged into the forum, were left there to be devoured by dogs.	III	65
4220	2913	86	<i>Cinna</i> , without the choice of the people, declares himself and <i>Marius</i> a seventh time consuls for the year ensuing. <i>Sylla</i> writes to <i>Rome</i> , acquaints the senate of his victories, &c. and threatens to be revenged of the consuls and their ad- herents, for the personal injuries done him, his wife and family; upon which <i>Marius</i> gave himself up to excessive drinking, and so killed himself: <i>Cinna</i> af- sociated with him in the government young <i>Marius</i> , (but not in the consulship) who put all the senators he could find to the sword. <i>Valerius Flaccus</i> (one of their creatures) was nominated to the consulship, who to ingratiate himself to the people, published a law declaring all debtors free from their debts upon paying a crown in the pound.	III	67
4220	2913	86	<i>Alexander</i> king and high-priest of the <i>Jews</i> engages the rebellious <i>Jews</i> , and defeats them with great slaughter; the remainder fly to <i>Bethsæ</i> , which he be-		

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4220	2913	86	Sylla, with an army but of 1500 horse and 15,000 foot, engages <i>Mitridates</i> king of <i>Pontus</i> at <i>Charonea</i> , with 120,000 men, and kills him 110,000, with the loss only of 12 men. Soon after <i>Dorylaeus</i> , chief favourite of <i>Mitridates</i> , engages <i>Sylla</i> again, who in two engagements intirely overthrew <i>Dorylaeus</i> , and a mighty army cut to pieces.	IV	101
4221	2914	85	<i>Fimbria</i> , lieutenant to the consul <i>Flaccus</i> , revolts from him, and draws the greatest part of the army along with him; then besieges him in <i>Nicomedia</i> , takes it by storm, and puts <i>Flaccus</i> to death, and makes himself commander in chief, and commits all manner of cruelties. <i>Mitridates</i> sends a great army against him, which he engages and entirely routs, and pursues young <i>Mitridates</i> and the other generals to <i>Pergamus</i> ; he enters it sword in hand, but the king being fled to <i>Pritane</i> , he pursues and besieges him there, from whence he escapes to <i>Mytilene</i> : <i>Fimbria</i> took <i>Pritane</i> by storm, and reduced most part of <i>Asia</i> , setting large fines on them; then besieges and takes <i>Old Troy</i> in 11 days, and puts most of the people to the sword, and burns the temple of <i>Minerva</i> , with many of the inhabitants who had fled thither for sanctuary, levelled the walls, and reduced the city to a heap of ashes; then racked and murdered the remainder of the people he met with.	III	734
4221	2914	85	<i>Sylla</i> and <i>Mitridates</i> have an interview, and conclude a peace, by which it was stipulated, that <i>Mitridates</i> should relinquish all his conquests and content himself with <i>Pontus</i> ; that he should release all the prisoners and captives he had taken since the war, without ransom, and pay the <i>Romans</i> 2000 talents: Thus in three years time <i>Sylla</i> drove him out of <i>Greece</i> , <i>Macedon</i> , <i>Ionis</i> , and the province of <i>Asia</i> , and killed above 160,000 of his best troops, without losing 1000 of his own. After this <i>Sylla</i> rebuilt <i>Troy</i> , and declared the <i>Cicians</i> , <i>Rhodians</i> , <i>Lycians</i> , <i>Magnesiums</i> and <i>Trojans</i> , free people and the friends of <i>Rome</i> ; but all the other cities he fined heavily, condemning them to pay 20,000 talents in one year, and quartering his soldiers upon them.	III	736
4221	2914	85	<i>Cinna</i> declares himself a third time consul, and chose <i>Papirius Carbo</i> for his colleague; all the other offices were filled with their creatures, and the whole government of <i>Rome</i> subverted. All the friends of <i>Sylla</i> were murdered, and their estates confiscated; which occasioned most of the men of honour and fortune to fly from <i>Rome</i> to <i>Sylla</i> for protection.	III	739
4221	2914	85	<i>Sylla</i> and <i>Mitridates</i> having concluded a peace, go against <i>Fimbria</i> , the lieutenant under the late consul <i>Flaccus</i> , and summons him at <i>Thyatira</i> in <i>Lydia</i> to surrender up his troops, upon which many revolt from <i>Fimbria</i> to <i>Sylla</i> : <i>Fimbria</i> hires a slave to murder <i>Sylla</i> , which is discovered. <i>Sylla</i> marches his troops against <i>Fimbria</i> , who retires into <i>Pergamus</i> and stabs himself.	III	67
4222	2915	84	<i>Cinna</i> and <i>Papirius Carbo</i> declare themselves consuls again: <i>Cinna</i> marries his daughter <i>Cornelia</i> to the famous <i>Julius Caesar</i> . <i>Sylla</i> marches towards <i>Rome</i> with great threatnings; <i>Cinna</i> goes against him; the soldiers mutiny and kill him. <i>Carbo</i> now reigned alone, and raised 200,000 men to keep <i>Sylla</i> out of <i>Italy</i> . <i>Sylla</i> harangues his army, who take a new oath to him, and promise to commit no devastations in <i>Italy</i> : They are first met and joined by <i>Metellus Pius</i> and his men. <i>Sylla</i> sends offers of peace to the consul <i>Narbo</i> , who uses his messengers ill; upon which a battle ensues, wherein <i>Narbo</i> has 6000 killed, and then abundance desert the consul and join <i>Sylla</i> . <i>Pompey</i> raises an army and does the same. <i>Scipio</i> the other consul coming against <i>Sylla</i> , <i>Sylla</i> desires peace; a truce is agreed on, during which <i>Sylla</i> draws off his men, then takes the consul and his son prisoners, but lets them at liberty, with a guard to escort them safe to their friends. The consul <i>Scipio</i> raises a new army and goes against <i>Pompey</i> , but is a second time deserted, and his men go over to <i>Pompey</i> , who joined <i>Sylla</i> .	V	68
4224	2915	84	<i>Ptolemy Alexander</i> tired with his mother <i>Cleopatra's</i> usage, retires from <i>Alexandria</i> to live privately: She coaxes him to return, with a design to murder him; but he being informed of it, murders her; and the <i>Alexandrians</i> expel him; whereupon <i>Lathyrus</i> comes from <i>Cyprus</i> , and becomes king over the whole dominions of <i>Egypt</i> by himself.	V	70
4223	2916	83	The temple of <i>Jupiter Capitolinus</i> at <i>Rome</i> burnt, and with it the <i>Sybyline</i> books, which two years afterwards <i>Sylla</i> ordered to be restored, by collecting the fragments and copies, &c. and thereout to make new books, which was the work of the quindeemvirs, five members being added to the former ten.	III	662
4224	2917	82	The consul <i>Narbo</i> and <i>C. Marius</i> rob all the temples at <i>Rome</i> of their gold and ornaments, to raise money to pay their troops. <i>Carinas</i> for the consuls engages <i>Metellus Pius</i> , and is defeated with great loss: This so exasperates young <i>Marius</i> , one of this year's consuls, that he sends orders to <i>Junius Brutus</i> the praetor in <i>Rome</i> to murder all the friends of <i>Sylla</i> , which was immediately executed, among whom was <i>Carbo</i> the consul's brother, <i>Pompey's</i> father-in-law, and <i>Mucius Scaevola</i> pontifex maximus; upon which <i>Sylla</i> advancing towards <i>Rome</i> , is met by the consul <i>Marius</i> at <i>Selia</i> upon the banks of the <i>Liris</i> , where they engage a long time, but at last <i>Marius</i> being deserted by seven cohorts at once, is intirely overthrown and routed with a dreadful slaughter. <i>Sylla</i> then marches to <i>Rome</i> , which opens its gates to him. His generals gained continual victories over the consular armies, which by slaughter and desertion was greatly decreased. <i>Telesinus</i> , a noble <i>Samnite</i> , raises a great army, and joins all the scattered forces of the consuls, and marches to <i>Rome</i> with an intent to massacre all the inhabitants and raze the city: <i>Sylla</i> goes and engages him, but is defeated with great loss: But <i>Craffus</i> , another <i>Roman</i> general, defeated the	V	79

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			<i>Samnites</i> , and killed <i>Teleseus</i> , and took <i>Carinas</i> , <i>Brutus</i> and <i>Conforinus</i> , (who were soon after beheaded) and routed the rest: 3000 of them come to <i>Sylla</i> to beg for their lives: he orders them to kill of their countrymen so many as refused to join them: they kill vast numbers, and then 6000 of them he carries to <i>Rome</i> , puts them into the circus, and while he was haranguing the senate, orders all to be killed there. <i>Marius</i> kills himself, and all the <i>Samnites</i> and <i>Prænestines</i> able to bear arms are put to the sword that were in the city of <i>Præneste</i> , and the city plundered: This so terrified the inhabitants of <i>Norba</i> , that they set fire to their houses, and perished in the flames. The civil war now ended; <i>Sylla</i> put governors into all the <i>Italian</i> provinces, and kept small armies in several places to keep them in awe: Then he assembled the <i>Comitium</i> at <i>Rome</i> , and told them that he would put every person to the sword that had bore arms against him, proscribed 40 senators and 1600 knights, with severe penalties against any that concealed or assisted them: <i>Cataline</i> was the executioner of his vengeance, who slew a great many even before they knew they were proscribed. All ranks and degrees were murdered in vast numbers in <i>Rome</i> , and in the adjacent parts; some cities were dismantled, others excessively taxed, some demolished, and all the citizens proscribed, &c. Thus he became master of <i>Rome</i> , and all its provinces except <i>Spain</i> : after which he got himself proclaimed continual dictator. ———	V	78
4224	2917	82	<i>Muræna</i> the Roman general having broke the peace with <i>Mitridates</i> , and taken many towns, &c. <i>Mitridates</i> engages him, overthrows him, and drives him into <i>Phrygia</i> : But <i>Sylla</i> being now dictator, orders <i>Muræna</i> to return home, and sent <i>M. Themas</i> to be prætor in <i>Asia</i> , and <i>Gabinus</i> to settle all things with <i>Mitridates</i> . ———	III	739
4224	2917	82	<i>Alexander</i> late king of <i>Egypt</i> , after divers defeats, dies, and leaves a son named also <i>Alexander</i> . ———	III	662
4224	2917	82	<i>Thebes</i> (a great city in the <i>Upper Egypt</i>) refusing to submit to <i>Lathyrus</i> , he besieged it, and after three years took it, and gave it to be plundered by the soldiers, who so destroyed it that it never after was famous. ———	III	663
4225	2218	81	<i>Sylla</i> makes great changes in the laws of <i>Rome</i> , and restores the patrician power very much, and gives the right of citizenship to 10,000 slaves, and calls them <i>Cornelians</i> ; and gave his legionaries the lands of the <i>Municipia</i> , and colonies that had declared against him; and then orders himself a triumph for his conquests in <i>Asia</i> , <i>Greece</i> and <i>Pontus</i> , which lasted two days; on the first, 15,000 pounds weight of gold and 115,000 of silver, brought from <i>Greece</i> and <i>Asia</i> , were carried before him; and on the second, 13,000 of gold and 7000 of silver, which young <i>Marius</i> had saved out of the fire of the capitol, &c. ———	V	80
4225	2918	81	<i>Sylla</i> sends <i>Pompey</i> (who had reduced all <i>Sicily</i>) against <i>Domitius</i> , who had stirred up <i>Hiarbas</i> (king of part of <i>Numidia</i>) against <i>Sylla</i> in <i>Asia</i> ; they come to an engagement; <i>Domitius</i> has 17,000 men killed on the spot; <i>Pompey</i> pursues him to his camp, which he forces, kills <i>Domitius</i> , and takes <i>Hiarbas</i> prisoner, and thereby recovered all the revolted cities of <i>Africa</i> . <i>Sylla</i> orders <i>Pompey</i> to disband his troops and come to <i>Rome</i> , which he does, and is received with the highest honour, and surnamed the Great. ———	V	80
4226	2919	80	<i>Sylla</i> (though dictator) names himself and <i>Q. Cæcilius Metellus</i> for consuls, and are chose, upon which he treats all the city of <i>Rome</i> for many days with great profusion. <i>Pompey</i> requires a triumph, and after much opposition from <i>Sylla</i> has it. <i>Sylla</i> reduces <i>Nola</i> in <i>Campania</i> , and <i>Volaterræ</i> in <i>Ettruria</i> , the two only cities that held out against him. ———	V	81
4227	2920	79	<i>Cicero</i> pleads for the first time in favour of <i>Roscius</i> , and having used too much freedom against <i>Sylla</i> , retires to <i>Athens</i> to compleat his studies. ———	V	82
4227	2920	79	<i>Alexander</i> king and high-priest of the <i>Jews</i> dies, in his camp before <i>Ragaba</i> , which he was then besieging, and left the kingdom to his queen <i>Alexandra</i> , and upon her death to which of his two sons she should choose. ———	IV	102
4227	2920	79	<i>Sylla</i> , after having destroyed above 100,000 <i>Roman</i> citizens, 90 senators, and proscribed or murdered 2600 <i>Roman</i> knights, and buried numberless multitudes of the allies in the ruins of their cities, assembles the people, mounts the rostra, and making a speech to them, concludes with, <i>Romans</i> , I resign my Office, divest myself of the unlimited Power you have conferred upon me, and am ready to answer in a private Capacity whatever can be alledged against me; then dismissed his lictors, came down from the rostra, and went to his own house in the rank of a private man, and so continued to his death. ———	V	83
4228	2921	78	The quarrels between the consuls threatening <i>Rome</i> with another civil war, <i>Sylla</i> retires to his country house, and gives himself up to all manner of debaucheries, which threw him into a violent disease that bred an imposthume in his bowels, which produced vast quantities of vermin that in a small time determined his life: His burial was honoured with all the pomp and publick respect possible. ———	V	83
4228	2921	78	Towards the end of the consular year, <i>Lepidus</i> comes with a great army against <i>Rome</i> to force them to chuse him a second time, but is repulsed by his colleague and <i>Pompey</i> , and obliged to save himself by a shameful flight into <i>Ettruria</i> : <i>M. Junius Brutus</i> espousing his cause, <i>Pompey</i> marches against him into <i>Cisalpine Gaul</i> , besieges and takes <i>Mutina</i> , forcing him and all his army to surrender at discretion: <i>Pompey</i> ordered <i>Brutus</i> to be beheaded, but used the troops with great humanity. <i>Lepidus</i> having recruited his army, went a second time to <i>Rome</i> , but was again forced to retire, first into <i>Ettruria</i> and then into <i>Sardinia</i> , where he soon died, and his rebellion with him. ———	V	85
4229	2922	77	<i>Alexandra</i> (queen of the <i>Jews</i>) having restored the <i>Pharisees</i> to that power from which her husband had reduced them, used it so exorbitantly as to compel her to reverse all the former decrees made against them, and to persecute the <i>Sadducees</i> with great cruelty. ———	IV	103

76	<i>Julius Cæsar</i> appears for the first time at the bar, and impeaches <i>Cn. Cornelius Dolabella</i> , formerly prætor of <i>Macedonia</i> , by which he gained great reputation, tho' the accused was excused.	V	90
76	<i>Ptolemy Latyrus</i> king of <i>Egypt</i> dies, and is succeeded by his only legitimate child, <i>Cleopatra Bernice</i> . <i>Sylla</i> being now perpetual dictator of <i>Rome</i> , sends <i>Alexander</i> , the son of <i>Ptolemy Alexander</i> late king of <i>Egypt</i> , to take possession of the crown of <i>Egypt</i> : The <i>Alexandrians</i> persuade him to marry <i>Cleopatra</i> , that now reigned, which he does, but orders her to be murdered 19 days afterwards; then reigned very cruelly for 15 years, at the end of which time the <i>Alexandrians</i> expel him the kingdom; upon which he went to <i>Tyre</i> , and died a few months after.	III	665
75	The consul <i>Aurelius Cotta</i> consents to abolish one of <i>Sylla's</i> laws, and to admit the tribunes to be advanced to superior offices.	V	98
75	<i>Sertorius</i> having for many years supported the <i>Marian</i> faction in <i>Spain</i> , and advanced <i>Lusitania</i> into a commonwealth, and continually harassed and defeated <i>Metellus</i> , one of his lieutenants, is attacked by <i>Metellus</i> , who defeats and kills him 20,000 men. <i>Sertorius</i> engages and defeats <i>Pompey</i> ; a small time after he defeated him again, and killed 6000 of his men, and soon after reduced both <i>Pompey</i> and <i>Metellus</i> to the utmost straits. <i>Mitridates</i> king of <i>Pontus</i> sends <i>Sertorius</i> 5000 talents, and 40 ships completely armed; and <i>Sertorius</i> sends him a body of troops, under the command of <i>Marcus Marius</i> .	V	95
75	<i>Mitridates</i> and his son-in-law <i>Tigranes</i> join; <i>Tigranes</i> besieges <i>Cappadocia</i> , and <i>Mitridates</i> <i>Paphlagonia</i> , with 120,000 foot, 16,000 horse, and 100 chariots armed with scythes. <i>Paphlagonia</i> submits; then he goes into <i>Bythinia</i> .	III	740
74	<i>M. Antonius</i> the <i>Roman</i> admiral going against the <i>Cretan</i> pirates, is defeated, and sees many of his ships taken, and his men hung upon the enemies masts; which so affects him, that he dies of grief soon after.	V	96
74	<i>Mitridates</i> advances with two large armies, and a fleet of 400 ships of 30 oars, and abundance of smaller vessels; the one under <i>Diophantus Matharus</i> marches into <i>Cappadocia</i> ; the other, consisting of 150,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and 100 armed chariots, <i>Mitridates</i> commanded in person; and a third army commanded by <i>Marius</i> and <i>Eumachus</i> , near <i>Heraclea</i> in <i>Pontus</i> : <i>Lucullus</i> commanded <i>Cotta</i> to keep the fleet in the harbour of <i>Chalcedon</i> ; <i>Cotta</i> sends his legate <i>Rutilius</i> to watch <i>Mitridates's</i> motions, whom <i>Marius</i> and <i>Eumachus</i> meet, who slew him and cut his army in pieces; <i>Mitridates</i> serves several other officers in the same manner, and orders his admiral to sail into the harbour of <i>Chalcedon</i> , where he burnt some and sunk others, and took the remainder of the <i>Roman</i> fleet without opposition; 8000 sailors are killed, and 4500 taken prisoners, and 5300 land forces, all <i>Italians</i> . <i>Lucullus</i> following <i>Mitridates</i> to the siege of <i>Cyzicum</i> , kills 10,000 of his men, and takes 13,000; <i>Lucullus</i> a while after cuts off a large detachment of <i>Pontines</i> , and got the mastery of a mountain whereby he cut off all communication by land from <i>Mitridates</i> ; this caused both a famine and a plague in his army: They endeavour to break up the siege and retire; but <i>Lucullus</i> falls upon them as they were passing the river <i>Rhyndacus</i> , took 600 horse, and all the beasts of burthen, 15,000 men, and put the rest to the sword: He also took <i>Aristonicus</i> , the king's admiral, and a large sum of money. The king breaks up the siege, and embarks in the night. <i>Marius</i> goes by land with 30,000 men for <i>Lampascus</i> ; <i>Lucullus</i> follows, engages, and kills him 20,000 men. Upon <i>Lucullus's</i> return to <i>Cyzicum</i> , the people pay him the highest honour, and institute sports, and call them <i>Lucullea</i> ; he declared the city free, and the senate gave them the same privileges with <i>Rome</i> . <i>Mitridates</i> is said to lose 300,000 men by this siege. <i>Lucullus</i> comes up with the king's fleet of 50 ships, and 10,000 land forces on board, and takes 32, and puts most of the land forces to the sword: The next day <i>Marius</i> , <i>Alexander</i> , and <i>Dionysius</i> , three generals, are taken in a cave, and carried to <i>Lucullus</i> ; <i>Marius</i> he ordered to be put to death. The king encamps near to <i>Lucullus</i> ; but his detachments being several times defeated, at last his whole army runs away without being attacked, and leaves only a small guard to go with the king to his son-in-law <i>Tigranes</i> . In his passage he sends <i>Bacchides</i> to <i>Pharnacia</i> , to put his sisters, wives, and concubines to death, which was done accordingly. All the governors of towns, &c. in <i>Pontus</i> submit to <i>Lucullus</i> . <i>Heraclea</i> , a chief city of <i>Pontus</i> , having vigorously stood a two years siege, was at last betrayed by their governor <i>Conacoris</i> , who delivered up one of the gates in the night: The <i>Romans</i> under <i>Cotta</i> and <i>Triarius</i> murder most of the people, and plunder the town, with its temple, &c. and then reduced it to ashes. Thus was all <i>Pontus</i> subdued, and made a <i>Roman</i> province. Then <i>Lucullus</i> went against <i>Armenia Minor</i> , who all submit.	III	747
74	<i>Perperna</i> cabals against <i>Sertorius</i> in <i>Spain</i> , and strives by all means to bring him into disgrace with the people, and at last treacherously murdered him. <i>Perperna</i> commands the army of <i>Sertorius</i> , is defeated, and taken prisoner by <i>Pompey</i> , and by him put to death, which put an end to the war in <i>Spain</i> .	V	97
73	The <i>Italian</i> slaves, under one <i>Sparticus</i> a gladiator, make an insurrection; they first defeat the <i>Capuan</i> militia, then the <i>Roman</i> prætor <i>Claudius Pulcher</i> with 30,000 men, and then overthrew the prætor <i>Vatinus</i> .	V	97
72	<i>Crixus</i> , one of the chiefs of the <i>Gaulish</i> slaves, separates from <i>Sparticus</i> , and is cut to pieces with his whole army in <i>Apulia</i> , by the consul <i>Gellius</i> ; upon which <i>Sparticus</i> falls upon the other consul <i>Lentulus</i> , and gave him a total overthrow; and then marched against <i>Gellius</i> , and defeated him. <i>Sparticus</i> sacrificed all the <i>Roman</i> prisoners round <i>Crixus's</i> funeral pile.		
72	<i>Tigranes</i> engages <i>Lucullus</i> , and is entirely defeated: But <i>Mitridates</i> recovers a great part of <i>Pontus</i> , and overthrew <i>Fabius</i> the <i>Roman</i> governor of that province, but was soon after defeated by <i>Triarius</i> , another <i>Roman</i> general.	III	749

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4235	2928	71	<i>Mithridates</i> and <i>Triarius</i> engage again; the <i>Romans</i> are defeated with great slaughter; but the king being greatly wounded by a <i>Roman</i> , who was one of his own men, occasioned a retreat to be sounded, which gave the remaining <i>Romans</i> an opportunity to escape, having lost 7000 men, 150 centurions, 24 tribunes: After the king was recovered from his wound, he ordered all the <i>Romans</i> in his army to be formed into one body, and when they were retired to their tents, he ordered every man of them to be cut to pieces.	III	750
4235	2928	71	The <i>Roman</i> senate appoints <i>Licinius Crassus</i> general of the forces sent against the rebel-slaves: He dispatches <i>Mummius</i> his lieutenant with two legions to watch their motions; but he offering <i>Spartacus</i> battle, is put to flight at the first onset. <i>Crassus</i> soon after falls in with 10,000 of the rebels, who were laying the country waste, fell upon and cut them all to pieces. <i>Spartacus</i> posted himself in a peninsula near <i>Rhegium</i> , where <i>Crassus</i> shut him in with a ditch from one sea to the other, 300 furlongs long, 15 foot broad, and 15 foot deep; but <i>Spartacus</i> one snowy night filled up part of it, and forced his way through the enemies army, and again encamped in the open country. Part of the slaves quarrel with their leader, and separate: <i>Crassus</i> attacks them, and kills 12,300. Soon after <i>Crassus</i> engages <i>Spartacus</i> , kills him and 40,000 rebels: A party of them retired under the conduct of one <i>Publius</i> into <i>Lucania</i> , where <i>Pompey</i> entirely defeated them, and so put an end to this rebellion.	V	98
4236	2929	70	<i>Pompey</i> and <i>Crassus</i> are made this year's consuls at <i>Rome</i> . <i>Pompey</i> refuses to disband the troops brought out of <i>Spain</i> , till he has a triumph; and <i>Crassus</i> would not part with the command of his army, till <i>Pompey</i> laid down his arms, affirming that <i>Pompey</i> aim'd at the sovereignty, and, like <i>Sylla</i> , to govern by a standing army; but with great difficulty they are both prevailed upon to disband their armies, and are seemingly reconciled; but each of them strove to make themselves friends; <i>Pompey</i> by popularity, reinstating the tribunes in their former power, and restoring the power of judging civil causes by the <i>Roman</i> knights. <i>Crassus</i> , though naturally covetous, entertained the people with prodigious profusion at 10,000 tables, and gave corn to the populace sufficient to maintain their families three whole months, he being the richest man in all <i>Rome</i> , being worth 7000 talents, or 1356,250 <i>l. sterling</i> . This year the censorship was again revived, and the number of the <i>Roman</i> citizens fit to bear arms was found to be 450,000.	V	99
4236	2929	70	Queen <i>Alexandra</i> dies, and her son <i>Hyrcaus</i> , then high-priest of the <i>Jews</i> , is proclaimed king of the <i>Jews</i> by the <i>Pharisees</i> ; but his brother <i>Aristobulus</i> opposes him: they come to a battle, <i>Hyrcaus</i> is defeated and flies to <i>Jerusalem</i> , whither <i>Aristobulus</i> follows him, and obliges him to surrender the crown and priesthood to him, which he did, after a reign of three months, and by the artifice of <i>Antipater</i> , the father of <i>Herod</i> , was persuaded to fly to <i>Aretas</i> king of <i>Arabia</i> for safety and protection.	IV	107
3237	2930	69	<i>Aretas</i> king of <i>Arabia</i> comes with an army to settle <i>Hyrcaus</i> in <i>Judea</i> : <i>Aristobulus</i> engages him, is defeated, and flies to <i>Jerusalem</i> , whither <i>Aretas</i> , &c. follows him, and besieges him in the precinct of the temple.	IV	107
4238	2931	68	The <i>Cretans</i> send 23 of their chief members to <i>Rome</i> to appease the senate; but <i>P. Lentulus Spinther</i> opposes them, and <i>Metellus</i> is sent against them, who entirely overthrew <i>Lasthenes</i> , and besieged <i>Cydonia</i> , the metropolis of the island, which the governor <i>Panares</i> surrendered: Then <i>Metellus</i> went to <i>Gnosus</i> , whither <i>Lasthenes</i> was flown, which after setting on fire, <i>Lasthenes</i> withdrew; so that <i>Metellus</i> conquered the whole island of <i>Crete</i> in one campaign.	III	172
4239	2932	67	The <i>Cretans</i> and <i>Sicilian</i> pirates, upon account of <i>Metellus</i> 's severity, send a deputation to <i>Pompey</i> , and offer to submit to him, (who was vested with an absolute power for three years, by the senate, to act and do whatever he thought advantageous for the commonwealth:) He receives their hostages, and promises them an advantageous peace, and declares <i>Metellus</i> had no right of acting within his proconsulate; this caused a sort of civil war between the <i>Roman</i> generals and troops; but <i>Metellus</i> taking <i>Lappa</i> (a strong city of <i>Crete</i>) put all the <i>Cretans</i> and <i>Sicilians</i> to the sword he found in it: Having absolutely conquered the island, and <i>Lasthenes</i> and <i>Panares</i> laid down their arms, all the inhabitants submitted to the yoke: <i>Metellus</i> changed the form of government, obliged them to live by the <i>Roman</i> laws, imposed an annual tribute on the whole island, and made it a <i>Roman</i> province. At his return to <i>Rome</i> , <i>Metellus</i> was honoured with a triumph, and the surname of <i>Creticus</i> .	III	172
4239	2932	67	At the instigation of <i>Gabinus</i> the <i>Roman</i> tribune, the people empower <i>Pompey</i> to equip 500 ships, raise 120,000 foot and 5000 horse, and to choose twenty senators for his lieutenants: He had also two quaestors, and 6000 <i>Astic</i> talents paid him before he left <i>Rome</i> . In four months time he quite cleared the seas of the pirates, taking and sinking 1300 of their ships, cutting 10,000 of their men to pieces, and taking 120 towns and castles on the sea coasts from them, setting an incredible number of captives free, and taking 20,000 prisoners, whom he sent to repeople the deserted cities of <i>Mallus</i> , <i>Adana</i> , <i>Epiphania</i> , and <i>Soli</i> in <i>Cilicia</i> : These successes occasioned the passing the <i>Manilian</i> law at <i>Rome</i> , whereby <i>Pompey</i> was made absolute governor of all the armies, fleets and provinces belonging to <i>Rome</i> .	V	102
4239	2932	67	<i>Lucullus</i> is deposed, and the <i>Roman</i> consul <i>Glabrio</i> sent to command in his stead, during which time <i>Mithridates</i> and <i>Tigranes</i> recovered the greatest part of <i>Pontus</i> , <i>Bythinia</i> , <i>Cappadocia</i> , and <i>Armenia Minor</i> .	III	750
4240	2933	66	<i>Pompey</i> having made peace with the <i>Cilician</i> pirates, offers the same to <i>Mithridates</i> , upon condition of his laying down his arms and surrendering up the deserters: This being refused, and both armies encamped on two hills opposite to one another, <i>Pompey</i> cuts a ditch 150 furlongs in circuit at the foot of the king's hill,		

which extremely strained the king's army, forcing them to live upon their dead horses, which perished for want of forage: He resolves to break through the Roman fortifications; and first he put all the sick and disabled to the sword, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands, and then in the night forces his way into the open country, and marches towards *Armenia Major*, where *Tigranes* waited for him: *Pompey* pursues him with his whole army, overtakes and kills 40,000 of his men, with the loss of about thirty Roman soldiers and two centurions. *Mithridates*, forsaken by all his attendants, flies with his wife *Hyphicratia*, his daughter *Dripetive*, and one officer; meets a body of mercenaries that were coming to join him, to the number of 3000, who escort him to the castle of *Sinaria*, on the borders of the two *Armenia's*, where his treasures were; he rewarded them very liberally, took 6000 talents and retired into *Armenia*, from whence he sends to *Tigranes*; but he being about clapping up a peace with the Romans, put his ambassadors in irons. *Pompey* built a city called *Nicopolis* in the field of battle, which he bestowed upon his old and disabled soldiers; and many resorting to it from all parts, it soon became noted.

65 *Catiline*, at the head a great number of extravagant debauchees, conspire the death of the consuls, and the seizing the government of *Rome* by the murder of the senate; but giving the signal at a wrong time, it proved abortive.

65 *Julius Caesar* is this year made ædile at *Rome*: He courts the people by all arts of popularity possible; he finishes the *Appian* way, almost wholly at his own expence, and entertained the people with 320 couple of gladiators, and the *Megalæan* games, running himself 251,875 l. sterling in debt.

65 *Aristobulus* send ambassadors to *Scaurus*, one of *Pompey's* generals, and offers him 400 talents for his assistance: *Scaurus* writes to *Arctus*, ordering him to raise the siege of *Jerusalem*, upon pain of being declared an enemy to *Rome*. *Arctus* immediately decamps, and returns homewards: *Aristobulus* pursues and overtakes him at *Papyria*, overthrew him, killed 7000 of his men, and quite dispersed the rest. *Pompey* being come to *Damascus*, ambassadors are sent to him from *Judea*, *Syria* and *Egypt*, with great presents: *Aristobulus* sent him a golden vine, with fruit on it, upon a square mount, with deer, lions, &c. about it, all of most exquisite workmanship, valued at 5000 talents, which *Pompey* set up in the temple of *Jupiter* at *Rome*: *Pompey* orders the two brothers to appear personally before him at *Damascus*.

64 *Aristobulus* and his brother *Hyrca* appear at *Damascus* before *Pompey*, who after hearing each side, defers the umpirage till he should come into *Judea* himself, intending first to subdue *Arctus* king of *Arabia*. *Aristobulus* goes away in a huff, and raises an army: *Pompey* goes after him, and at *Corea* sends for *Aristobulus*; who going to him, and after several conferences *Pompey* demands all his fortresses, &c. *Aristobulus*, to get his liberty, consents; but as soon as he got from him, flies to *Jerusalem*, whither *Pompey* follows him: *Aristobulus* comes out, offers him a large sum of money, and prostrate at his feet begs for peace: *Pompey* sends *Gabinus* with his troops to receive the money, but the garrison shuts the gates, and refuses their consent: *Aristobulus* is clapt in chains, and the city besieged. *Hyrca's* party opens the city to him, but the other's retire within the precincts of the temple; but falling into a superstitious observation of the Sabbath, was attacked on that day, and the place taken, with the slaughter of 12,000 by the Romans, and abundance murdered themselves, the priests all the while continuing their sacrifices. *Pompey* puts multitudes of the captives to death, who had espoused *Aristobulus's* cause, while others destroyed themselves by setting fire to their houses, and leaping from precipices, &c. Thus the whole kingdom of *Judea* was at once subdued by the Romans.

64 *Mithridates* sues to *Pompey* for peace, but is answered, he must come in person; which he refusing, enters *Pontus*, and takes several places from *Pompey*; but *Cassius*, whom he had made governor of *Phanagoria*, having killed *Tripho*, the king's favourite, to avoid the king's anger stirs up the inhabitants to revolt; but the king having four sons there, they maintained the castle against *Cassius*, who besieged, and took it and them, with their sister *Cleopatra*, and sent them all to the Romans. *Mithridates* sends eunuchs ambassadors to the *Parthians*, with the offer of his daughters to such princes as would assist him; but their guard murders them, and delivers up the girls to the Romans, as well as themselves: Soon after *Pharnaces* his son was proclaimed king by the soldiers, &c. who grew weary of his severe government, upon which he poisoned himself, and such of his daughters and concubines as remained with him; the women died, but he survived, and was forced to stab himself to get rid of his life, at the *Panticapæum* in the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, in the 60th year of his reign; during which time he subdued 24 nations, and could speak all their languages fluently; he was an excellent scholar, and wrote many books of phylick, and as great a statesman and general as the age he lived in afforded, &c.

63 *Pompey* bestows the kingdom of *Bosphorus* upon *Pharnaces*, son of *Mithridates* late king of *Pontus*, and honours him with the title of friend and ally of *Rome*; upon which he orders all his governors, &c. in *Pontus* to submit to *Pompey*, and deliver all the treasure to him. In the city of *Talaura* *Pompey* found 2000 onyx cups set in gold, and a vast number of rich saddles set with jewels, &c. the statues of *Minerva*, *Mars* and *Apollo*, of pure gold, &c. *Pompey* having reduced *Pontus* into a Roman province, goes to *Ephesus*, and in a fleet of 200 ships sails for *Italy*; and coming to *Brundisium*, to take off all suspicion, disbands his army. His triumph (which lasted two days) was attended with 124 captives of distinction; he would not suffer any of them to be put to death, but sent most them back to their respective countries detaining only those of royal extraction; delivered 20,000 talents into the publick treasury, notwithstanding he had dissi-

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			buted 16,000 talents among the officers of his army, and given every soldier 50 sesteritiums.	III	758
4243	2936	63	<i>Cicero</i> , the now consul, acquaints the senate of <i>Catiline's</i> conspiracy to his face; upon which 'tis enacted, that the consuls should take care that the republick suffered no detriment, by an antient form, that invested them with absolute power to raise men and money for war, &c. <i>Catiline</i> prompts <i>Cethegus</i> , <i>Lentulus</i> , &c. to set the city on fire; goes into <i>Hetruria</i> , takes upon him the command of an army, is declared an enemy to <i>Rome</i> by the senate, and his companions seized and executed.	V	108
4243	2936	63	<i>Hyrcan</i> is restored to his pontifical dignity at <i>Jerusalem</i> , with the secular title of prince, tributary to <i>Rome</i> , but forbid to resume the diadem, or royal stile, or to extend his dominions beyond the old borders of <i>Judea</i> . <i>Pompey</i> , to mortify the <i>Jews</i> , orders the most holy places in the temple to be opened to him and his attendants, where he viewed the golden table, candlestick, censers, lamps, &c. the spices and rich perfumes, &c. and 2000 talents in the treasury, all which he left untouched, and ordered the priests to purify it, and go on with their usual worship: Then he commanded the walls of <i>Jerusalem</i> to be pulled down, and left <i>Seaurus</i> with a sufficient force governor of it, and returned with <i>Aristobulus</i> , his two sons and two daughters captive; but <i>Alexander</i> , one of the sons, made his escape.		
4244	2937	62	<i>Alexander</i> (son of <i>Aristobulus</i> , the deposed king and high-priest of the <i>Jews</i>) is defeated by the <i>Roman</i> general, with the loss of 3000 men killed, and many taken prisoners, who afterwards followed and besieged him in <i>Alexandriqn</i> , where he surrenders up all the fortresses he had seized, which the <i>Romans</i> demolished, and then divided the <i>Jewish</i> state into five districts, and appoints separate courts of judicature at <i>Jerusalem</i> , <i>Gadara</i> , <i>Amath</i> , <i>Jericho</i> and <i>Sepphoris</i> , changing the government from monarchical into aristocratical.	IV	114
4244	2937	62	The proconsul <i>Antonius</i> pretends to be sick, and resigns the command of his army to <i>Petrius</i> , his lieutenant, who engages <i>Catiline</i> , kills him and 3000 of his troops, and so quashed the rebellion, by punishing the guilty heads wherever they were taken.	V	109
4244	2937	62	<i>Julius Cæsar</i> is made <i>Pontifex Maximus</i> , and divorces his wife <i>Pompeia</i> , for her amorous intrigues with <i>P. Clodius</i> , a debauched young patrician.	V	110
4245	2938	61	<i>Ptolemy Auletes</i> (or the flute-player) the natural son of <i>Ptolemy Lathyrus</i> , succeeds in the throne of <i>Egypt</i> , by the choice of the <i>Alexandrians</i> : He was the most effeminate king that ever had been in <i>Egypt</i> : He purchased an alliance with <i>Rome</i> at the price of 6000 talents, or 1,62,500 pounds sterling, but was soon after drove out of the kingdom by the <i>Alexandrians</i> , who set up his daughter <i>Berenice</i> , who marrying <i>Seleucus</i> king of <i>Syria</i> , soon after caused him to be strangled, and married <i>Archelaus</i> , high-priest of <i>Comana</i> in <i>Pontus</i> .	III	666
4246	2939	60	<i>Cæsar</i> being appointed governor of <i>Further Spain</i> , comprising <i>Lusitania</i> and <i>Bætica</i> , viz. <i>Portugal</i> and <i>Andalusia</i> , was stopp'd by some of his creditors; <i>Craffus</i> pays some, and becomes surety to others for 830 talents, or 160,812 pounds sterling. When he arrived in <i>Spain</i> , he subdued several nations that had never yet been subject to <i>Rome</i> , and returned home, bringing with him sufficient to discharge all his debts, amounting to 1,600,000 l. sterling. <i>Pompey</i> and <i>Craffus</i> being at variance, he undertakes to reconcile them, and proposes all things to be managed by them three, called the first great triumvirate.	V	112
4247	2940	59	<i>C. Julius Cæsar</i> being chose consul, proposes to divide the lands belonging to the state in <i>Campania</i> among such poor <i>Roman</i> citizens as had three children or more: The senate oppos'd it to the utmost, but the people pass it tumultuously.	V	114
4248	2941	58	<i>C. Julius Cæsar</i> gets himself the government of <i>Transalpine</i> and <i>Cisalpine Gaul</i> for five years, with the command of four legions, contrary to all law, &c.	V	114
4248	2941	58	<i>Clodius</i> being advanced to the tribuneship at <i>Rome</i> , used all his power against <i>Cicero</i> , who had accused him about <i>Cæsar's</i> wife, and got him banished, burnt his fine palaces at <i>Rome</i> , and his country houses, and confiscated all his estate.	V	116
4248	2941	58	<i>Cæsar</i> engages the <i>Hetrurians</i> , who had burnt down their own towns and houses with a resolution to enter <i>Gaul</i> , cuts off 130,000 of them, and the rest submit: <i>Cæsar</i> obliges them to lay down their arms, and sends them back into their own country. Soon after he engaged <i>Ariovistus</i> , intirely defeated him by cutting off most of his troops; himself escaped with difficulty cross the <i>Rhine</i> , but his two wives and one of his daughters perished; and another of his daughters, and a great many <i>German</i> s of distinction were taken prisoners.	V	118
4249	2942	57	<i>Cicero</i> is recalled from banishment with all the demonstrations of joy possible, and received with the greatest respect at <i>Rome</i> , where he has his palace rebuilt at the publick expence, &c.	V	119
4249	2942	57	The several nations of <i>Belgium</i> conspire against the <i>Romans</i> : <i>Cæsar</i> marches against them; the <i>Rhemi</i> submit, but the rest appoint <i>Galba</i> king of the <i>Suessones</i> their commander, being 150,000. <i>Cæsar</i> attacks them as they are crossing the <i>Axona</i> , now the <i>Aijne</i> , and made such a dreadful slaughter of them, that they resolv'd to disperse and return home. Several places submitted; but the <i>Nervii</i> (a very fierce people) fell upon <i>Cæsar's</i> army, and killed abundance of them; but at last, <i>Cæsar</i> having destroyed almost all of the young men, the old men, women, and children surrendered. Then going against the <i>Advatiesi</i> , they pretended to give up their arms and submit; but having concealed a third part of them, attacked the <i>Romans</i> in the night, for which <i>Cæsar</i> the next day broke down the city-gates, put many to the sword, and sold the rest (to the number of 53,000) for slaves. This brought the submissions of several nations beyond the <i>Rhine</i> , and vast spoil and treasure to <i>Cæsar</i> .		

Y. of World	Y. of Flood	Before Christ		
4240	2941	57	<i>Aristobulus</i> and his son <i>Antigonus</i> escapes out of prison at <i>Rome</i> , and returns into <i>Judea</i> , who with 8000 men that he had collected, sets about building the castle of <i>Alexandria</i> ; but the <i>Romans</i> engage, defeat, and kill 5000 of his men, and force him to fly with 1000 into the ruined castle of <i>Macheron</i> , where after two days stout resistance, they take him by assault, and send him and his son prisoners to <i>Rome</i> , where he remained to his death, but the rest of his family was set at liberty.	IV 114
4250	2943	56	<i>Alexander</i> son of <i>Aristobulus</i> raises a large army and comes again into <i>Judea</i> , and conquers all before him; but being at last engaged by <i>Gabinus</i> , the Roman general, near mount <i>Tabor</i> , is intirely defeated with the loss of 10,000 men killed on the spot, and the rest dispersed.	IV 115
4250	2943	56	<i>Gabinus</i> governor of <i>Syria</i> undertakes to restore <i>Ptolemy Auletes</i> to the throne of <i>Egypt</i> for 10 000 talents, or 1937,500 l. sterling, one half to be paid down, which is agreed to. Accordingly, he sends <i>Mark Antony</i> , who marches into <i>Egypt</i> and takes <i>Pelufum</i> , and <i>Gabinus</i> marches into the heart of the country, and is met by <i>Archelaus</i> , the husband of <i>Berenice</i> ; they engage, the <i>Egyptians</i> are all cut off, and <i>Archelaus</i> taken, who is set at liberty for a large ransom, and being several times defeated, is at last besieged in <i>Alexandria</i> , where after defending the place to the last extremity, he marches out, and engages the <i>Romans</i> , who killed him and routed his army, and so re-establishes <i>Auletes</i> again upon the throne of <i>Egypt</i> , who first put his daughter <i>Berenice</i> to death, for accepting the throne from the <i>Alexandrians</i> , and then destroyed most of the great men for driving him away, confiscating their goods to raise money to pay <i>Gabinus</i> , &c.	III 671
4250	2943	56	<i>Galba</i> , one of <i>Cæsar's</i> lieutenants, being attacked at <i>Ostodurus</i> by a great body of <i>Gauls</i> , he defeats and kills 10,000 of them. <i>Cæsar</i> having appointed <i>Brutus</i> his admiral, sends him against the <i>Veneti</i> , who engages their fleet, and obtains a compleat victory; whereupon the <i>Veneti</i> submit, but <i>Cæsar</i> puts the chiefs to the sword, and sells the rest for slaves. <i>Craffus</i> goes against part of the <i>Aquitani</i> , and kills 30,000 in one battle, and so reduced all <i>Aquitane</i> .	V 121
4251	2944	55	<i>Cæsar</i> attacks the <i>Usipites</i> and <i>Tenctheri</i> , of whom he cut off almost 400,000; then ordered a bridge to be built over the <i>Rhine</i> , entered <i>Germany</i> , plundered and sacked the <i>Sicambri</i> , and frightened the <i>Suevi</i> , and returned in 18 days to <i>Gaul</i> again, and broke down the bridge.	V 112
4251	2944	55	<i>Cæsar</i> prepares to invade <i>Britain</i> ; the <i>Britains</i> send ambassadors into <i>Gaul</i> to him, offering to submit and give hostages: He marches into <i>Piccardy</i> , and from thence sails into <i>Britain</i> , lands, is opposed, and defeats the <i>Britains</i> : They sue for peace, and deliver hostages. A storm shatters his ships; the <i>Britains</i> fall on his seventh legion; he comes to their assistance, and intirely overthrows the <i>Britains</i> with great slaughter several times, and then returns to <i>Gaul</i> . The senate order a supplication or general thanksgiving, for 20 days, for <i>Cæsar's</i> success in <i>Britain</i> .	VII 423
4251	2944	55	The <i>Trebonian</i> law (so called from <i>Trebonius</i> , the tribune of the people) passed at <i>Rome</i> , whereby <i>Cæsar</i> had the command of <i>Gaul</i> , &c. given him for 5 years; <i>Craffus</i> <i>Syria</i> , <i>Egypt</i> and <i>Macedon</i> ; and <i>Pompey</i> the two <i>Spains</i> for the same time, absolutely, (so that no power could reach them for that time) with full power to raise men, money, &c.	V 123
4251	2944	55	<i>Atius</i> (one of the tribunes of the <i>Roman</i> people) strove with all his might to hinder <i>Craffus</i> , the consul, and one of the triumvirs, going into <i>Asia</i> ; but being opposed, went so far as even to arrest his person; but eight of his colleagues delivered <i>Craffus</i> from the officer who had seized him; <i>Pompey</i> conducted him out of <i>Rome</i> with a strong guard; but <i>Atius</i> coming to the city gate through which he was to pass, threw perfumes into a fire he had caused to be kindled there, and cursed <i>Craffus</i> with a thousand imprecations and invokings of the infernal gods. <i>Craffus</i> leaves <i>Rome</i> , and coming into <i>Syria</i> (the province assigned him) marches to <i>Jerusalem</i> to seize all the treasures that <i>Pompey</i> had left untouched: <i>Eleazer</i> , one of the priests, in order to satisfy his avaricious temper, discovers to him a golden rasier, weighing 3000 <i>Hebrew</i> , or 750 common pounds; but though he had solemnly swore he would meddle with nothing else, as soon as he had got that, he plundered the treasury of 2000 talents, and the temple of all else that was valuable, to the amount of 8000 talents more: From hence he went into <i>Parthia</i> , though then in alliance and peace with <i>Rome</i> ; he besieges <i>Nicephorium</i> , which <i>Dio</i> the governor offered to surrender; but when <i>Craffus</i> sent a party to take possession, <i>Dio</i> surrounded and cut them all to pieces. <i>Craffus</i> takes the city by assault, sold the inhabitants for slaves, and confiscated their goods.	IV 256
4252	2945	54	<i>Cæsar</i> lands a second time in <i>Britain</i> , without opposition, the people being frightened at his great number of ships, pretending they had not sent the hostages agreed upon: He marches against and defeats the <i>Britons</i> ; a storm destroys and shatters a great part of his fleet; the <i>Britons</i> often attack him, but are always defeated with great loss. Having ravaged the country he returned to <i>Gaul</i> .	VII 426
4252	2945	54	<i>Julia</i> (the daughter of <i>Julius Cæsar</i> and wife of <i>Pompey</i>) dies, who while living behaved with so extraordinary a prudence, as to keep her father and husband from coming to an open rupture, which soon after broke out between them, and was so highly honoured and esteemed by all ranks of people, that she was buried in the field of <i>Mars</i> , an honour allowed only to great heroes, and never to any woman before.	V 124
4252	2945	54	The <i>Gauls</i> make a general insurrection: <i>Cæsar</i> upon account of a famine that then was, being forced to divide his army and place them in different parts in small parties, several of them are cut off, but at last he reduced them again to obedience, having a reinforcement of two legions from <i>Pompey</i> .	V 124

Y. of World	Y. of Flood	Before Christ		Vol.	Page
4252	2945	54	<i>Crassus</i> spends much of his time in improving, by all scandalous methods, the annual income of his province, by robbing the temples, extorting extravagant sums from the people, &c. and by neglecting military discipline his soldiers became effeminate. <i>Orodes</i> the <i>Parthian</i> king sends ambassadors to <i>Crassus</i> , complaining of his usage, and desires his reasons for it; but <i>Crassus</i> answering very haughtily, is at length attacked at <i>Carrhae</i> , by <i>Surenas</i> the <i>Parthian</i> general, his son is killed, himself defeated, and his army routed with great slaughter, and his camp took and plundered; and pursuing <i>Crassus</i> , takes him by a treacherous proposal of conferring about a peace, kills him and his attendants, and cuts off his head, and brings it to <i>Orodes</i> , who ordered his mouth to be filled with melted gold, thereby reproaching his avariciousness. In this battle 20,000 <i>Romans</i> were killed, and 10,000 taken prisoners.	IV	306
4253	2946	53	<i>Pompey</i> postponed the election of new consuls for seven months, and his creature <i>C. Luceius</i> the tribune proposed to the people to make <i>Pompey</i> dictator; but <i>Cato</i> , &c. opposing it strongly, <i>Domitius Calvinus</i> and <i>Valerius Messala</i> were chose consuls for the remaining five months; but corruption was so notoriously settled at <i>Rome</i> , that the candidates for the curule offices brought their money openly, and the heads of the faction employed force, so that many massacres happened in the installing them in their offices.	V	124
4253	2946	53	<i>Orodes</i> king of <i>Parthia</i> having made peace with <i>Artabazes</i> king of <i>Armenia</i> , and becoming jealous of the growing power of his general <i>Surenas</i> , who had lately defeated the <i>Romans</i> and killed <i>Crassus</i> , orders him to be put to death.	IV	306
4254	2947	52	<i>Orfices</i> general of <i>Orodes</i> king of <i>Parthia</i> enters <i>Syria</i> , and conquers all the country from <i>Euphrates</i> to <i>Antioch</i> , and besieged it: <i>Cicero</i> meets a large party of <i>Parthian</i> horse, and cuts them all off to a man; this forces them to raise the siege, and <i>Cicero</i> falls upon them and cuts off great numbers, and their general <i>Orfices</i> , as they were making their retreat.	IV	306
4254	2947	52	<i>Cassius</i> the <i>Roman</i> general besieges <i>Tarichea</i> (a city on the south shore of the lake <i>Gennesareth</i>) where <i>Pitalaus</i> with the remains of <i>Aristobulus's</i> party were; he takes and carries off 30,000 <i>Jews</i> prisoners, and <i>Pitalaus</i> he puts to death.	IV	116
4254	2947	52	<i>Pompey</i> and his faction creates great disturbances and does much mischief, and he is declared sole consul at <i>Rome</i> , a thing never known before; and new troops, with 1000 talents to pay them, are allowed him: But he having married <i>Cornelia</i> , the daughter of an eminent senator, <i>Q. Cæcilius Metellus</i> , associates him with him in the consulship, which greatly pleased the patrician senators.	V	127
4254	2947	52	<i>Cæsar</i> after having reduced the revolted <i>Gauls</i> in <i>Transalpine Gaul</i> , sends vast sums of money to be distributed among his partizans in <i>Rome</i> , and the populace, paying the debts of some, lending money without interest to others, and obliging and caressing all, he himself staying in <i>Insubria</i> , during which the <i>Gauls</i> revolt again, and though winter, goes against them, besieges <i>Noviodunum</i> ; prince <i>Vercingetorix</i> , the <i>Gaulish</i> generalissimo, comes to its relief; <i>Cæsar</i> defeats him, takes the town, and marches to <i>Avaricum</i> and takes it by storm, and out of 40,000 <i>Gaulish</i> troops, kills all but 800. The <i>Edui</i> revolt, and kill all the <i>Italians</i> in their capital, seizes <i>Noviodunum</i> , and in it <i>Cæsar's</i> military chest, baggage and provisions, and then set fire to the town: In return, <i>Cæsar</i> besieges <i>Alesia</i> , in which was <i>Vercingetorix</i> , with 80,000 men; 16,000 <i>Gauls</i> come to his relief, who engaged three times, but were as often defeated with great loss: The city, being compelled by famine, surrenders at discretion; and so he reduced the <i>Gauls</i> once more, for which 20 days thanksgiving to the gods were ordered at <i>Rome</i> .	V	127
4255	2948	51	The <i>Parthians</i> return, and besiege <i>Antioch</i> a second time, but are obliged to raise the siege, to suppress a rebellion raised by one of their own noblemen.	IV	306
4255	2948	51	Several of the <i>Gaulish</i> communities revolt, which <i>Cæsar</i> continually defeats, and reduces <i>Uxellodunum</i> , a strong place, holding out a long siege against <i>Caninius</i> , one of his generals: <i>Cæsar</i> goes himself, reduces the place, and cuts off the right hands of all able to bear arms; and having now reduced all <i>Gaul</i> from the <i>Pyrenæes</i> and <i>Alps</i> to the <i>Rhine</i> , turns it into a <i>Roman</i> province. He is said to have taken 800 cities, and subdued 300 different nations, and defeated 3,000,000 men, 1,000,000 killed, and 1,000,000 taken prisoners, in his several expeditions against the <i>Gauls</i> .	V	129
4255	2948	51	<i>Ptolemy Auletes</i> , king of <i>Egypt</i> , dies, and makes the <i>Romans</i> executors of his will, by which he bequeathed his crown to his eldest son and eldest daughter, ordering them to inter-marry: <i>Pompey</i> is appointed guardian; but <i>Photinus</i> the eunuch, and <i>Achillas</i> , general of all the forces, depose <i>Cleopatra</i> , with intent to reign absolutely, the young king being but thirteen years old: She retires into <i>Syria</i> and <i>Palestine</i> , raises a great army, and heads it herself, being about seventeen years of age.	III	678
4256	2949	50	<i>Scribonius Curio</i> , a great enemy to <i>Cæsar</i> , is by <i>Pompey</i> set at the head of the tribunes; the most debauched and extravagant patrician in <i>Rome</i> , who, though but young, had contracted debts to the amount of 600,000 great sesterces, or 4,843,750 <i>l. sterling</i> . A census is made by which 320,000 citizens fit to bear arms are found in <i>Rome</i> , which is ended with a lustrum: This is the last census under the republic.	V	129
4256	2949	50	<i>Cæsar</i> for 1500 talents, or 310,625 <i>l. sterl.</i> buys over the consul <i>Æmilius Paulus</i> , and the tribune <i>Curio</i> for great sums.	V	129
4257	2950	49	The <i>Roman</i> senate makes an order, declaring <i>Cæsar</i> an enemy if he did not resign his office of proconsul, at a short limited time; and ordering the consuls, &c. to provide for the publick safety. Both sides arm powerfully against each other, and the commonwealth, <i>Pompey</i> reigning with the absolute uncontrollable power of a king, under the name of generalissimo, and his friends nominated to all the posts of honour and profit in <i>Rome</i> and all its provinces.	V	131
4257	2950	49	<i>Mark Antony</i> , <i>Cassius Longinus</i> , and <i>Curio</i> , three of the tribunes, are driven out of <i>Rome</i> for speaking in <i>Cæsar's</i> favour: They fly to his camp in the disguise of		

slaves: Upon their arrival *Cæsar* shews them to the legion he had with him, exaggerating their and his ill usage, &c. begs their defence and protection, which they all promise; upon which he crosses the *Rubicon* into *Italy*, and seizes *Arminium*, and orders all his army in *Gaul* to come to him there.

- 49 *Rome* and all its inhabitants are in the utmost consternation at *Cæsar's* taking *Arminium*. *Pompey* retires to *Capua*, and declares all should be treated as traitors that did not attend him: Upon which the consuls, senators, and magistrates left *Rome* to wait on *Pompey*. *Cæsar* takes all places where he arrives, with little resistance, pardons all the senators he takes, and uses great mildness to all degrees of people. *Pompey* quits *Capua*, and retires to *Brundisium*, whither *Cæsar* followed and besieged him; from whence *Pompey* and his army escapes by stratagem on board his fleet, and left *Cæsar* master of all *Italy* from the *Alps* to the sea; then sends *Curio* with three legions into *Sicily*, which *Cato* abandoned as soon as *Curio* landed, and ordered *Valerius* his lieutenant to go into *Sardinia*, where the inhabitants join him, and drive away *Aurelius Cotta*, who commanded there for the senate, and submit to *Cæsar*, who sent for all the senators he could come at to come to him at *Rome*, particularly *Cicero*, but could not prevail on him to come. To so many as came he proposed to send a deputation to *Pompey*, and to settle all things amicably, as hitherto no blood was spilt; but none of the senators would take upon them the message. *Cæsar* goes to the public treasury, breaks open the doors, and takes out ('tis said) 300,000 pounds weight of gold: With this money he raised troops all over *Italy*, and sent governors to all the provinces subject to *Rome*: This occasioned a general war in all parts of the known world, *Pompey* having done the same. *Cæsar* goes into *Spain*, where many declare for him: But violent rains and the melting snow so overflowed the two rivers between which his army lay, that his bridges were broken down, and his communication cut off from those towns that supply'd his army, so that a famine raged among them, a bushel of wheat being sold for 50 *Roman* denarii, or 1 *l.* 2 *s.* 3 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ sterl. Upon this *Cicero* and many senators at *Rome* hasten to join *Pompey*. However, *Cæsar* (by the help of boats and great labour) got succours and forced *Afranius* and *Petrenius* out of *Hisber Spain*, without a battle, and obliged them to disband their troops, and swear never to make war on *Cæsar*. One legion in *Further Spain* deserted from *Varrus*, *Pompey's* governor in *Further Spain*, which obliged him to surrender his other legion, and all his money. *Cæsar* now master of all *Spain*, appoints *Cassius Longinus* governor of both provinces, with four legions to defend them, and returns to *Marseilles*, which surrendered; he grants them their lives and liberties, but strips them of all their arms and their ships; and then returned to *Rome*, when *M. Æmilius Lepidus* names him dictator, which he accepts, without abusing his power: He grants to all the *Gauls* beyond the *Po* the rights of *Roman* citizens, and got himself and *Servilius Isauricus* declared consuls.

- 49 *Cæsar* releases *Aristobulus*, the captive king and high-priest of the *Jews*, out of prison, and sends him with two legions into *Palestine*, to keep *Syria* in awe; but *Pompey's* party find means to destroy him by poison: *Alexander* his son coming with some troops to his father's assistance, *Q. Metellus Scipio*, *Pompey's* governor in *Syria*, takes him and beheads him.

- 48 *Cæsar* confirms *Hyrcan* in the *Jewish* high-priesthood, and makes *Antipater* procurator or lieutenant of *Judea*, and citizen of *Rome*; and adds abundance of favourable privileges to the *Jews*, and that they might be publicly known, causes his grant to be engraved on tables of brass, and hung up in the temples of *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Ascalon*, and the capitol at *Rome*.

- 48 *Cleopatra* causes herself to be conveyed to *Cæsar*, in *Alexandria*, where enamoured with her beauty, he espouses her cause, has a son by her called *Cæsarion*, afterwards obliges her to marry her younger brother *Ptolemy*, a lad of 11 years old, by which means she reigned absolutely over *Egypt*.

- 48 *Cæsar* goes in quest of *Pompey*, and is reinforced by all nations and people. *Pompey* had likewise a vast army and fleet. *Pompey* and 200 senators reside at *Thessalonica*, where they assemble and give orders as if at *Rome*, from whence all the great men flew to him, calling him the Good Cause, and *Cæsar* and his adherents the Abettors of Tyranny. *Cæsar* first goes to *Oricum* (a strong city in *Epirus*) which surrenders as soon as he approaches: Then he marches to *Apollonia*, on the confines of *Macedon*, another important place, which does the like: From hence he goes to *Dyrrachium*, another strong town in *Macedon*, the magazine for *Pompey's* arms and provisions. In the mean time *Cæsar* is informed a Squadron of *Pompey's* fleet had attacked his fleet, taken 30 of them, and burnt them with the men in them. *Cæsar* sends *Vibullus Rufus*, a friend of *Pompey's*, whom he had taken prisoner, to propose the disbanding both their armies in three days, renew their former friendship with solemn oaths, and return to *Italy*. *Pompey* refuses: *Cæsar* again sends *Vatinius* to treat with him; but while he was treating with *Labiennus*, *Pompey's* men attacked and wounded them. *Gabinus* and his men endeavouring to go through *Illyrian* to join *Cæsar*, is killed by the *Illyrians*, who had declared for *Pompey*, and all his army to a man cut off. Soon after, *Cæsar* being strongly reinforced, besieges *Pompey* and his army, and reduces them to great straits for want of forage. *Pompey* gains advantages several times in skirmishes, so that *Cæsar* is obliged to decamp, and retire to *Apollonia*, where he paid his men, and left the wounded, and then marches into *Macedon*, is joined by *Domitius* with three legions; then goes into *Thessaly*, which all submit to him: *Pompey* follows him, and at last by the importunity of his commanders, contrary to his own inclinations, comes to a general battle in the plains of *Pharsalia*, near *Thebes*; *Pompey's* people were so confident of victory as to lay in their claims for their respective offices in the state, &c. depending upon their number, being 45,000 foot, 7000 horse, well armed, and

Y. of World	Y. of Flood	Before Christ		Vol	Page
4258	2951	48	a great number of dartmen and slingers. <i>Cæsar</i> had but 20,000 foot and 1000 horse: They engage, and <i>Cæsar</i> intirely defeats them with great slaughter, and <i>Pompey</i> gets away in disguise.	V	146
4258	2951	48	In the battle of <i>Pharsalia</i> <i>Cæsar</i> is said to lose but 200, thirty whereof were centurions, which he buried with great solemnity. <i>Pompey</i> had 25,000 slain, ten of which were senators, and forty Roman knights, and 24,000 were taken prisoners, eight eagles and 180 ensigns. <i>Cæsar</i> ordered all the citizens immediately to be set at liberty, and then pursues after <i>Pompey</i> to <i>Larissa</i> , and from thence to <i>Thessaly</i> , from thence to <i>Mytilene</i> , where he took into his ship his wife <i>Corneelia</i> and his son <i>Sextus</i> , and sails to <i>Attalia</i> in <i>Pamphilia</i> , and from thence goes to <i>Egypt</i> , where he is slain, and his head cut off and embalmed. <i>Cæsar</i> pursuing him, upon his arrival at <i>Alexandria</i> <i>Pompey's</i> head is presented to him, which he caused to be buried with great pomp in the temple of <i>Nemesis</i> , the goddess of revenge, in the suburbs of <i>Alexandria</i> . <i>Cæsar</i> demanding the money that <i>Auletes</i> owed him, <i>Phobtus</i> the young king's minister put him off with delays, and stirs up the mob against him, who had now only 3200 foot and 800 horse; whereupon <i>Cæsar</i> is forced to take shelter in the king's palace, summons <i>Cleopatra</i> and her brother <i>Ptolemy</i> to come before him, that he might determine the difference between them, and orders them to disband their armies. <i>Cleopatra</i> causes herself to be carried privately, and so enamoured him that he declared on her side, sends for <i>Ptolemy</i> , and presses him to make up all difference with his sister: <i>Ptolemy</i> runs into the street, takes the diadem off his head, tears it to pieces, and throws it on the ground, and complains to the people of being ill used, who all rise against <i>Cæsar</i> ; but <i>Cæsar</i> appeased them with fair words, and bringing <i>Ptolemy</i> and <i>Cleopatra</i> out before the people, caused <i>Auletes'</i> will to be read, and declared they should reign jointly; and then also declared that <i>Ptolemy</i> the younger son and <i>Arfinoe</i> the youngest daughter should reign jointly in <i>Cyprus</i> ; but <i>Phobtus</i> the chief minister uses all his skill and power among the people, and <i>Achillas</i> the general besieged <i>Cæsar</i> with 20,000 in <i>Alexandria</i> , and murdered one and abused another ambassador <i>Cæsar</i> sent to him; <i>Cæsar</i> was forced to burn what ships were in the port, some of which when on fire run ashore, and set fire to the famous library that at an immense expence was collected by several kings, to the amount of 400,000 volumes. <i>Cæsar</i> detects <i>Phobtus</i> in corresponding with <i>Achillas</i> , and puts him to death; upon which the eunuch <i>Ganymedes</i> conveys young <i>Arfinoe</i> to the army, who proclaim her queen, and putting their general <i>Achillas</i> to death, <i>Ganymedes</i> succeeds him in that office: <i>Cæsar</i> defeats him in two sea engagements, with great loss: The <i>Alexandrians</i> demand their king, and offer to cease all hostilities; <i>Cæsar</i> complies, but the young king strives to intercept <i>Cæsar's</i> provisions; this occasioned a third sea fight, wherein the <i>Romans</i> came off victorious.	III	678
4258	2951	48	<i>Mithridates</i> , <i>Antipater</i> , and <i>Hyrcaus</i> jointly come to the assistance of <i>Cæsar</i> : They take <i>Pelesium</i> , and advanced towards <i>Alexandria</i> , and are engaged by the <i>Egyptians</i> , whom they totally rout. <i>Cæsar</i> goes out of the city, and joins <i>Mithridates</i> and <i>Antipater</i> : <i>Ptolemy</i> with his whole army engages them, has 20,000 cut to pieces, 12,000 taken prisoners, and the king himself was drowned in the <i>Nile</i> , after three years and eight months reign: Upon this <i>Cæsar</i> returns to <i>Alexandria</i> , proclaims <i>Cleopatra</i> queen, and obliges her to marry her younger brother, a lad of eleven years old.	III	679
4258	2951	48	Upon <i>Pompey's</i> death, the senate and people of <i>Rome</i> declare <i>Cæsar</i> consul for five years, dictator for one year, tribune of the people and head of that college to life, with power to make peace and war at pleasure, to levy what sums he thought fit, &c.	V	153
4258	2951	48	<i>Pharnaces</i> , (king of the <i>Cimmerian Bosphorus</i> , son of <i>Mithridates the Great</i>) taking advantage of the civil war between <i>Pompey</i> and <i>Cæsar</i> , seizes a great part of his father's dominions. <i>Cæsar</i> sends <i>Domitius</i> against him; He engages <i>Domitius</i> the Roman general, defeats him, and cuts off most of his army; but <i>Cæsar</i> himself marching against him, he desires peace, sends him a crown of gold, offers him his daughter, and to submit to any thing he should require. <i>Cæsar</i> ordered him to retire from <i>Pontus</i> immediately, release all his prisoners, and to restore the <i>Romans</i> all their goods he had seized: He promised, but delayed: <i>Cæsar</i> attacks and defeats him, cuts off or takes most of his army, and that so expeditiously as to make him use this memorable sentence, <i>I came, I saw, I conquered</i> , in a letter to <i>Anitius</i> at <i>Rome</i> . After this he made <i>Mithridates Pergamenus</i> king of <i>Bosphorus</i> instead of <i>Pharnaces</i> .	III	706
4259	2952	47	<i>Pharnaces</i> having raised some recruits, is engaged by <i>Asander</i> , whom he had made governor in <i>Bosphorus</i> , and who had seized the crown while he was in <i>Pontus</i> , and is slain, and his army cut to pieces, after he had reigned in <i>Bosphorus</i> 15 years, which <i>Pompey</i> gave him. Upon his death <i>Pontus</i> was again reduced to the form of a Roman province.	III	707
4259	2952	47	<i>Cicero</i> , upon <i>Cæsar's</i> return to <i>Italy</i> , goes to make his court and submission to him, for having espoused <i>Pompey's</i> cause: <i>Cæsar</i> meets him with the highest respect, civility, and good-nature; the like he did to all the other great men who came to see him; and coming to <i>Rome</i> , he restored peace and tranquility; but those particular persons who still remained in arms against him, he confiscated their goods and sold their estates.	V	156
4259	2952	47	<i>Cæsar</i> again chose consul, goes into <i>Africa</i> , where <i>Pompey's</i> party were still very numerous. He summons <i>Confidius</i> , commander of <i>Adrumetum</i> , to surrender, who kills his messenger, and goes out against him. <i>Cæsar</i> being but ill provided with troops, decamps; <i>Confidius</i> pursues and harasses him, till he got to <i>Leptis</i> , where part of his troops from <i>Sicily</i> were come, from whence he sent orders for the rest to come; but in the mean time is greatly distressed for want		

of forage, and frequently defeated in parties but receiving more succours, he went to *Utica* to besiege it, and was himself besieged by three armies under *Juba* king of *Mauritania*, *Scipio* general of the *Roman* forces, and *Labienu* his lieutenant. *Cæsar* having offered the enemy battle, and they refusing, he decamps and goes to *Thapsus*, whither he is followed by the three armies. *Cæsar* falls upon *Scipio* first, and puts him to flight; then *Labienu*, and defeats him; and then *Juba*, and routs him, killed 50,000 men, takes the three camps, and loses but 50 of his own men. *Thapsus* surrendered, and all the heads of the party either laid violent hands on themselves, or were taken prisoners, and put to death, except *Labienu*, who escaped. *Cato* maintained *Utica*, where he governed with a senate of 300 *Romans*, who upon the approach of *Cæsar* resolve to submit: *Cato* stabs himself, and *Utica* surrenders. All *Africa* being now *Cæsar's*, from hence he goes into *Mauritania* and *Numidia*, reduces both kingdoms, and makes them *Roman* provinces, which he ordered to be pillaged and plundered, to prevent their revolting.

- 47 *Herod*, son of *Antipater*, being made governor of *Gallilee*, goes against and subdues the banditti that infested the country round about, killed many, and took some prisoners, whom he put to death, for which he is cited to answer to the *Sanhedrim* at *Jerusalem*, who would have condemned him, but he made his escape to *Damascus*, and remained there under the protection of *Sextus Cæsar*, the *Roman* governor of the province.

- 45 *Cæsar* returning to *Utica*, orders the rebuilding of *Carthage* and *Corinth*, (which two years afterwards were repeopled by *Roman* colonies, sent to settle in them) and set sail for *Italy*; and upon his arrival at *Rome* he is received with all possible marks of joy and honour, and publick thanksgivings are made in all the temples for 40 days for his successes: He is decreed four triumphs, in which kings, princes, &c. went before him in chains, and vessels of gold and silver, to the amount of 65,000 talents, which is more than 12,000,000 *sterl.* and 1820 golden crowns, weighing 15,033 pounds. Out of these sums he first paid his soldiers, then gave every private soldier 150 *l. sterl.* 300 *l.* to each centurion, and 900 *l.* to each tribune and commander of the cavalry; and to the commonalty of *Rome* he gave ten bushels of corn, and ten measures of oil, and 400 *Denarii* per man, then entertained them at 20,000 tables with 6000 *murena's*, and a vast profusion of uncommon dainties, and representations of land and sea fights, &c. then sets about reforming *Rome* by many good laws, and invites learned and ingenious men of all nations with great privileges and encouragements to come and settle at *Rome*.

- 45 *Cæcilius Bassus*, a *Roman* knight, raises an army, seizes *Tyre*, and gives out that *Cæsar* was killed in *Africa*, and that the senate at *Rome* had appointed him president of *Syria*: But *Sextus Cæsar*, governor of the province, goes against him, and entirely defeats him. *Bassus* retires to *Tyrogeti*, is cured of his wounds, inveigles *Sextus's* army, who kill their general for his lewd way of living, and join *Bassus*, who by the assistance of *Alacandoni*, an *Arabian* prince, kept up the revolt for many years.

- 45 Young *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, now 14 years old, claims a share in the government, according to the custom of the country, with *Cleopatra* his wife and sister, for which she soon after poisoned him.

- 45 The *Roman* year now consisting of but 12 lunar months, the pontifex maximus and his colleague intercalated once in two years a month of 22 and 23 days alternately, between the 23d and 24th of *February*; but this was oftentimes omitted, &c. therefore *Cæsar*, by the advice and assistance of learned men, reduced the year to the form we now have it.

- 45 *Cæsar* sets out for *Spain* against *Pompey's* two sons, who had got great footing there. He besieges *Alegua*, the parties magazine, and having reduced it to great straits, the *Roman* garrison cuts the throats of all the inhabitants, sets fire to the city, and by a general sally endeavours to break through *Cæsar's* line; but being drove back into the town with great slaughter, *L. Minucius Flaccus* surrenders upon honourable terms. From hence *Cæsar* goes to *Barjablis*, took it by surprize, and puts great numbers of the inhabitants to death. Soon after, near the city, both parties come to a general engagement where after a most bloody and obstinate battle from morning till night, *Cæsar* by stratagem gains the victory, kills 30,000 of *Pompey's* men, (among which were the famous generals *Labienu*, and *Attius Varro*;) and 500 *Roman* knights, 17 great officers, and takes the camp, the enemies eagles and ensigns, and *Pompey's* fasces, which he had assumed as governor of *Spain*, with the loss only of 1000 killed and 500 wounded on *Cæsar's* side. The elder *Pompey* fled, but was soon after taken, and put to death. Several engagements, sieges, and other warlike exploits, in seven months reduced all *Spain*; and *Cæsar* returned to *Rome* with immense treasures that he had taken from the *Pompeian* party. Soon after his arrival at *Rome* he gave himself and his two lieutenants each a triumph, at which great exception was taken by many, who were but to outside shew his friends.

- 44 The senate make *Cæsar* consul alone, and dictator for life, subjected all the magistrates, even the tribunes, to him; impowered him, alone, to levy troops, command armies, declare war, make peace, &c. and conferred the title of *Cæsar* and *Imperator* (or emperor) to him and his posterity: He governed most excellently and mildly, and strove by all acts of kindness to gain over his enemies: He increased the prætors to 16, and the quaestors to 40: He made six new ediles, and increased the other magistrates proportionably, making the senate to consist of 900 members.

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4262	2955	44	<i>Aurelius Cotta</i> , one of the keepers of the <i>Sybiline</i> books, declares that the <i>Parthians</i> , against whom <i>Cæsar</i> was going, could never be overcome but by a king; therefore it was proposed that <i>Cæsar</i> should bear the name of dictator in <i>Italy</i> , but king every where else: But a conspiracy being formed by many of the chief senators against <i>Cæsar</i> , <i>Artimedorus</i> , a rhetorician, puts into <i>Cæsar's</i> hands an account thereof, as he was going to the senate-house; but he neglecting to read it, as soon as he had taken his place the conspirators stab and kill him, after he had fought successfully 56 pitched battles, and killed 1,192,000 men.	V	185
4262	2955	44	The death of <i>Cæsar</i> occasioned such an extraordinary ferment in the state, that no one knew what to say or do. <i>Mark Antony</i> , <i>Cæsar's</i> colleague in the consulship, got a guard of 6000 veterans, under pretence of securing his person from insult, &c. <i>Octavianus</i> , <i>Cæsar's</i> great nephew and adopted son, being declared his heir by <i>Cæsar's</i> will, comes to <i>Rome</i> and claims his estate, where being opposed by <i>Mark Antony</i> the then consul, <i>Octavianus</i> sells his own patrimony and bribes the people; upon which <i>Antony</i> pretends to be reconciled to <i>Octavianus</i> ; they quarrel and are friends several times, so that at last they both arm, and <i>Octavianus</i> enters <i>Rome</i> with a large body of men; the senate declare for <i>Octavianus</i> ; <i>Antony</i> invades <i>Cisalpine Gaul</i> , and besieges <i>Mutina</i> , which the senate order him to raise; <i>Antony</i> refuses, and is declared an enemy to his country.	V	203
4262	2955	44	<i>Brutus</i> , <i>Cassius</i> , and several others of the murderers of <i>Cæsar</i> , retire into <i>Greece</i> , <i>Asia</i> , &c. and raise large armies, and keep up the <i>Pompeian</i> faction, and make themselves masters of those provinces, which were confirmed to them by the <i>Roman</i> senate.	V	220
4262	2955	44	The <i>Jews</i> renew their alliance with <i>Rome</i> : <i>Hircan</i> petitions <i>Dolabella</i> , one of this year's consuls, for the discharge of some <i>Jews</i> that were impressed into the <i>Roman</i> service: <i>Dolabella</i> sends a letter to the governor of <i>Ephesus</i> , ordering the discharge of the <i>Jews</i> , and a free exercise of their laws and religion. <i>Bassus</i> having seized the governorship of <i>Syria</i> , was soon after driven out by <i>Cassius</i> , who laid a tribute of 700 talents upon <i>Judea</i> : <i>Herod</i> soon after carried the 100 talents for his district, and his brother quickly after brought his quota, by which means they gained favour; but the others not coming with theirs, so irritated <i>Cassius</i> , that he ordered the inhabitants of <i>Gophna</i> , <i>Emmaus</i> , <i>Lydda</i> , <i>Thamma</i> , &c. to be sold by auction, and their governor <i>Malichus</i> to be put to death, to prevent which the high-priest purchased his life and liberty at 100 talents. Upon <i>Cassius's</i> going against <i>Dolabella</i> , he left the government of <i>Cælo-Syria</i> to <i>Herod</i> . <i>Malichus</i> hired the high-priest's butler to poison <i>Antipater</i> as he was at dinner with his master, and seized upon the government of <i>Jerusalem</i> , but was soon after cut off by the garrison of <i>Tyrs</i> , as he was going to wait on <i>Cassius</i> at <i>Laodicea</i> : His brother espoused his cause, and got <i>Felix</i> with some <i>Roman</i> soldiers to join him; but <i>Phasaël</i> drove him away, and <i>Herod</i> soon after coming to his assistance, they forced him to surrender <i>Massada</i> and the other fortresses, and to capitulate for his life: They upbraided <i>Hircan</i> as privy to all the disturbance; but his fair daughter, whom <i>Herod</i> had married, named <i>Mariamne</i> , reconciled all their differences.	IV	123
4263	2956	43	The consul <i>Pansa</i> goes against <i>Mark Antony</i> in <i>Cisalpine Gaul</i> ; they engage; the consul is mortally wounded, and his army defeated; but <i>Hirpius</i> the other consul falls upon and defeats <i>Antony</i> , whither <i>Hirtius</i> and <i>Octavianus</i> go after him; they engage again, and <i>Hirtius</i> is killed, but <i>Octavianus</i> gained a complete victory, and obliged <i>Antony</i> to shelter himself behind his intrenchments, and to raise the siege of <i>Mutina</i> . <i>Pansa</i> dying of his wounds, is carried with his colleague <i>Hirtius</i> to <i>Rome</i> , and interred with great pomp. <i>Octavianus</i> demands a triumph, which the senate refuses, but grants it to <i>Decimus Brutus</i> ; upon which <i>Octavianus</i> sends back a great number of officers he had taken to <i>Antony</i> , and resolves to be reconciled to him. <i>Brutus</i> goes against <i>Antony</i> , and forces him to pass the <i>Alps</i> ; upon which the senate seizes and confiscates all his estate. <i>Pollio</i> and <i>Plancus</i> join <i>Antony</i> with their armies. <i>Octavianus</i> privately agrees with <i>Antony</i> , and makes use of the power he was invested with by the senate for their destruction. After raising an army, he harangues them; they send deputies to the senate to choose him consul; they refuse it, and he marches his army to <i>Rome</i> , declares he comes as a friend, and is chose consul, and <i>Quintus Pædus</i> his colleague. <i>Octavianus</i> (who was afterwards called <i>Augustus</i>) was scarce twenty years old when he entered upon the consulate.	V	213
4263	2956	43	<i>Octavianus</i> , now consul, first gets his adoption by <i>Cæsar</i> confirmed; and his colleague <i>Quintus</i> gets a law passed for impeaching and trying <i>Cæsar's</i> murderers; upon which they were all summoned to take their trial. <i>Octavianus</i> gets the decree against <i>Mark Antony</i> and <i>Lepidus</i> revoked: They go against <i>Decimus Brutus</i> at <i>Mutina</i> , where the greatest part of his army revolt to <i>Antony</i> and <i>Lepidus</i> , and <i>Brutus</i> is taken and killed by one <i>Camillus</i> , a free-booter: Upon this <i>Antony</i> , <i>Lepidus</i> , and <i>Octavianus</i> meet in a small island formed by the river <i>Rhenus</i> , now <i>Reno</i> , where they agree to divide all the <i>Roman</i> provinces between them, and are called the second great triumvirate; and in order to support their usurped authority they agree to cut off all possessed of great estates, or were any ways friends to liberty and law. They and their armies go to <i>Rome</i> , and get their usurped authority confirmed for five years by law, having first sent and murdered many of the greatest senators; then they proscribed 300 senators, and upwards of 2000 knights: <i>Rome</i> was filled with blood, many mangled carcases, and the most horrid scenes of cruelty; then they seized the goods and estates of the victims, without any concern for		

their widows or orphans; and thus, and by excessive taxes, proposing to make up the sum of 200,000 talents, which falling short of, they make a list of 1400 of the richest ladies in *Rome*, and taxed them all alike in a great sum: They come all in a body to the senate, where *Hortensius* made so moving a speech, that the number was reduced from 1400 to 400; but to make up the proposed sum they taxed above 100,000 men, as well strangers as natives, priests as laymen; in levying whereof the soldiers committed unheard of cruelties. The triumvirs having satiated themselves with blood and plunder, declared to the senate the proscription was at an end, and appointed *M. Aemilius Lepidus* and *Lucius Munatius Plancus* consuls for the ensuing year; and because they were going into the east against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, the triumvirs named consuls, praetors and aediles, for several years to come.

V 232

Cleopatra hearing of *Mark Anthony* and *Octavianus's* coming into *Syria* with a great army, sets out with a great fleet, &c. to meet and join them; but falling sick on the way, and having lost abundance of her ships in a storm, is forced to return home.

III 679

Cassius sends a body of horse into *Cappadocia* against *Antiochus*, for having sided with *Cæsar* and his friends, overcomes, takes, and puts him to death, and raises great contributions upon his subjects.

III 768

Cassius goes against the *Rhodians*, for assisting the triumviri: They sue to him for peace; he requires their fleet and city, &c. to be delivered up to him; they refuse, have two engagements at sea, and are beat both times with great loss: Then he takes their city, punishes the great men with death, plunders the treasury, temples, and city, punishing with death those who concealed any part of their wealth, extorted from them 8000 talents, taxed the city at 500 talents, and leaves *L. Varus* there with a strong garison to exact it.

III 159

Brutus besieges *Xanthus*, the strongest city in *Asia*, which, after the slaughter of many *Romans*, he took. The *Xanthians* set fire to the town, and burn their own houses and goods, and destroy their wives, children, and themselves, in the flames, choosing death rather than slavery.

V 237

Brutus and *Cassius*, with 19 legions and 20,000 horse, meets *Anthony* and *Octavianus*, with 19 legions and 13,000 horse, in the plains of *Philippi*, the boundary of *Macedon* and *Thrace*: They engage: *Brutus* falls upon *Octavianus*, kills abundance of his men, and takes his camp, a great many ensigns, and three eagles. In return, *Anthony* defeated *Cassius*, kills many of his men, takes his camp, and entirely routs the rest: *Cassius* only with a few attendants retiring to the top of a hill, *Brutus* coming towards him, *Cassius* imagining it was *Anthony*, killed himself, and then both armies retire. The same day the admirals and fleets of both parties meet and engage: *Anthony's* is entirely defeated, and most of his ships being taken or destroyed, together with a vast quantity of stores and provisions they were bringing: This so distressed *Anthony*, that day after day he offered *Brutus* battle, which at last by the importunity of his men he consented to. *Anthony* having massacred all the prisoners he had taken in the last battle, *Brutus* now orders only all the slaves he had prisoners to be killed: They engage, and *Brutus* is intirely defeated, and his army routed; upon which he kills himself.

V 253

Upon *Mark Anthony's* coming into *Bythinia*, after the defeat of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, the governors and heads of provinces come to make their submission and court to him: The *Jews* come and accuse *Phasael* and his brother *Herod*; but they being there likewise, had so prepared the conqueror by large gifts, that he would not hear them. When *Anthony* arrived at *Ephesus*, *Hyrcan* petitions for the releasement and lands of those *Jewish* prisoners *Cassius* had sold; which *Anthony* readily grants. Upon *Anthony's* coming to *Daphne*, near *Antioch*, the *Jews* again petition him against the two brothers, *Phasael* and *Herod*; but *Hyrcan* appearing in their behalf, *Anthony* makes them both *Tetrarchs*; but the *Jews* at *Jerusalem* sent a third embassy of a thousand persons to *Tyre*, who were killed, wounded, and dispersed, &c.

IV 124

Anthony and *Octavianus* having conquered their greatest enemies, disband part of their troops and separate, *Octavianus* for *Italy*, and *Anthony* for *Asia*: In his passage thither *Anthony* passed through *Greece*, and assisted in the schools and academies, administering justice with great equity, and making large presents: Leaving *Lucius Censorinus*, one of his lieutenants, governor of *Greece*, he went into *Asia*, where he was met by all the kings and princes subject to the *Roman* power, who brought their wives and daughters with them to tempt him with their charms, who strove among themselves to render themselves most agreeable to him by great presents and compliances; *Ephesus* seemed most to hit his taste; the women dressed in the habits they celebrated the feasts of *Bacchus*, and the men and boys like sauns and satyrs. *Anthony* cites queen *Cleopatra* to come and clear herself for giving assistance to *Brutus*; she obeys, and appears at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*: Her wit and beauty so bewitched him, that he spent all the winter in sojourn with her in *Egypt*, neglecting all business both of the camp and court.

V 261

Octavianus coming into *Italy*, sets about distributing the lands promised to the soldiers, which raised great complaints, as many were injured and beggared: The soldiers were as much displeased as the people, and set against *Octavianus*. *Fulvia*, the wife of *Anthony*, with the present consuls, join to raise the publick discontent against him still higher. He divorces *Clodia*, the daughter of *Fulvia*, declaring she was for him still a maid. The state is divided into two powerful and inveterate parties; and cruel murders, &c. were daily committed in *Rome*, by the populace and soldiers. All things thus in a flame, a famine increased their distress, each side blaming the other. *Fulvia*

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			retires to <i>Præneste</i> , and heads the troops and acts like a general: <i>Octavianus</i> did all in his power to harass and distress her and her troops, which were numerous. <i>Lucius</i> , brother and general for <i>Fulvia</i> , having lost abundance of his men by famine and a vigorous defence, sallies out of <i>Perusia</i> , goes to <i>Octavianus</i> , who promises a free pardon for all his troops provided he surrendered the town; <i>Lucius</i> orders his men to march out, and acknowledge the conqueror for their general; but the senators, &c. to the number of 300, were carried in chains to an altar, and there sacrificed to the manes of <i>Julius Caesar</i> , and then order'd the city to be plundered: But one <i>Cestius</i> setting fire to his own house, the wind being high, communicated the flames, so that the whole city was reduced to ashes. Upon this <i>Fulvia</i> and her adherents flew, some to one place and some to another; and so ended this war, called the war of <i>Perusia</i> . <i>Fulvia</i> retiring to <i>Sicyon</i> , died there of grief soon after.	V	269
4266	2959	40	<i>Anthony's</i> negligence occasioned an universal revolt in <i>Asia</i> , where his lieutenants were defeated several times; upon which he comes into <i>Greece</i> , and in his crossing the <i>Ionian</i> sea is joined by <i>Demetrius</i> and his fleet; upon their arrival at <i>Brundisium</i> , the garison shuts the gates against them; upon which <i>Anthony</i> invites <i>Pompey</i> in <i>Sicily</i> to join him against <i>Octavianus</i> : He comes immediately, and they make a descent upon <i>Italy</i> , and take many cities. But by the mediation of <i>Cocceius</i> , <i>Pollio</i> and <i>Mæcenat</i> , all disputes are adjusted, and the two triumvirs make a new distribution of the <i>Roman</i> empire, and <i>Octavia</i> (the sister of <i>Octavianus</i>) and <i>Anthony</i> are married together. <i>Pompey</i> by his fleets and armies prevented corn coming from <i>Sicily</i> to <i>Italy</i> , so that there was a famine in <i>Rome</i> . <i>Anthony</i> at last prevails upon <i>Octavianus</i> to make peace with <i>Pompey</i> , and to settle all their disputes amicably; which being done, plenty is again restored to <i>Rome</i> , and many of the proscribed nobility comes home, and are restored to their former dignities.	V	273
4266	2959	40	<i>Antigonus</i> the son of <i>Aristobulus</i> , by the assistance of <i>Ptolomy</i> and <i>Pacorus</i> , invades <i>Judea</i> , and goes to <i>Jerusalem</i> , where they had several skirmishes, with great loss on both sides. <i>Phasael</i> and <i>Hircan</i> are prevailed on to go to <i>Barzabarnes</i> , the general of the <i>Parthians</i> , where they are surprized by treachery, and <i>Herod</i> forced to fly into <i>Idumea</i> : The <i>Parthians</i> plunder <i>Herod's</i> palace, the city and country round about, and <i>Marissa</i> , (an opulent city) which they entirely destroyed, and then installed <i>Antigonus</i> upon the <i>Jewish</i> throne; and <i>Phasael</i> and <i>Hircan</i> are soon after brought to him in chains; <i>Hircan's</i> ears were cut off, which disqualified him for the office of high priest, and <i>Phasael</i> killed himself. <i>Herod</i> went to <i>Rome</i> , where by the senate he is made king of <i>Judea</i> , and <i>Anthony</i> having ordered <i>Ventidius</i> to assist him, he went to the relief of <i>Masfada</i> , now besieged by <i>Antigonus</i> ; in his way he took <i>Joppa</i> , and made <i>Antigonus</i> raise the siege of <i>Masfada</i> : from whence he marched to <i>Jerusalem</i> .	IV	129
4267	2960	39	While <i>Herod</i> was gone to wait on <i>Ventidius</i> the <i>Roman</i> general at <i>Samofata</i> , his brother <i>Joseph</i> was defeated and killed by <i>Antigonus</i> , and <i>Gallilee</i> taken. <i>Herod</i> upon his return engages <i>Antigonus</i> , and defeats him with very great slaughter, and recovered <i>Gallilee</i> , &c. Then he went to <i>Samaria</i> , to consummate his marriage with <i>Mariamne</i> , whom he had betrothed four years before.	IV	130
4267	2960	39	<i>Pompey</i> and <i>Octavius</i> quarrelling, renew their hostilities against each other: <i>Menas</i> , governor of <i>Corfica</i> and <i>Sardinia</i> for <i>Pompey</i> , and also admiral of his fleet, being disgusted with his master, goes over to <i>Octavius</i> with three legions, the whole fleet, and surrenders the two islands: <i>Octavius</i> entertains him with great respect, and makes him commander of his whole fleet. <i>Pompey</i> sends <i>Mencrates</i> to ravage the coast of <i>Italy</i> , which he doing, is met by <i>Calpurnius</i> and <i>Menas</i> ; a bloody engagement ensues; <i>Menas</i> wounds, boards <i>Mencrates</i> galley, and takes it; <i>Mencrates</i> jumps into the sea, and is drowned; <i>Demochares</i> takes the command, took several of <i>Calpurnius's</i> galleys, and drove most of the rest on the rocks, where they were lost. <i>Octavius</i> going to <i>Messena</i> , is attacked, and most of his ships sunk or dashed to pieces, and a violent storm the next day destroyed a great part of the remainder.	V	275
4267	2960	39	<i>Anthony</i> having restored the <i>Rhodians</i> to their antient rights and privileges, which <i>Cassius</i> had taken from them, bestows also upon them the islands of <i>Andros</i> , <i>Naxos</i> , <i>Tenos</i> , and the city of <i>Myndus</i> : But the <i>Rhodians</i> tyrannizing over them very extraordinarily, <i>Anthony</i> is forced to take their sovereignty over them away.	III	159
4267	2960	39	<i>Cleopatra</i> going as far as <i>Tarfus</i> , to meet and inchant <i>Anthony</i> , strove with all the temptations of luxury, presents, and complaisance to gain him, which she did so effectually, that no request of her's, however dishonourable, was deny'd; nor any complaint, however just against her, heard so as to be redressed: So bewitched was he to her charms, that, instead of putting his troops into winter quarters, he marched over hills, rocks, &c. to the loss of 60,000 of his men, by the length and severities of the march, in the depth of winter, to go to her.	III	687
4263	2961	38	<i>Anthony</i> and <i>Octavius</i> , by the mediation of <i>Octavia</i> , settle all their differences, and mutually assist each other, and by their own authority continue themselves five years longer in the triumvirate; and <i>Julia</i> , <i>Octavius's</i> daughter, is betrothed to <i>Antyllus</i> , <i>Anthony's</i> son. <i>Octavius</i> having again got a large fleet under the command of <i>Agrippa</i> , (<i>Menas</i> having left him and returned to <i>Pompey</i>) they set out in <i>July</i> , but a violent storm arising, destroyed many of their ships; but soon after repairing his damages, they land in <i>Sicily</i> : Several skirmishes happen by land and sea, with various success; but at last a general action at sea happening, <i>Pompey</i> is intirely defeated, losing 333 sail of large ships, making		

his escape with only 17 galleys. Soon after *Octavius* and *Lepidus* quarrel so high as to come to blows; but *Octavius* bribing his soldiers, *Lepidus* is deserted, and begs his life of *Octavius*, which he grants him. *Octavius* now has 45 legions under his command, 25,000 horse, 160,000 light-armed foot, and 600 ships of war. The war in *Sicily* being ended, his soldiers mutiny, demanding great rewards; he discharges 20,000, and pacifies the others with large promises, and a present of 500 drachma's a man. At his return to *Rome* he is greatly flattered, and made perpetual tribune of the people.

38 *Herod* besieges *Jerusalem*, with the assistance of *Sofus* the *Roman* general; and after five months resolute defence, takes it by assault: A terrible slaughter is made of the inhabitants by the *Romans*, to whom *Herod* made a large present, to prevent their further plunder. *Antigonus* was carried in chains to *Antony*, and afterwards put to death, by the instigation of *Herod*.

37 *Herod*, now absolute king of *Judea*, seizes and confiscates the estates of the most wealthy *Antigonians*, and put 45 of the head men to death. *Herod* having advanced one *Ananel*, a private obscure *Babylonish* priest, to the pontifical dignity, is continually teased by his mother-in-law *Alexandra* to depose *Ananel*, and advance her son *Aristobulus*; he does it, but in less than a year's time has him stifled as he was bathing.

36 *Antony* goes against the *Parthians*, but fails in his attempt, losing more than 70,000 men by war, famine, and excessive cold weather.

36 *Pompey* flying to *Lebus*, and there hearing of *Antony's* ill success against the *Parthians*, raises great disturbances in the east, where he got an army, and took several cities; but being engaged by *Marcus Titius*, is defeated, taken, and put to death.

32 *Antony* early in the spring sets out for *Syria*, in order to go to *Parthia*; *Cleopatra* will attend him to the *Euphrates*; he bestows all *Cyrene*, *Cyprus*, *Cæle-Syria*, *Iturea*, and *Phœnicia* upon her, with great part of *Cilicia* and *Crete*; but not satisfied, he solicits him to put *Herod* king of *Judea* and *Malchus* king of *Petrea* to death, to have their kingdoms also, which he refused: In her return home, she came by the way of *Jerusalem*, where *Herod* treated her very splendidly; she pretends to be in love with him, and strove to induce him to familiarity; which so exasperated *Herod*, that he would have put her to death, but was persuaded and advised to the contrary.

32 *Antony*, contrary to the most solemn oaths, takes *Artabazus* king of *Armenia* prisoner, and reduced the whole country; then makes a match for *Alexander*, one of his sons by *Cleopatra*, and a daughter of the king of *Media*; and then returned to *Alexandria*, entering it in a triumphal chariot, his booty, king *Artabazus*, his wife, children, &c. being carried before him in the *Roman* manner: *Cleopatra* seated on a golden throne, &c. sits to receive him, to whom the captive king, &c. in golden chains, were presented, and ordered to kneel to her; but they refuse: and all the *Romans* are angry at the whole procedure.

32 *Antony* treats all the *Alexandrians* at an immense expence; and being seated on one golden throne, and *Cleopatra* on another, in the *Gymnasium*, he makes an oration to the people, and proclaims *Cæsarion* (*Cleopatra's* son by *Julius Cæsar*) king of *Egypt* and *Cyprus* in conjunction with his mother; and having three children by her himself, viz. *Alexander*, *Ptolemy*, (surnamed *Philadelphus*) and *Cleopatra*, to *Alexander* he gave *Armenia*, *Media*, *Parthia*, &c. from the *Euphrates* to *India*; to *Cleopatra*, *Alexander's* twin-sister, *Lybia* and *Cyrene*; and to *Philadelphus*, *Phœnicia*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and all *Asia Minor*, from the *Euphrates* to the *Hellepont*, with the title of *King of Kings*; makes queen *Cleopatra* change her name to *Isis*, and he takes the name of *Osiris*, the great god and goddess of the *Egyptians*.

32 *Cleopatra* resolves upon the destruction of *Herod*, sends an army under the command of her general *Athenion*, pretending to assist him against *Malchus* king of *Arabia*, who, when *Herod* and *Malchus* was engaged, falls upon *Herod's* army, and cut most of it to pieces, himself escaping with difficulty.

32 *Octavius* sends his sister *Octavia* to his colleague *Antony* her husband, who was revelling in the arms of *Cleopatra* at *Leucopolis*: *Octavia* sends him word of her arrival at *Athens*; he orders her to return to *Rome*, and goes to *Alexandria* with *Cleopatra*, and spends the winter in a shameful manner with her: She returns to *Rome*; *Octavius* is highly incensed, but *Octavia* strives to moderate between them. *Antony* declares *Cleopatra* queen of *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, *Africa*, and *Cæle-Syria*, joining *Cæsarion* (her son by *Cæsar*) her colleague with her. *Octavius* and *Antony* reciprocally accuse each other to the people of *Rome*; and *Antony* collects 800 ships at *Ephesus*, with a great army and a vast sum of money; From hence he goes to *Athens*, and *Cleopatra* with him. The consuls *C. Sofus* and *Domitius Ahenobarbus* fly from *Rome* to *Athens*, and so incite *Antony* against *Octavius*, that he divorces *Octavia*, and sends officers to turn her out of his house at *Rome*. *Cleopatra* using some of *Antony's* friends ill at *Athens*, they forsake him. *Antony* having made a will in favour of *Cleopatra*, in prejudice to *Rome*, and lodged it with the vestal virgins, *Octavius* comes and seizes it, first reads it himself, and then assembles the senate, where it is read publicly; and *Antony* is accused by *Calpurnius* of many faults; and *Cleopatra* behaving very haughtily, many of his friends desert him. *Octavius* declares war against *Cleopatra*, and deposed *Antony* from his commands, &c.

31 *Antony* and *Octavius* come to an engagement at sea near *Actium*, which remained long doubtful; in the midst of the fight *Cleopatra* comes with 60 sail of ships, stands for some time between both fleets, and then sets sail for *Peloponnesus*;

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			<i>Anthony</i> is so infatuated as to leave his fleet and army, and go after her: 300 of his ships yield to <i>Octavius</i> , and his land forces did the same, after standing out seven days without leaders.	V	293
4275	2968	31	A terrible earthquake happens at <i>Jerusalem</i> , which destroyed a vast number of people and cattle; upon which <i>Herod</i> is forced to sue to the <i>Arabians</i> for peace, who refuse it, and murder his ambassadors, and come in great numbers to invade <i>Judea</i> : <i>Herod</i> gave them two signal defeats, and after forcing them to accept of peace upon his own terms, returns to <i>Jerusalem</i> in triumph.	IV	137
4275	2968	31	<i>Artaxias II.</i> the eldest son of <i>Artasdes</i> , is proclaimed king of <i>Armenia</i> , in opposition to <i>Alexander</i> , <i>Cleopatra's</i> son, whom he defeated, but did not hold his kingdom long, being strangled by his pretended friends.	III	709
4276	2969	30	<i>Tiberius</i> the Roman general sets up <i>Tigranes</i> (the son of <i>Artaxias</i>) upon the <i>Armenian</i> throne, putting the crown upon his head with his own hands, and honours him with the title of friend and ally of the Roman people; but this did not last long, <i>Tiberius</i> ordering him soon after to be put to death.	III	709
4276	2969	30	<i>Augustus</i> sets up <i>Artasdes</i> for king of <i>Armenia</i> ; but the people drive him away, and chuse <i>Phranates</i> king of <i>Parthia</i> : But a Roman army comes against him under <i>Caius</i> , <i>Augustus's</i> adopted son: <i>Phrabates</i> retires, and sues for peace, which is granted, and <i>Artasdes</i> restored; he dying soon after, <i>Tigranes III.</i> seizes the kingdom, but is drove out by <i>Caius</i> .	III	710
4276	2969	30	<i>Anthony</i> being defeated by <i>Octavius</i> , <i>Herod</i> king of <i>Judea</i> sends advice to him to murder <i>Cleopatra</i> , and to come into <i>Egypt</i> and raise an army, and promises to assist him with all his own force of money, troops, strong holds, &c. but <i>Anthony</i> refuses. <i>Hyrcan</i> the former high-priest being still alive, <i>Herod</i> orders him to be beheaded, in the 80th year of his age, for fear the people should prefer <i>Hyrcan's</i> to <i>Herod's</i> title to the crown.	IV	137
4276	2969	30	<i>Herod</i> king of <i>Judea</i> goes to <i>Octavius</i> now at <i>Rhodes</i> , and offers his service to him against <i>Anthony</i> and <i>Cleopatra</i> , who send messengers to <i>Octavius</i> to make up the breach between them, but are refused by him; at last they offer to resign up all, and live a private life in <i>Athens</i> , or where else soever he should think fit to appoint them: <i>Octavius</i> receives the queen's presents, and promises to pardon her, if she would put <i>Anthony</i> to death; but would not hear the ambassadors of <i>Anthony</i> , though he sent his own son with a vast sum of money, and offered to kill himself if he would settle <i>Egypt</i> on <i>Cleopatra's</i> children. <i>Cleopatra</i> betrays <i>Anthony</i> , and he kills himself; she is taken by <i>Octavius</i> , and kills herself, after reigning 22 years. <i>Octavius</i> turned <i>Egypt</i> into a Roman province. <i>Augustus</i> is met by <i>Herod</i> at <i>Ptolemais</i> ; <i>Herod</i> treats him and his whole army with great magnificence, and presents him with 800 talents in money, besides bread, wine, &c. for his army; in return for which <i>Octavius</i> gave him several towns, &c.	III	(90)
4277	2970	29	<i>Octavius</i> spends the whole winter in settling the provinces of <i>Asia Minor</i> and the adjacent islands: In the spring, he first goes into <i>Greece</i> , and from thence to <i>Rome</i> , where he had three triumphs for three successive days, and afterwards he had the title of emperor, with sovereignty and uncontroul'd power; but to deceive the people, continued the usual magistrates with only so much power as he thought fit to allow them, having overcome his qualm of laying down his usurped authority: However, he courted the populace by many seeming acts of kindness; the senate he encreased to a thousand members, and advanced all his own creatures: He raised many publick buildings, repaired the old ones, and added many stately ornaments to the city, which was now said to be 50 miles in compass, and contained 4,000,000 souls.	V	296
4277	2970	29	<i>Mariamne</i> , <i>Herod's</i> favourite wife, and <i>Herod</i> have great quarrels: she is falsely accused of adultery, and of corrupting his cup-bearer to poison him, is tried, condemned and executed, by means of the furious hatred of <i>Salome</i> , <i>Herod's</i> sister.	IV	140
4278	2971	28	A great plague breaks out in <i>Judea</i> , which sweeps away multitudes of the people: <i>Herod</i> grows prodigious uneasy, and frenzied for the loss of his <i>Mariamne</i> : Being now informed of her innocence, he revenges himself upon many of his best friends and nearest relations, and puts them to death, and among them <i>Alexandra</i> , the mother of <i>Mariamne</i> .	IV	140
4278	2971	28	<i>Tiberius</i> gives <i>Armenia</i> to <i>Mithridates Iberus</i> . <i>Artabanus</i> invades <i>Armenia</i> , who was defeated and drove away by <i>Tiberius</i> .	III	710
4279	2972	27	<i>Octavius</i> in open senate offers to lay down his authority, and to retire to a private life; but they in return desire him to take upon him the whole government, which with much seeming reluctance he does, and has the title of <i>Augustus</i> conferred on him. Thus ended the greatest commonwealth, and began the greatest monarchy ever known, infinitely excelling all others in power, riches, extent, and continuance, whose yearly revenue is said, upon a moderate computation, to be 40,000,000 <i>l. sterl.</i>	V	297
4280	2973	26	<i>Salome</i> , <i>Herod's</i> sister, quarrelling with her husband <i>Cestibares</i> , governor of <i>Idumea</i> , first sends him a bill of divorce, and then accuses him of treason to <i>Herod</i> , who puts him, <i>Lyfimachus</i> , <i>Dositheus</i> and <i>Antipater</i> , to death. Being now delivered from all fear of the <i>Asmonaan</i> race, he abolishes several Jewish ceremonies and customs, and introduced foreign ones that were forbidden: builds a stately theatre in the city of <i>Jerusalem</i> , and a spacious amphitheatre in the suburbs, and ordered publick games there every fifth year in honour of <i>Augustus</i> , and by large rewards to the conquerors drew vast numbers of people of all nations thither: This so displeased the zealous Jews, that they no longer looked upon him as their king, but as a heathenish tyrant: Ten Jews goes into the theatre to kill <i>Herod</i> ; but being discovered, were put to death with the most exquisite torments; but the people tore the informer to pieces, and		

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			gave his flesh to the dogs ; which so exasperated <i>Herod</i> , that he put whole families to death, tormenting the women to make them discover the men, &c.		IV	141
4280	2973	26	<i>Augustus</i> takes a census of <i>Gaul</i> , now divided into three districts, being the first ever made out of <i>Italy</i> ; then he goes into <i>Spain</i> , and defeats the revolted <i>Cantabri</i> , and soon after his general <i>C. Antistius</i> defeated again the united strength of the <i>Cantabri</i> and <i>Asturians</i> , and then besieges them upon the hill of their retreat, where they were so much straitened for provisions, that the women eat their children, and the young men the old ones ; the <i>Asturians</i> are for surrendering, the <i>Cantabri</i> will not ; they fight with one another, and kill many on both sides, and 10,000 <i>Asturians</i> are drove to the <i>Roman</i> intrenchments ; <i>Tiberius</i> (the emperor's son-in-law) will not admit them ; many kill themselves with their swords, others light fires and jump into the flames, and the rest poison themselves.		V	299
4281	2974	25	This year <i>Spain</i> , after a struggle for its liberty of 200 years, is entirely subjected to <i>Rome</i> . The <i>Cantabrians</i> to the number of 23,000 surrendering at discretion, 10,000 are incorporated among the auxiliaries, and the rest sold for slaves, most of whom destroyed themselves, preferring death to slavery : Most of the <i>Asturians</i> are cut to pieces, and all their towns and strong places taken : <i>Augustus</i> built several cities to keep the natives in awe, as <i>Cesar Augusta</i> , (now <i>Saragossa</i>) and <i>Augusta Emerita</i> , (now <i>Merida</i> :) He likewise built a stone bridge over the <i>Iberus</i> , for his troops to march out of one province into another.		V	299
4281	2974	25	<i>Crassus</i> overcomes the <i>Messians</i> , a fierce and savage people beyond the <i>Danube</i> . <i>Terentius Varro</i> reduced the <i>Salassi</i> , obliging them to submit to his terms, who after they had delivered up their arms, sent 40,000 of their youth to <i>Emporedia</i> , (now <i>Ivrea</i>) to be slaves for 20 years.		V	299
4281	2974	25	<i>Cornelius Gallus</i> having tyrannized over the people of <i>Egypt</i> , where <i>Augustus</i> had sent him governor, and stripped all the cities, particularly <i>Thebes</i> , of all valuable in it, was recalled and deposed ; for which he inveighing against <i>Augustus</i> , the senate condemned him to banishment ; upon which he killed himself.		V	230
4281	2974	25	<i>Amytas</i> king of <i>Pisidia</i> dies ; he had been secretary to old king <i>Deiotarus</i> , and raised by <i>Marc Anthony</i> to the throne : Upon his death <i>Pisidia</i> , <i>Galatia</i> , and <i>Lycaonia</i> were reduced to a <i>Roman</i> province, and first governed by <i>M. Lollius</i> , in quality of proprætor.		V	300
4281	2974	25	<i>Marcellus</i> (the adopted son of <i>Augustus</i>) son to <i>Octavia</i> , sister of <i>Augustus</i> , by her first husband, marries <i>Julia</i> the daughter of <i>Augustus</i> by <i>Scribonia</i> ; and <i>Juba</i> king of <i>Getulia</i> marries <i>Cleopatra Selene</i> , daughter of <i>Cleopatra</i> queen of <i>Egypt</i> by <i>Mark Anthony</i> .		V	301
4282	2975	24	The senate free <i>Augustus</i> from the restraint of all law, and allow him to govern absolutely by his will, and that <i>Marcellus</i> (the adopted son of <i>Augustus</i>) might, though but sixteen years old, have a place among the senators of the pretorian rank, and might stand for the consulate 10 years sooner than the law allowed ; and that <i>Tiberius</i> his son-in-law might stand for the curule offices five years sooner than usual, upon which <i>Marcellus</i> was immediately made ædile, and <i>Tiberius</i> quæstor.		V	302
4282	2975	24	The <i>Asturians</i> and <i>Cantabrians</i> revolt, surprize a considerable body of <i>Romans</i> , and cut them all off ; but <i>Ælius Lama</i> , governor of that part of <i>Spain</i> , lays their whole country waste with fire and sword, and kills most of their young men, and so, absolutely reduced them again in about a months time.		V	303
4282	2975	24	<i>Ælius Gallus</i> makes an expedition against <i>Arabia-Felix</i> , with 10,000 men given him by <i>Augustus</i> , 500 out of <i>Herod</i> king of <i>Judæa</i> 's guards, and 1000 given him by <i>Obodes</i> king of the <i>Nabathean Arabs</i> , under the command of <i>Syllæus</i> , <i>Obodes</i> 's chief favourite, who pretended to be <i>Gallus</i> 's guide, but led him out of the way on purpose ; at last he got thither, and took the metropolis of the country by assault ; then falling in with a large number of the natives, he kills 10,000 of them, with the loss of only two men ; and so went on, taking all the cities he came at ; but his men being sick, he returned back to <i>Egypt</i> , having lost but seven men in all his assaults and battles, but almost all his army by fatigue and sickness ; so that at the end of two years arriving in <i>Egypt</i> , this expedition was never after attempted any more by the <i>Romans</i> .		V	302
4282	2975	24	<i>Candace</i> , queen of <i>Ethiopia</i> , invades the province of <i>Thebais</i> in <i>Upper Egypt</i> , surprizes several cities, carries the <i>Roman</i> garrisons away prisoners, throws down <i>Augustus</i> 's statues, and laid the whole country waste. <i>C. Petronius</i> assembles 10,000 foot and 800 horse, attacks <i>Candace</i> at <i>Pselcha</i> in <i>Ethiopia</i> , upon the banks of the <i>Nile</i> , defeats her army of 30,000 men, takes <i>Pselcha</i> , the key of <i>Ethiopia</i> on the side of <i>Egypt</i> , and then went 800 miles up into the country ; then went to <i>Napata</i> , the metropolis, and took and destroyed it ; then put a garrison of 400 men into <i>Premnis</i> , with provisions for two years ; and then returned with many 1000 captives, which he sold for slaves. <i>Candace</i> attacks <i>Premnis</i> , <i>Petronius</i> goes to its relief, defeats <i>Candace</i> , and forces her to a very disadvantageous peace ; but some time after <i>Augustus</i> remitted the tribute, and gave her the cities, &c. again.		V	303
4283	2976	23	<i>Augustus</i> being very ill, sends for the curule, magistrates, and senators of equestrian order, and in their presence delivers to <i>Calpurnius Piso</i> his colleague his will, and a book of his own writing, containing a distinct account of the towns, provinces, allies, forces, riches and taxes, of the whole <i>Roman</i> empire : But <i>Antonius Musa</i> , a famous <i>Greek</i> physician, restored him unexpectedly to his health, for which he and all of his profession were allowed to wear a gold ring, and to live tax-free.		V	304
4283	9976	23	<i>Augustus</i> relights the fasces to <i>P. Sestius</i> , a man of unblameable character, upon which the senate confer the title of continual proconsul of the <i>Roman</i> empire upon him, with power to assemble the senate when he pleased, and to exercise the authority of tribune in <i>Rome</i> , and in all its distant provinces. His			

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			successors would never part with this power, that rendered them uncontrollable by, and unaccountable to any power whatever.	V	334
4283	2976	23	<i>Marcellus</i> (the adopted son of <i>Augustus</i>) dies, highly lamented of all, and is honoured with the utmost funeral magnificence in the <i>Campus Martius</i> , <i>Augustus</i> himself pronouncing his funeral oration.	V	305
4283	2976	23	<i>Herod</i> king of <i>Judea</i> growing cruel and excessively severe to the people, they shew a general dislike to him; wherefore, to prevent a revolt, he fortifies <i>Jerusalem</i> , rebuilds <i>Samaria</i> , and garrisons the strong fortresses of <i>Judea</i> . This year there happened a great drought, which brought on a famine, and ended in a raging pestilence, of which multitudes die for want of help and sustenance. <i>Herod</i> is forced to melt down his plate to buy corn in <i>Egypt</i> , &c.	IV	142
4283	2976	23	<i>Herod</i> deposes <i>Jesus</i> , the son of <i>Phabeus</i> , from the high-priesthood, and advanced <i>Simon</i> , the son of <i>Boetius</i> , a <i>Jewish</i> priest of <i>Alexandria</i> , to that dignity, for the sake of his beautiful daughter <i>Marianne</i> , whom he married.	IV	142
4284	2977	22	A dreadful plague rages in <i>Rome</i> and all over <i>Italy</i> , which occasioned the lands to be untilled, so that a general famine attended it: The <i>Tiber</i> overflowed, and laid a great part of the city under water: Lightning dashed several statues in the <i>Pantheon</i> to pieces. The populace imagining these punishments happened because <i>Augustus</i> laid down the consulship, oblige the senate to name him dictator; but he refused it, but accepted the office of general purveyor, but would in no wise accept of being perpetual censor.	V	305
4284	2977	22	A conspiracy is formed against <i>Augustus</i> by <i>Murena</i> , a man of unblemished character, and <i>Fannius Cæpio</i> , the greatest debauchee in <i>Rome</i> : 'Tis discovered, and they are put to death: after which <i>Augustus</i> delivered to the senate <i>Cyprus</i> and <i>Narbonne Gaul</i> , which were turned into proconsular provinces.	V	306
4284	2977	22	The <i>Cantabrians</i> and <i>Asturians</i> revolt again, but were soon reduced by <i>C. Furius</i> : The people finding they could not shake off their slavery, many of them destroy themselves.	V	306
4284	2977	22	<i>Gallia</i> is divided into 16 provinces.	VII	401
4284	2977	22	<i>Herod</i> sends his two sons to <i>Rome</i> , to be educated under the care and direction of <i>Augustus</i> , who gives <i>Herod</i> several additional provinces, and leave to name either of his sons to be his successor.	IV	143
4285	2978	21	Great uproars and much mischiefs are committed by the partizans of <i>L. Silenus</i> and <i>Q. Æmilius Lepidus</i> , candidates for the consulship for this year; to prevent which for the future, <i>Augustus</i> creates a new magistrate, whose province was to maintain peace and tranquility in the city; for this purpose he marries his daughter <i>Julia</i> to <i>Agrippa</i> , with the utmost splendor, and gave him that office, which he discharged to the intire satisfaction of the senate and the people.	V	306
4285	2978	21	<i>Zenodorus</i> , from whom <i>Augustus</i> had taken several provinces, accuses <i>Herod</i> of male-administration: <i>Augustus</i> appoints a day to hear the cause, but shews so much partiality in favour of <i>Herod</i> , that he poisons himself, and his adherents destroy themselves various ways, for fear of falling into <i>Herod's</i> hands, and then <i>Augustus</i> makes <i>Herod</i> procurator of <i>Syria</i> .	IV	143
4285	2978	21	<i>Herod</i> to ingratiate himself with the <i>Jews</i> , in a set speech proposes to pull down the temple at <i>Jerusalem</i> , and to rebuild it equal or superior to <i>Solomon's</i> ; and to convince them of it, proposes to have all the materials for the new one ready upon the spot, before he pulls down the old one: They consent; he immediately sets 10,000 men to work under the direction of 1000 priests, and 1000 carts are employed in fetching materials: So much expedition was used, that in two years time they begin to pull the old one down; and in a year and half's time more the carcass of the new one was erected in a most sumptuous manner, and in eight years the whole finished for use.	IV	147
4285	2978	21	<i>Augustus</i> goes into <i>Sicily</i> , and settles matters there; then goes into <i>Greece</i> , and bestows the island of <i>Cythera</i> and five other cities on the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> , and punishes the <i>Athenians</i> for erecting statues to <i>Brutus</i> and <i>Cassius</i> , and took from them the island of <i>Egina</i> and the city of <i>Eretria</i> , and then went to <i>Samos</i> , and wintered there.	V	307
4286	2979	20	<i>Augustus</i> goes into <i>Asia</i> , deprives the <i>Cynicians</i> of their liberty, for having whipt and put to death some <i>Roman</i> citizens: The same he did by <i>Tyre</i> and <i>Sidon</i> , and so frighted <i>Phraabates</i> king of <i>Parthia</i> , that he sent all the ensigns and captives to him taken in the war with <i>Crassus</i> and <i>Anthony</i> , and submits to all the conditions <i>Augustus</i> required of him.	V	307
4286	2979	20	<i>Julia</i> , the daughter of <i>Augustus</i> and wife of <i>Agrippa</i> , brings forth a son, who was named <i>Caius</i> , on whose birth-day a perpetual sacrifice, &c. was decreed by way of thanksgiving to the gods.	V	308
4287	2980	19	<i>Augustus</i> is named consul, but he refuses: The disputes between the candidates rise so high, that abundance on both sides are killed: To quiet all disturbances <i>Augustus</i> names <i>Q. Lucretius Vespillo</i> to be the colleague of <i>C. Senicius Saturninus</i> . The consuls and <i>Agrippa</i> , punish the rioters with great severity.	V	308
4287	2980	19	<i>Porus</i> king of <i>India</i> sends to <i>Augustus</i> to desire an alliance and an interview, offering all his strength and the strength of his 600 kings, over whom he reigned, to assist him: <i>Zarmar</i> , one of the ambassadors, follows <i>Augustus</i> to <i>Athens</i> , and there burnt himself before him.	V	309
4287	2980	19	Upon <i>Augustus's</i> return to <i>Rome</i> , the senate decree him three triumphal arches, erected an altar to <i>Fortune</i> , and ordered that this day should be annually solemnized with sacrifices, shews, sports, &c.	V	309
4287	2980	19	<i>Virgil</i> , the prince of <i>Latin</i> poets, dies, in the 51st year of his age: By his will he ordered his <i>Æneid</i> to be burnt, not having put the finishing stroke to it; but <i>Augustus</i> preserved it.	V	309
4287	2980	19	The senate prevail upon <i>Augustus</i> to be censor for five years, and confer the consular power on him for life: He sends <i>Agrippa</i> against the revolted <i>Cantabrians</i>		

- in *Spain*, and the *Germani*, who had crossed the *Rhine* and committed horrid disorders; but upon his approach they retire, and he goes into *Spain*, where after a very obstinate fight, all the *Cantabrians* fit to bear arms were cut off, their castles and strong holds razed, and the women, children, and old men brought out of the mountains and forced to live in the plains.
- 19 *Agrippa* returns to *Rome*, refuses a triumph, and lays out vast sums of money to embellish the city, and build and repair aqueducts, of vast beauty, expence, and serviceableness.
- 19 *Augustus* grants a triumph to *Lucius Cornelius Balbus*, for having subdued the *Garamantes*, a people of *Africa* before unknown: *Balbus* was the first foreigner that ever had a triumph, he being a *Spaniard* by birth.
- 18 *Augustus* prorogued his absolute authority for five years more, his first ten being near expired, and takes *Agrippa* to be a partner with him in his power, and made him tribune for five years; then sets about reforming the senate, by reducing them from 1000 to 500 members; he names thirty, and impowers each to name five, out of which one was chose by lot, &c. then proceeds to reform many abuses, &c. *Julia* brings forth a second son, named *Lucius*, and *Augustus* adopts both of them.
- 17 The *lucular games*, which had been discontinued for 100 years, were exhibited by *Augustus* and *Agrippa* with great pomp and magnificence: They encourage a great number of *stage-players*, but severely correct their immorality.
- 16 *Augustus* pretends to go into *Gaul* to quell disturbances, but it was really to have an opportunity of enjoying *Terentia*, the wife of *Mecenas*, whom he took with him, where he staid this and the following year, though all was quiet.
- 16 *Herod* goes to *Rome*, where *Augustus* receives him with all possible marks of friendship, and returning suitable presents and thanks, receives his two sons, now grown up, and vastly polished and improved: At his return he married *Alexander* to *Glaphyra*, daughter of *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*; and *Aristobulus* to *Berenice*, daughter of his sister *Salome*.
- 15 The *Rhati* invade *Italy*, and make a dreadful havock, putting all the males they meet with to the sword: Against these went *Drusus*, 2d son of *Livia*, who though but a youth, gained a great victory over them, and cut great numbers of them to pieces: The remainder of them join the *Vindelici*, and go to invade *Gaul*; *Tiberius*, brother of *Drusus*, meets them at the lake *Brigantium* (now *Constance*) gave them a total overthrow, and forced the whole nation to accept of his conditions, and planted two colonies in two cities to keep them in awe.
- 15 *Agrippa* goes into *Syria* to quell disturbances that were risen there; *Herod* invites him into *Judea*, and entertains him with vast splendor and honour; which so pleased *Agrippa*, that he bestowed many gifts and favours on the *Jews*; and while he was at *Jerusalem* he offered up a whole hecatomb at the temple. When he went against the *Bosphorean* rebels, *Herod* met and joined his fleet at *Leibes*, with another of his own, replenished with men, arms, provisions, money, &c.
- 15 *Augustus* orders *Agrippa* a triumph for his successes in the east. *Augustus* takes upon him the office of *Pontifex Maximus*, which he held to his death, as did all of his successors, both *Christian* and heathen, till the year 375 of the *Christian* æra.
- 14 The *Ligures Comati*, who inhabited the maritime *Alps*, are subdued, their country made a *Roman* province, and *Augustus* returns to *Rome*, and then he made a law, that the veterans should not be rewarded with lands, as had formerly been done, (to the great oppression and disturbance of the publick) but with money.
- 14 *Herod* returning from the *Bosphorus*, remits the people of *Judea* a fourth part of the tribute. *Salome* his sister strives by wicked ways to accuse his two sons of treason against him: *Herod* at last carries them to *Aquileia* to *Cæsar*, and there accuses them: *Alexander* pleads his own and his brother's cause so effectually, that they are honourably acquitted, and *Herod* blamed for his rash belief and ill will against his own children.
- 13 *Augustus* as *Pontifex Maximus* corrected a great error that had crept into the calendar, it being usual to reckon the leap year every third year, which he set to rights, and ordered it as it now is, every fourth year. *Agrippa* returns, and brings *Herod's* son *Antipater* with him to *Rome*, is graciously received, but refuses the honour of a triumph.
- 12 *Agrippa* goes against the revolted *Pannonians*; they submit upon his terms; he takes away their arms, and has hostages for their peaceable behaviour, but dies in *Campania* as he was returning to *Rome*.
- 11 *Augustus* takes *Tiberius* partner with him in the empire, and sends him against the *Pannonians*, who upon the death of *Agrippa* revolted: He overcomes them, disarms them, takes hostages, and all their towns and strong holds, laid waste the fields, plundered the cities, and sent their young men into other countries, and then returned to *Rome*.
- 11 *Drusus* so ingratiates himself with the *Gauls*, that they lay aside their intention of revolting, and erect a temple to *Augustus* at *Lions*, and pay him divine honours, while living, and games like the *Nemean* games instituted in honour of him. *Drusus* then gains great advantages against the *Germani*, who were crossing the *Rhine* to come into *Gaul*, whom he drove back, and followed them into *Germany*, and then returned to *Rome*, and was made prætor.
- 10 The city of *Cæsarea* having been 12 years in building, is now finished, and *Herod* dedicates it with the utmost pomp, and appointed games to be performed every fifth year: He also built *Antipatris*, *Cyprus*, and many others.

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4296	2989	10	Drusus conquers many German nations, who joining together, surrounded him, but at last he overthrew them, and found in their camp abundance of chains, with which they intended to load the Romans, &c.	V	319
4296	2989	10	Octavia, sister of Augustus, dies, a lady of the most consummate wisdom, and greatest pattern of virtue in her time: Augustus honoured her so far as to pronounce her funeral oration himself.	V	320
4297	2990	9	The Jews of Asia and Cyrene send a deputation to Augustus, who obtains a redress of their grievances, and a decree very favourable to them.	IV	148
4297	2990	9	Tiberius subdues the Daci, a German nation, and transplants 40,000 into Gaul. Drusus subdued all from the Rhine to the Elbe, and died.	V	321
4298	2991	8	Herod's jealousy having carried his warm temper to a great pitch of rage against his two sons, he puts to death, rack, and torment, all that he suspects; but Archelaus king of Cappadocia (whose daughter Herod's son Alexander had married) interposes, and makes peace, so that he is forced to go to Rome to clear his sons from the accusations he had laid against them there.	IV	150
4298	2991	8	The Sicambrians and Survei submit to Augustus, who orders 40,000 of them to be transported into Gaul, to repopulate several places depopulated by the wars.	VII	341
4298	2991	8	Augustus pretends to lay down his power, but the senate renews it for ten years more: He makes a census, and finds 4,233,000 Roman citizens in Rome. This year the famous Mecænas dies, Horace the noted poet, and one Caius Cæcilius Isidorus, remarkable for his extraordinary wealth, leaving behind him 4116 slaves, 3600 yoke of oxen, 200,057 head of other cattle, and 3,000,000 <i>l.</i> sterling in money.	V	324
4299	2992	7	Herod's new temple at Jerusalem being completely finished, he caused it to be dedicated with great solemnity.	IV	150
4299	2992	7	A dreadful fire happens at Rome, occasioned by the debtors setting fire to their creditors houses, to escape from their cruelty. To prevent the like for the future, Augustus divides the city into fourteen wards, under proper governors.	V	324
4300	2993	6	Augustus confers the honour of tribune for five years on Tiberius, but he begs to lay down all his dignities, and to retire to Rhodes, to live there privately, which with great difficulty Augustus yields to: He spends his time in study, and converses only with philosophers, &c. but after living so upwards of a year, he grows weary of his retirement, and petitions Augustus for leave to return to Rome; but is absolutely refused it till 17 years after.	V	327
4300	2993	6	Herod, through the instigation of his sister Salome, again complains to Augustus against his sons; Augustus orders them to be tried at Berytus before the governors of Syria: he gets them condemned, and executes them himself.	IV	151
4301	2994	5	Antipater, Herod's son is discovered plotting against his father; many persons are put to death and banished, and Mariamne (Herod's present wife), banished, and her father deposed from the high priesthood.	IV	153
4304	2997	2	Augustus is a thirteenth time consul: Having conferred the highest honours upon his two grandsons, Lucius and Caius, (sons of his daughter Julia) is so mortified by account of her wicked behaviour, that he shut himself up several days, refusing to be seen or to speak to any body; then he banished Julia to Pandataria, a desert island on the coast of Campania (now called Santa Maria) and punished by banishment and death many of those who had been her partners in lewdness, debauchery, &c.	V	326
4304	2997	2	Augustus, to divert his melancholy upon account of his family disgrace, exhibits all manner of expensive and magnificent shews, such as chariot-races, gladiators, &c. and caused a canal, 1800 paces long and 200 broad, to be dug, and let in the Flaminian water, which was covered with crocodiles, 36 of which were killed by Egyptians, brought there on purpose, and then two fleet of ships representing a sea-fight succeeded, &c.	V	327
4305	2998	1	John the baptist (the son of Zachary, a priest of the course of Abiah, and Elizabeth his wife) born.	IV	154
4306	2999	0	Peace being settled in all the world, and the temple of Janus shut at Rome, Augustus orders a fresh survey of the Roman empire to be taken, and as it was executing Christ is born at Bethlehem in Judea. Soon after Herod ordered all the male-children from two years old to a day old to be murdered, in order to kill Jesus Christ, who was miraculously sent into Egypt before this cruel massacre was put in execution.	IV	159
4307	3000	1	Antipater, Herod's son, sends Batillus (one of his servants) from Rome into Judea with poison for Herod his father; 'tis discovered, and Antipater, now arrived at Rome, is arrested, and tried before Quintilius Varus, and cast and imprisoned.	IV	182
4307	3000	1	Herod being very ill, 'tis reported he was dead: Judas the son of Saripheus, and Matthias the son of Margalothus, (two learned Jewish doctors) raise the youth in Jerusalem, and threw down the statues that Herod had set up, particularly a golden eagle of an extraordinary size and workmanship over the temple gate: The two chiefs and 40 others are taken, and carried before the dying king, where they justify their proceedings, and are burnt for their pains. Herod's disease made him loathsome to himself, as well as to his attendants; and so cross and cruel, that he issued his summons for all the heads of the people to meet in the circus at Jericho at a set day, and gave his sister Salome and her husband Alexas strict charge to butcher them all as soon as the breath was out of his body: The messengers return from Rome with Augustus's confirmation of Antipater's sentence of death, which was immediately executed.	IV	184
4307	3000	1	Five days after the death of his son Antipater, Herod dies himself, but in the mean time alters his will, and left his kingdom to his son Archelaus, &c. Salome and her husband Alexas, instead of executing his cruel orders, sets the prison-door open. Archelaus is proclaimed king, and he indulges the people		

- with granting all their requests : But a motinous mob did much mischief, and made great demands, and kills the soldiers sent against them ; but *Archelaus* sends the whole army, kills 3000, and disperses the rest ; then goes to *Rome*, where being opposed by *Herod's* other children, *Augustus* gives him half the kingdom, viz. *Judea Propria*, *Idumea*, and *Samarina*, with the title of *Ethnarch*, and divides the rest between his two sons, *Philip* and *Antipas*, and his sister *Salome*.
- 1 Many of the *Jews* side with one *Alexander*, who pretended to be the son of *Herod*, but being detected he is sent to the gallies.
- 2 *Tiberius* is allowed to return to *Rome*, and *Lucius Cæsar* dies, which brings *Tiberius* again into *Augustus's* favour.
- 2 *Archelaus* upon his return to *Jerusalem* deposes *Jeezar* from the high priesthood, and puts *Eleazar* in his stead ; then divorces his wife *Marianna*, and marries his brother *Alexander's* wife *Glaphyra*, contrary to the *Jewish* law ; then he deposes *Eleazar*, and advances *Jesus* the son of *Sis* to the high-priesthood ; he bestows immense sums upon beautifying his palace at *Jericho*.
- 3 The famous temple of the mother of the gods at *Rome* is reduced to ashes.
- 4 *Numidia* revolts from *Rome*, but is again reduced by *Pfianus* and *Cassius*. The *Parthians* invade *Armenia* : *Caius* goes against them, and is treacherously wounded at *Artagera* by *Addo* the governor, as they were in conference ; for which the *Romans* assault the city, take it by storm, and dismantle it, putting the governor and the whole garrison to the sword, and died soon after of the wound he had received from *Addo*, at *Lingra*, in the 24th year of his age, as he was returning to *Rome* ; and *Augustus* adopts *Tiberius*, and bestows the tribunitial power on him for five years.
- 4 *Cinna* (grandson to *Pompey*) with many other great men, conspire against *Augustus* ; it is discovered ; *Augustus* pardons *Cinna* and his colleagues, and nominated *Cinna* to the next year's consulate.
- 5 *Tiberius* goes into *Germany*, and conquers abundance of the revolted nations, and returning to *Rome* is highly honoured and caressed.
- 5 This and the following year the famine is so extravagant at *Rome*, that all foreigners, gladiators, wrestlers and slaves, (except physicians and school-masters) are driven out of the city to 80 miles distance. *Augustus* procured provisions from *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, &c. at the publick expence, and sold them at a low rate. The *Parthians* desire *Augustus* to give them a king ; he names *Vologases*, son of *Phrabates*, who is gladly received by the *Parthians*.
- 6 *Tiberius* returns into *Germany*, and subdues the revolted *Germans* wherever he comes. *Cornelius Cossus* goes against the *Getauli*, who revolting from king *Juba*, massacred all the *Romans* they found in his country, and committed dreadful ravages ; he defeated them with vast slaughter, and obliged them to accept of what conditions he thought fit to grant them. *Augustus* banishes his grandson *Poppianus*, for his scandalous and wicked behaviour.
- 6 The *Jews* and *Samaritans* complain to *Augustus* against *Archelaus* for his wicked and tyrannical reign ; *Augustus* sends for him to *Rome*, and hears both his accusers and him, condemns him to banishment, and confiscates all his goods, and makes *Judea* a Roman province, and *Cyrenius* the governor of *Syria* is sent to tax it, and then sells *Archelaus's* palace, seizes upon all his treasure, and returns to *Antioch*.
- 7 One *Judas* and one *Saduc* spirit up some of the *Jews* to commit the most horrid butcheries and devastations upon the *Gentiles*, and the other *Jews* that did not join them ; this brought on a grievous famine, and that a pestilence.
- 7 The *Samaritans*, out of spite to the *Jews*, privately strew dead men's bodies up and down the temple at the time of the passover : So that the priests are forced to leave off their solemnity till it was repurified.
- 7 *Tiberius* goes against *Maroboduus* king of the *Martimanni*, a prince of vast personal strength, who with an army of 70,000 foot and 4000 horse, threatened *Italy* with an invasion. *Messalinus* going out of *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia* to reinforce *Tiberius*, the *Pannonians* and *Dalmatians* under the two *Betta's*, with each 100,000 men, revolt, and penetrate into *Macedon*, and kill all the *Romans* they meet with. *Augustus* raises a very large army, and puts *Germanicus* the son of *Drusus* at the head of it.
- 8 A famine rages to such a degree in one of the *Betta's* camp, that he offers *Tiberius* to treat of peace ; which being granted, this *Betta* engages and kills the other *Betta*, which subdued most of the revolters.
- 8 *Augustus*, upon hearing the petitions of the *Roman* knights about the *Papian* *Poppean* law, he doubly rewarded those who were married and had children, and heavily fined the unmarried debauchees.
- 9 After various battles and different successes, *Tiberius* and *Germanicus* proved too hard for the *Pannonians* and *Dalmatians*, disarmed them, and restored peace ; and returning to *Rome*, are received with great honour.
- 9 *Quintilius Varus* being now appointed governor in *Germany*, by his cruelty and covetousness stirred up the people to revolt ; *Arminius* deceives *Varus*, persuades him to remove to the distant provinces, then pretends to be his guide against the revolters, conducts him into a large forest, surrounded on all sides with steep hills, where he is attacked, and not finding it possible to get away, he and most of his officers kill themselves ; the enemy cut off almost three complete legions, and six cohorts, a few escaping by favour of the night : *Augustus* was so extremely concerned at this loss, that in fits of frenzy he would tear his hair, and knock his head against the wall, crying out, *Refors the Legions Varus* ; which he continued several months, letting his hair and beard grow, and kept this as a day of mourning annually during his life.

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4316	3009	10	<i>Tiberius</i> passes the <i>Alps</i> , enters <i>Germany</i> , forces the <i>Germans</i> from the neighbourhood of the <i>Rhine</i> , and so secures <i>Gaul</i> from their incursions, and having celebrated <i>Augustus's</i> birth-day in his camp, &c. returns to <i>Rome</i> .	V	342
4317	3010	11	The poet <i>Ovid</i> is banished to <i>Tomas</i> , a cold barren country, by <i>Augustus</i> , where he continued to his death, though he often petitioned <i>Cæsar</i> for relief.	V	343
4317	3010	11	<i>Augustus</i> publishes a law, forbidding all augurs, astrologers, and fortune-tellers to utter publicly or privately predictions concerning the death of any person whatever, upon account of the disturbance among the nobility those practices had already bred.	V	344
4317	3010	11	<i>Augustus</i> growing old and declining, causes the senate to declare <i>Tiberius</i> his colleague in the government, with power equal to himself.	V	344
4318	3011	12	<i>Augustus</i> publishes a law against the authors of all lampoons and satirical writings, declaring it high-treason, and punishable with death; and causes the censors to search the city, and the governors in colonies, to make a strict search after such books and writings, and to commit them to the flames, and to punish the authors with great severity.	V	345
4318	3011	12	<i>Augustus</i> writes two letters, one to <i>Tiberius</i> in favour of the senate, the other to the senate in favour of <i>Germanicus</i> , desires them to choose 24 of their members with whom he may advise, and begs to be excused coming to the senate-house upon account of his age; they agree, that what the twenty senators, the consuls for the year, the consuls elect, <i>Augustus</i> , and his adopted son and nephew should enact, should be accounted the edict of the senate.	V	345
4319	3012	13	The senate desire <i>Augustus</i> to accept of another ten years absolute government, his former being near expired, which doing, he confers the tribunitial power on <i>Tiberius</i> for the same term.	V	345
4320	3013	14	<i>Augustus</i> takes <i>Tiberius</i> into the censorship with himself, and makes a census, by which the people in <i>Rome</i> appeared to be 4,637,000.	V	345
4320	3013	14	<i>Augustus</i> leaves <i>Rome</i> , and goes to <i>Naples</i> to assist at the solemn sports that were to be exhibited on his birth-day: Soon after they were over he was seized with a <i>Diarrrhœa</i> (or flux) leaves <i>Naples</i> and returns towards <i>Rome</i> ; but growing too weak to travel, stops at <i>Nola</i> in <i>Campania</i> , and is confined to his bed: <i>Livia</i> attending him, sends for <i>Tiberius</i> , who comes: <i>Augustus</i> declares him his successor, and desires him to pursue his steps in the government: He died 19th of <i>August</i> , aged 75 years, 10 months, and 26 days, and reigned from his first consulship 56 years, but from the battle of <i>Actium</i> only 43: He was carried to <i>Rome</i> with great honour and solemnity, where <i>Tiberius</i> ordered the senate to meet, and the vestal-virgins to bring out his will, which began thus: <i>Since the Gods have been pleased to deprive me of my grand children, Caius and Lucius, I declare Tiberius my Heir, &c.</i> His body was carried with the utmost pomp, and burnt in the <i>Campus Martius</i> , his wife <i>Livia</i> and some of the chiefs of the <i>Roman</i> knights watching the pile and gathering up the bones and ashes, which they put into a golden urn, for five days together, and then buried it in the pompous mausoleum he had prepared for that purpose in his life-time.	V	349
4320	3013	14	<i>Tiberius</i> orders the tribune who had young <i>Agrippa</i> in his custody to murder him, which he doing, <i>Tiberius</i> denies he gave any such orders, but it was afterwards smothered.	V	354
4320	3013	14	The two consuls, <i>Sextus Pompeius</i> and <i>Sextus Apulcius</i> , first take the oath of fidelity to <i>Tiberius</i> , and then administer it to the senate, people, and soldiery: The senate offers <i>Tiberius</i> the government; he pretends inability; they humbly beg him to accept it; he complies, beginning his reign in the 56th year of his age, invested with the same unbounded power that <i>Augustus</i> died in possession of: He would not let his mother receive the honours voted her by the senate, and took away <i>Julia's</i> pension, so that she died miserably, in the 15th year of her banishment, and <i>Sempronius Gracchus</i> , one of her chief favourites, he put to death.	V	358
4320	3013	14	<i>Perennius</i> raises a mutiny in the army in <i>Pannonia</i> , which plunder all the country round <i>Bleffus</i> : Their general strives to reduce them, but is not able: <i>Tiberius</i> sends his son <i>Drusus</i> , with his governor <i>Sejanus</i> , against him, who strives to appease them, but is not able; but an eclipse of the moon happening the night of that day <i>Drusus</i> had harangued them, the mutineers (being ignorant of the cause) thought 'twas a signal of the god's displeasure, and so were easily prevailed upon to return to their duty, and the authors of the revolt were executed, and all things being settled amicably, <i>Drusus</i> returned to <i>Rome</i> .	V	364
4320	3013	14	The legions in <i>Germany</i> revolt, kill some of the centurions and drive away the rest: <i>Germanicus</i> , the emperor's nephew, strives to appease them; they offer to make him emperor; he strives to get from them, is stopped and threatened to be murdered; but at length by stratagem quits them, and some are executed: Then he goes against the <i>Germans</i> , and comes upon the <i>Marſ</i> , and destroys all for 50 miles round, without the loss of one <i>Roman</i> ; but as he returned several nations attacked him, but he defeats them all, and goes into winter quarters, loaded with booty. <i>Tiberius</i> , jealous of <i>Germanicus</i> , strives by all arts possible to make himself popular, refuses many of the honours offered him, forbids priests or temples to be decreed him, lessens the taxes, &c.	V	372
4321	3014	15	The <i>Germans</i> quarrelling among themselves, <i>Germanicus</i> enters the country of the <i>Catti</i> , puts vast numbers to the sword; some submit, and others fly into the woods, so that he laid waste all the open country, burnt their villages, and reduced <i>Mattium</i> their capital to ashes.	V	373
4321	3014	15	<i>Arminius</i> the <i>German</i> quarrels with and besieges <i>Segestes</i> in his camp: <i>Germanicus</i> goes to the relief of <i>Segestes</i> , engages <i>Arminius</i> , and puts him to flight; and among the many prisoners that were taken was <i>Thujakdis</i> , the wife of		

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			<i>Arminius</i> , great with child; but <i>Arminius</i> gets recruits, and skirmishes with <i>Germanicus</i> , and gets advantages over him and <i>Coricus</i> , but at length is put to flight.	V	379
4321	3014	15	<i>Tiberius</i> recalls <i>Rufus</i> , and sends <i>Valerius Gratus</i> governor of <i>Judea</i> , who continued in that post 11 years.	IV	194
4322	3015	16	<i>Germanicus</i> again engages <i>Arminius</i> , assisted by many German princes, and defeats him with great slaughter and spoil, ascribes the whole glory to <i>Tiberius</i> , and caused him to be declared emperor in the field of battle; and raising a mount, put the arms of the enemy on it as trophies, with the names of the conquered nations under each: This so enraged the <i>Germans</i> that they came to a second battle, wherein they are again defeated with prodigious slaughter; upon which the <i>Angriuarii</i> submit, are pardoned, and suffered to live quietly under their own laws. The war being over, <i>Germanicus</i> imbarques himself and a good part of his army on board 100 transports; a storm arising, the fleet is dispersed; some swallowed up by the waves, some dashed to pieces against the rocks, &c. so that abundance of damage was done, and very great loss sustained; but upon his landing he made good his losses, by defeating and plundering the <i>Marfi</i> .	V	382
4322	3015	16	A slave of <i>Posthumus Agrippa</i> gives out that he was the prince, and had escaped death; and as he was like him, caused great commotions in <i>Italy</i> ; but being seized by stratagem, he was put privately to death, and so the affair dropt.	V	389
4323	3016	17	<i>Tiberius</i> soon after the return of <i>Germanicus</i> to <i>Rome</i> , orders him a most magnificent triumph, and shews him all possible outside marks of favour and esteem, but secretly strove and resolved to destroy him.	V	390
4323	3016	17	<i>Archelaus</i> , king of <i>Cappadocia</i> , coming to <i>Rome</i> to make his submissions to <i>Tiberius</i> , is by him accused, but excused by the senate; but being slighted, is said to die of grief, after having reigned 50 years, and his country reduced to a Roman province. At the same time dies <i>Antiochus</i> king of <i>Comagene</i> , and <i>Philopater</i> king of <i>Cilicia</i> . The provinces of <i>Syria</i> and <i>Judea</i> apply for a relief in their taxes; all which occasions great disturbances in the east, whereupon <i>Germanicus</i> is sent thither to regulate them.	V	391
4323	3016	17	The most dreadful earthquake ever known happens this year in <i>Asia</i> , which overturned twelve very famous cities, most of whose inhabitants were buried in the ruins of their houses, and those that fled to the fields swallowed up by the opening of the earth: <i>Tiberius</i> remits the taxes of these cities for five years to come, and gave large sums to rebuild the cities.	V	391
4323	3016	17	<i>Tacfarinas</i> the <i>Numidian</i> having drawn his countrymen and several other African nations into a revolt, was overthrown by <i>Furius Camillus</i> , in a pitched battle, though <i>Camillus</i> had but one legion and a few auxiliaries, and the other a very numerous army.	V	393
4323	3016	17	The poet <i>Ovid</i> dies at <i>Tonos</i> in <i>Pontus</i> , whither he was banished by <i>Augustus</i> ; and the historian <i>Livy</i> , at <i>Padua</i> in <i>Italy</i> , his native city.	V	394
4324	3017	18	<i>Germanicus</i> at his arrival in <i>Armenia</i> , with the consent and approbation of the nobility and people, puts the diadem upon the head of <i>Zeno</i> , the son of <i>Polemon</i> king of <i>Pontus</i> , and then reduced <i>Cappadocia</i> and <i>Comagene</i> to two Roman provinces, their kings being dead. <i>Piso</i> being the declared enemy of <i>Germanicus</i> , the king of the <i>Nabatbeans</i> at a grand entertainment presenting <i>Germanicus</i> and <i>Agrippina</i> with large and heavy golden crowns, gave <i>Piso</i> one much less, as his publick character was much lower; <i>Piso</i> throws it away with much contempt and provoking behaviour.	V	395
4325	3018	19	<i>Maroboduus</i> , king of the <i>Surviani</i> , whose power <i>Rome</i> dreaded, was this year drove out of his kingdom, and obliged to live the last 18 years of his life at <i>Ravenna</i> in <i>Italy</i> . Some of the <i>Surves</i> are allowed to settle beyond the <i>Danube</i> , to whom <i>Tiberius</i> gives them one <i>Vannius</i> to be their king.	VII	541
4325	3018	19	<i>Germanicus</i> blaming <i>Piso</i> for his ill conduct, <i>Piso</i> poisons him, of which he dies at <i>Antioch</i> in his return to <i>Rome</i> , in the 34th year of his age.	V	398
4325	3018	19	<i>Occia</i> , the president of the vestal virgins at <i>Rome</i> , after having governed that society 57 years, dies, and <i>Tiberius</i> puts <i>Asinus</i> , <i>Pollio's</i> daughter, in that office. Corn being very scarce and dear, he fixed the price; and that the seller should not lose the advantage of the advanced price, paid himself two <i>Nummi</i> , or 14 pence per bushel, to make it good.	V	402
4326	3019	20	<i>Piso</i> coming to <i>Rome</i> , is accused of <i>Germanicus's</i> death, debauching the army, &c. upon which great commotions are among the populace, and <i>Piso</i> is said to lay violent hands upon himself, though highly favoured by <i>Tiberius</i> .	V	405
4326	3019	20	<i>Tacfarinas</i> having again stirred up commotions in <i>Africa</i> , is put to flight by <i>L. Apronius</i> the present governor of that province, who decimated a Roman cohort for giving ground at the first onset, and put them to death; this severity so animated the <i>Romans</i> , that 500 of them put a large body of the enemy to flight, and their whole army was routed by <i>Apronius Cestianus</i> , the proconsul's son.	V	407
4326	3019	20	<i>Valerius Gratus</i> governor of <i>Judea</i> deposes <i>Ananus</i> (or <i>Annas</i>) the high-priest, in the 15th year of his pontificate, and raised <i>Jshmael</i> the son of <i>Fabas</i> to that dignity.	IV	194
4326	3019	20	<i>Tiberius</i> publishes a decree forbidding all <i>Jews</i> and <i>Egyptians</i> staying any longer in <i>Rome</i> , upon account of the scandalous behaviour of many of the meaner sort of the <i>Jews</i> and <i>Egyptians</i> .	IV	195
4327	3020	21	The <i>Gauls</i> , under <i>Julius Florus</i> , (a native of <i>Treves</i>) revolt, and are defeated by <i>Acilius Aviola</i> ; they are again defeated by <i>Julius Indus</i> , after which <i>Florus</i> killed himself with his own sword; this put an end to the insurrection of <i>Treves</i> ; but the <i>Edui</i> under <i>Sacrovir</i> appear 4000 strong, but are likewise overthrown by <i>Silius</i> , and then <i>Sacrovir</i> kills himself.	V	414

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4327	3020	21	<i>Valerius Gratus</i> deposes <i>Ishmael</i> from the high-priesthood at <i>Jerusalem</i> , and gave it to <i>Eleazar</i> , the son of <i>Ananus</i> the late deposed high-priest.	IV	194
4328	3021	22	<i>Valerius Gratus</i> deposes <i>Eleazar</i> the <i>Jewish</i> high-priest, and advances <i>Simon</i> the son of <i>Camith</i> to that dignity.	IV	194
4328	3021	22	<i>Bleffus</i> the <i>Roman</i> general engages <i>Tarfarinas</i> the <i>Numidian</i> prince, defeats him, follows him into the mountains, kills many of his men, and took his brother prisoner, and then returned to <i>Rome</i> .	V	414
4329	3022	23	<i>Sejanus</i> poisons <i>Drusus</i> , and debauches his wife <i>Livia</i> , and sets about the destruction of <i>Agrippina</i> and her two sons.	V	416
4329	3022	23	<i>Tiberius</i> moves the <i>Roman</i> senate in favour of the cities of <i>Cyrra</i> in <i>Asia</i> , and <i>Ægyra</i> in <i>Achaia</i> , both overthrown by an earthquake, and they decree an exemption from taxes for three years.	V	419
4329	3022	23	<i>Tiberius</i> complains to the <i>Roman</i> senate against the stage-players so effectually, that they are prohibited acting in, and banished from <i>Rome</i> and <i>Italy</i> .	V	419
4329	3022	23	<i>Simon</i> the <i>Jewish</i> high-priest is deposed, and <i>Joseph</i> (surnamed <i>Caiaphas</i> , son-in-law to <i>Annas</i>) put in his stead.	IV	194
4330	3023	24	<i>Tarfarinas</i> the <i>Numidian</i> king is utterly routed and killed, and his son and many of his nobles taken prisoners, by <i>P. Dollabella</i> , proconsul of <i>Africa</i> . One <i>Curtisius</i> strove to raise a servile war, but was happily prevented before much mischief was done.	V	421
4331	3024	25	<i>Cremutius Cordus</i> , a celebrated historian, is accused and tried for praising <i>Brutus</i> in his <i>Annals</i> , &c. apprehending the revenge of <i>Tiberius</i> would fall heavy upon him, starved himself to death, and his books were publicly burnt at <i>Rome</i> , though privately read afterwards.	V	423
4331	3024	25	The <i>Cyzicani</i> are accused of neglecting the worship of the deified <i>Augustus</i> , and of committing violence upon some <i>Roman</i> citizens, for which they are deprived of their liberty granted them for their assistance in the <i>Mithridatic</i> war.	V	424
4331	3024	25	The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> and <i>Messeniens</i> send ambassadors to the <i>Roman</i> senate to decide their pretensions to the temple of <i>Diana</i> , which is done in favour of the latter.	V	426
4332	3025	26	<i>Poppæus Sabinus</i> is honoured with the ensigns of a triumph, for entirely defeating the revolted <i>Thracians</i> .	V	427
4332	3025	26	Ambassadors from <i>Asia</i> come to <i>Rome</i> to have it there determined in which of the eleven contending cities the temple decreed to <i>Tiberius</i> should be erected, which by the senate is given to <i>Smyrna</i> , and a legate extraordinary appointed to supervise the building.	V	428
4332	3025	26	<i>Tiberius</i> leaves <i>Rome</i> , under pretence of going to <i>Capua</i> to dedicate a temple to <i>Jupiter</i> , and one at <i>Nola</i> to <i>Augustus</i> , but really with an intention never to return to it again, attended by <i>Sejanus</i> , <i>Cocceius Nerva</i> , <i>Curtius Atticus</i> , and some learned <i>Greeks</i> , and lived retired eleven years. <i>Sejanus</i> maliciously accuses young <i>Nero</i> and his brother <i>Drusus</i> of conspiring against <i>Tiberius</i> .	V	429
4332	3025	26	<i>Pontius Pilate</i> is made governor of <i>Judea</i> instead of <i>Valerius Gratus</i> , which office he held 10 years, and made it one continued scene of venal justice, rapine, tyranny, and every wicked action: At his first coming he ordered his standards to be carried into <i>Jerusalem</i> , and his army quartered there in the night-time, but next morning sets them up publicly, which occasioned great disturbance and contention among the <i>Jews</i> , who esteem them idolatrous; they go in a body to him at <i>Cæsarea</i> , and continue prostrate before his house five whole days and nights, beseeching him to remove them; the fifth day he comes out, mounts on his tribunal, as if come to hear and redress them, but orders his troops to murder all that did not depart immediately; but at last on their offering to suffer, without making any resistance, he promise to remove the standard from their metropolis.	IV	194
4333	3026	27	<i>Atilius</i> having built an amphitheatre at <i>Tidene</i> , to exhibit shews of gladiators, vast numbers of people from <i>Rome</i> , &c. coming thither, by their weight pull down the building about their ears, so that 50,000 persons were killed and maimed; this occasioned a law, that no person worth less than 400,000 sesterces should exhibit the shew of gladiators. At the same time a fire breaks out on <i>Mount Cælius</i> , which burnt with so much rage and fury, that it utterly consumed all the houses in that part of the city of <i>Rome</i> ; and <i>Tiberius</i> makes good the loss out of his own treasury, for which the senate ordered the name to be changed from <i>Cælius</i> to <i>Mount Augustus</i> . After this <i>Tiberius</i> retires to <i>Caprea</i> , an island of very difficult access, and lived there 10 years, and then died, during which time he gave himself up to all manner of lewdness and debauchery.	IV	195
4334	3027	28	The <i>Frisians</i> shake off the <i>Roman</i> yoke, and defeat <i>L. Apronius</i> , who was sent against them. This year dies <i>Julia</i> , the grand-daughter of <i>Augustus</i> , in the island of <i>Trimetus</i> , 20 years after her banishment.	V	434
4335	3028	29	<i>Livia</i> , the mother of <i>Tiberius</i> , dies, in the 86th year of her age, commonly stiled <i>Julia Augusta</i> , because adopted by <i>Augustus</i> in his last will into the <i>Julian</i> family, a woman of very extraordinary parts, wisdom and ambition.	V	435
4336	3029	30	<i>Sejanus</i> , <i>Tiberius</i> 's chief minister and favourite, had now so fixed himself in power, that the senate enacts that his birth-day should be annually celebrated, that his statues that were set up in every quarter of the city should be adored, that vows and sacrifices should be offered for his safety, &c.	V	438
4336	3029	30	This being the 30th and last <i>Jewish</i> Jubilee since its first celebration in the land of <i>Canaan</i> , <i>Christ</i> enters upon his mission of preaching the gospel of peace and salvation, is baptized by <i>John</i> , turns water into wine at a marriage in <i>Cana</i> , drives the traders out of the temple, confers privately with <i>Nicodemus</i> , &c.	IV	202
4337	3030	31	The disciples of <i>Christ</i> baptize their proselytes by the command of <i>Christ</i> , and have a dispute about it with the disciples of <i>John</i> , while <i>Christ</i> goes into other parts of <i>Judea</i> , preaching the gospel and working miracles, &c.	IV	203

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3030	31	<i>John the Baptist</i> beheaded, by order of <i>Herod Antipas</i> tetrarch of <i>Galilee</i> , to gratify the revenge of <i>Herodias</i> his wife, who had been the wife of his brother <i>Philip</i> , and was grand-daughter to <i>Herod the Great</i> .		IV	203
3030	31	<i>Tiberius</i> makes himself and his favourite <i>Sejanus</i> consuls this year; this occasions the senate to heap new honours upon <i>Sejanus</i> ; they join his name with <i>Tiberius's</i> in all inscriptions, erect new statues to him, and slay victims before them, and pass a decree to confirm to him and <i>Tiberius</i> the consulate for five years. <i>Tiberius</i> forbids <i>Sejanus</i> to come to him, though he had resigned the consulate, and began to take public notice of <i>Caius</i> (surnamed <i>Caligula</i>) the only surviving son of <i>Germanicus</i> and <i>Agrippina</i> ; which stung <i>Sejanus</i> , who found his power much decreased and his honours lessened. <i>Tiberius</i> takes the command of the prætorian guard from him, and in a letter to the senate desires them to imprison him, which is done, and he is condemned and executed in the same day, which was followed by a general slaughter of his children, relations, friends and adherents.		V	441
3031	32	<i>Tiberius</i> grows insatiable for blood, suspicious of every body, and puts vast numbers to the most exquisite torments and cruel deaths.		V	445
3032	33	<i>Tiberius</i> causes his grandson <i>Drusus</i> to be sentenced to be starved to death, which was executed, and many others dispatched themselves the same way.		V	448
3032	33	This being the fourth year of <i>Christ's</i> mission, the <i>Jews</i> crucify him.		IV	227
3033	34	Several of the great men and ladies at <i>Rome</i> destroy themselves to avoid the cruelty of <i>Tiberius</i> and his favourite <i>Macro</i> , who make dreadful havock upon every slight pretence. The two consuls having solemnized the 19th of <i>August</i> , on which the 20th year of <i>Tiberius</i> reign ended, with public vows and sacrifices, he ordered them to be tried for taking upon them to confirm his authority for ten years more, for which he has them condemned and executed.		V	449
3034	35	<i>Orodes</i> , son of <i>Artabanus</i> , is first, and the father afterwards, overthrown by <i>Pharasmanes</i> , and forced to fly to the <i>Carmanians</i> ; upon which <i>Lucius Vitellius</i> , governor of <i>Syria</i> , comes with his legions, and drives away <i>Pharasmanes</i> , and sets <i>Tiridates</i> on the throne of <i>Parthia</i> , who soon after was driven out again by <i>Artabanus</i> .		IV	316
3035	36	<i>Tiberius's</i> cruelty still continuing, <i>Tigranes</i> (grandson of <i>Herod</i> king of <i>Judea</i> , and of <i>Archelaus</i> king of <i>Cappadocia</i> , who himself had been king of <i>Armenia</i>) was like a private person, without any regard to his publick character, condemned and executed among other pretended criminals. This year <i>Rome</i> suffered greatly by the overflowing of the <i>Tiber</i> , and by fire, which burnt down that part of the circus contiguous to <i>Mount Aventine</i> : Upon this occasion <i>Tiberius</i> paid above 100,000 great sesterces, to make up the loss to the owners of the houses.		V	452
3036	37	<i>Tiberius</i> dies in his retirement, on the 16th day of <i>March</i> , having reigned 22 years, six months, and 26 days, aged 77 years, 4 months, and 9 days: <i>Caius Caligula</i> , his adopted grandson, (son of <i>Germanicus</i>) succeeds him, by virtue of <i>Tiberius's</i> declaration in his favour while living; he enters his government with releasing and pardoning all state prisoners, remitting fines, reducing taxes, &c. and to the universal joy of all, in his first speech to the senate, promises to govern with justice and moderation, to do nothing without their advice, and to follow their directions in all things.		V	461
3036	37	In the month of <i>July</i> <i>Caius Caesar Caligula</i> enters upon the consulship with his uncle <i>Claudius</i> ; the same day he told the senate he greatly disapproved of the disorders of the late administration, promised to avoid them, and solemnly protested that making his people happy was his whole desire and care. During this year he restored the kingdom of <i>Comagene</i> , reduced to a <i>Roman</i> province 18 years ago by <i>Tiberius</i> , to <i>Antiochus</i> , son of that <i>Antiochus</i> then driven out, and paid him 100,000,000 sesterces, or about 1,000,000 <i>l. sterling</i> for the neat revenue during that time.		V	461
3036	37	<i>Pontius Pilate</i> having great complaints exhibited against him by the <i>Jews</i> ; he is sent for to <i>Rome</i> to answer them, and the emperor <i>Caius Caligula</i> sends <i>Marcellus</i> in his stead: <i>Caligula</i> also gave <i>Agrippa</i> , (son of <i>Aristobulus</i> and grandson of <i>Herod the Great</i> , whom <i>Tiberius</i> had imprisoned) his liberty, and the tetrarchy of his late uncle <i>Philip</i> , and added to it <i>Great Aylene</i> in <i>Syria</i> , with the title of king: <i>Agrippa</i> staid a year after this at <i>Rome</i> , and then returned in great splendor to his kingdom.		IV	258
3036	37	The governor of <i>Alexandria</i> having used the <i>Egyptian Jews</i> in a very cruel manner, for refusing to worship <i>Caligula</i> as a god, <i>Agrippa</i> informs the emperor of the true state of the case; <i>Caligula</i> sends <i>Bessus</i> to seize that bloody governor and bring him to <i>Rome</i> , where he was stripped of all his riches, then banished into an island of the <i>Archipelago</i> , where some time after he was put to death.		IV	258
3036	37	<i>Herod Antipas</i> , before whom <i>Christ</i> appeared, envying <i>Agrippa's</i> good fortune and honour, of being a king, goes to <i>Rome</i> to beg the same favour; but <i>Agrippa</i> sending <i>Caligula</i> word that he had laid up arms for 70,000 men to have assisted <i>Sejanus</i> , he was stripped of his tetrarchy, after he had enjoyed it 43 years, and <i>Caligula</i> bestowed it and his treasure upon <i>Agrippa</i> , and sends <i>Herod</i> prisoner to <i>Lyons</i> in <i>France</i> .		IV	259
3036	37	<i>Caligula</i> orders <i>Petronius</i> governor of <i>Syria</i> to set up his statue in the temple of <i>Jerusalem</i> ; the <i>Jews</i> in the most humble manner supplicate the forbearance; <i>Agrippa</i> goes to <i>Rome</i> , and with great difficulty gets <i>Caligula</i> to countermand his order.		IV	260
3036	37	<i>Caligula</i> is taken so ill that his life was much despaired of; and having done many enjoining things for the people, the greatest demonstrations of sorrow are shown; he recovers, and then joy takes its turn; but it is supposed his sickness had affected his brain, for ever after he acted like a wild tyrant and furious madman, committing the most monstrous, absurd and cruel savages.		V	463

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4343	3036	37	<p><i>Caligula</i> adopts <i>Tiberius</i> the son of <i>Drusus</i>, now 18 years old, and commands him to kill himself, and sends messengers to see it performed; this being done, he gives a full loose to his furious and mad passions, and commences an open enemy to mankind, a complete tyrant, and outrageous monster, committing the most horrid butcheries, cruelties, and inhumanities, causing his nearest relations, greatest friends, best subjects, and most innocent persons to be put to death in his presence, to gratify his savage madness; marries and divorces several ladies, and claims divine honours, institutes priests to his own deity, builds temples, and has sacrifices offered to him.</p>		V	465
4344	3037	38	<p><i>Caligula</i> assumes the second consulship, and has <i>Lucius Apronius Cestianus</i> for his colleague; after 30 days he lays down the fasces, and when he entered upon and laid down his consulship, like a private person took the usual oaths; the people, fearful of his cruelties, not appearing at the publick shews which he daily exhibited with so much assiduity as he required, he ordered the publick granaries to be shut up with an intent to starve them all, and wished that they had all but one neck, that he might butcher all at one stroke: His horse <i>Incitatus</i> he frequently invited to his table, and fed him with gilt oats, and presented him with the richest wines in gold cups; his stable was marble, his manger ivory, his collar pearls, and his coverings purple; he gave him many attendants with rich liveries, and made him one of the college of his priests, and colleague to the chief nobility, and purposed to have made him consul; he revived the law of majesty, and did every thing that might make him feared and hated.</p>		V	46
4345	3038	39	<p><i>Caius</i> causes all his ships he had ready built, and orders great numbers to be built, and all to be link'd together in a crescent, from the point of the bay of <i>Baiæ</i> to <i>Puteoli</i> in <i>Campania</i>; upon these were laid planks, and upon them earth; then houses were built, streets and roads made, &c. which rendered shipping so scarce, that a dearth followed, which carried off great numbers of the poorer people. The work being finished with all expedition, <i>Caligula</i>, attended with the heads of the city and army, first offers sacrifices to <i>Envy</i> at <i>Puteoli</i>, then magnificently arrayed, armed with the breast plate of <i>Alexander the Great</i>, and a civic crown on his head, rode to <i>Puteoli</i>, and stayed there a night and a day, illuminated the bridge, streets, &c. with an infinite number of lights, boasting he had turned the sea into land, and the day into night: The next day at his return back, in the midway mounted a magnificent throne, and made an oration in praise of this mad action, and then ordered a vast number of people of all ages and conditions to be thrown promiscuously into the sea, many of which perished; then returned to <i>Rome</i> in triumph, and the bridge was broke down, and the ship he had borrowed restored, &c. and thus in two years he squandered away 18 millions, besides his ordinary income: To raise money he obliged the greatest part of the inhabitants to repurchase their freedoms, made void wills, confiscated the goods of those he thought fit, and obliged the nobility to purchase them at his own price, &c.</p>		V	470
4345	3038	39	<p><i>Caius Caesar Caligula</i> deposes both the consuls, for which one killed himself; then raises an army of 200,000 men, and pretends to go against the <i>Germans</i>, does nothing, and returns into <i>Gaul</i>, and ruins all the people by extortions, &c. <i>Lentulus</i> and <i>Geulius</i> are charged with and executed for treason, and <i>Caius's</i> two sisters banished for adultery. The <i>Germans</i> are defeated by <i>Galba</i>, and <i>Caius</i> takes the honour to himself.</p>		V	471
4346	3039	40	<p><i>Caius</i> takes upon himself the consulship a third time alone, for 12 days, being at <i>Lyons</i>, where he had magnificent shews, &c. At the end of twelve days he laid down the consulship, and two new consuls were nominated. <i>Caligula</i> having invited <i>Ptolemy</i> king of <i>Mauritania</i>, cousin-german to his father <i>Germanicus</i>, to his court, and for a time treated him with great magnificence and civility; but imagining that he was in the people's favour, first arrested and condemned him to banishment, and then ordered him to be privately massacred as he was carrying along; and also ordered <i>Mitridates</i> king of <i>Armenia</i> to be arrested and banished, which was performed, with abundance of other extravagancies and unjust extortions, &c.</p>		V	378
4347	3040	41	<p>The <i>Mauritians</i> soon after the death of their king revolt, but after the loss of several battles they are subjected to the <i>Romans</i>, and ruled by their governors like other provinces, and not by their own princes.</p>		VII	159
4347	3040	41	<p><i>Caius</i> holds the consulship for the fourth time only seven days. <i>Cassius Cereas</i>, tribune of a prætorian cohort, a brave and gallant officer, being frequently made the executioner of <i>Caius's</i> cruelties, is so moved with pity for his country, and detestation of his vileness, that he and several others conspire to destroy the monster, which they did in his palace, and are said to have cut off and eat part of his flesh, the 24th of <i>January</i>, after he had reigned three years, nine months, and 28 days; the next night <i>Julius Lupus</i> dispatched his wife <i>Cæsonia</i>, by stabbing her, and his infant daughter, by dashing out her brains against the walls. Some of the senators were for seizing the government and reducing it to a commonwealth again, but <i>Caius</i> is succeeded by his uncle <i>Claudius</i>, son of <i>Drusus</i>, (who died in <i>Germany</i>) and grandson of <i>Mark Anthony</i> and <i>Octavia</i> the sister of <i>Augustus</i>, whom the soldiers and people proclaimed emperor.</p>		V	491
4347	3040	41	<p><i>Claudius</i> is advised to punish <i>Cereas</i>, <i>Lupus</i>, and a few others with death; but all the other conspirators were pardoned. He abolished the law of majesty, called home the exiles, eased the tributes, restored the estates illegally forfeited, refused the honours he was complimented with, &c. gains the love of the people, but being naturally timorous, was insulted by some bravos.</p>		V	492

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4347	3040	41	<i>Agrippa</i> king of the <i>Jews</i> having greatly contributed to the promotion of <i>Claudius</i> to the empire, is rewarded, with the addition of <i>Judea</i> , <i>Samaria</i> , and the southern parts of <i>Idumea</i> to his kingdom, and a confirmation of all <i>Caligula's</i> favours with great additions, making a solemn alliance with him, and passing several edicts in favour of the <i>Jews</i> . <i>Claudius</i> bestows the kingdom of <i>Chalcis</i> upon his brother <i>Herod</i> . <i>Agrippa</i> has the honour of consulship, and <i>Herod</i> the praetorship, bestowed upon them; all which grants were engraven on copper, and set up in the capitol.	IV	268
4347	3040	41	<i>Claudius</i> restores <i>Mithridates</i> the <i>Iberian</i> to his kingdom, <i>Antiochus</i> to the kingdom of <i>Comagene</i> , and <i>Mithridates</i> the <i>Sicilian</i> to the kingdom of <i>Bosphorus</i> , of which they had unjustly been deprived by <i>Caligula</i> .	V	493
4348	3041	42	A great famine being in <i>Rome</i> , <i>Claudius</i> forms a large and commodious harbour at the mouth of the <i>Tiber</i> , and completed it; but soon after his death 'twas through neglect choaked up with sand: At the same time also he set about draining the lake <i>Fucinus</i> in the county of the <i>Marfi</i> , and conveying its waters by deep canals into the <i>Tiber</i> , employing 30,000 men continually for 11 years, but without success.	V	494
4348	3041	42	<i>Messalina</i> , wife of <i>Claudius</i> the emperor, soliciting <i>Silenus</i> to lewdness, he refusing, she falsely accuses him of designing to murder the emperor; upon which he is executed: This occasions a conspiracy of the nobility and gentry against <i>Claudius</i> , the head of which was <i>Annius Vinicianus</i> , who had a great share in the murder of <i>Caius</i> . <i>Camillus</i> , governor of <i>Dalmatia</i> , writes him a letter full of reproaches, and threatens him with a cruel death if he did not resign; but the superstition of those times getting into the soldiers heads, they imagined ill omens, and fell upon their officers and killed them. <i>Camillus</i> making his escape, was afterwards stabbed in the arms of his wife, after he had bore the title of emperor five days. This gave <i>Messalina</i> a handle to execute many innocent persons, for the sake of their estates, and pass by the guilty for large sums of money, &c. but some of them were executed. <i>Otho</i> succeeded <i>Camillus</i> in <i>Dalmatia</i> , and cut off the heads of those soldiers who had murdered their officers.	V	496
4349	3042	43	<i>Claudius</i> deprives the <i>Lycians</i> of their liberty, for murdering some <i>Roman</i> citizens in a tumult; and to quiet the differences that had arisen among them, and added their country to the province of <i>Pamphilia</i> . <i>Messalina</i> out of spite persuades <i>Claudius</i> to put his niece <i>Julia</i> , the daughter of <i>Germanicus</i> , and his niece <i>Julia</i> , the daughter of <i>Drusus</i> and grand daughter of <i>Tiberius</i> , to death.	V	496
4349	3042	43	<i>Claudius</i> by the instigation of one <i>Bericus</i> , a fugitive <i>Briton</i> , sends <i>Plautius</i> the <i>Roman</i> governor in <i>Gaul</i> to invade <i>Britain</i> ; which he did, and vanquished them in several battles, and garrisons several towns, and writes to the emperor, who comes himself with a large army engages and defeats the <i>Britains</i> with great slaughter, takes their strong holds, and garrisons them, and makes <i>Plautius</i> governor of <i>Britain</i> , &c.	VII	429
4349	3042	43	<i>Agrippa</i> upon his return to <i>Jerusalem</i> shews a much greater zeal for the <i>Jewish</i> religion than his predecessor; deposed <i>Theophilus</i> from the high-priethood, and gave it to <i>Simon Cantharus</i> ; but soon after deposed him, and offered it to <i>Jonathan</i> the son of <i>Annas</i> , who had been deposed, but he refused it.	IV	261
4350	3043	44	<i>Claudius</i> at his return to <i>Rome</i> is honoured with a triumph and the surname of <i>Britannicus</i> ; his two sons <i>Vespasian</i> and <i>Titus</i> behaved so gallantly under <i>Plautius</i> , as to fight 30 battles, and subdued two powerful nations of the <i>Britains</i> , and reduced 30 towns, with the <i>Isle of Wight</i> . <i>Plautius</i> increased his conquests, and at his return to <i>Rome</i> has an ovation, &c.	VII	429
4350	3043	44	<i>Claudius</i> after his triumph restored to the senate the provinces of <i>Achaia</i> and <i>Macedon</i> , which thenceforth were governed by proconsuls: He gave the title of king to <i>Cottius</i> , prince of the <i>Alps</i> ; and took away the liberty of the <i>Rhodians</i> , for their crucifying some <i>Roman</i> citizens.	V	497
4351	3044	45	The dreadful famine, foretold by <i>Agabus</i> , rages in <i>Judea</i> , against which the new <i>Christian</i> churches planted at <i>Antioch</i> sends the believers at <i>Jerusalem</i> a liberal relief, by the hands of <i>Paul</i> and <i>Barnabas</i> .	IV	263
4351	3044	45	<i>Rome</i> being now very full of statues, <i>Claudius</i> enacts that no more should be set up without the special appointment of the senate, and orders several to be taken down, he likewise punished very severely some governors of provinces that had misbehaved, &c.	V	498
4352	3045	46	<i>M. Vicinius</i> , brother-in-law to <i>Claudius</i> , dies of poison given him by the empress <i>Messalina</i> , for refusing her unchast desires. <i>Affinus Gallus</i> , son of <i>Agrippina</i> , <i>Tiberius's</i> first wife, conspired against <i>Claudius</i> to make himself emperor; is detected, and only banished, which gained <i>Claudius</i> great applause.	V	498
4353	3046	47	Many of the greatest men in <i>Rome</i> are put to death by <i>Claudius</i> , to gratify the revenge and covetousness of <i>Messalina</i> his wife.	V	499
4353	3046	47	The <i>Cherusci</i> , or inhabitants of <i>Brunswick</i> , desire <i>Claudius</i> to give them a king; he sends them <i>Italicus</i> , nephew of the famous <i>Arminius</i> ; but though they at first received him with great joy, yet they drove him from the throne some time after for living after the <i>Italian</i> manner; but he being again restored by the <i>Longobards</i> , cruelly oppressed the <i>Cherusians</i> .	V	501
4353	3046	47	One <i>Cneius Novius</i> , a <i>Roman</i> knight, comes armed with a dagger into the audience-room, with an intent to kill <i>Claudius</i> , but being seized and tormented on the rack, confesses his intention, but will not discover any accomplice or abettor.	V	501
4354	3047	48	<i>Claudius</i> as censor creates several new patrician families in the room of those that were extinct, supplies the vacancies in the senate, promotes some of the <i>Gaulish</i> nobility to the senatorial dignity, and by a census finds 6,900,000 citizens in <i>Rome</i> .	V	502

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4354	3047	48	<i>Messalina</i> the Roman empress grew so monstrous in her lust, that to have one <i>Caius Silius</i> (a very beautiful young man) to herself, she forced him to divorce his wife <i>Silana</i> , and kept him company openly: <i>Silius</i> proposes to kill <i>Claudius</i> and to marry her, and to adopt <i>Germanicus</i> : She approves all; first divorces herself from the emperor, and then marries <i>Silius</i> openly. <i>Culturnia</i> and <i>Cleopatra</i> (two of <i>Claudius</i> 's courtizans) tell him of it; he is at first frightened, but by the management of <i>Narcissus</i> , <i>Silius</i> , <i>Messalina</i> , and several others are executed, and all things settled quietly.	V	506
4355	3048	49	<i>Agrippa</i> (king of the <i>Jews</i>) spends great sums in rebuilding, beautifying, and strengthening a new quarter of the north side of <i>Jerusalem</i> , intending to wall it in, but is torbid by <i>Claudius</i> the Roman emperor: He grows so considerable, that as he was making a progress to <i>Tiberias</i> he is met and complimented by the kings of <i>Comagene</i> , <i>Emesa</i> , <i>Lesser Armenia</i> , <i>Pontus</i> and <i>Chalcis</i> ; But <i>Vivius Marfus</i> , governor of <i>Syria</i> , jealous of what they might consult about, came thither himself, and commanded them to return each to his own kingdom. Upon his return to <i>Jerusalem</i> he deposed <i>Matthias</i> the high-priest, and put <i>Elionæus</i> in his stead; and begins to persecute the <i>Christians</i> by beheading <i>James</i> the less, surnamed <i>Boanerges</i> , and imprisoning <i>Peter</i> . Going to <i>Cæsarea</i> with a vast train of nobility, to exhibit publick games in honour of <i>Claudius</i> , where declaring he received the governor of <i>Tyre</i> and <i>Sidon</i> again into favour, the people cried out, 'twas the voice of god, and not of man; which puffing him up with pride, he fell sick and died in five days, and <i>Claudius</i> turned his kingdom again into a Roman province, and made <i>Cuspius Fadus</i> the governor thereof; but <i>Herod</i> king of <i>Chalcis</i> got the superintendancy of the temple, and power of nominating the high-priest, and accordingly deposed <i>Cantharus</i> , and substituted <i>Joseph</i> the son of <i>Cami</i> in his room.	IV	262
4355	3048	49	<i>Claudius</i> marries <i>Agrippina</i> , his brother's daughter; a law is passed the day before to make such marriages lawful: She governed the emperor and the state with an uncontrollable power, went with <i>Claudius</i> into the senate, and set herself with him on the same tribunal in all publick ceremonies, and in the courts of justice: She got <i>L. Annæus Seneca</i> recalled from banishment, and made him tutor to her son <i>Domitius</i> , &c. and betrothed her son (now 12 years old) to <i>Claudius</i> 's daughter <i>Octavia</i> ; and caused <i>Lollia Paulina</i> to be beheaded, for attempting to get <i>Claudius</i> for a husband.	V	507
4355	3048	49	<i>Claudius</i> widens the circumference of <i>Rome</i> by enclosing <i>Mount Aventine</i> .	V	507
4356	3049	50	<i>Claudius</i> is persuaded by <i>Pallas</i> the freed-man, who had conducted the affair of <i>Agrippina</i> 's marriage, and was now criminally correspondent with her, to adopt <i>Domitius</i> her son, and give him the preference to his own son <i>Germanicus</i> , because <i>Domitius</i> was three years older, who from this time was called <i>Nero-Claudius-Cæsar-Drusus-Germanicus</i> ; the senate confirmed the adoption and called <i>Agrippina Augusta</i> .	V	508
4356	3049	50	<i>Agrippina</i> gets a colony of veterans to be sent to <i>Cologne</i> , the capital of the <i>Ubii</i> , where she was born, and called it <i>Colonia Agrippinensis</i> . The <i>Catti</i> making incursions into the Roman territories, are repulsed with great slaughter by <i>Pomponius Secundus</i> , commander of the legions in <i>Upper Germany</i> .	V	508
4356	3049	50	<i>Vannius</i> , king of the <i>Surviani</i> , being for his haughty and insolent behaviour, after 30 years reign, driven out of his kingdom by the <i>Hermundrians</i> and <i>Ligians</i> , <i>Claudius</i> gives him lands and leave to live in <i>Pannonia</i> . <i>Vangio</i> and <i>Sido</i> , his nephews, part his kingdom between them.	VII	541
4357	3050	51	<i>Nero</i> , though but 14 years old, is presented with the manly robe, which qualified him for honours and employments: The senate decree, that in his 20th year he should be consul of <i>Rome</i> , and be now styled prince of the Roman youth; but the friends and trusty servants of <i>Britannicus</i> are some put to death, and the others removed, &c. A great famine makes the people at <i>Rome</i> outrageous, and affront <i>Claudius</i> as the cause of it; but in 15 days time he gets a sufficient supply of corn and other necessaries, which makes them easy.	V	509
4357	3050	51	<i>P. Ostorius Scapula</i> being sent into <i>Britain</i> , fell unexpectedly upon the <i>Britains</i> , who had broke into the Roman conquests, put great numbers to the sword, and dispersed the rest; built forts on the <i>Severn</i> , <i>Avon</i> , and <i>Nen</i> , and made that part south of these rivers a Roman province, and <i>Camaladnum</i> a Roman colony. The <i>Iceni</i> engage <i>Ostorius</i> , and after an obstinate battle are put to flight with great slaughter; but after many engagements, losing some part of his honour, he died of grief, and was succeeded by <i>Aulus Didius</i> .	VII	430
4358	3051	52	This year <i>Claudius</i> finished, at an immense charge, the aqueduct at <i>Rome</i> begun by <i>Caligula</i> 14 years before: 4060 persons with large salaries were appointed to keep it in repair: Likewise the great canal was finished, designed for draining the lake <i>Fucinus</i> , which had constantly employed 30,000 men for 11 years; before the waters were let out, <i>Claudius</i> exhibited a naval fight, in which 19,000 condemned criminals engaged on board 100 large gallees, representing the <i>Sicilian</i> and <i>Rhodian</i> fleets, and after an obstinate contest, many wounds, and much bloodshed, such of them as remained alive the emperor pardoned: When the water was let off 'twas found the canal was not deep enough; and when it was deepened, bridges were built and gladiators fought upon it; but the water breaking out with incredible violence, bore all down before it.	V	514
4358	3051	52	<i>Ventidius Cumanus</i> succeeded <i>Alexander</i> in the government of <i>Judea</i> : It being <i>Passover</i> time, he put guards before the gates of the temple, one of which shewing his nudity publickly, occasioned an uproar; he first tried by fair means to appease it, but not succeeding, he ordered all his troops to come to the place; this frightened the <i>Jews</i> so excessively, that flying in confusion more than 10,000 are stifled and crushed to death by running over one another.	IV	64

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4358	3051	52	Some <i>Galilean Jews</i> going to a feast were insulted, and one killed; a skirmish ensues, in which many of them are killed by the <i>Samaritans</i> : They go to complain of the <i>Samaritans</i> to <i>Cumanus</i> , who refuses to do them justice: The matter being brought before <i>Quadratus</i> , governor of <i>Syria</i> , he sends the <i>Samaritans</i> and <i>Cumanus</i> to <i>Rome</i> , where the <i>Samaritans</i> were condemned to die, <i>Cumanus</i> banished, and <i>Celer</i> (one of his tribunes) dragged through the streets of <i>Jerusalem</i> , and then put to death.	IV	264
4359	3052	53	<i>Nero</i> , now about 16 years old, marries <i>Octavia</i> , whom he had betrothed three years before. He pleads for the <i>Illyans</i> , and obtains for them an immunity from all taxes and tributes, and prevails with <i>Claudius</i> to restore the <i>Rhodiens</i> to their ancient liberty, gets many favours bestowed on several others, &c. <i>Claudius</i> confers universal jurisdiction on the equestrian order.	V	515
4359	3052	53	<i>Claudius Felix</i> is made governor of <i>Judea</i> , in the room of <i>Ventidius Cumanus</i> ; without, the land swarmed with robbers and banditti, and within, with false prophets, &c. which occasioned <i>Felix</i> to use all manner of severities and unjust seizures upon the innocent as well as the seditious; for which being reproved by <i>Jonathan</i> the high-priest, he hired one <i>Deras</i> (a confidant of <i>Jonathan's</i>) to murder him, which was done accordingly.	IV	266
4360	3053	54	The empress <i>Agrippina</i> poisons the <i>Roman</i> emperor <i>Caius Tiberius Claudius Nero</i> , in the 64th year of his age, of which he dies the 13th of <i>October</i> , after he had reigned 13 years, 8 months, and 22 days, and his wife <i>Agrippina's</i> son <i>Nero</i> is declared emperor in his stead. <i>Agrippina</i> forces <i>Narcissus</i> the great favourite of <i>Claudius</i> to kill himself, who was the most profuse and rapacious creature living, surpassing <i>Cræsus</i> in wealth, his friendship being courted with large presents by foreign kings, cities and provinces. She also got <i>Junius Silanus</i> pro-consul of <i>Asia</i> murdered, (a wealthy great-grandson of <i>Augustus</i>) to prevent his being emperor. <i>Nero</i> pronounces <i>Claudius's</i> funeral oration.	V	517
4361	3054	55	<i>Nero</i> , though but 18 years old, assumes the consulship, and restores <i>Plautius Lateranus</i> to his ancient rank, who had been degraded for adultery with <i>Messalina</i> ; <i>Nero</i> falls in love with <i>Acte</i> , a beautiful slave, and slights his mother; she grows outrageous at <i>Pallas</i> her confidant's being turned out of the treasury, utters dreadful complaints and curses against <i>Nero</i> , publishes <i>Germanicus's</i> virtues, and title, &c. <i>Nero</i> causes <i>Germanicus</i> to be poisoned, and bestowed his estate in presents among his favourites, and banishes <i>Agrippina</i> his mother from the court, and confined her to her grandmother <i>Antonia's</i> house; she is unjustly accused, tried, acquitted, and received into favour again.	V	524
4362	3055	56	<i>Nero</i> , by the prompting and advice of his two companions, <i>Otho</i> and <i>Senecio</i> , falls into all manner of debauchery and excess, going disguised like a slave in the night-time, and committing great riots and disorders.	V	525
4364	3057	58	<i>Suilius</i> , a noted informer and accuser of great men in the reign of <i>Claudius</i> , is prosecuted and banished. <i>Nero</i> falls in love with <i>Poppæa Sabina</i> , whose mother was put to death by <i>Messalina</i> ; she was the wife of <i>Rufinus Crispinus</i> , extremely beautiful, witty, and lewd: She forsook her husband, and lived publicly with <i>Otho</i> , the emperor's favourite: <i>Nero</i> takes her, and forbids <i>Otho</i> the court, and sent him governor to <i>Lusitania</i> , where he staid ten years with reputation. <i>Cornelius Sylla</i> , husband of <i>Antonia</i> daughter of <i>Claudius</i> , is falsely accused of treason, and banished to <i>Marseilles</i> , &c.	V	527
4364	3057	58	The <i>Armenians</i> tired with the continual invasions of the <i>Iberians</i> on the one hand, and the <i>Thracians</i> on the other, send a solemn deputation to <i>Nero</i> at <i>Rome</i> , praying him to appoint them a king; <i>Nero</i> sends <i>Domitius Corbulo</i> into <i>Armenia</i> , who drives away <i>Tiridates</i> , and sets up <i>Tigranes</i> , the grandson of <i>Herod the Great</i> , upon the throne of <i>Armenia</i> ; but <i>Vologeses</i> king of <i>Parthia</i> drove him out, and again set his brother <i>Tiridates</i> upon the throne, but sent him to <i>Rome</i> to receive the crown from <i>Nero</i> , who put it on his head with his own hands, and so all differences were made up.	III	717
4365	3058	59	The <i>Sicarii</i> (or robbers) commit horrid murders and disorders in several parts of <i>Judea</i> , even in the temple itself: <i>Festus</i> being made governor in the room of <i>Felix</i> , takes great pains to suppress them; but <i>Agrippa</i> having the year before deposed <i>Ananias</i> from, and advanced <i>Ismael</i> to the high-priesthood, several of these deposed priests claiming an equal quantity of tithes, occasioned great disturbances by their partizans. Upon the arrival of <i>Festus</i> , <i>St. Paul</i> was brought before him; but he appealing to <i>Cæsar</i> , was continued a prisoner.	V	552
4365	3058	59	<i>Poppæa</i> having got the ascendancy over <i>Nero</i> , endeavours all she can to get rid of <i>Agrippina</i> his mother, who is murdered in her bed by <i>Nero's</i> order, after having escaped an attempt to destroy her at sea. After this he gave himself up to all manner of lewdness, and introduced debauchery every where, so that it became universally fashionable.	V	553
4366	3059	60	<i>Agrippa</i> having advanced <i>Ananias</i> , a proud <i>Sadducee</i> , to the high-priesthood, and <i>Festus</i> being dead, he called a council before <i>Abinus</i> the now prætor came, and condemned and stoned to death <i>St. James</i> , and many other <i>Christians</i> .	III	717
4366	3059	60	<i>Nero</i> institutes contests of eloquence and poetry, and other games, to be exhibited every fifth year. A comet appears, and the people talk of <i>Rubellius Plautus</i> to succeed <i>Nero</i> .	V	535
4366	3059	60	<i>Agrippa</i> deposes <i>Ananias</i> from, and advances <i>Jesus</i> the son of <i>Damianus</i> to the high-priesthood at <i>Jerusalem</i> . The <i>Sicarii</i> or robbers and banditti were grown so bold as to come into <i>Jerusalem</i> , and carry off <i>Eleazar</i> son of the late high-priest, who was secretary of the temple; they send <i>Eleazar</i> word, that for his son's ransom he must get ten of their companions released; which for a large sum he does, &c.	IV	267
4366	3059	60	<i>Agrippa</i> taking the high-priesthood from <i>Jesus</i> , the son of <i>Damianus</i> , gives it to <i>Jesus</i> the son of <i>Gamaliel</i> ; each raise armed men, and commit the worst		

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			outrages. The <i>Levites</i> obtain leave of <i>Agrippa</i> to wear white robes, like the priests.	IV	267
4367	3060	61	The <i>Britons</i> having been extremely abused by the covetousness of the <i>Roman</i> governors, revolt under <i>Boudicea</i> their queen, and kill abundance of the <i>Romans</i> : <i>Petilius Cerealis</i> going to the <i>Romans</i> assistance with the ninth legion, the <i>Britons</i> fall upon him, rout him, and cut every man of the infantry to pieces; afterwards the <i>Britons</i> went to <i>London</i> , then inhabited chiefly by <i>Romans</i> , took it, and massacred all the <i>Romans</i> they found; the like they did elsewhere, killing 70,000 of the <i>Romans</i> , and their confederates. <i>Suetonius</i> the <i>Roman</i> governor collects his army together, and gives the <i>Britons</i> battle, overthrows them, and kills 80,000 of them, with the loss of only 400 <i>Romans</i> .	V	539
4367	3060	61	<i>Pedanius Secundus</i> , governor of <i>Rome</i> , being murdered by some of his slaves, it was insisted upon that all dwelling under his roof, guilty or innocent, should be executed, which was done, to the number of 400.	V	541
4368	3061	62	<i>Burrhus</i> , one of <i>Nero's</i> teachers, who had been greatly instrumental in preventing much mischief, is said to die of poison.	V	541
4368	3061	62	<i>Tigellinus</i> gets to be <i>Nero's</i> intimate (a person of great viciousness) and advises him to murder <i>Sylla</i> , who was accordingly assassinated at his own table: Then <i>Plantus</i> is likewise dispatched, and <i>Nero</i> marries <i>Poppaea</i> publicly; she accuses <i>Octavia</i> of incontinency, who is banished into <i>Campania</i> , but is soon after recalled, but again accused, banished and murdered.	V	543
4368	3061	62	<i>Nero</i> recalls <i>Albinus</i> from, and sends <i>Gessius Florus</i> into <i>Judea</i> , who behaved so cruelly as occasioned the total destruction of the <i>Jewish</i> state and people, who upon a computation now made, are found to be 2,556,000.	IV	267
4369	3062	63	The city of <i>Pompeii</i> in <i>Campania</i> was in a great measure overturned by an earthquake, and many others damaged. This year <i>Poppaea</i> brings forth a daughter, which is called <i>Augusta</i> , but dies when four months old.	V	544
4369	3062	63	The <i>Sarmatians</i> begin to threaten the <i>Roman</i> empire; but <i>Plautius Silvanus</i> <i>Ælianus</i> getting assistance from the kings of the <i>Bastarnians</i> and <i>Roxolanians</i> , prevents their invasion.	VII	603
4370	3063	64	<i>Nero</i> grows so monstrously wicked, that he approved of those who made profession of obscenity, and condemned as hypocrites those who behaved with any degree of modesty. This year <i>Rome</i> is burnt, some say by <i>Nero's</i> express order, but he charges it upon the <i>Christians</i> : Upon part of the ruins he built a most magnificent palace, called the golden palace; upon the rest the city was rebuilt in a very commodious and grand manner, much superior to what it was before for beauty and convenience.	V	648
4370	3063	64	<i>Nero</i> having accused the <i>Christians</i> (who were very numerous at <i>Rome</i>) with burning it, they were persecuted with all manner of cruelties and torments possible to be invented; and to supply his exchequer he robbed all the temples of his vast dominions, and melted down the images to make money.	V	554
4370	3063	64	<i>Cæsarea</i> being now adjudged to belong to <i>Syria</i> , the <i>Jews</i> revolt, and pelt their governor <i>Florus</i> with stones, and nothing was to be seen but robberies, murders, and all manner of cruelties: The <i>Cæsarians</i> murder 20,000 <i>Jews</i> in their city, 2000 are murdered at <i>Ptolemais</i> , and 50,000 at <i>Alexandria</i> , <i>Florus</i> murdering all he met with at <i>Jerusalem</i> , so that fire and sword reduced all the country to the utmost desolation.	IV	269
4371	3064	65	<i>Nero's</i> abominable behaviour occasioned a conspiracy against him, at the head of which was <i>Caius Piso</i> ; but being discovered before the execution, <i>Nero</i> puts many of the chiefs to death, among whom was <i>Seneca</i> his tutor, the consul <i>Vestinus</i> , <i>Lucan</i> the poet, &c.	V	558
4371	3064	65	<i>Poppaea</i> being again with child, and finding fault with <i>Nero</i> , for some excesses, he kicks her on the belly and kills her; he would then have married <i>Antonia</i> , the daughter of <i>Claudius</i> , but she refusing, he orders her to be put to death, and married <i>Statilia Messalina</i> , widow of the late consul <i>Atticus Vestinus</i> .	V	559
4371	3064	65	This year <i>Campania</i> was damaged with dreadful tempests, violent whirlwinds, and earthquakes, by which whole villages were overturned, &c. At <i>Rome</i> a plague swept off 30,000 persons in a small time.	V	560
4372	3065	66	<i>Nero</i> goes into <i>Greece</i> , with a vast retinue of siders, songsters, &c. and has the prize allowed to him, for which he rewarded the judges with rich presents and the citizenship of <i>Rome</i> ; he also restored the <i>Acheans</i> to their former liberty.	V	565
4372	3065	66	<i>Cestius</i> governor of <i>Syria</i> besieges <i>Jerusalem</i> , but they corrupting some of his generals, the siege was raised, and the <i>Jews</i> pursued him, surrounded and cut off 4000 of his foot, and 400 horse, &c. Upon this <i>Nero</i> sends <i>Vespasian</i> into <i>Judea</i> with a great army to revenge the affront.	IV	270
4373	3066	67	<i>Vespasian</i> enters <i>Judea</i> with upwards of 60,000 disciplined men, besides servants, relieves <i>Sepphoris</i> , burns <i>Gadara</i> , and besieges <i>Jotapa</i> , which <i>Josephus</i> gallantly defended 47 days, when <i>Vespasian</i> took it by assault, and destroyed it with fire and sword, not one <i>Jew</i> escaping, 40,000 being killed, and only 12,000 made prisoners: <i>Josephus</i> surrendered himself, and was well received, and then prophesied to <i>Vespasian</i> his succession to the empire. <i>Japtha</i> was also taken, and all the men put to the sword, and the women and children carried away captive. <i>Gamala</i> was also taken, and 4000 put to the sword, but more destroyed themselves. <i>Giscala</i> also lost 6000 men, and 3000 taken prisoners; and so all <i>Galilee</i> was subdued.	IV	273
4373	3066	67	<i>Nero</i> plunders the province of <i>Achaia</i> , putting all the wealthy <i>Greeks</i> to death under various pretexts, and seizing their effects: The like he does by <i>Italy</i> and <i>Rome</i> . Having loaded his fleet with all the riches of <i>Greece</i> , he returns towards <i>Italy</i> ; but a storm robbed him of his ships and his plunder, few of them escaping: He enters <i>Naples</i> , <i>Antium</i> , <i>Albanus</i> , and <i>Rome</i> , through a breach in the wall, as a victor in the <i>Olympick</i> games, &c.	V	568

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4374	3067	68	The zealots at <i>Jerusalem</i> divide themselves into two different parties, and destroy one another by thousands, committing the most horrid cruelties, &c.	IV	276
4374	3067	68	<i>Nero</i> having tired all his people with his cruel butcheries and injustice, <i>Julius Vindex</i> , governor of <i>Celtic Gaul</i> , revolts, as does <i>Galba</i> , governor of <i>Hispania Tarraconensis</i> , but refuses the name of emperor, &c. <i>Augustus Nero</i> deposes the two consuls, and takes that office upon himself; then prepares to go against the revolted, with an army of fidlers, players, &c. and arms his concubines like <i>Amazons</i> , and appoints them for his guard. <i>Virginus</i> governor of <i>Upper Germany</i> comes against <i>Vindex</i> ; an engagement happens, contrary to the two generals orders, 20,000 Gauls are killed, and <i>Vindex</i> murders himself: <i>Virginus</i> is declared emperor, but he will not accept it.	V	573
4374	3067	68	A famine being in <i>Rome</i> , and ships coming in from <i>Egypt</i> , with seed for the gladiators instead of corn, so exasperated the common people that they threw down <i>Nero's</i> statues, tore his images, plundered the houses of his friends and favourites, &c. At the same time news was brought that the <i>German</i> legions had revolted; being in a great fright, <i>Nero</i> flies from <i>Rome</i> ; the senate assembles, and declares <i>Galba</i> emperor; and <i>Nero</i> causes himself to be stabbed and dies.	V	576
4374	3067	68	<i>Galba</i> being far advanced in years, and at a great distance from <i>Rome</i> , <i>Nymphidius Sabinus</i> aspires at the empire, and by gifts, treats, &c. gets the prætorian bands, &c. on his side, and takes upon him the supreme command: The senate fearing his power, conferred extraordinary honours upon him, and called him their protector, and went to him to have their decrees confirmed; but the soldiers reject him, and declare <i>Galba</i> anew, kill <i>Nymphidius</i> , and drag his body through the camp: <i>Galba</i> orders several great men to be put to death unheard, which frightened the people very much: Being now at the <i>Milvian</i> bridge, 25 furlongs from the city, a body of marines met him to address him for a confirmation of their legion; but he putting them off, they grew mutinous; he orders his horse to ride in among them, and do military execution, and decimates those that were left alive, and was in all things governed by his three favourites, who behaved very scandalously. He called the ministers of <i>Nero</i> to account, and punishes some of them with death, and pardons others, &c.	V	586
4374	3067	68	The <i>Jews</i> being divided among themselves; one party was for submitting to the <i>Romans</i> immediately, to prevent their total destruction; but the other would hear of no accommodation, and murdered and plundered all who opposed them, whether <i>Jews</i> or others: This occasioned many terrible massacres and devastations. The zealots are headed by <i>Zachariah</i> and <i>Elsazar</i> , who entered <i>Jerusalem</i> and were as strongly opposed by <i>Ananus</i> , the late deposed high-priest; the zealots garrisoned in the temple, from whence they continually sallied, and committed the most horrid butcheries: <i>Ananus</i> besieges them; the zealots send for and let into the city 20,000 <i>Idumeans</i> , who torture and murder vast numbers with unspeakable cruelties, of which 12,000 were persons of distinction, among whom was <i>Ananus</i> himself, and <i>Jesus</i> the son of <i>Gamaliel</i> , &c. In the mean time <i>Placidus</i> the <i>Roman</i> general killed about 15,000 factious <i>Jews</i> , and takes <i>Gadara</i> , &c.	V	586
4375	3068	69	An express arrives from <i>Belgic Gaul</i> , informing <i>Galba</i> that the legions in <i>Upper Germany</i> demanded another emperor, to be chose by the free election of the senate and people of <i>Rome</i> ; upon which <i>Galba</i> adopts <i>Piso Licinianus</i> for his successor: This drives <i>Otho</i> to attempt the sovereignty, being encouraged thereto by an astrologer. He chooses two soldiers to bribe and debauch the rest, and furnishes them with money for that purpose, and makes them large promises: The 15th of <i>January</i> <i>Otho</i> is saluted emperor by a small party of the guards, which soon increas, and presently he is proclaimed by the whole camp, and <i>Galba</i> and <i>Piso</i> are murdered. The senate, knights, and people of <i>Rome</i> acknowledge <i>Otho</i> , and honour him with the title of <i>Cæsar</i> and <i>Augustus</i> with the usual pomp and formalities.	IV	275
4375	3068	69	The armies in <i>Germany</i> declare <i>Vitellius</i> (commander of the legions of <i>Lower Germany</i>) emperor; he exercises the sovereign power, and puts several persons to death at the request of the soldiers. <i>Vitellius</i> is joined by two <i>Gaulish</i> governors and their forces, by an <i>Italian</i> legion and a body of horse at <i>Lyon</i> , the forces of <i>Rhetia</i> and <i>Britain</i> . <i>Vitellius</i> adds himself to gluttony and drunkenness. <i>Cæcina</i> , one of <i>Vitellius's</i> generals, ravages the fields, sacks the cities, and makes dreadful havock of the inhabitants of <i>Helvetia</i> , many thousands are cut off, and many sold for slaves. In <i>Italy</i> a squadron of horse and many cities go over to <i>Vitellius</i> . <i>Otho</i> sends messengers and letters to <i>Vitellius</i> , offers him immense sums, and any place of retirement he should choose, and at last to make him a partner with him in the empire, and to marry his daughter; and <i>Vitellius</i> does the like to <i>Otho</i> . Most of the foreign provinces declare for <i>Otho</i> , and he studies to gain their affections. <i>Otho</i> fits out fleets and armies to oppose <i>Vitellius</i> , and orders the chief of the nobility to follow him into the field, takes his leave of the senate, and leaves <i>Rome</i> . <i>Otho's</i> fleet gains advantages in <i>Narbonne Gaul</i> , but all the country between the <i>Alps</i> and the <i>Po</i> submit to <i>Vitellius</i> . <i>Cæcina</i> attacks <i>Placentia</i> , but after losing a great many men, is forced to retire. At last the two contending parties engage, and <i>Otho's</i> army is routed with great slaughter near <i>Bedriacum</i> : Next day <i>Otho's</i> generals deliver up their camp, upon receiving the news whereof <i>Otho</i> kills himself, though intreated to the contrary by his soldiers, and armies from all the eastern provinces were in full march to his assistance: <i>Otho</i> being dead, all his troops submit to <i>Vitellius</i> , and the senate acknowledge him for their emperor.	V	577
4375	3068	69	<i>Simon</i> heading one part of the <i>Jewish</i> zealots, gains advantages over the other, and invades <i>Idumea</i> with 20,000 men: The <i>Idumeans</i> oppose him vigorously; but <i>Simon</i>	V	615

		the people, and the burning and destruction of the city : In this war 1,854,490 are said to be killed, and 108,000 carried from <i>Jerusalem</i> captive, and all the buildings were levelled with the ground.	IV	289
3069	70	<i>Anicetus</i> , formerly commander of king <i>Polemon's</i> navy, raised a party in <i>Pontus</i> , under pretence of favouring <i>Vitellius</i> , seized the city of <i>Trebizond</i> , burnt the fleet which guarded the coasts, makes an alliance with the <i>Barbarians</i> , and commits dreadful ravages on the coasts of <i>Asia</i> ; but <i>Virdius Geminus</i> being sent against him by <i>Vespasian</i> , he is defeated, and <i>Anicetus</i> and all his followers are delivered up by <i>Sedocbus</i> king of the <i>Lacians</i> , to whom he flew for protection.	V	656
3069	70	The <i>Germans</i> and <i>Gauls</i> revolt from the <i>Romans</i> during the civil war, and various success attends both sides, and vast numbers are slain ; but at last they universally declare for <i>Vespasian</i> , and peace is restored. <i>Vespasian</i> arriving at <i>Brundisium</i> , is met by the senate and all the great men of <i>Rome</i> , and by them conducted thither, where he was met by the whole people, and honoured with all expressions of joy and satisfaction, where he revived the ancient discipline of the army, allowed the senate to debate and speak freely their sentiments, rectified the law, and purged the courts of judicature, ordered the city and capitol to be rebuilt, and behaved in all things as a father of his country ought towards the people he loved and governed.	V	658
3069	70	<i>Vologeses</i> sends ambassadors to <i>Vespasian</i> , and offers him 40,000 <i>Parthian</i> horse, but being already settled in the empire, has no occasion to accept them ; so both parties renew their alliances, and <i>Vespasian</i> sends back the ambassadors with thanks, loaded with rich presents. Being at peace, <i>Vologeses</i> sets about building a city, calling it <i>Vologesocerta</i> , but died before it was completed.	IV	319
3070	71	<i>Vespasian</i> and his son <i>Titus</i> have a triumph at <i>Rome</i> , for the reduction of <i>Jerusalem</i> , and <i>Titus</i> has a triumphal arch erected, which still remains almost entire ; as soon as the triumph was over, the gate of the temple of <i>Janus</i> was shut, the empire enjoying a perfect peace every where, and the temple of peace was begun to be built, to put the rich spoils in that were brought from <i>Jerusalem</i> .	V	649
3071	72	<i>Cesennius Pætus</i> , governor of <i>Syria</i> accused <i>Antiochus</i> king of <i>Comagene</i> with an intent to revolt ; <i>Vespasian</i> gives him a commission at large, upon which <i>Pætus</i> both takes his kingdom and himself, and reduced <i>Comagene</i> to a <i>Roman</i> province ; but the king and his two sons lived at <i>Rome</i> at the publick expence, in a manner suitable to their character, and were familiarly entertained by <i>Vespasian</i> .	V	650
3071	72	The <i>Alani</i> , a people beyond the <i>Tanais</i> , and <i>Paulus Mæntis</i> , make a sudden irruption into the territories of the <i>Medes</i> and <i>Armenians</i> ; <i>Tiridates</i> narrowly escaping, and <i>Pacorus</i> king of the <i>Medes</i> was forced to fly, the <i>Barbarians</i> carrying off an immense booty, and a great number of captives, and among them <i>Pacorus's</i> wife.	V	650
3072	73	<i>Vespasian</i> reduces <i>Greece</i> , which <i>Nero</i> had declared free, and <i>Licia</i> , <i>Rhodes</i> , <i>Byzantium</i> , <i>Samos</i> , <i>Thrace</i> , and <i>Cilicia</i> , to <i>Roman</i> provinces. <i>Helvidius Priscus</i> for exciting the people against <i>Vespasian</i> , is first banished by the emperor, and by an order of the senate executed.	V	551
3074	75	<i>Vespasian</i> consecrates the temple of peace, and raises a <i>Colossus</i> of brass 110 feet high, which had been designed for <i>Nero</i> , but he put the head of his son <i>Titus</i> on it, though some say it was the figure of the sun.	V	651
3077	78	The celebrated <i>Caius Julius Agrippa</i> succeeds the successful <i>Julius Frontinus</i> in the government of <i>Britain</i> , which in seven successful campaigns he entirely reduced, and parted <i>Caledonia</i> by forts and garrisons upon the <i>Isthmus</i> between the friths of <i>Glaeta</i> and <i>Bodotria</i> , and made <i>Britain</i> a <i>Roman</i> province, cultivated the people, and introduced arts and sciences, which soon civilized the natives.	VII	431
3078	79	<i>Julius Sabinus</i> having stirred up the <i>Gauls</i> , and proclaimed himself <i>Cæsar</i> , after being defeated let his country-house on fire, and gave out that he voluntarily perished there in the flames, but conveyed himself and his vast wealth into a cave, where he lived 9 years, and had two children by his wife <i>Eponia</i> ; but being discovered, he was seized and sent to <i>Rome</i> , loaded with chains, with his wife and two children ; he and she were condemned and executed, but the children were very carefully brought up at the publick expence.	V	654
3078	79	<i>Alienus Cæcina</i> , formerly <i>Vitellius's</i> favourite, and <i>Epirus Marcellus</i> , a noted informer in <i>Nero's</i> time, conspire against <i>Vespasian</i> , but are discovered : <i>Titus</i> causes <i>Cæcina</i> to be murdered at a banquet he had invited him to, and <i>Marcellus</i> is condemned by the senate, but cuts his own throat. <i>Vespasian</i> is taken ill with a pain in his bowels, and goes to <i>Campania</i> to drink some very cold waters, but grows worse, and dies the 24th of <i>June</i> , aged 69 years, 7 months, and 7 days, having reigned 10 years wanting 6 days, and was succeeded by his son <i>Titus</i> , whose character stood in a very bad light with the people ; but when he came to reign alone, he acquired the greatest reputation of any of the <i>Roman</i> emperors.	V	658
3078	79	A most dreadful eruption of mount <i>Vesuvius</i> laid waste <i>Campania</i> to a great distance, consuming many cities and their inhabitants, and is said to turn day into night suddenly at <i>Rome</i> .	V	659
3079	80	<i>Vologeses</i> king of <i>Parthia</i> dies, and is succeeded by <i>Artabanus III.</i> who espoused the cause of the counterfeit <i>Nero</i> .	VI	16
3079	80	<i>Titus</i> sends two consuls into <i>Campania</i> with large sums to rebuild the cities and relieve the distressed that the late eruption of <i>Vesuvius</i> had occasioned, and went himself also to comfort and relieve the unhappy sufferers ; while he was thus doing, a terrible fire broke out in <i>Rome</i> , and burnt with great fury for three		

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			days and three nights, during which time a vast number of private houses, palaces, and publick edifices were reduced to ashes; the library of <i>Augustus</i> with all the books, great part of the capitol, the theatre of <i>Pompey</i> , &c. all which <i>Titus</i> rebuilt and restored at his own expence: The most dreadful plague ever known in <i>Rome</i> followed this conflagration, during all which he behaved in the most tender and compassionate manner to the afflicted. The famous amphitheatre being finished this year that was begun by <i>Vespasian</i> ; <i>Titus</i> dedicated it with magnificent shows for 100 days together, to raise the spirits of the people ready to sink under the calamities they had suffered.	V	620
4387	3080	81	<i>Titus</i> is taken ill of a burning fever, and is carried to <i>Curtius</i> , his paternal estate, and dies on the 13th of <i>September</i> , in the same room where his father died, in the 41st year of his age, having reigned two years, two months, and twenty days: Some say he was poisoned by his brother <i>Domitian</i> , who succeeded him, and who placed him among the gods, and was himself the first that paid divine honours to him: his loss was exceedingly lamented by all the people, to whom which <i>Domitian</i> begins his reign with popular acts, and great dissimulation.	V	662
4388	3081	82	<i>Domitian</i> puts <i>Flavius Sabinus</i> to death, husband of <i>Julia Sabina</i> his niece, and daughter of the late emperor <i>Titus</i> , because the publick crier through mistake had proclaimed him emperor instead of consul.	V	665
4389	3082	83	<i>Domitian</i> forbids castration under severe penalties, and regulates the price of eunuchs already made: This year he likewise punished four vestals for incest, causing three of them to be whipt to death in the <i>Comitium</i> , and <i>Cornelia</i> , who had been once pardoned before, was buried alive.	V	668
4389	3082	83	A colony of <i>Sueves</i> are settled in <i>Frisia</i> by the <i>Romans</i> .	VII	544
4390	3083	84	<i>Agriola</i> engages the <i>Caledonians</i> , or <i>Scots</i> , defeats and routs them, and with the loss only of 340 <i>Romans</i> , kills 10,000 of the enemy, and takes many prisoners, and this intirely reduced <i>Britain</i> .	V	672
4391	3084	85	The <i>Sueves</i> revolt from and defeat the <i>Romans</i> in <i>Pannonia</i> .	VII	542
4391	3084	85	<i>Domitian</i> orders the nativity of all the illustrious persons in <i>Rome</i> to be cast, and all such as the astrologers said were born for empire, he destroyed: He encouraged the informers, who enriched themselves and the emperor with the lives and properties of many thousands of innocent persons. This year multitudes of senators and knights were accused of treason, and sentenced to death by the senate, or ordered to murder themselves by <i>Domitian</i> . All the professors of philosophy, and every useful science were banished the city: and all manner of cruelty and injustice committed.	V	675
4391	3084	85	The cruelty used, and heavy taxes demanded, cause the <i>Nasamonians</i> (a people of <i>Africa</i>) to revolt; they defeat <i>Flaccus</i> , governor of <i>Numidia</i> , stormed his camp, and put great numbers of his men to the sword; but giving themselves up to revelling, <i>Flaccus</i> rallies, and falls upon the enemy drunk and asleep, and cuts them off to a man: Upon this <i>Domitian</i> brags to the senate that he had cut off a whole nation, and is so presumptuously wicked as to begin one of his ordinances thus; <i>Our Lord and our God orders and commands</i> , &c. and would be called the son of <i>Minerva</i> .	V	676
4392	3085	86	The <i>Capitoline</i> sports instituted and exhibited in honour of <i>Jupiter Capitolinus</i> , the emperor presiding in person, attended by the priests of <i>Jupiter</i> and the college of <i>Flaminian</i> priests, the beginning of every fifth year. The <i>Dacians</i> break their alliance and invade <i>Mesia</i> , defeat, rout, and kill, with great slaughter <i>Appian Sabinus</i> the governor, commit great devastations, and seize the castles and forts built by the <i>Romans</i> on their borders. <i>Domitian</i> goes against them himself; <i>Decabalus</i> their chief sends to treat of peace, but <i>Domitian</i> won't hearken to them, but sends <i>Tuscan</i> with the flower of his army against them; they engage, <i>Tuscan</i> is killed, and his army routed intirely; the <i>Dacians</i> took one eagle, a great quantity of arms, all the engines of war, and a vast number of captives: <i>Domitian</i> made the same havock of the senate and people at <i>Rome</i> as the <i>Dacians</i> had done of his soldiers. <i>Domitian</i> sends fresh armies against them; many bloody battles are fought, with various success; but at last <i>Julianus</i> gave the <i>Dacians</i> a compleat overthrow. <i>Decabalus</i> sues again for peace, which <i>Domitian</i> again refuses.	V	678
4392	3085	86	The emperor <i>Domitian</i> making war upon the <i>Marcomans</i> and <i>Quadians</i> , both nations earnestly sue for peace; but instead of granting it to them, he put their ambassadors to death; which so exasperated the <i>Marcomans</i> , that flying to arms, and raising a considerable body of troops, they engage the emperor, and put his army to the rout.	VII	601
4394	3087	88	The secular games are this year celebrated, so called because they were solemnized but once in an age, or 100 years. <i>Domitian</i> murders all of birth or virtue that gave him the least umbrage. <i>L. Antonius</i> , governor of <i>Upper Germany</i> , revolts; but being engaged by <i>Appian Maximus</i> , <i>Antonius</i> is slain, his head cut off and sent to <i>Rome</i> , and his whole army cut to pieces: <i>Domitian</i> executes and banishes great numbers of persons, under pretence of having been privy or assistant in <i>Antonius</i> 's rebellion.	V	680
4394	3087	88	A counterfeit <i>Nero</i> appears in <i>Asia</i> , and with a multitude of followers retires to the <i>Parthian</i> king, who seemed to espouse his cause; but <i>Domitian</i> found means to prevail with him to deliver up the impostor to his governor of <i>Syria</i> .	V	686
4396	3089	90	<i>Domitian</i> being defeated by the <i>Marcomans</i> , &c. makes peace with <i>Decabalus</i> king of <i>Dacia</i> , and allows him a yearly pension.	VII	512
4397	3090	91	<i>Ulpian Trajanus</i> and <i>M. Acilius Glabrio</i> were this year's consuls; <i>Glabrio</i> was esteemed a man of prodigious strength, and therefore notwithstanding his dignity the emperor obliged him to fight a huge lion in the <i>Arena</i> , which he did, and		

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			killed him; the people applauded this victory with such loud and repeated shouts, that the emperor jealously banished, and ordered him to be murdered in his exile. This year <i>Domitian</i> exhibited extraordinary shews of sea and land fights, &c. but the feast he invited the senators and knights to is most remarkable; at the entrance of the palace the guests were received with great ceremony, and conducted into a large gloomy hall, hung with black and filled with coffins, each of which had the name of a senator or knight upon it; immediately the doors are burst open, and a great number of naked men daubed all over with black, with a torch in one hand and a naked sword in the other, rushed in upon them, and danced round them for some time, and then proclamation was made all were at liberty to retire home.	V 681
438	3091	92	This year wine being very plentiful, and corn very scarce, <i>Domitian</i> orders half the vines to be rooted up, and no more to be planted: The <i>Asians</i> send deputies to beg their being excused obedience to this law; <i>Scopelianus</i> being admitted, pleaded their cause so well that <i>Domitian</i> repealed the law absolutely. This year the kingdom of <i>Chalcis</i> was united to the empire.	V 681
4399	3092	93	<i>Agricola</i> , the famous governor of <i>Britain</i> , dies, greatly lamented by all, suspected of being poisoned by order of <i>Domitian</i> .	V 682
4399	3092	93	The <i>Sarmatians</i> cut a <i>Roman</i> legion with its tribune to pieces.	VII 605
4400	3093	94	<i>Domitian's</i> fury and cruelty ran now so high, that 'twas treason to be noble, capital to be rich, and criminal either to have born or declined honours; the most infamous informers are highly caressed and greatly rewarded. <i>Helvidius</i> , <i>Sensio</i> , and <i>Rusticus</i> are put to death unjustly, and great numbers of lower people butchered and banished, and the philosophers and professors of all virtuous and commendable sciences banished <i>Rome</i> by an order of the senate.	V 685
4401	3094	95	<i>Juvenius Celsus</i> heads a conspiracy against <i>Domitian</i> , is discovered and pardoned. <i>Domitian</i> puts vast numbers of <i>Christians</i> to death, and banished many more, upon account of their religion, both in <i>Rome</i> and in all the provinces: Among the slain were the emperor's cousin and colleague in the consulship, <i>Flavius Clemens</i> , and his wife and niece, both named <i>Flavia Domitilla</i> , among the banished.	V 687
4402	3095	96	Many prodigies are said to happen this year at <i>Rome</i> and in the provinces; the city was alarmed for eight months successively with dreadful claps of thunder and flashes of lightning; the capitol, temple of the <i>Flavian</i> family, and emperor's own chamber, were thunder-struck: The oracle at <i>Prænest</i> presages slaughter and calamities; <i>Domitian</i> dreams that <i>Minerva</i> had forsaken him; the astrologers declare publicly that the 18th of <i>September</i> <i>Domitian</i> would die. <i>Domitian</i> having wrote the names of several great personages upon a paper, his wife <i>Domitia</i> reading it, finds herself at the head of them; upon which she communicates it to the rest; they conspire and kill him, after he had reigned 15 years and 5 days, and was the last of the 12 <i>Cæsars</i> .	V 690
4402	3095	96	As soon as the death of <i>Domitian</i> was known, the senate assembles and proclaims <i>M. Cocceius Nerva</i> emperor, which the soldiers and people confirm: He was a native of <i>Narina</i> in <i>Umbria</i> , a prince of a most sweet and humane temper, &c. under whom the <i>Romans</i> lived as happy as in the former reigns they had been miserable: He pardons all imprisoned for treason, calls home the banished, restores the sequestered estates, punishes informers, abolishes the law of majesty, redresses all grievances, and acts with universal beneficence towards all sorts of people.	VI 3
4403	3096	97	<i>Nerva</i> and <i>L. Nigrius Rufus</i> are consuls: <i>Rufus</i> rising at the receipt of the fasces to pronounce an oration in praise of the emperor, lets fall a book out of his bosom, and stooping to take it up, fell down himself and broke his leg; being then in the 83d year of his age, the agony whereof occasioned his death; the emperor orders his obsequies to be made with the utmost pomp and magnificence; <i>Cornelius Tacitus</i> the famous historian pronounces his funeral oration, and succeeded him in the consulate. <i>L. Calpurnius Cassius</i> is discovered in conspiring against <i>Nerva</i> , by whom he and his wife are only banished to <i>Tarentum</i> : Then the pretorian guards, headed by <i>Ælianus Caspericus</i> their commander, under pretence of revenging the death of <i>Domitian</i> , besieges <i>Nerva</i> in the palace; he offers himself to be slain, but they insist upon the conspirators being delivered up; they cut some of them to pieces, and <i>Nerva</i> is forced to deliver up the rest: He adopts <i>Ulpian Trajan</i> for his successor, then commander of a powerful army in <i>Lower Germany</i> , to whom he wrote a letter with his own hand, and presented him with a very large diamond, associated him in the empire, and loaded him with all the honours of power and majesty.	VI 5
4404	3097	98	<i>January</i> 21st <i>Nerva</i> dies, in the <i>Salustian</i> gardens, after having reigned 16 months and 8 days, is ranked among the gods, and succeeded by <i>Trajan</i> , by birth and extraction a <i>Spaniard</i> , lately adopted by <i>Nerva</i> , about 41 years old, well skilled both in martial and cabinet affairs, courteous, affable, humane, and just: The <i>Germans</i> and <i>Barbarians</i> compliment him upon his advancement, and remain quiet as to the <i>Romans</i> ; but the <i>Brutterians</i> are expelled by the <i>Chamavians</i> and <i>Angrivarians</i> by a decisive battle, in which 60,000 persons were cut off.	VI 9
4405	3098	99	<i>Trajan</i> comes to <i>Rome</i> , and is received with all the demonstrations of joy possible, attended by his wife <i>Pompeia Platina</i> , a lady of extraordinary virtue, wisdom, and goodness: He accepts the title of <i>Optimus</i> , and bestows plentiful largesses upon the soldiers and common people, and discourages informers.	VI 10
4406	3099	100	<i>Trajan</i> being a third time chose consul, binds himself by solemn oath to observe the law; banishes <i>Marius Priscus</i> , proconsul of <i>Africa</i> for extortion, and his accomplices also, the accomplices of <i>Classicus</i> , proconsul of <i>Betica</i> , <i>Classicus</i> having killed himself to avoid being punished.	VI 11

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4406	3099	100	<i>Julia Sabina</i> , granddaughter to <i>Marciana</i> the emperor's sister, marries <i>Adrian</i> , son of <i>Ælius Adrian Afer</i> , cousin to <i>Trajan</i> .	VI 11
4407	3100	101	<i>Trajan</i> refuses to pay the <i>Dacians</i> their annual sum, therefore king <i>Decebalus</i> crossed the <i>Danube</i> , and committed hostilities: <i>Trajan</i> goes into <i>Dacia</i> , and lays it waste far and near, and after much bloodshed on both sides, obliged <i>Decebalus</i> to accept of such terms of peace as he thought fit to give him. At his return to <i>Rome</i> he was honoured with a triumph.	VII 613
4408	3101	102	<i>Trajan</i> and the senate make a law, prohibiting all pleaders taking any fee, present, or reward, of their clients, under severe penalties.	VI 13
4409	3102	103	<i>Trajan</i> builds a noble harbour at <i>Centumcellæ</i> (now <i>Civita Vecchia</i>) and called it by his own name. The governors of <i>Pontus</i> and <i>Bythinia</i> having committed great disorders, he takes the provinces from the senate, and gives them <i>Pamphylia</i> in the room of them, and sends <i>Pliny</i> as his lieutenant to reform the civil affairs of <i>Pontus</i> and <i>Bythinia</i> .	VI 13
4410	3103	104	<i>Sauromates</i> , king of <i>Bosphorus</i> sends a solemn embassy to <i>Trajan</i> , and concludes an alliance with him; and <i>Decebalus</i> king of the <i>Dacians</i> breaks the peace; <i>Trajan</i> goes against him, and overcomes him, and builds a bridge over the <i>Danube</i> .	VII 613
4411	3104	105	A dreadful earthquake in <i>Asia</i> overturns the cities of <i>Elea</i> , <i>Myrina</i> , <i>Pitame</i> , and <i>Cumæ</i> ; and in <i>Greece</i> the cities of <i>Opus</i> and <i>Oritæ</i> . <i>Adrian</i> attending upon <i>Trajan</i> in his <i>Dacian</i> war, performs wonders, for which <i>Trajan</i> presents him with the diamond <i>Nerva</i> had given him at the time of his adoption. <i>Trajan</i> takes <i>Zermizgebuzza</i> , the capital of <i>Dacia</i> , and entirely defeats <i>Decebalus</i> , who thereupon put an end to his own life, and <i>Trajan</i> reduces the whole country, and its allies, into a <i>Roman</i> province, governed by a prætor, and plants <i>Roman</i> colonies in it to keep the people in awe. At his return he had a triumph a second time, and exhibited publick shows, &c. for 123 days. Ambassadors from <i>India</i> come to congratulate <i>Trajan</i> upon his extraordinary success, make him presents, and conclude an alliance with him.	VI 16
4411	3104	105	<i>Aulus Cornelius Palma</i> , governor of <i>Syria</i> , intirely reduces <i>Arabia Petrea</i> to the <i>Roman</i> yoke, which till now was governed by kings of its own.	VI 16
4412	3105	105	The <i>Capitoline</i> sports established by <i>Domitian</i> are exhibited, when a lad but 13 years old, named <i>L. Valerius Pudens</i> , won the prize of poetry. <i>Trajan</i> at a vast expence makes a road through the <i>Palus Pontina</i> , called <i>Via Trajana</i> , the remains whereof are still to be seen. A conspiracy against <i>Trajan</i> is discovered, and the senate banish the conspirators.	VI 16
4413	3106	107	<i>Cosroes</i> king of <i>Parthia</i> having driven out <i>Exadares</i> from the kingdom of <i>Armenia</i> , to whom <i>Trajan</i> emperor of <i>Rome</i> had given it, and set his eldest son <i>Parthamasiris</i> upon that throne, <i>Trajan</i> goes to <i>Antioch</i> , where he receives the ambassadors and submissions of many of the neighbouring princes, and then goes unexpectedly into <i>Armenia</i> , recovers the whole country, and takes <i>Parthamasiris</i> prisoner. He then goes into <i>Mesopotamia</i> , and reduces it into a <i>Roman</i> province, and is honoured by the senate with the surnames of <i>Armenicus</i> and <i>Parthicus</i> . Having taken <i>Babylon</i> by storm, and made himself master of all <i>Chaldea</i> and <i>Affyria</i> , he marched to <i>Ctesiphon</i> , the metropolis of the <i>Parthian</i> empire, and took it, and then assembling the chief men of the nation, made <i>Parthaspales</i> , one of the blood royal, king of <i>Parthia</i> , but tributary to <i>Rome</i> .	IV 320
4414	3107	108	During this space of time the famous highway from <i>Beneventum</i> to <i>Brundisium</i> was made by <i>Trajan</i> . The <i>Pantheon</i> at <i>Rome</i> was burnt by lightning, and several cities in <i>Galatia</i> were overturned by an earthquake, and the great square at <i>Rome</i> was dedicated.	VI 20
4420	3113	114		VI 20
4418	3111	112	<i>Adrian</i> is made archon or chief magistrate of <i>Athens</i> .	VI 20
4421	3114	115	A most terrible earthquake, attended with dreadful storms of thunder and lightning, destroys the greatest part of <i>Antioch</i> , where the emperor <i>Trajan</i> with his great army, and a vast number of ambassadors and their retinue were; the buildings are generally thrown down, or swallowed up, and great numbers of people killed and wounded; among the wounded was <i>Trajan</i> himself.	VI 21
4422	3115	116	The senate and people of <i>Rome</i> return the emperor <i>Trajan</i> solemn thanks for his making the port of <i>Ancona</i> . <i>Trajan</i> reduces <i>Arabia Felix</i> to a <i>Roman</i> province. The <i>Jews</i> revolt in <i>Alexandria</i> , and all <i>Egypt</i> , <i>Syria</i> , and the other provinces, committing most horrid ravages and monstrous barbarities; <i>Marcus Turbo</i> is sent against them, and defeats them, but does not quiet them.	VI 23
4422	3115	116	In <i>Cyprus</i> the <i>Jews</i> are all cut off to a man, and <i>Lusius Quetus</i> defeats them in a pitched battle in <i>Mesopotamia</i> , cuts great numbers of them to pieces, and drives the rest out of the country. Most of the conquered nations in the east revolt, and cut the <i>Roman</i> garrisons to pieces, but after much bloodshed are again reduced.	VI 24
4423	3116	117	<i>Trajan</i> besieges <i>Ara</i> , the metropolis of the <i>Hagareni</i> in <i>Arabia</i> , who had revolted, but is so vigorously opposed, that he is forced to raise the siege; and upon his return to <i>Selinus</i> , (afterwards called <i>Trajanopolis</i>) in <i>Cilicia</i> , was taken violently ill with a dropy, palsy, and a flux, so that he died there, after he had reigned 19 years, 6 months, and 15 days: Upon news of his death <i>Adrian</i> caused himself to be proclaimed emperor at <i>Antioch</i> , where he then was. <i>Trajan's</i> body was burnt at <i>Selinus</i> , and his ashes carried to <i>Rome</i> by his wife <i>Plotina</i> and his niece <i>Matidia</i> , in a golden urn, where they were received with the highest honour, and deposited under the stately column himself had erected, though within the walls, where no one before had been buried.	VI 25
4423	3116	117	<i>Adrian</i> writes to the senate, desires them to confirm to him the title of emperor, promises to rule with justice, &c. abandons <i>Armenia</i> , <i>Mesopotamia</i> , and <i>Affyria</i> ,	

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			making the <i>Euphrates</i> the bound of the <i>Roman</i> empire: He allowed the <i>Armenians</i> liberty to choose them a king, permitted the <i>Parthians</i> to recall <i>Casrbaes</i> , sent him his daughter, whom <i>Trajan</i> had taken prisoner, and all his prisoners without ransom; and <i>Parthamaspates</i> he made king of another place; he would have abandoned <i>Dacia</i> , but was over-ruled, but broke down the famous bridge <i>Trajan</i> had built over the <i>Danube</i> ; then appointed <i>Catilius Severus</i> governor of <i>Syria</i> , and set forwards towards <i>Rome</i> .	VI	33
4424	3127	118	<i>Adrian</i> comes to <i>Rome</i> , is received with great respect by all degrees of people, refuses the triumph decreed him, remits all debts whatsoever, and burns all bonds, &c. to the amount of upwards of 7,000,000 <i>l. sterl.</i>	VI	34
4425	3118	119	The <i>European Sarmatians</i> break into <i>Illyricum</i> with great fury; but upon <i>Adrian's</i> arriving at <i>Mesia</i> , they retire and pass the <i>Danube</i> , and the <i>Roman</i> horse swimming after them, so terrifies them, that they sue for peace, which is granted them.	VII	606
4425	3118	119	<i>Adrian</i> writes to the senate from <i>Illyricum</i> , complaining of <i>Cornelius Palma</i> , <i>Cajus Nigrinus</i> , and <i>Quietus</i> , as if they had formed a conspiracy against him, and tho' they were all consular men, the senate put them to death, without so much as acquainting them they were accused. The emperor coming into <i>Campania</i> , relieves with great generosity the poor in all the cities he passed through.	VI	34
4426	3119	120	<i>Adrian</i> begins a progress, in order to visit all the provinces of the empire, and enquire into the state and condition of all his people; and first he visits <i>Gaul</i> , then <i>Germany</i> , then <i>Britain</i> , where being informed what troublesome neighbours the <i>Caledonians</i> , or <i>Scots</i> , were, ordered a mighty wall to be built from the river <i>Eden</i> in <i>Cumberland</i> to the <i>Tine</i> in <i>Northumberland</i> , 20 miles in length; then returns to <i>Gaul</i> , and goes into <i>Spain</i> , and from thence returns to <i>Rome</i> .	VI	35
4429	3122	123	<i>Adrian</i> goes to <i>Athens</i> , and builds a bridge over the <i>Cephissus</i> , that had overflowed and greatly damaged the city of <i>Eleusina</i> , and from <i>Athens</i> he goes into the east.	VI	35
4430	3123	124	<i>Adrian</i> returning from the east, comes through <i>Cilicia</i> , <i>Lyca</i> , <i>Pamphylia</i> , <i>Cappadocia</i> , <i>Bythinia</i> , and <i>Phrygia</i> , ordering temples, squares, and other publick buildings to be erected at his expence in most of the great cities through which he passed.	VI	36
4431	3124	125	<i>Adrian</i> having visited the islands in the <i>Archipelago</i> , from thence goes to <i>Achaia</i> , and winters at <i>Athens</i> , where he is initiated in the rites of <i>Ceres</i> and <i>Proserpine</i> , called the <i>Eleusinian</i> mysteries.	VI	36
4432	3125	126	<i>Adrian</i> after presiding at the publick games at <i>Athens</i> , sailed to <i>Sicily</i> , and goes to the top of <i>Mount Aetna</i> to view the rising sun, said to exhibit the various colours of the rainbow, and then returns to <i>Rome</i> .	VI	36
4435	3128	129	The cities of <i>Nicomedia</i> , <i>Cæsarea</i> , and <i>Nicaea</i> in <i>Bythinia</i> , were overturned by an earthquake, but rebuilt at the emperor's expence, for which he was called the restorer of <i>Bythinia</i> .	VI	36
4435	3128	129	<i>Adrian</i> leaves <i>Rome</i> and goes into <i>Africa</i> , where upon his arrival, it rained plentifully, after a five years droughth; here and in all places he comes to he gains the affections of the people by his humanity and good-nature: Upon his return to <i>Rome</i> , <i>Plotina</i> dying, the emperor honours her with the greatest funeral solemnity, bewails her, composes verses in honour of her, and ranks her among the gods.	VI	36
4436	3129	130	<i>Adrian</i> builds a most sumptuous temple at <i>Rome</i> in honour of the city and <i>Venus</i> , called the temple of <i>Rome</i> , and he changed the name of the annual feast kept for the foundation of <i>Rome</i> on the 21st of <i>April</i> from <i>Palia</i> to <i>Romana</i> : When the temple of <i>Rome</i> was finished, <i>Adrian</i> sends the model of it to the famous architect <i>Appollodorus</i> to examine, who finding some just but great fault in it, spoke his mind freely, and was first banished and soon after put to death, for the liberty he took, though ordered so to do.	VI	37
4436	3129	130	<i>Adrian</i> goes again through <i>Greece</i> into <i>Asia</i> , where he invited all the neighbouring kings to a conference, several of which come personally, and are treated with great magnificence. In <i>Syria</i> he went to the top of <i>Mount Casius</i> near <i>Antioch</i> to view the rising sun, and to sacrifice to <i>Jupiter</i> : From thence he goes into <i>Palestine</i> , <i>Arabia</i> , and <i>Egypt</i> .	VI	37
4437	3130	131	<i>Salvius Julianus</i> , a very learned civilian, composed the several <i>Roman</i> edicts and laws then in force into one, called the <i>Edictum perpetuum</i> , which was to be a standing rule for the whole empire. <i>Adrian</i> orders <i>Alexandria</i> , the capital of <i>Egypt</i> , to be in part repaired, and in part rebuilt, and the privileges of the inhabitants to be restored, and increased the ancient <i>Museum</i> in the palace, with the addition of a new one, endowed with large revenues, &c.	VI	38
4438	3131	132	<i>Adrian</i> in his passage through <i>Lybia Cyrenaica</i> hunts and kills a mighty lion that had destroyed great numbers of the people. <i>Antoninus</i> , a most beautiful youth that was patric to <i>Adrian</i> , is drowned in the <i>Nile</i> ; <i>Adrian</i> bewails his loss with great grief, gets him placed among the gods by the <i>Greeks</i> , and at <i>Mantineia</i> in <i>Arbadia</i> <i>Adrian</i> erected a magnificent temple to him, instituted solemn sports, and appointed priests to offer victims to him.	VI	38
4441	3134	135	The <i>Yazgians</i> send ambassadors to <i>Rome</i> to renew their alliance with <i>Adrian</i> , who receives them very graciously, and complies with their request.	VII	706
4441	3134	135	<i>Adrian</i> having formerly been made archon of <i>Athens</i> , being now there assumes the habit peculiar to that office, celebrates the great festival of <i>Bacchus</i> , and distributes large quantities of corn and money among the populace, and embellishes the city with several stately buildings, particularly a library of wonderful structure, and consecrated by himself and finished the magnificent temple of <i>Jupiter Olympus</i> , begun 560 years before. One quarter of the city from him was called <i>Adrianopolis</i> : Their matters ended, he returned towards the close of the year to <i>Rome</i> .	VI	41

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4441	3134	135	<i>Pharasmanes</i> king of <i>Iberia</i> being complained of by <i>Vologeses</i> king of <i>Armenia</i> to <i>Adrian</i> , he comes to <i>Rome</i> , with his wife, son, and a great retinue, to answer the complaints, making great presents to <i>Adrian</i> ; <i>Adrian</i> returns them with more magnificent ones, and after entertaining him very splendidly, sends him home with great honour.	VI	43
4442	3135	136	<i>Adrian</i> having changed the name of <i>Jerusalem</i> into <i>Ælia Capitolina</i> , after the name of his own family, and erected a temple to <i>Jupiter Capitolinus</i> upon the spot where the <i>Jewish</i> temple formerly stood, and also planted a <i>Roman</i> colony in the city, so provoked the <i>Jews</i> , that they broke out into a rebellion under one <i>Barcoquebas</i> , or <i>Ones</i> , who pretended to be the <i>Messiah</i> , whom they chose for their king, and over-run all <i>Judea</i> and <i>Syria</i> , committing dreadful outrages, but particularly exerted their utmost cruelties against the <i>Christians</i> ; <i>Tinnius Rufus</i> , commander in <i>Judea</i> , being reinforced, falls upon the rebellious <i>Jews</i> , and puts all to the sword, men, women, and children, that fell into his hands; but the <i>Jews</i> growing formidable by the accession of other people to their party, <i>Adrian</i> sends <i>Julius Severus</i> governor of <i>Britain</i> against them. The <i>Jews</i> took <i>Jerusalem</i> , and massacred all the <i>Romans</i> settled there: <i>Severus</i> retakes it, and reduces it to ashes, and ploughs up the ground whereon the temple had stood. In the month of <i>August</i> in this year vast numbers of the <i>Jews</i> retired to <i>Beiber</i> , a strong city a small distance from <i>Jerusalem</i> , where <i>Severus</i> besieged them so straitly that vast numbers were starved to death, and the rest taken a small time after. In a general battle <i>Barcoquebas</i> was taken prisoner, and his army utterly routed. In this war the <i>Romans</i> demolished 50 strong castles, 985 towns, and killed 580,000 men, besides an innumerable quantity that perished by famine, fire, and sickness: The <i>Romans</i> lost likewise abundance of their best troops: Those <i>Jews</i> that remained were sold for slaves; and the emperor and senate publish an edict, forbidding them for ever upon pain of death to set foot in <i>Jerusalem</i> , or any place from whence it might be seen; even those <i>Jews</i> that embraced <i>Christianity</i> were also prohibited, which quite delivered the church from the servitude of the law, for till that time the bishops of <i>Jerusalem</i> had often been chose from among the circumcised <i>Christians</i> , who joined the observance of the law to that of the gospel.	VI	41
4442	3135	136	<i>Adrian</i> now in the 60th year of his age, and in a very infirm state of health, names <i>L. Aurelius Annius Ceianus Commodus Verus</i> to be his successor, upon which largesses were given to the soldiers and people, and publick shows exhibited. <i>Verus</i> is made prætor, and sent governor into <i>Pannonia</i> , which he discharged with great applause.	VI	43
4443	3135	136	<i>Adrian</i> retires to <i>Tibur</i> (now called <i>Tivoli</i>) and builds a magnificent <i>Villa</i> , the ruins whereof are still to be seen. Here he falls into a flux, and lets loose his natural cruelty, which till now he had restrained, and ordered several illustrious persons to be arraigned and executed, and others to be privately murdered: Among the former was his brother-in-law <i>Servianus</i> , aged 19 years, and his great nephew <i>Tuscanus</i> , aged 18 years.	VI	44
4442	3135	136	<i>Julius Severus</i> after his reduction of the rebellious <i>Jews</i> was made governor of <i>Bythynia</i> , which office he discharged so well, that his name was honoured by the people for 100 years after his death.	VI	44
4443	3136	137	<i>Adrian</i> orders <i>Jerusalem</i> to be again rebuilt by the name of <i>Ælia Capitolina</i> , and peoples it partly by a <i>Roman</i> colony he sent thither, and partly by such of the neighbouring people as were not <i>Jews</i> .	VI	41
4443	3136	137	<i>Verus</i> returns from <i>Pannonia</i> to <i>Rome</i> , and being greatly indisposed, takes a medicine, which proving too strong for him, kills him: He was buried with great pomp, and placed among the gods. This done, <i>Adrian</i> adopts <i>Titus Antoninus</i> . The empress <i>Sabina</i> dies, and <i>Adrian</i> places her among the gods. <i>Adrian's</i> illness increases with such acute pains, that he begs to be stabbed, poisoned, or any way dispatched; but can neither get done it by others, nor means to do it himself: He orders several persons to be put to death, whom <i>Antoninus</i> saves. Removing to <i>Baie</i> in <i>Campania</i> , he died, 10th of <i>July</i> 138, after he had reigned 20 years and 11 months wanting one day, being 62 years, 5 months, and 17 days old: His body was burnt at <i>Putoli</i> , and his ashes carried to <i>Rome</i> , and deposited in the magnificent <i>Mausoleum</i> he had built for himself near the <i>Tiber</i> , and ranked among the gods, and divine honours decreed him.	VI	46
4444	3137	138	The church at <i>Jerusalem</i> being now composed only of converted <i>Gentiles</i> , or native <i>Christians</i> , <i>St. Mark</i> was appointed bishop there, in which office he continued 18 years.	VI	41
4444	3137	138	The <i>Dacians</i> revolt, but are immediately reduced to their duty by the <i>Romans</i> .	VII	613
4444	3137	138	<i>Lollius Urbicus</i> , the <i>Roman</i> governor of <i>Britain</i> , having driven back the <i>Barbarians</i> that had broke into the <i>Roman</i> territories, built a new wall from <i>Brampton</i> in <i>Cumberland</i> to the river <i>Esk</i> .	VII	432
4444	3137	138	<i>Antoninus</i> succeeds <i>Adrian</i> in the empire, whom the senate honour with various names of distinction, and his wife <i>Fauslina</i> with that of <i>Augusta</i> . He enters and continues his reign with paying great respect to the senatorial and equestrian orders, lessens the tributes, promotes men of merit, favours men of learning, and builds many magnificent structures, &c.	VI	56
4445	3138	139	<i>Antoninus</i> marries his daughter <i>Annia Fauslina</i> to <i>Marcus Aurelius</i> , whom he created <i>Cæsar</i> , and though but quæstor, by request of the senate, named him for the next year's consul with himself.	VI	57
4446	3139	140	<i>Antoninus</i> finishes the famous aqueduct begun three years before by <i>Adrian</i> in <i>New Athens</i> in the island of <i>Delos</i> .	VI	57
4447	3140	141	<i>Fauslina</i> the empress dies; and though she had lived but a few days, <i>Antoninus</i> honours her with divine worship, priests, temples, gold and silver statues, publick games, &c.	VI	57

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3141	142	<i>Antoninus</i> institutes solemn sports at <i>Putoli</i> in honour of <i>Adrian</i> , called <i>Pia</i> and <i>Pialia</i> , which were to be celebrated the 23 year in each <i>Olympiad</i> .	VI	57
3144	145	<i>Antoninus</i> consecrates the temple he had built to the honour of <i>Adrian</i> , and upon this occasion distributes large sums of money among the populace.	VI	57
3145	146	Disturbances being raised in <i>German</i> and <i>Dacia</i> , are composed by the care of the governors of those parts; and the <i>Alani</i> attempting to invade the <i>Roman</i> dominions, are drove back with great loss.	VI	58
3146	147	This being the 900th year of <i>Rome</i> , <i>Antoninus</i> celebrates the secular games, with great pomp and magnificence.	VI	58
3147	148	The <i>Moors</i> take up arms against the <i>Romans</i> , but are driven quite out of their own country, and forced to shelter themselves in the most distant parts of <i>Lybia</i> , beyond <i>Mount Atlas</i> .	VI	58
3151	152	<i>Justin Martyr</i> published his first <i>Apology</i> in behalf of the <i>Christians</i> , and presented it to the emperor, his adopted sons, and the senate; which had so good an effect, that the emperor <i>Antoninus</i> wrote to the governor of <i>Asia</i> in favour of them throughout that whole province.	VI	58
3152	153	The <i>Tiber</i> overflowing its banks, laid the lower parts of <i>Rome</i> under water; a great fire destroyed a large part of the city, and a famine starved a great number of its inhabitants: The same year the cities of <i>Narbonne</i> in <i>Gaul</i> , <i>Antioch</i> in <i>Syria</i> , and the great square at <i>Carthage</i> were in great part consumed by accidental fire, but soon restored to their former splendor by the care and at the expense of <i>Antoninus</i> .	VI	59
3152	153	<i>L. Verus</i> , one of <i>Antoninus's</i> adopted sons, being quaestor, exhibited publick shows on that occasion, presiding at the same, sitting between the emperor and <i>M. Aurelius</i> .	VI	59
3155	156	The cities of <i>Cor</i> and <i>Rhodes</i> , with several others in <i>Lycia</i> and <i>Caria</i> , were overturned by a violent earthquake; but by the munificence of <i>Antoninus</i> soon restored to their former splendor.	VI	59
3160	161	<i>M. Aurelius Cæsar</i> the 3d time, and <i>L. Verus</i> the 2d, are this year's consuls at <i>Rome</i> , during whose consulates the emperor is taken ill of a violent fever at <i>Lorium</i> , one of his country seats, and dies 7th of <i>March</i> , aged 73 years, 5 months, and 16 days, having reigned 22 years, 7 months, and 26 days, having first confirmed the adoption of <i>M. Aurelius</i> , and ordered the golden image of fortune to be removed out of his own chamber into that of <i>Aurelius's</i> , in the presence of the two captains of the prætorian guards: He left his paternal estate to his daughter, and legacies to all his friends and domesticks: He died universally lamented, and was honoured with the utmost funeral pomp, and buried with <i>Adrian</i> in his magnificent <i>Mausoleum</i> ; both <i>Aurelius</i> and <i>Verus</i> pronounced a funeral oration for him; the senate deified him, built him a temple, and appointed him priests, sacrifices, and annual sports.	VI	59
3160	161	Upon the death of <i>Antoninus</i> , <i>M. Aurelius</i> takes <i>Lucius Verus</i> partner with him in the sovereignty; so that now <i>Rome</i> was governed by two emperors: <i>Lucius</i> acts subordinately to <i>Aurelius</i> , and both with great unanimity and gentleness.	VI	63
3161	162	A dreadful inundation of the <i>Tiber</i> overthrows many private and some publick buildings, carries away a great number of cattle and people, and lays the country for a great distance under water: this was followed by earthquakes, conflagrations in several provinces, and a general infection in the air, and a famine in <i>Rome</i> , which the two emperors took great care to supply with corn, &c. from distant places, at their own expense, &c.	VI	63
3161	162	Commotions and revolts being in <i>Britain</i> , the emperor <i>Aurelius</i> sends <i>Calpurnius Agricola</i> thither, who soon quieted and brought them to subjection.	VII	432
3161	162	The <i>Alani</i> breaking into <i>Media</i> , at that time subject to the <i>Parthians</i> , committed great devastations; but being bribed by <i>Vologeses II.</i> with large sums of money to return home, <i>Vologeses</i> fell unexpectedly upon <i>Armenia</i> , and drove out <i>Sabemus</i> , the king the <i>Romans</i> had set up, and cut the <i>Roman</i> legions all off to a man, under the command of <i>Soverinus</i> , a <i>Gaul</i> , governor of <i>Cappadocia</i> , who came to the assistance of <i>Sabemus</i> , and then invaded <i>Syria</i> , and defeated with great slaughter <i>Attilius Cornelianus</i> , governor of that province, and advanced to <i>Antioch</i> , putting all the <i>Romans</i> and their favourers to the sword, upon account that <i>Antoninus</i> had not returned the golden throne formerly taken from the <i>Parthians</i> , and promised to be restored by <i>Adrian</i> : Upon this the emperor <i>Verus</i> comes into <i>Syria</i> , drives out the <i>Parthians</i> , and sends <i>Statius Priscus</i> into <i>Armenia</i> , and <i>Cassius</i> and <i>Martius Verus</i> into <i>Parthia</i> . <i>Priscus</i> drove the <i>Parthians</i> out of <i>Armenia</i> in one campaign, though with great loss of his own men. <i>Cassius</i> in several encounters with <i>Vologeses</i> , though he had an army of 400,000 men, in four years time reduced all the provinces that had submitted to <i>Trajan</i> , having in the last decisive battle at <i>Europa</i> in <i>Syria</i> , on the <i>Euphrates</i> , killed him 370,000 men, with the loss only of two <i>Romans</i> ; he took <i>Seleucia</i> , and burnt and plundered <i>Babylon</i> and <i>Ctesiphon</i> , with the stately palaces of the <i>Parthian</i> monarchs, and struck terror into the most distant provinces. Having thus put an end to the war, in his return he lost above half of his men by sickness and famine, the emperor <i>Verus</i> remaining all the while at <i>Antioch</i> , or <i>Daphne</i> , wallowing in pleasures and debaucheries, and in his return to <i>Italy</i> carried the plague with him, that destroyed a vast number of his own men, and many more of the <i>Italians</i> , &c.	IV	321
3162	163	<i>Sabemus</i> king of <i>Armenia</i> is restored to his kingdom by the wife and prudent management of <i>Martius Verus</i> the <i>Roman</i> general, under the protection of the <i>Romans</i> , to whom he paid tribute.	VI	65
3163	164	The <i>Roman</i> emperor <i>Aurelius</i> sends his daughter <i>Lucilla</i> into <i>Syria</i> , to be married to his colleague in the empire, <i>Lucius Verus</i> , then at <i>Antioch</i> , attended by many noble personages.	VI	65

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4478	3164	165	<i>Cassius</i> the Roman general having universally subdued <i>Vologeses</i> , comes to <i>Selucia</i> , where the city immediately submits, and opens its gates, but <i>Cassius</i> orders the inhabitants to the number of 400,000 to be put to the sword, and the city to be utterly demolished.	VI	65
4471	3164	165	The <i>Marcomani</i> and <i>Romans</i> having been at war many years, now terminate all differences, and conclude a peace.	VII	601
4472	3165	166	The two emperors, <i>M. Aurelius</i> and <i>Lucius Verus</i> , triumph at <i>Rome</i> upon account of the great conquests obtained over <i>Vologeses</i> , &c. and by the senate are fir- named <i>Paribicis</i> . <i>L. Verus</i> begs that the title of <i>Cæsar</i> might be conferred on the two sons of <i>Aurelius</i> , viz. <i>Commodus</i> and <i>Annius Verus</i> , which was ac- cordingly done the 12th of <i>October</i> .	VI	65
4473	3166	167	Many German nations having revolted from the <i>Romans</i> , both the emperors go with great armies against them, upon whose approach the <i>Germans</i> are so ter- rified, that they reſsſed the <i>Danube</i> , and put the ringleaders of the revolt to death, and beg for peace.	VI	66
4475	3168	169	The <i>Germans</i> having again renewed the war, and committed great ravages, laid waste provinces, and defeated <i>Vindex</i> the Roman general, and cut both him and most of his troops to pieces, both emperors leave <i>Rome</i> , and repair in the depth of winter to <i>Aquileia</i> , but are forced to retire upon account of the plagues raging there vehemently; in their return <i>L. Verus</i> was taken with an apoplectic fit, and died; he is carried to <i>Rome</i> , and interred with great fun- eral pomp in the <i>Mausoleum</i> of <i>Adrian</i> .	VI	67
4476	3169	170	The <i>Romans</i> and <i>Germans</i> engage with incredible fury, but at last the <i>Romans</i> are put to flight with the loss of 20,000 men; upon which the <i>Marcomani</i> enter <i>Italy</i> , and make dreadful devastations. The plague having much weak- ened the <i>Romans</i> , they are forced to admit the slaves, gladiators, and banditti into the army; and to raise money <i>Aurelius</i> sells the furniture of his palace, melts his gold and silver images, &c. The emperor marries his daughter <i>Lu- cilla</i> , widow of <i>Verus</i> , to <i>Claudius Pompeianus</i> , a knight of great fame for his wisdom, and integrity. This year the emperor's son <i>Annius Verus Cæsar</i> dies at <i>Palestrina</i> , in the 7th year of his age.	VI	69
4476	3169	170	<i>M. Aurelius</i> drives the <i>Vandals</i> (who were a part of the <i>Goths</i> originally, but thus called from the word <i>Vandelen</i> , a wanderer, they roving from place to place in great numbers to find a better country than their own,) out of <i>Panno- nia</i> , where they had settled, pursues them to the <i>Danube</i> , and cuts many of them to pieces as they attempted to cross that river.	VII	528
4476	3169	170	The emperor again going against the <i>Germans</i> (over whom he obtained several victories) leaves his son <i>Commodus</i> under the care of <i>Pitbolus</i> , his chief chamberlain at <i>Rome</i> , ordering him to employ no other physician (if he should want one) than <i>Galen</i> , who now resided there.	VI	69
4476	3169	170	The <i>Egyptians</i> revolt, and kill many <i>Romans</i> and their friends, but by the ad- dress and management of <i>Cassius</i> are reduced. The <i>Moor</i> s invade <i>Spain</i> , and commit horrid devastations, but are at last subdued by the several lieutenants of the provinces.	VI	70
4477	3170	171	The emperor <i>Aurelius</i> having gained several victories over the <i>Germans</i> , is sti- led <i>Germanicus</i> , and so is his son <i>Commodus</i> .	VI	70
4480	3173	174	<i>Aurelius</i> and his army being blocked up among impassable mountains by the <i>Germans</i> , are ready to perish for thirst, and are miraculously relieved by a violent storm of thunder, lightning and rain, obtained by the prayers of the <i>Christian</i> soldiers in the <i>Melitine</i> legion; whereby instead of being con- quered he became conqueror; as a reward for which the emperor soon after enacted a law, that those who accused a <i>Christian</i> upon account of religion should be severely punished.	VI	72
4481	3174	175	The emperor leaves 20,000 men in the country of the <i>Marcomani</i> and <i>Quadi</i> , which so harasses them, that they resolve to quit their native country and settle some where else; but being prevented by the emperor, and reduced by famine, the <i>Quadi</i> send ambassadors to sue for peace, and with them 13,000 prisoners they had taken, which was granted them; but they soon broke it, and deposed their king <i>Furtius</i> for opposing them, and set up one <i>Ariogestes</i> in his room; which <i>Aurelius</i> so resented, that though they offered to set 50,000 prisoners they had taken at liberty, if he would conclude a peace and con- firm <i>Ariogestes</i> , both which he refused, and set a price upon the head of <i>Ario- gestes</i> ; they being joined by several other nations, a general battle is fought, wherein the <i>Germans</i> are entirely overthrown, and <i>Ariogestes</i> taken prisoner, upon which they offer to accept of peace upon such terms as the empe- ror thought fit to grant them, which put an end to this destructive war.	VI	73
4481	3174	175	<i>Cassius</i> the famous Roman general that had reduced the <i>Parthians</i> , &c. revolts, and sets up for emperor in the east, and is joined by a great number of soldiers and neighbouring princes: <i>M. Aurelius</i> sets out to go against him, but receives word that he was killed and soon after has his head brought to him, and so for this time ended the war in the east.	VI	77
4481	3174	175	<i>Aurelius</i> goes into the east, and takes his wife <i>Fausſina</i> and his son <i>Commodus</i> with him, and made his son-in-law <i>Pompeianus</i> consul: <i>Fausſina</i> dies at <i>Halala</i> , a village at the foot of <i>Mount Taurus</i> , said to be a very vicious woman, yet he ho- noured her by placing her among the gods, &c. and built a city, and put a colony in the place where she died, calling it <i>Fausſinopolis</i> , and erected a temple in it to her honour.	VI	79
4482	3175	176	<i>Aurelius</i> arriving in the east, pardons all that had joined <i>Cassius</i> except the inhabitants of <i>Antioch</i> , who had been more than ordinarily zealous for <i>Cassius</i> ; he deprived them of their privileges, surpressed their publick assemblies, and took their shews from them, but soon after forgave them, and restored to them all he had		

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			taken from them ; and then going into <i>Egypt</i> , he not only forgave, but added several privileges to <i>Alexandria</i> ; from hence he went to <i>Smyrna</i> , and then to <i>Athens</i> , where his beneficence was greatly displayed by establishing publick professors, with large salaries, in all sciences, and then returned to <i>Italy</i> , and on the 23d of <i>December</i> he and his son <i>Commodus</i> entered <i>Rome</i> in triumph.	VI	79
4483	3176	177	<i>Aurelius Commodus Cæsar</i> (the emperor's son) and <i>Quintillus</i> being consuls, the emperor forgave all debts due to himself and the treasury, and gave a large sum to the <i>Smyrnians</i> to rebuild their city, which had lately been destroyed by an earthquake.	VI	79
4484	3177	178	<i>Aurelius</i> marries his son <i>Commodus</i> to <i>Crispina</i> , the daughter of <i>Bruttius Præfex</i> , and then marches with his son <i>Commodus</i> against the <i>Marcommanni</i> the 5th of <i>August</i> .	VI	80
4485	3178	179	The <i>Romans</i> under the command of <i>Paternus</i> engage several revolted nations of the <i>Germans</i> , and intirely defeat them.	VI	80
4486	3179	180	The emperor <i>M. Aurelius</i> dies at <i>Sirmium</i> , now <i>Sirmich</i> , in <i>Scalavonia</i> , of the plague, that had been in <i>Italy</i> for several years past, the 17th of <i>March</i> , aged 58 years, 10 months, and 22 days, having reigned nineteen years and ten days, universally lamented, and his ashes were deposited in <i>Adrian's Mausoleum</i> ; he was immediately ranked among the gods, a temple erected, and priests appointed, and whoever had not some statue or image of <i>Aurelius</i> was esteemed a sacrilegious person.	VI	80
4486	3179	180	<i>Commodus</i> succeeds his father in the <i>Roman</i> empire, being the first emperor born in his father's reign, and the second that succeeded his father in the empire ; he is commonly called <i>L. Ælius Aurelius Commodus</i> , and sometimes <i>Commodus Antoninus</i> , and though educated with great care by his father, yet proved a most lewd, cruel, and wicked tyrant ; he grants the <i>Quadi</i> and <i>Marcommanni</i> peace, and of other nations he purchased peace, &c. to return to <i>Rome</i> , where he is met by the senate with the highest marks of honour ; he was, after visiting the capitol and other temples, the 22d of <i>October</i> conducted to the palace.	VI	87
4490	3183	184	<i>Ulpus Marcellus</i> , governor in <i>Britain</i> , drives the <i>Caledonians</i> , or <i>Scots</i> , out of the <i>Roman</i> province in <i>Britain</i> , were they had committed horrid ravages, and cut off a <i>Roman</i> army, and so settles all things quiet again.	VII	438
4490	3183	184	<i>Commodus</i> discards all his father's friends and counsellors, and employs only his debauched companions, or their friends, whereby he gains the hatred of all his subjects by means of the cruelties and hardships put upon them by his debauched officers : His sister <i>Lucilla</i> , with several great men, conspire to kill him ; but not succeeding, they are put to death. The empress <i>Crispina</i> , for imitating her husband's debaucheries, is first banished, and afterwards murdered in the island <i>Caprea</i> . Four consulars of great note are falsely accused and put to death this year, and the ruling consuls banished.	VI	89
4492	3185	186	While <i>Commodus</i> was assisting at the <i>Capitoline</i> sports, a person dressed like a cynic philosopher told the emperor, that <i>Perennis</i> (his great favourite and prime minister) and his children were plotting his death : <i>Perennis</i> seized him as a madman, but burnt him alive : Soon after the matter was plainly discovered, and <i>Perennis</i> , his wife, sister, and two sons were put to death ; but the emperor being in great fear changed the captain of his guards almost daily.	VI	89
4493	3186	187	<i>Maternus</i> , a common soldier among the <i>Romans</i> , having deserted, is joined by many more and the banditti : at last, being very numerous, he over-run and plundered a great part of <i>Gaul</i> and <i>Spain</i> : <i>Pescennius Niger</i> with a proper force is sent against him, and brought him into great straits ; upon which <i>Maternus</i> divides his army into many small parties, and sends them privately into different parts of <i>Italy</i> with a view to kill the emperor at the annual feast of the mother of the gods, and to seize the empire : They all arrive at <i>Rome</i> undiscovered, and mix with the emperor's guards ; but being betrayed by some of their own party, <i>Maternus</i> was seized and executed, which put an end to the whole affair. A dreadful plague broke out that lasted three years, and which, in <i>Rome</i> only, frequently carried off 2000 in a day.	VI	90
4494	3187	188	<i>Commodus</i> gave out that he was going to <i>Africa</i> , and therefore extorted large sums to defray his expences, and suffered the people to offer up solemn vows for his safe return, but staid in <i>Rome</i> or its neighbourhood, squandering all the money away in debauchery.	VI	90
4494	3187	188	Great part of the capitol, a famous library, and several contiguous buildings in <i>Rome</i> were destroyed this year by lightning ; some say it destroyed whole quarters of the city, and therein several libraries. At the same time a dreadful famine was in <i>Rome</i> , occasioned by <i>Cleander</i> the emperor's favourite's buying up all the corn, &c. to ingratiate himself with the soldiers and people by distributing it among them gratis, and so get to be chose emperor ; but being universally hated for his cruelty and tyranny, the people rose against him, and could not be appeased till the emperor cut off his head, and sent it to them, which they treated with all the insults possible, and murdered his wife, children, and friends, with the utmost fury.	VI	91
4495	3188	189	<i>Pertinax</i> is recalled from being governor of <i>Britain</i> , at his own request, and charged with the care of providing the city with corn, &c. instead of <i>Domitius Papirius</i> , who was put to death, and all his accomplices, for concurring in the monopolizing thereof to the publick detriment.	VI	91
4496	3189	190	<i>Commodus</i> being now a sixth time in the consulate, and being jealous of every body upon account of the several plots that had been discovered against him, he abandoned himself to bloodshed and cruelty without controul, putting to death <i>Petronius Mamertinus</i> , his brother-in-law <i>Antoninus</i> , his son <i>Annia Faustina</i> , (cousin germain to <i>M. Aurelius</i>) <i>Sulpicius Cassus</i> , proconsul of <i>Asia</i> , and		

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4497	3190	191	fix consulars, besides many more of lesser rank, in one day, and all who were related to <i>Avidius Crassus</i> to be burnt alive.	VI	91
4498	3191	192	The magnificent temple of peace built at <i>Rome</i> by <i>Vespasian</i> , wherein he put all the riches he brought from the temple of <i>Jerusalem</i> , is burnt by lightning; it was used as a common repository for the rich to lodge their jewels, &c. in, and for the merchants to house their spices and rich drugs brought from <i>Egypt</i> , <i>Africa</i> , &c. the fire spreading, consumed many other stately and common buildings, with the temple of <i>Vesta</i> , and good part of the palace.	VI	92
4498	3191	192	The <i>Romans</i> are defeated by the <i>Saraceni</i> , for the first time mentioned in history.	VI	92
4498	3191	192	<i>Severus</i> , who commanded in <i>Illyricum</i> , and <i>Nonius Marcus</i> , another general, aspiring at the sovereignty, <i>Commodus</i> appointed <i>Clodius Albinus</i> governor of <i>Britain</i> , and in a letter wrote to him with his own hand, allowed him to take the name of <i>Cæsar</i> , and the ornaments peculiar to that dignity, in case any disturbance arose, but he refused them. <i>Commodus</i> gives himself up to all manner of folly, acting among the players, changing the names of the months, all which the senate indulge him in, and comply with; but having communicated to his beloved <i>Marcia</i> and the two captains of his guards, that he would have the two consuls elect for the ensuing year murdered, and that he would be consul himself, and would march the next morning from the school of the gladiators, in their dress, attended only by that set of men, and not from the palace, like a magistrate, &c. <i>Marcia</i> gave him poison, but that not working effectually quick enough, his favourite <i>Narcissus</i> strangled him the last night of the year, being the 31st of <i>December</i> 192, aged 31 years and 4 months, having reigned 12 years, 9 months, and 14 days: In a palace that stood on <i>Mount Cælius</i> 'twas given out, that he died of an apoplexy; the senate immediately assembled, declared him a publick enemy, loaded him with curses, ordered his statues to be thrown down, his name to be razed out of all publick inscriptions, and demanded his body that it might be dragged through the streets and thrown into the <i>Tiber</i> .	VI	94
4499	3192	193	<i>Pertinax</i> is prevailed with to accept the empire, but the prætorian guards murmur, and on the 28th of <i>March</i> following 300 of them went to the palace armed, and murdered him, after he had reigned only 87 days; <i>Septimius Severus</i> succeeded him in the empire, and took the name also of <i>Pertinax</i> , and punished with great severity all those who were concerned in the murder of the late <i>Pertinax</i> , and disbanded the prætorian guards, gave the deceased prince great funeral honours, ranked him among the gods, and appointed his son to be his chief priest; the day of his accession was annually celebrated with the <i>Circensian</i> games, and his birth-day with other sports for many years after.	VI	99
4499	3192	193	The soldiers cutting off the head of <i>Pertinax</i> , set it up, and proclaimed the empire to the best bidder. <i>Flavius Sulpicianus</i> , father-in-law to <i>Pertinax</i> , and <i>Didius Julianus</i> bid against one another; at last <i>Julianus</i> bid 6250 drachma's a man, to be immediately paid down, and was proclaimed by the whole camp, and at their request appointed <i>Flavius Genialis</i> and <i>Tullius Crispinus</i> commanders of the prætorian guards, and takes himself the title of <i>Commodus</i> ; after the usual ceremonies the prætorian guards accompanied him in battle array to the senate; the people made no opposition, but gave no sign of joy or approbation; the senate acknowledge him, and next morning he receives them very graciously, when he went to the capitol, the people cursed him, and openly threw stones at him: While this was doing at <i>Rome</i> , <i>Pescennius Niger</i> , governor of <i>Syria</i> , revolted, and is declared emperor in the east, <i>Severus</i> was declared emperor in <i>Illyricum</i> , and sends the title of <i>Cæsar</i> to <i>Albinus</i> governor in <i>Britain</i> , and promised to adopt him; <i>Albinus</i> takes the title, clothed with all the badges of his new authority, at the head of his army; the senate declare <i>Severus</i> an enemy to his country, and all his soldiers likewise, if they did not forsake him by a certain time. <i>Julianus</i> prepares to receive <i>Severus</i> , fortifies the palace, ordered <i>Marcia</i> and <i>Lætus</i> (authors of the death of <i>Commodus</i>) to be murdered; and hired abundance of assassins to murder <i>Severus</i> , caused an incredible number of children to be butchered to mingle their blood with magick rites. <i>Severus</i> comes to <i>Ravenna</i> , takes the city and the fleet riding there. <i>Severus</i> is declared partner with <i>Julianus</i> in the empire by the senate; <i>Severus</i> rejects the offer, and cuts <i>Crispinus</i> , captain of the prætorian guards, who brought it, to pieces. <i>Julianus</i> writes to <i>Pompeianus</i> , son-in-law to <i>M. Aurelius</i> , to take him in a partner in the empire, but he refuses. The troops <i>Julianus</i> sent to guard the passes of the <i>Apennine</i> mountains go over to <i>Severus</i> , and the guards also revolt from him who set him up; upon which he retires into the palace, and the senate meet, depose him, and sentence him to death, declaring <i>Severus</i> emperor, and bestow divine honours upon <i>Pertinax</i> . <i>Julianus</i> was beheaded, when he had reigned two months and six days. 100 persons of distinction go to meet and congratulate <i>Severus</i> in the name of the senate, &c. <i>Severus</i> severely punished all who had any hand in the death of <i>Pertinax</i> , and ordered the soldiers of the prætorian guards to meet him unarmed, when he degraded and banished them 100 miles from <i>Rome</i> . <i>Severus</i> entered <i>Rome</i> attended with all his troops under arms, and the prætorian standards reversed. At the gate he dismounted, and put on the senatorial robe, and marched on foot, attended by the senators in their robes, with crowns of laurel on their heads, he wearing the same, being clothed in white, the streets strowed with flowers, and the windows adorned with tapestry; after visiting the capitol, and the usual temples, he retired to the palace; but the soldiers quartering in the temples, porticoes, &c. spread all over the city, and commit great disorders: when <i>Severus</i> went next day to the senate, the soldiers with a dreadful cry demand of the senate the like sum that	VI	99

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			was paid to the troops of <i>Augustus</i> ; the emperor could not pacify them without promising them 250 drachma's a man in part of 250. <i>Severus</i> promises the senate to govern with equity, gentleness, &c. the senate confers all the titles belonging to the imperial dignity on him, and invests him with the tribunitia and proconsular power, and make him high pontiff, &c. He begs the senate to confirm the title of <i>Cæsar</i> to <i>Clodius Albinus</i> , gave large sums among the soldiery, and enrolled the late emperor <i>Pertinax</i> among the gods, with extraordinary pomp, &c. put to death, &c. all the friends and adherents of the late deposed and murdered <i>Julianus</i> , and chose four times as many guards as those he had deposed. <i>Severus</i> married his two daughters to <i>Probus</i> and <i>Acilius</i> , and gave them both consular dignity. Having settled all things in <i>Rome</i> , he goes against <i>Niger</i> in the east; <i>Niger</i> having made himself master of all <i>Greece</i> , <i>Macedon</i> , and <i>Thrace</i> , offers to take <i>Severus</i> a partner with him in the empire.	VI 103
4500	3193	194	<i>Emilianus</i> , general of <i>Niger's</i> troops, is engaged by the generals of <i>Severus</i> , defeated, and afterwards taken in <i>Cyzicus</i> and killed. <i>Niger</i> and <i>Candarus</i> , one of the generals of <i>Severus</i> , engage with great fury, but at last <i>Niger</i> is forced to fly beyond the <i>Straits of Mount Taurus</i> . <i>Severus</i> offers <i>Niger</i> his life and safety if he would lay down his arms; but being diverted by <i>Aurelianus</i> , whose daughters were betrothed to his sons, retired to <i>Antioch</i> . <i>Laodicea</i> and <i>Tyre</i> declaring for <i>Severus</i> , <i>Niger</i> sends a body of <i>Moors</i> , who pillaged these cities, put the inhabitants to the sword, and set fire to the houses. <i>Severus</i> and <i>Niger</i> engage again, on the very spot where <i>Alexander the Great</i> beat <i>Darius</i> , near the city of <i>Issus</i> , called <i>Pylæ Ciliciæ</i> , where <i>Niger</i> is entirely routed with the loss of 20,000 men: <i>Niger</i> retires to <i>Antioch</i> , and from thence was flying to <i>Parthia</i> , but was overtaken and beheaded; <i>Severus</i> caused his head to be first shewn to the <i>Byzantines</i> , and then sent to <i>Rome</i> . <i>Severus</i> punishes with extremest rigour all those who had sided with <i>Niger</i> , so that a prodigious number of all ranks were put to death, and many banished, and their estates confiscated.	VI 110
4501	3194	195	<i>Severus</i> , at the entreaty of his eldest son, restores the city of <i>Antioch</i> to all the privileges he had taken from it upon account of espousing the cause of <i>Niger</i> , and obliged all the cities that had furnished <i>Niger</i> with money, to give him four times as much as they had given <i>Niger</i> .	VI 110
4502	3195	196	<i>Severus</i> takes <i>Byzantium</i> , after a siege of three years, the <i>Byzantines</i> being forced to surrender after having in part devoured one another: The magistrates and soldiers were all put to death; the city, the most wealthy, large, strong and magnificent, reduced to ashes; the inhabitants stripped of all their effects, and sold for slaves, and the walls razed.	VI 111
4502	3195	196	<i>Severus</i> writes to <i>Albinus</i> governor of <i>Britain</i> a very complementary letter, professing great friendship, &c. but orders the messengers to stab or poison him; but he discovering the plot, declares himself emperor, and comes into <i>Gaul</i> , where <i>Albinus</i> is joined by many great men, both <i>Gauls</i> and <i>Spaniards</i> . <i>Severus</i> hastens into <i>Gaul</i> , and at <i>Viminacium</i> declares <i>Bassianus</i> his eldest son <i>Cæsar</i> , and calls him <i>M. Aurelius Antoninus</i> . <i>Albinus</i> defeats the troops of <i>Severus</i> : The senate declares <i>Albinus</i> a publick enemy. One <i>Numerianus</i> , who kept a grammar school in <i>Rome</i> , goes into <i>Gaul</i> , pretends to be a senator endowed with power to raise troops for <i>Severus</i> , does so, and gains some advantages over <i>Albinus</i> : <i>Severus</i> sends him a commission at large; he forms an army, and defeats <i>Albinus</i> , and takes a great sum of money, which he delivers to <i>Severus</i> , who offers him great honours, which he refuses, and only accepts a small pension, and lives retired on it the remaining part of his life.	VI 112
4503	3196	197	<i>Severus</i> going to <i>Lions</i> , where <i>Albinus</i> was, <i>Albinus</i> defeats one of his parties; then they both engage with their whole strength, amounting to 150,000 men; they both fought with incredible fury, but at last <i>Albinus's</i> men were routed with great slaughter, and were followed into <i>Lions</i> by the conqueror, who plundered and reduced it to ashes, and <i>Albinus</i> killed himself; <i>Severus</i> triumphed over the dead carcass, &c. sent his head to <i>Rome</i> , where it was set up on the <i>Forum</i> at the end of a long pole: At first <i>Severus</i> pardoned his wife and children, but soon after massacred them and all his family, friends, and relations of both sexes, and most of the great men of <i>Gaul</i> and <i>Spain</i> underwent the same fate, so that <i>Severus</i> amassed immense riches by their estates which he confiscated: He soon conquered all the cities that had held out, and divided <i>Britain</i> into four provinces. Upon his return to <i>Rome</i> he massacred 42 senators of the highest rank, and a vast number of the common people, pretending they were friends to <i>Albinus</i> .	VI 113
4504	3197	198	<i>Vologeses III.</i> king of <i>Parthia</i> , having sided with <i>Niger</i> against <i>Severus</i> , as soon as <i>Severus</i> had gratified his revenge at <i>Rome</i> he goes against <i>Parthia</i> , and besieges <i>Vologeses</i> in <i>Ctesiphon</i> , his metropolis, where, after a gallant resistance, the city was at last taken by assault; the king's treasures, wives and children, were taken by the emperor, but <i>Vologeses</i> escaped; the city was plundered, the men all put to the sword, but the women and children to the number of 100,000 sold for slaves. <i>Severus</i> sends an account to the senate of his success; but as soon as <i>Severus</i> was gone, <i>Vologeses</i> returns with a great army, and recovered all that had been taken from him but <i>Mesopotamia</i> .	IV 321
4504	3197	198	The <i>Caledonians</i> make dreadful havock in the <i>Roman</i> territories in <i>Britain</i> , so that <i>Lupus</i> the governor was obliged to purchase peace of them for a large sum of money.	VI 114
4504	3197	198	<i>Caracalla</i> , the emperor <i>Severus's</i> eldest son, is declared partner with him in the empire; and <i>Geta</i> , his second son, is intitled <i>Cæsar</i> .	VI 114

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4505	3198	199	<i>Severus</i> the Roman emperor in his return from <i>Parthia</i> attacks the city <i>Atra</i> , because <i>Barfemus</i> the king thereof had assisted <i>Niger</i> , but is forced to quit the enterprize, after losing a great many men, and most of his warlike engines : After recruiting and refreshing his army he returns to the siege of <i>Atra</i> again, but is again forced to raise the siege after 18 days, losing an incredible number of men, and most of his engines.	VI	115
4506	3199	200	All such persons as gave <i>Severus</i> any umbrage for their birth or wealth he put to death, and confiscated their estates, under various pretences.	VI	115
4507	3200	201	<i>Severus</i> gives the manly robe to his eldest son, then 14 years old, and names him consul for the year ensuing.	VI	115
4508	3201	202	<i>Severus</i> and his son enter upon the consulship in <i>Syria</i> ; he goes into <i>Arabia</i> , and thence into <i>Palestine</i> , and remits the taxes he had imposed for the people's adhering to <i>Niger</i> , and publishes an edict forbidding under the severest penalties any of the people's embracing <i>Judaism</i> , or <i>Christianity</i> , which occasioned the fifth general persecution. At his arrival at <i>Alexandria</i> he granted the city a publick council or senate.	VI	115
4509	3202	203	<i>Septimius Geta</i> , brother of <i>Severus</i> , and <i>Fulvius Plautianus</i> his great favourite, were consuls this year. <i>Plautianus</i> exercised more authority, had more suitors, greater wealth, and lived with more magnificence than the emperor himself ; this power he abused shamefully, putting to death and banishing many illustrious persons, without the knowledge of <i>Septimius</i> ; but this being secreted from <i>Severus</i> , he married his son <i>Caracalla</i> to <i>Plautianus</i> 's daughter <i>Fulvia Plautilla</i> , and gave the manly robe to his second son <i>Geta</i> , now entered his 14th year.	VI	116
4510	3203	204	<i>Severus</i> thinking the number of <i>Plautianus</i> 's statues too great, ordered some of them to be taken down ; this occasioned a report that the minister was fallen into disgrace, and the example was followed by the governors of several provinces, who paid dear for their over-hasty zeal, some being deprived of their governments, and others condemned to banishment, <i>Severus</i> declaring no one should affront him without punishment ; but being informed he designed to murder both himself and his son <i>Caracalla</i> , and make himself emperor, <i>Caracalla</i> seized his sword, and ordered him to be murdered in the palace, and his body to be cast into the street, and all his friends and creatures were put to death ; his daughter <i>Plautilla</i> and his brother <i>Plautius</i> were banished to the island of <i>Liparis</i> , where they were afterwards murdered by order of <i>Caracalla</i> ; after whose succession to the empire this year the secular games were celebrated with extraordinary pomp at <i>Rome</i> .	VI	117
4511	3204	205	The empire of <i>Rome</i> enjoying universal peace, the emperor's two sons <i>Caracalla</i> and <i>Geta</i> were consuls this year, during which <i>Severus</i> continued at or near <i>Rome</i> , administering justice with great impartiality, and reformed many abuses, enacted excellent laws, and repaired the publick edifices, and built many new ones in <i>Rome</i> , <i>Antioch</i> , <i>Alexandria</i> , and <i>Byzantium</i> , and most other great cities of the empire.	VI	117
4512	3205	206	This year is remarkable for the inhuman massacre of a great number of the Roman senators, by the emperor's orders, and some of the greatest and wealthiest of them without any trial.	VI	117
4513	3206	207	The northern <i>Britons</i> revolt, and invade the Roman territories, committing dreadful ravages, driving the Roman legions before them where ever they came ; upon which the governor <i>Virius Lupus</i> sends to the emperor, who prepares to go thither in person.	VI	118
4514	3207	208	The emperor's two sons, <i>Caracalla</i> and <i>Geta</i> , are again consuls ; <i>Severus</i> invests the younger with the tribunitial power, and conferred the title of <i>Augustus</i> upon him, so that there were now what had never been before, three <i>Augustus</i> 's, and then takes both his sons with him into <i>Britain</i> , where after having drove the <i>Caledonians</i> into their own districts, he ordered a new wall to be built from sea to sea.	VII	433
4516	3209	210	<i>Caracalla</i> attempts to murder his father publicly at the head of his army, while he was taking the submissions of the <i>Britons</i> and granting them peace, but is prevented.	VI	119
4517	3210	211	<i>Severus</i> growing old and infirm, the <i>Meatæ</i> and <i>Caledonians</i> revolt, upon which he sends <i>Caracalla</i> with the whole army against them, who puts to the sword all he meets with, and then strives to debauch both officers and soldiers with a design to depose his father, who soon after died naturally at <i>York</i> , on the 4th of <i>February</i> , aged 65 years, 9 months, and 25 days, having reigned 17 years, 8 months, and 3 days ; his body was burnt at <i>York</i> , and his ashes carried in a golden urn to <i>Rome</i> , and deposited in <i>Adrian's Mausoleum</i> ; soon after he was ranked among the gods with the usual ceremonies.	VI	120
4517	3210	211	<i>Caracalla</i> and <i>Geta</i> , by the will of <i>Severus</i> , succeeded him jointly in the empire ; but <i>Caracalla</i> would fain have set his brother aside ; he went against the <i>Caledonians</i> and <i>Mæatians</i> , and concluded a treaty with them, withdrew his men from the forts erected in their country, and restored the lands his father had taken from them, discharged <i>Papinian</i> the captain of the guards, causes <i>Caster</i> , his father's chamberlain and chief favourite, to be put to death, and sent assassins into <i>Italy</i> to murder his wife <i>Plautilla</i> , and her uncle <i>Plautius</i> , whither they had been banished 7 years before ; likewise his father's physicians for refusing to poison him, and all those who strove to reconcile him to his brother ; as the brothers came from <i>Britain</i> to <i>Rome</i> , <i>Caracalla</i> endeavoured to murder <i>Geta</i> , which occasioned them for the future to march with their separate guards, lodge in separate houses, &c. They were received with great pomp at <i>Rome</i> , but their private animosities rose so high, that a separation of the empire was proposed, but frustrated by their		

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4518	3211	212	mother <i>Julia</i> . <i>Caracalla</i> at the feast of <i>Saturn</i> in the close of the year again attempted to murder <i>Geta</i> , which occasioned much bloodshed.	VI	122
			<i>Caracalla</i> finding <i>Geta</i> so well taken care of, that he could not get him dispatched either by poison or by force, pretends to be reconciled to him, and invites him to an interview in his mother's chamber; <i>Geta</i> goes unarmed, but as soon as he was in the room he was stabbed and murdered in his mother's arm, who was also wounded: <i>Caracalla</i> runs as if frightened to his army, returns thanks to the gods for having escaped from the conspiracy, bestows 2500 drachma's a man, and doubles their pay, by which means he secured all the soldiers to him, who saluted him sole emperor. Next day he goes to the senate, attended by his guards, and accuses his murdered brother with a design to kill him, buries his brother with great pomp, and gets the senate to rank him among the gods, with the usual solemnities; notwithstanding which he massacred all <i>Geta's</i> friends and domesticks, to the number of 20,000, and punished with death the bare mention of his name, and ordered the money coined with his name to be melted, and the publick inscriptions to be erased. He likewise put to death <i>Papinian</i> , the greatest lawyer <i>Rome</i> ever bred, and his son the quaestor; and a daughter of the emperor <i>M. Aurelius</i> , for weeping for <i>Geta</i> ; <i>Septimius Severus Afer</i> , his first cousin; <i>Pompeianus</i> , grandson of <i>M. Aurelius</i> ; <i>Helvius Pertinax</i> , son of the emperor <i>Pertinax</i> ; and some of the vestal virgins were also put to death: He universally loaded the people with exorbitant taxes, and at <i>Rome</i> caused vast numbers of them to be put to death, sometimes for diversion, and sometimes for revenge; he shewed the utmost contempt for the senate, and intirely neglected the administration of justice, raised the meanest persons to the highest stations, and was himself ruled and the empire controuled by two of his favourite slaves, setting all things to sale, offices, provinces, publick revenues, publick justice, and the lives both of the innocent and guilty.	VI	123
4519	3212	213	<i>Caracalla</i> finding himself generally hated in <i>Rome</i> , goes into <i>Gaul</i> , orders the proconsul of <i>Narbonne</i> to be put to death, and made dreadful havock of the people, ordering the very physicians who had recovered him from a dangerous malady to be put to death as soon as he was well.	VI	125
4520	3213	214	<i>Caracalla</i> ordered <i>Gaiobomar</i> , king of the <i>Quadians</i> , to be treacherously murdered, and all the young men that were with him, which he often boasted of as a work of great merit, but for what is not mentioned.	VII	603
4520	3213	214	<i>Caracalla</i> having taken some German women prisoners, asked them, whether he should put them to death or sell them for slaves? they chose death; but he selling them, they destroyed themselves and children. He was forced to buy peace at a dear rate of these people, which reduced him so low as to force him to coin false money.	VI	126
4520	3213	214	The <i>Alemans</i> made their first appearance being a collection of people of various nations, whose chief seat or country was in the present country of <i>Wirttemberg</i> . <i>Caracalla</i> made war upon them, and defeated them, and then made peace with them.	VII	598
4521	3214	215	<i>Caracalla</i> the Roman emperor quarrels with the <i>Goths</i> .	VI	493
4521	3214	215	<i>Caracalla</i> leaves <i>Rome</i> , and goes into <i>Asia</i> , and offers up prayers and sacrifices to <i>Æsculapius</i> at <i>Pergamus</i> , to be cured of his diseases, but went away unanswered to <i>Illium</i> , and visits the tomb of <i>Achilles</i> , and pays great honours to his memory, and then goes into <i>Macedon</i> , appearing in the garb and using the customs of each place he came to.	VI	126
4522	3215	216	<i>Caracalla</i> (now at <i>Nicomedia</i>) goes to <i>Antioch</i> , whither inviting the kings of <i>Osroene</i> and <i>Armenia</i> , causes them unjustly to be imprisoned; the <i>Armenians</i> resented the affront, and overthrew <i>Theocritus</i> the Roman general with great slaughter, and preserved their freedom. After which <i>Caracalla</i> went to <i>Alexandria</i> , and made dreadful havock of the people for lampooning him, ordering his troops to enter into the houses in the night-time, and kill all they met without distinction, and continued the slaughter all the following day, stripped the city of all its privileges, suppressed the body of learned men, and ordered all strangers to depart, and stop the communication of the streets by building high walls guarded by soldiers.	VI	127
4522	3215	216	<i>Caracalla</i> demands the daughter of <i>Artabanus</i> king of <i>Parthia</i> in marriage, which being agreed to, <i>Caracalla</i> goes under the pretence of celebrating the nuptials, and is very splendidly received where-ever he came; <i>Artabanus</i> and his nobility going out unarmed to meet him, <i>Caracalla</i> orders his troops to fall upon them, which they do, and make a most terrible slaughter, few escaping. <i>Artabanus</i> raises a very large army, invades <i>Syria</i> , and puts all to fire and sword: <i>Macrinus</i> , the captain of the guard, meets him; they engage, and fight two days, killing 40,000 between them, when <i>Macrinus</i> informs <i>Artabanus</i> <i>Caracalla</i> was dead; they make a peace, and the prisoners <i>Caracalla</i> had taken are returned.	IV	322
4523	3216	217	<i>Caracalla</i> the Roman emperor is stabbed by one <i>Martialis</i> , an exempt in the army, by the instigation of <i>Macrinus</i> , the captain of his guards, on the 8th of April, as he was going from <i>Edeffa</i> to <i>Carrha</i> to visit a temple of the moon, aged 29 years and four months, having reigned six years, two months, and four days, and <i>Opilius Macrinus</i> is declared emperor, who gives the soldiers large sums, and makes them larger promises: After proclaiming a free pardon for all accused of treason, he took the names of <i>Severus</i> and <i>Aurelius</i> , orders the body of <i>Caracalla</i> to be burnt with the usual solemnity, and sent his ashes in an urn to his mother <i>Julia</i> at <i>Antioch</i> , who starved herself to death. The senate orders all the gold and silver statues of <i>Caracalla</i> to be melted down, and his inscriptions to be erased, annulled his acts, and de-		

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			clared his memory infamous: They declare <i>Macrinus</i> emperor, rank his family among the patricians, proclaim his son <i>Cæsar</i> , and his wife <i>Noni Cella Augusta</i> .	VI	321
4524	3217	218	<i>Macrinus</i> having by his extrem severity exasperated the soldiers near <i>Emesa</i> against him, they declared <i>Heliogabalus</i> , cousin to <i>Caracalla</i> , emperor, a youth of 13 years old, by the name of <i>M. Aurelius Antoninus</i> . <i>Macrinus</i> sends <i>Julianus</i> from <i>Antioch</i> against them, who is betrayed and beheaded, and many of his soldiers go over to the revolt. <i>Macrinus</i> promises the soldiers 5000 drachma's a piece, and pays 1000 down, and writes to the senate, who declares <i>Heliogabalus</i> a publick enemy. <i>Heliogabalus</i> being greatly strengthened by an accession of more troops, goes to attack <i>Macrinus</i> at <i>Antioch</i> , where after a very obstinate battle, <i>Macrinus</i> left his men and fled, when what was left also joined <i>Heliogabalus</i> , and <i>Macrinus</i> and his son were taken and put to death. <i>Heliogabalus</i> enters <i>Antioch</i> , and writes to the senate, acquainting them with the death of <i>Macrinus</i> , &c. promises to conform to the institutions of <i>Augustus</i> and <i>M. Aurelius</i> , and do nothing without their consent; they agree, and confirm his titles, &c. who though so very young, proved the greatest monster of cruelty and profligateness that ever lived; and though he reigned but four years, he married and divorced six wives.	VI	325
4525	3218	219	<i>Artabanus</i> king of <i>Parthia</i> having lost the flower of his army in the war with the <i>Romans</i> , &c. <i>Artaxerxes</i> (a person of a mean birth, but a good soldier) spirits up his countrymen, who were tributaries to <i>Artabanus</i> , to take this opportunity to free themselves: They revolt, and <i>Artaxerxes</i> becomes their leader, who engages <i>Artabanus</i> for three days together, and at last the <i>Parthians</i> were routed, and most of <i>Artabanus</i> 's troops were cut off in their flight, and himself taken prisoner, and soon after put to death: Thus the <i>Parthians</i> , who had commanded the <i>Persians</i> 475 years, became tributary to the <i>Persians</i> , and <i>Artaxerxes</i> became king of <i>Persia</i> and <i>Parthia</i> , &c.	IV	323
4525	3218	219	<i>Heliogabalus</i> is consul for the first time, and leaves the east, and enters <i>Rome</i> with great pomp, and is received with universal joy by the senate and people: Next day he went to the senate, and set his grandmother <i>Melba</i> next the consuls, and ordered her name to be registered among the senators, and appointed her to vote with the rest, &c. and institutes a senate of women, and lets his mother <i>Sœmusa</i> at the head of it, whose business was to regulate the dress of the <i>Roman</i> matrons, their ranks, dignities, visits, ceremonies, &c. belonging to the ladies.	VI	336
4527	3220	221	<i>Heliogabalus</i> adopts his cousin <i>Alexianus</i> , and declares him <i>Cæsar</i> , who took the names of <i>Alexander</i> and <i>Severus</i> , and striving to debauch his manners, <i>Alexianus</i> refused to comply, which he resents so much as to order him to be privately murdered; but being disappointed, he orders the senate to degrade him, and annul the adoption, and ordered assassins to murder him, but the guards espoused the young prince's cause, so that <i>Heliogabalus</i> had much ado to pacify them, and promises amendment, &c.	VI	337
4528	3221	222	<i>Heliogabalus</i> pretends to be reconciled to <i>Alexander</i> ; takes the consulship the third time, and chuses <i>Alexander</i> for his colleague. He orders all the senators to depart the city, then shut up <i>Alexander</i> in the palace, and gave out he was suddenly taken ill, and past recovery; the soldiers fly to arms, and demand a sight of <i>Alexander</i> ; who being brought forth, was received with universal joy by all, which so vex'd the emperor, that he ordered them all to be punished as traitors. Upon which an engagement happens between the partisans of the two princes, in which many were slain, and the Emperor himself, with his mother, had their heads cut off, and their bodies dragged about the city, and then thrown into the <i>Tyber</i> the 11th of <i>March</i> , aged about 18, having reigned 3 years, 9 months and 4 days. The senate order the name of <i>Antoninus</i> , which he had assumed, to be erased out of the public registers, &c. the soldiers proclaimed <i>Alexander</i> emperor, which was confirmed to him by the senate, who was born at <i>Arca</i> in <i>Phœnicia</i> ; his mother <i>Mamea</i> is supposed to be a christian, or at least a favourer of them, and brought him up with great care, and when advanced to the empire, he would not suffer the <i>Christians</i> to be persecuted; and caused the famous rule, <i>Do as you would be done by</i> , to be set over the gates of his palace, and on many other public edifices, and squar'd all his actions thereby; made strict enquiry into the conduct of the governors of the provinces, and banished those who had misbehaved, and supply'd their places with the most virtuous and fit persons, &c. the like he did in all the public offices of the empire.	VI	339
4528	3221	222	The <i>Romans</i> pay the <i>Goths</i> an annual sum to keep them quiet.	VII	493
4529	3222	223	The emperor married <i>Sulpicia Memmia</i> , daughter of <i>Sulpicius</i> , and grand-daughter of <i>Catullus</i> ; the nuptials were celebrated with extraordinary pomp and magnificence.	VI	339
4532	3225	226	<i>Artaxares</i> having settled himself upon the <i>Persian</i> Throne, and taken the name of <i>King of Kings</i> , and conceiving himself to have an undeniable title, as successor to <i>Cyrus</i> , to all the lesser <i>Asia</i> , commanded all the <i>Roman</i> Generals immediately to quit those provinces; raises a great army, and invades them; <i>Alexander</i> raises a great army to oppose him; and while he was at or near <i>Mesopotamia</i> , <i>Artaxares</i> sends 400 chosen men, richly dress'd, of great stature and strength, and commissions them to say to the emperor, That the great king <i>Artaxares</i> commands the <i>Romans</i> and their prince to depart out of all <i>Syria</i> and <i>Asia Minor</i> , &c. the emperor orders the equipage of these ambassadors to be taken from them, and sends them into <i>Phrygia</i> to cultivate farms there for their subsistence, and then advanced and recovered <i>Mesopotamia</i> without opposition. <i>Artaxares</i> meets <i>Alexander</i> with 120000 horse, 10000 heavy-arm'd soldiers, 1800		

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			chariots arm'd with scythes, 700 elephants, and an innnumerab'e number of foot ; but is defeated by the <i>Romans</i> , and forced to retire into the heart of <i>Perſia</i> . The <i>Roman</i> army was divided into three parts, one of which going into <i>Armenia</i> , grew ſo licentious, that they ſlew their general <i>Flavius</i> , and then became an eaſy prey to <i>Artaxares</i> .		IV	326
4534	3227	228	The emperor <i>Alexander</i> having advanced <i>Domitius Ulpianus</i> , a famous civilian, to be captain of the <i>Prætorian Guards</i> , who endeavouring to reſtore the ancient diſcipline, ſo exaſperated them, that they murdered him in the preſence of the emperor ; the principals were puniſhed with death, and the moſt noied of the factious ſoldiers ignominiouſly diſcharged. The troops quartered in <i>Meſopotamia</i> mutinied, murdered their general, and revolted to the <i>Perſians</i> . The troops in <i>Syria</i> proclaimed one <i>Taurinus</i> emperor, who reſuſed the offer, and flying from among them, being purſued, threw himſelf into the <i>Euphrates</i> , and was drown'd. At <i>Rome</i> the prætorian guards would have ſet up one <i>Antoninus</i> to be emperor, but he mo-deſtly withdrew, and never appeared in the city again ; but one <i>Ovinus Camillus</i> , ſtriving to ingratiate himſelf with the ſoldiers, &c. <i>Alexander</i> ſends for him, and allows him to be his partner in the empire ; who ſoon after reſign'd.		VI	140
4535	3228	229	The emperor <i>Alexander</i> and <i>Dion Caſſius</i> are conſuls at <i>Rome</i> this year, and puniſhes his favourite <i>Vetronius Turinus</i> with death, for abuſing his power, and for extortion, &c.		VI	141
4539	3232	233	<i>Artaxerxes</i> the <i>Perſian</i> having made himſelf maſter of <i>Meſopotamia</i> , &c. <i>Alexander</i> goes againſt him, and defeats his mighty army, and returns to <i>Rome</i> , and triumphs with great magnificence.		VI	144
4540	3233	234	The <i>Alemans</i> , &c. having paſſed the <i>Rhine</i> , and ſeized the forts built on the banks of that river, entered <i>Gaul</i> , and committed molt horrid ravages.		VII	589
4541	3234	235	The emperor <i>Alexander</i> going to ſuppreſs the mutinous <i>Germans</i> , one <i>Maximius</i> , by nation a <i>Goth</i> , whom <i>Alexander</i> had raiſed to the command of a body of <i>Pomeranians</i> , conſpires againſt him, murders his mother <i>Mamae</i> , and what few ſoldiers the emperor had with him, and then they killed him in his tent, being twenty-fix years, five months, and nineteen days old, highly lamented of all, in the 14th year of his reign.		VI	146
4541	3234	235	<i>Maximius</i> , upon the death of <i>Alexander</i> , was proclaim'd emperor by his <i>Pannonian</i> troops ; and the reſt of the ſoldiers, ſeeing no other candidate, join'd them, and took the uſual oaths to him ; upon which he declar'd his ſon <i>Maximius</i> , <i>Cæſar</i> and prince of the <i>Roman</i> youth, and inveſted him with the tribunitial and proconſular power, and his colleague in the empire, which the ſenate confirm'd. He was of very mean extract, but being eight foot fix inches tall, and every way proportionable, his natural ſtrength was ſo great as to tear up trees by the roots, crumble pebbles between his fingers, &c. could eat 60 lb. of Fleſh, and drink ſix gallons of wine at a meal, without being guilty of any exceſs. He diſplaced all the officers of <i>Alexander</i> , and put in all his own creatures, and murdered all thoſe who knew him in, and had been inſtrumental in raiſing him from his low condition. One <i>Magnus</i> , a conſular, conſpired with ſome of <i>Alexander's</i> ſoldiers, to expoſe him to the enemy, for which he maſſacred 4000 of them, without trial or examination : This exaſperated the <i>Oſbornians</i> ſo much, that they revolted, and proclaimed <i>T. Quartinus</i> emperor ; but one <i>Macedo</i> murdered him in his tent, and carried his head to <i>Maximius</i> , who cauſed the meſſenger to be executed, and all things were again quiet.		VI	151
4541	3234	235	<i>Maximius</i> enters <i>Germany</i> , at the head of a mighty army, and ravaged the country far and wide, burnt their habitations, carried off their cattle, and took an incredible number of priſoners, and killed abundance of people in ſeveral battles.		VII	589
4541	3234	235	The emperor <i>Conſtantine</i> conſecrates the famous church of the reſurrección at <i>Jeruſalem</i> , which he built upon his mother's finding the ſepulchre and croſs of our ſaviour.		VI	161
4543	3236	237	<i>Maximius</i> goes againſt the <i>Dacians</i> and <i>Sarmatians</i> , and gains ſeveral victories over them, and obliged them to ſubmit to his own terms. At <i>Rome</i> being monſtrouſly cruel, and inſatiably avaricious, he encouraged informers, made plots, and condemned without diſtinction of age, or ſex, or quality, all the accused, and ſeized the conſiſcated eſtates, &c.		VI	153
4543	3236	237	The people revolt in <i>Africa</i> from <i>Maximius</i> , and proclaim <i>Gordianus</i> , at that time their proconſul, emperor. <i>Gordianus</i> was deſcended of an illuſtrious family, was immenſely rich, and extreamly beloved both in <i>Rome</i> and in the provinces, many of which he had governed ; but being upwards of 80 years of age, begs to be excuſed ; but the people will take no denial, where-upon he aſſociated his ſon (whoſe name was alſo <i>Gordianus</i>) with him in the empire. He goes to <i>Carthage</i> , and writes to the ſenate ; they confirm him and his ſon, and publiſh a great reward for any one to murder <i>Maximius</i> . The people pull down all his ſtatues, uttering dreadful execrations againſt him and his ſon : The ſenate paſs ſentence upon all his friends, and the miniſters of his cruelty, and many of them were maſſacred by the enraged populace at <i>Rome</i> , and in all the other provinces. It being reported the two <i>Maximinus's</i> were killed, the ſoldiers ſubmit to the two <i>Gordians</i> . <i>Maximinus</i> hearing of theſe commotions, marches with his army out of <i>Tbrace</i> into <i>Italy</i> : In the mean time <i>Capelianus</i> , governor of <i>Mauritania</i> , comes with a great army to <i>Carthage</i> , engages the young <i>Gordianus</i> , kills him, and cuts off all his army, and the old one upon the news thereof ſtrangled himſelf, after having reigned one month and ſix days. Upon this the ſenate at <i>Rome</i> proclaim <i>M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus</i> and <i>Decimus Cælius Balbinus</i> joint emperors. <i>Maximus</i> marches againſt <i>Maximinus</i> , who threatned deſtruction to all oppoſers. Through raſhneſs a quarrel was kindled between the ſoldiers and people at <i>Rome</i> , that occaſioned the loſs of abundance of lives, and the deſtruction of great part of the city by fire, plunder, &c.		VI	158

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4544	3237	238	<i>Maximinus's</i> soldiers begin to mutiny, and he punishes the ringleaders with great severity, which exasperates the rest. He besieges <i>Aquileia</i> , which baffles all his attempts; he uses the officers ill, and at last the <i>Albanian</i> soldiers go resolutely at noon day, and kill both the <i>Maximins</i> in their tents, and cutting off their heads sent them to <i>Rome</i> , and threw their bodies into the river: They likewise killed <i>Anolinus</i> , his captain of the guards, and most of his friends, having reigned three years and some days, and the whole army submitted to <i>Maximus</i> and <i>Balbinus</i> , who reigned with great humanity, justice, gentleness, and impartiality.	VI	159
4544	3237	238	The prætorian guards pretending they had lost their privilege of nominating the emperors, come to the palace, seize and murder both the emperors, who had reigned only one year and two months, and proclaim young <i>Gordian</i> emperor, who was called the son of the senate, the child of the soldiery, and the darling of the people.	VI	161
4544	3237	238	The <i>Carpi</i> break into <i>Mæsia</i> , and having ravaged the province, utterly destroy the city of <i>Isiria</i> , and return unmolested.	VII	607
4544	3237	238	The <i>Goths</i> break into <i>Mæsia</i> , and lay the whole province waste, to revenge the death of the emperor <i>Maximinus</i> , who was of <i>Gothick</i> extraction, and had been murdered by his own soldiers.	VII	493
4545	3238	239	Young <i>Gordianus</i> , now but 14 years old, is consul, and exhibits magnificent sports, to please the people.	VI	161
4546	3239	240	<i>Sabinianus</i> revolts in <i>Africa</i> , and proclaims himself emperor of <i>Rome</i> , &c. but by the diligence of the governor of <i>Mauritania</i> , <i>Sabinus</i> is delivered up, and the uproar is quieted.	VI	161
4547	3240	241	The emperor is a second time consul, and marries <i>Furia Sabina Tranquillina</i> , daughter of <i>Misitheus</i> , a man of great learning, virtue, and integrity, by whose advice the emperor discharged and banished from the court <i>Maurus</i> and other great officers, who had abused their trust.	VI	611
4547	3240	241	A dreadful earthquake overturns a great many cities, and destroyed an infinite number of people.	VI	162
4548	3241	242	<i>Artaxerxes</i> king of <i>Perfia</i> having now settled his empire, dies, and is succeeded by his son <i>Saporis</i> , or <i>Sapor</i> , who makes war upon the <i>Romans</i> , by the advice of one <i>Cyriades</i> , son of a <i>Roman</i> general of that name, who having many followers, takes the cities of <i>Antioch</i> and <i>Cæsarea Philippi</i> ; upon which <i>Cyriades</i> takes the name of <i>Cæsar</i> , and afterwards of emperor.	IV	326
4548	3241	242	The emperor sets out from <i>Rome</i> to quell the revolt in the east, and passing through <i>Mæsia</i> , the <i>Goths</i> and <i>Sarmatians</i> oppose him, and he defeats them, and forces them to abandon their conquests, and to return home; was overcome in a tumultuary engagement with the <i>Alani</i> , but was no great loser: Afterwards he overcame the <i>Perfians</i> in several battles, recovered <i>Nisibis</i> and <i>Carrhæ</i> , and obliged <i>Sapor</i> to abandon the <i>Roman</i> dominions.	VI	163
4548	3241	242	The emperor <i>Gordian</i> obliges the <i>Sarmatians</i> and <i>Goths</i> to quit <i>Mæsia</i> , and retire beyond the <i>Danube</i> .	VII	607
4549	3242	243	<i>Misitheus</i> , the emperor's father-in-law, dies, and is succeeded as captain of the guards, and commander in chief of all the army under the emperor, by one <i>Philip</i> who fires up the soldiers to mutiny, and to depose <i>Gordian</i> , whom <i>Philip</i> ordered to be murdered in the furthest borders of <i>Perfia</i> on the 14th of <i>March</i> , when he had reigned five years and eight months, in the 19th year of his age, and <i>Philip</i> reigned in his stead, who was an <i>Arabian</i> by birth, of very mean extract, but is said to be the first <i>Christian</i> emperor: He wrote to the senate, who immediately confirmed his title; he took his son for his colleague, though but seven years old. <i>Philip</i> concludes a peace with the <i>Perfians</i> , goes to <i>Rome</i> , and is received with all possible tokens of joy by the senate and people.	VI	166
4550	3243	244	<i>Philip</i> is consul at <i>Rome</i> for the first time, and goes against the <i>Carpi</i> , who had invaded <i>Mæsia</i> , and laid waste great part of that province, overthrew them in two battles, and obliged them to repass the <i>Danube</i> , and sue for peace, which he granted them, and then returned to <i>Rome</i> .	VI	166
4551	3244	245	<i>Ostrogotha</i> king of the <i>Goths</i> besieges <i>Marcianopolis</i> , the capitol of <i>Mæsia</i> ; but for a large sum of money paid him by the inhabitants, he raises the siege and goes home.	VII	494
4551	3244	245	The <i>Gepide</i> (a <i>Gothic</i> nation) under the conduct of their king <i>Fastidas</i> , gain a complete victory over the <i>Burgundians</i> , and almost extirpate them.	VII	595
5552	3245	246	An accidental fire happens at <i>Rome</i> , whereby <i>Pompey's</i> theatre, and another building called <i>Cæstum Columnæ</i> , or the hundred pillars, were burnt.	VI	166
4552	3245	246	<i>Philip</i> and his son were consuls this and the following year, whom he honoured with the title of <i>Augustus</i> , and invested him with the tribunitial power, to celebrate with the greater pomp the 1000th year of <i>Rome</i> , which begun the following year the 21st of <i>April</i> , 247. Extraordinary rejoicings were made at <i>Rome</i> , and publick shews exhibited for ten days together, &c. <i>Philip</i> published an edict, forbidding unnatural lust, under the severest penalties.	VI	166
4554	3247	248	The eastern provinces being grievously oppressed by <i>Priscus</i> their governor, revolt from <i>Rome</i> , and set up one <i>Papianus</i> for emperor; but he being killed, all was soon quiet again. <i>Mæsia</i> and <i>Pannonia</i> revolt, and set up one <i>P. Corvillus Marinus</i> ; but being an unfit person, his own creatures murdered him soon after. <i>Philip</i> recalls his father-in-law, who was governor of <i>Pannonia</i> , and sends one <i>Decius</i> , a noble senator, against his will in his stead, and immediately the soldiers proclaimed <i>Decius</i> emperor.	VI	167
4554	3247	248	<i>Fastida</i> enters the territories of the <i>Goths</i> , and begins to lay them waste; upon which king <i>Ostrogotha</i> returns out of <i>Mæsia</i> , meets <i>Fastida</i> , and gives him a complete overthrow.	VII	596

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4555	3248	249	<i>Philip</i> goes against <i>Decius</i> ; they engage; <i>Philip</i> is defeated, and flies to <i>Vesna</i> , where he is killed, the 18th <i>June</i> , having reigned 5 year, 3 months, and some days; upon hearing whereof the praetorian guards at <i>Rome</i> kill his son. The <i>Christian</i> religion was publickly preached during his reign. <i>Decius</i> is again proclaimed by the soldiery emperor, and soon after by the senate and people; by birth a <i>Pannonian</i> , of a good family, and an excellent prince; he declares his son <i>Decius Caesar</i> , and raised the most cruel persecution against christianity the church ever underwent.		VI 168
4556	3249	250	The <i>Goths</i> under their king <i>Cniva</i> invested with 70000 men the city of <i>Eusebium</i> ; but being gallantly repulsed by <i>Gallus</i> , they went to <i>Nicopolis</i> , another city of <i>Lower Mesia</i> . Young <i>Decius</i> fell upon them, and cut 30000 of them to pieces, and obliged the rest to retire beyond mount <i>Hemus</i> . Soon after being recruited, they came before <i>Philippolis</i> , against whom <i>Decius</i> marches again, but <i>Cniva</i> falling upon him at unawares, the <i>Romans</i> were all cut to pieces, and <i>Decius</i> saved himself by flight, upon which <i>Cniva</i> took <i>Philippolis</i> , and put 100000 souls to the sword, ravaged <i>Thrace</i> and great part of <i>Macedon</i> . <i>Priscus</i> , who was governor in <i>Macedon</i> , joined the enemy, and proclaimed himself emperor.		VII 494
4557	3250	251	The emperor <i>Decius</i> and his son <i>Decius</i> are consuls this year, and gain several battles against the <i>Goths</i> ; the senate declare <i>Priscus</i> a public enemy, who was slain; the emperor gives the senate leave to chuse a censor, who nominate <i>Valerian</i> to that office; the emperor again obtained great advantages over the <i>Goths</i> , who offered to resign all their booty, if he would let them return home; but he, bent upon utterly destroying them, goes against them with his whole army, and after a long and bloody battle, himself and son are both killed, and a great part of his army cut to pieces: upon which the remaining soldiers proclaimed <i>Gallus</i> emperor, which the senate confirm'd. <i>Gallus</i> concludes a peace with the <i>Goths</i> , and agrees to pay them a yearly sum.		VI 171
4558	3251	252	<i>Gallus</i> and his son <i>Volusianus</i> are consuls, and revive the edicts of the late emperor against the <i>Christians</i> , which are put in execution with the utmost rigour; a terrible plague breaks out first in <i>Ethiopia</i> , and spread all over the <i>Roman</i> provinces, sweeping off prodigious numbers of people, as well at <i>Rome</i> as elsewhere. A great famine, general drought, and universal wars raged every where.		VI 171
4558	3251	352	The <i>Goths</i> , &c. break into <i>Mesia</i> and <i>Pannonia</i> ; the <i>Scythians</i> over-run <i>Asia</i> and the <i>Persians</i> lay waste <i>Syria</i> , and take <i>Antioch</i> ; <i>Emilianus</i> , governor in <i>Mesia</i> , drove out the <i>Barbarians</i> with great loss, and forced them to quit the <i>Roman</i> dominions; upon which he proclaimed himself emperor, and marched directly into <i>Italy</i> . <i>Gallus</i> and his son meet him at <i>Interamna</i> , now <i>Terni</i> , about thirty-two miles from <i>Rome</i> , with a gallant army; but their own soldiers murder them both, after a reign of one year and six months, and go over to <i>Emilianus</i> , whom the senate confirm; he was by birth a <i>Moor</i> , of very mean descent.		VI 171
4559	3252	253	The <i>Goths</i> enter the <i>Roman</i> territories; but being engaged by <i>Emilianus</i> , they are defeated, and drove quite out of the empire.		VII 494
4559	3252	253	<i>Valerian</i> 's army, upon hearing of the death of <i>Gallus</i> , proclaim their own general emperor; upon which <i>Valerian</i> comes into <i>Italy</i> , where <i>Emilianus</i> 's army first killed him at <i>Spoletum</i> , after reigning four months, and then declared for <i>Valerian</i> , whom the senate confirmed with great joy, and gave the title of <i>Caesar</i> to his son <i>Gallienus</i> . <i>Valerian</i> was nobly descended, and highly esteemed and greatly beloved by all degrees, for his many great virtues and excellent qualifications. He enacted many excellent laws, and greatly reform'd the disorders of those times, and advanced only men of merit.		VI 173
4560	3253	254	<i>Valerian</i> and his son <i>Gallienus</i> are consuls this year, and he also takes <i>Gallienus</i> a partner with him in the empire.		VI 173
4560	3253	254	The <i>Franks</i> or <i>Sicambri</i> , (for the first time) inhabitants of <i>Westphalia</i> , &c. make an irruption into <i>Gaul</i> , with a small army, and commit dreadful havock and ravages; but being opposed by <i>Aurelian</i> the tribune, he kills 700, takes 300, and sells them for slaves, and obliges the rest to quit their booty and retire.		VII 551
4561	3254	255	<i>Valerian</i> and his son <i>Gallienus</i> are again consuls; <i>Gallienus</i> obtains a great victory over the revolted <i>Germani</i> , and thereupon takes the title of <i>Germanicus Maximus</i> .		VI 173
4562	3255	256	The <i>Franks</i> , &c. break into <i>Gaul</i> , but are entirely defeated by <i>Gallienus</i> , who for this victory was surnamed <i>Germanicus</i> .		VII 552
4562	3255	256	The <i>Alemans</i> suddenly break into <i>Gaul</i> and <i>Italy</i> ; in <i>Gaul</i> they were defeated, and forced to repass the <i>Rhine</i> . In <i>Italy</i> they advanced as far as <i>Milan</i> , destroying all with fire and sword.		VII 583
4562	3255	256	The <i>Heruli</i> first began to invade the empire, but are driven back by <i>Gallienus</i> .		VII 599
4562	3255	256	The <i>Goths</i> , &c. again enter the empire, and lay it waste, &c.		VII 495
4563	3256	257	<i>Aurelian</i> , who was afterwards emperor, drove the <i>Goths</i> out of <i>Illyricum</i> with great slaughter, and took abundance of prisoners.		VII 495
4563	3256	257	The eighth terrible persecution broke out against the <i>Christians</i> , that lasted three years, during which they suffered the most extravagant torments and shameful deaths the malice of their enemies could invent.		VI 173
4563	3256	257	<i>Aurelian</i> drove the <i>Goths</i> out of <i>Illyricum</i> and <i>Thrace</i> , took an incredible number of them prisoners, and pursued them beyond the <i>Danube</i> ; laid their country waste, and returned to <i>Mesia</i> loaded with spoil; and <i>Probus</i> was as successful against the <i>Sarmatians</i> and <i>Quadi</i> .		VI 173
4563	3256	257	The <i>Quadians</i> join the <i>Sarmatians</i> , and break into <i>Illyricum</i> , and ravage part of it, but are defeated by <i>Probus</i> .		VII 603
4566	3259	260	The <i>Franks</i> , &c. break into <i>Gaul</i> , and having ravaged the most wealthy provinces there, made an irruption into <i>Italy</i> .		VII 552

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4566	3259	260	The <i>Quadians</i> make a sudden irruption into <i>Pannonia</i> , but <i>Regillianus</i> , the Roman commander in that country, attacking them, gained several victories in one day.	VII	603
4566	3259	260	<i>Aurelianus</i> having recovered great part of <i>Syria</i> , engages <i>Saporis</i> , is treacherously taken prisoner, and used in the most ignominious manner possible by <i>Saporis</i> , king of <i>Persia</i> ; who, upon his death, flea'd him, dy'd his skin red, and exposed it in one of his temples.	IV	317
4566	3259	260	<i>Ingenius</i> proclaims himself emperor in <i>Pannonia</i> ; <i>Gallienus</i> goes against him, overcomes him, and puts all the males in <i>Messa</i> to death for joining him. Upon which the troops of <i>Ingenius</i> , and the inhabitants that escaped, declared <i>Q. Numerius Regillianus</i> emperor, by birth, a <i>Dacian</i> , and descended from king <i>Decabalus</i> ; he gained considerable advantages over the <i>Sarmatians</i> , but his own men fearing <i>Gallienus</i> , revolted from and murdered him, and submitted to <i>Gallienus</i> . <i>M. Cassius Labienus Posthumus</i> , governor of <i>Gaul</i> , revolted; he was but of mean extract, but had excellent qualifications; for which the soldiers under his command proclaimed him emperor; he besieged <i>Cologne</i> , and took <i>Sylvanus</i> , governor of <i>Salonius</i> , son of <i>Gallienus</i> , and his ward, and put them both to death. <i>Gaul</i> , <i>Spain</i> and <i>Britain</i> acknowledge him; he reigned seven years with so much gentleness and equity, that he was even adored; he drove the <i>Germans</i> out of <i>Gaul</i> , and freed it from all the calamities of war.	VI	175
4567	3260	261	<i>Odenatus</i> assisted by <i>Balisha</i> engages the <i>Persians</i> , frequently defeats them; and among other spoils takes <i>Saporis</i> wives prisoners. This greatly mortified him; so that entering <i>Syria</i> , he took <i>Antioch</i> , and levelled all the publick buildings of that stately city; then went into <i>Cilicia</i> , and plundered <i>Tarsus</i> the capital; got into <i>Cappadocia</i> , and took <i>Cesarea</i> , and cut the inhabitants, to the number of 400,000 to pieces, but <i>Odenatus</i> and <i>Balisha</i> falling upon his rear, made a dreadful havock of them, and obliged <i>Saporis</i> to pay the Roman garison all the Syrian money he had amassed for leave to return home.	VI	178
4567	3260	261	One <i>Macrianus</i> , by birth an <i>Egyptian</i> , by the assistance of <i>Balisha</i> , is declared emperor. <i>Egypt</i> and other eastern countries submit to him at <i>Alexandria</i> . The contentions rose so high, that commerce and converse was stopped, and this introduced a general famine and terrible plague, so that the numerous inhabitants were soon reduced to a small number. <i>Valens</i> being sent as proconsul into <i>Greece</i> , took the title of emperor likewise. <i>Macrianus</i> sends <i>Piso</i> against him to suppress him; but <i>Piso</i> sets up for himself, and would be emperor likewise, but was soon killed by some of <i>Valens's</i> soldiers. <i>Valens</i> had the same fate a few days afterwards. The <i>Illyrican</i> soldiers set up <i>Manius Acilius Aureolus</i> to be emperor. From <i>Illyricum</i> he goes into <i>Italy</i> , and made himself master of <i>Milan</i> . <i>Gallienus</i> goes against him, but is at length obliged to make a truce with him.	VI	180
4567	3260	261	The <i>Scythians</i> break into <i>Bithynia</i> , lay the country waste, level several cities with the ground, and carry off vast booty and a great number of captives. In <i>Sicily</i> great bands of robbers or banditti commit terrible ravages and devastations, which cost a great deal of blood to suppress.	VI	180
4568	3261	262	<i>Odenatus</i> takes the name of king of <i>Palmyra</i> , and <i>Gallienus</i> made him commander of all the Roman troops in the east. <i>Odenatus</i> desirous to deliver <i>Valerian</i> from his shameful slavery, engages <i>Saporis</i> , defeats him, and forces him to take shelter in <i>Ctesiphon</i> , his metropolis, where he besieged him, and defeated the <i>Persians</i> several times who came to his relief, and took several of the great men prisoners, which he sent to <i>Gallienus</i> .	VI	171
4568	3261	262	Many parts of the empire of <i>Rome</i> are overcast with thick clouds, and a great darkness for several days together, attended with a dreadful earthquake, and terrifying claps of thunder, the earth opening in many places, and swallowing up the people and their habitations, the sea swelling uncommonly, broke in upon the continent, and drowned whole cities, and the plague raged with great violence in <i>Egypt</i> , <i>Greece</i> and <i>Rome</i> , at which last place it swept off 5000 persons a day for some time.	VI	180
4568	3261	262	<i>Macrianus</i> comes from <i>Syria</i> towards <i>Italy</i> with 45000 Men. Meets and engages <i>Aureolus</i> in <i>Illyricum</i> , and himself and son being killed, what soldiers were left left under <i>Aureolus</i> ; and <i>Odenatus</i> has his son <i>Quietus's</i> head cut off; upon which <i>Balisha</i> assumes the title of emperor, and puts the inhabitants of <i>Emesa</i> almost all to the sword for refusing it to him. At the same time <i>Emilianus</i> sets up for emperor in <i>Egypt</i> ; seizes all the granaries in <i>Alexandria</i> , and causes a famine in several provinces.	VI	181
4568	3261	262	<i>Gallienus</i> and <i>Aureolus</i> goes against <i>Posthumus</i> , who had now reigned undisturbed three years in <i>Gaul</i> , one while one party, and anon the other get the advantage, which spins out the war.	VI	181
4568	3261	262	The <i>Goths</i> ravage <i>Asia</i> , &c. and plunder the temple of <i>Diana</i> at <i>Ephesus</i> .	VII	495
4569	3262	263	<i>Gallienus</i> goes into the east, and being admitted within the walls of <i>Byzantium</i> , contrary to his express oath and agreement, put the garison and inhabitants to the sword; he returned to <i>Rome</i> , and triumph'd tho' he had fought no battle. This year <i>P. Sempronius Saturninus</i> was proclaimed emperor, and did great feats against the <i>Barbarians</i> ; but upon account of the strictness of his discipline, was murdered by his own soldiers that had raised him.	VI	181
4569	3262	263	<i>Gallienus</i> sends <i>Theodotus</i> , a Native of <i>Egypt</i> , against <i>Emilianus</i> , who now reigned in <i>Egypt</i> . <i>Theodotus</i> overcomes him, and sent him prisoner to <i>Rome</i> , where he was strangled by the emperor's orders.	VI	181
4570	3263	264	<i>Gallienus</i> rewards <i>Odenatus</i> for his exploits against the <i>Persians</i> with the titles of <i>Cæsar</i> , <i>Augustus</i> , and <i>Emperor</i> , and took him in partner with him in the empire. <i>Balisha</i> , who held some provinces in the east, was killed by a soldier sent by <i>Odenatus</i> for that purpose.	VI	182

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Y. of World	Y. of Flood	Y. of Christ		Vol.	Page.
4571	3264	265	The <i>Isaurians</i> revolting in <i>Asia minor</i> , chose <i>C. Annius Trebellianus</i> for their leader, who took the title of <i>Augustus</i> , coin'd money, and re-gned sometime in <i>Isauria</i> and <i>Cilicia</i> , but was soon after defeated and killed in battle. But the <i>Isaurians</i> maintained their freedom and independency many years after.	VI	182
4571	3264	265	The <i>Goths</i> conquer <i>Dacia</i> , which had been made a <i>Roman</i> province by <i>Trojan</i> .	VI	184
4571	3264	265	The <i>Franks</i> having ravaged <i>Gaul</i> , pass into <i>Spain</i> , where they take by storm and plunder <i>Tamara</i> , the principal city of many provinces.	VII	552
4572	3265	266	<i>Odenatus</i> enters the <i>Perfian</i> territories, and puts all to fire and sword, overcame <i>Sapor</i> in several battles, &c.	VI	185
4572	3265	266	The <i>Goths</i> over-run <i>Asia-Minor</i> , <i>Lydia</i> , <i>Pontus</i> , &c. ravage the country, destroy the houses, palaces, churches, temples, &c. and use the people cruelly, and carry off an immense booty, and vast numbers of captives.	VII	455
4573	3266	267	The <i>Herculi</i> in 500 ships pass from the <i>Palus Mæotis</i> to the <i>Euxine</i> sea, and landed at <i>Byzantium</i> and <i>Chrysopolis</i> , where they were defeated by <i>Venerianus</i> ; but rallying, they cross the <i>Bosphorus</i> , surprize and plunder <i>Cyzicus</i> , and great part of <i>Asia</i> , with the islands <i>Lemnos</i> and <i>Scyros</i> ; then coming into <i>Greece</i> , they burn <i>Athens</i> , <i>Corinth</i> , <i>Sparta</i> , and <i>Argos</i> : In their retreat the <i>Athenians</i> fall upon and cut great numbers of them to pieces; but as the remainder returned homeward, they committed great ravages in <i>Bæotia</i> , <i>Acarnania</i> , <i>Epirus</i> , and <i>Thrace</i> . <i>Gallienus</i> overtakes and engages them in <i>Illyricum</i> , and overthrows them with great slaughter, and pursues them, cuts 30,000 to pieces as they attempted to cross the river, and took <i>Naulobat</i> their king prisoner.	VII	599
4573	3266	267	Many of the <i>Goths</i> are drowned by the <i>Roman</i> fleet, as they were returning home with their prey out of <i>Asia</i> , &c.	VI	185
4573	3266	267	<i>Odenatus</i> and his eldest son <i>Herod</i> are slain, and his wife <i>Zenobia</i> reigns by the name of queen of the east, guardian of her four sons, whom she arrayed in purple garments and the other ensigns of royalty, acting independantly, and instead of assisting the <i>Roman</i> army sent by <i>Gallienus</i> , opposed, defeated, and obliged it to return home.	VI	183
4573	3266	267	One <i>Ælianus</i> took the title of emperor at <i>Mente</i> , who was soon overcome by <i>Posthumus</i> , who reduced the rebellious city, but restraining his men from plundering it, they mutiny, and kill him and his son, and <i>Lollianus</i> is proclaimed emperor in his stead, but was soon after murdered by his soldiers for the strictness of his discipline, upon whose death <i>Victorinus</i> (the partner of <i>Posthumus</i>) became master of all <i>Gaul</i> , but was soon after murdered at <i>Cologne</i> , by one whose wife he had debauched, and the <i>Gauls</i> set up <i>M. Aurelius Marius</i> , who was killed the third day, and then the <i>Gauls</i> set up <i>P. Proculus Tetricus</i> for emperor, then governor of <i>Aquitain</i> ; he was acknowledged in <i>Spain</i> , <i>Gaul</i> , and <i>Britain</i> .	VI	184
4574	3267	268	The <i>Juthongians</i> , or <i>Alamans</i> , that dwell on the banks of the <i>Rhine</i> , break into <i>Italy</i> , and rove near <i>Verona</i> : <i>Claudius</i> marches against them, and in a pitched battle defeats them with great slaughter, and forces them to quit their booty, and save themselves by a precipitate flight.	VII	589
4574	3267	268	The first of <i>Claudius's</i> reign the <i>Saravens</i> , &c. broke into <i>Italy</i> , and advanced as far as <i>Verona</i> ; but being there encountered by the emperor, were intirely defeated.	VII	589
4574	3267	268	<i>Aureolus</i> being taken by <i>Gallienus</i> a partner with him in the empire, takes the opportunity of his being in the east to march towards <i>Rome</i> , with an intent to make himself sole emperor and depose <i>Gallienus</i> ; but <i>Gallienus</i> hearing of his march, flies after him, overtakes, engages, and defeats him, follows him to <i>Milan</i> , and besieges him, where <i>Gallienus</i> , the father and son, and <i>Valerian</i> and <i>Egnatius</i> his brothers were killed, upon which <i>Claudius</i> is proclaimed emperor; the senate declared <i>Gallienus</i> a publick enemy, and ordered most of his friends and ministers to be thrown from the <i>Tarpeian</i> rock, and caused his name to be erased out of the publick inscriptions, having been one of the most wicked princes that ever reigned in <i>Rome</i> .	VI	185
4574	3267	268	The senate received <i>Claudius's</i> letter, acquainting them what had happened at <i>Milan</i> the 24th of <i>March</i> ; they assemble immediately, and confirm <i>Claudius</i> emperor, upon which he attacked <i>Aureolus</i> , and took him prisoner, whom the soldiers killed without orders; then went against the <i>Germans</i> , and defeated them with incredible slaughter, and drove the remainder out of <i>Italy</i> , then returns to <i>Rome</i> , and spends the remaining part of the year in reforming the state.	VI	186
4575	3268	269	<i>Zenobia</i> overcomes <i>Probus</i> , a <i>Roman</i> commander in <i>Egypt</i> , and takes and destroys <i>Bruchium</i> , the citadel of <i>Alexandria</i> , upon which <i>Probus</i> kills himself.	VI	187
4575	3268	269	The <i>Goths</i> , <i>Herculi</i> , &c. invade the <i>Roman</i> empire with a great fleet and an army of 320,000 men, which are repulsed, beaten, and almost all destroyed by the emperor <i>Claudius</i> , partly by the sword, and partly by famine.	VII	496
4576	3269	270	The <i>Goths</i> enter and ravage <i>Pannonia</i> , but being engaged by the emperor <i>Aurelianus</i> , pass the <i>Danube</i> in the night, sue for peace, and have it granted.	VII	497
4576	3269	270	<i>Claudius</i> prepares to go against <i>Zenobia</i> , but is prevented by a terrible plague that breaks out in his army, of which great part and himself die, at <i>Sirmium</i> in <i>Pannonia</i> , having reigned two years and one month; the senate paid him divine honours, and hung up a golden shield, with his image on it, in the place of their assembly, to keep the good he had done always in their minds.	VI	187
4576	3269	270	The senate proclaim <i>Quintillus</i> the brother of <i>Claudius</i> emperor, then at <i>Aquileia</i> , who was murdered by his soldiers, after a reign of 17 days, for attempting to introduce too severe a discipline; upon which the senate confirm the election of <i>Aurelianus</i> , a native of <i>Sirmium</i> in <i>Pannonia</i> , of a mean descent, but admired for his great strength and courage.	VI	188

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4576	3269	270	<i>Aurelian comes to Rome, and by his great severity gets the dislike of both senate and people; he began the repairing and extending the walls of the city to 50 miles in compass.</i>	VI	189
4576	3269	270	<i>The Alemanni return into Italy, and commit great ravages, going as far as Placentia before Aurelian could come up with them: As the emperor approached they concealed themselves in the neighbouring woods, whence sallying out upon him in the night, they obtained a complete victory; but the emperor having got fresh recruits, overthrew them at Fano, and such as escaped this battle were intirely defeated by two others that quickly followed.</i>	VII	590
4577	3270	271	<i>The Vandals passed the Danube, and having laid waste great part of Italy, the emperor Aurelian goes against them, engages and overcomes them, cuts many of them to pieces, and obliges the rest to sue for peace, which he readily grants them.</i>	VII	528
4578	3271	272	<i>Aurelian having settled peace at Rome, Pannonia, and Italy, goes into the east against the famous Zenobia, said to be well versed in all the branches of polite literature and martial discipline, courageous, prudent, and wise, and a Jewess by religion. Aurelian in his way to Syria put several barbarous nations to flight, passed the Danube, engaged Caunabaud, a Gothic prince, and slew him and 5000 of his men; then going to Tyana in Capadocia, they shut their gates against him, which so enraged him, that he swore he would not leave a dog alive in it: After a resolute defence he took it, but ordered all the inhabitants to be saved, and all the dogs to be killed. From hence he went to Antioch, defeated Zenobia's troops in its neighbourhood, and entered the city in triumph. He again defeated Zenobia near Emesa, took the city, and followed her to Palmyra, where after a long siege and resolute defence, &c. the queen is taken prisoner, and all submit to Aurelian.</i>	VI	191
4579	3272	273	<i>Saporus king of Persia having been lately defeated by Aurelian emperor of Rome, upon his return home died, after having reigned 31 years, and was succeeded by Hormisdas, who having reigned one year and ten days, died in peace.</i>	IV	329
4579	3272	273	<i>As soon as Aurelian was gone, Palmyra revolts, sets up one Antiochus, and put the Roman governor and garrison to the sword: Aurelian goes back into Syria, and came suddenly to Palmyra, put all the inhabitants, old and young, rich and poor, male and female to the sword. Soon after Egypt revolted, and set up one Firmus to be emperor, a native of Seleucia in Syria, but who had a vast estate in Egypt: Aurelian goes against and defeated him, stormed a strong hold to which he fled, took it and him, and ordered him to be publicly executed, and so settled peace in the east, and returned to Europe, and fighting with Tetricus near Chalon on the Marne, Tetricus surrendered himself, and his troops being cut to pieces, all Gaul was again united to the Roman empire; and Aurelian returned to Rome, and had the most magnificent triumph ever seen.</i>	VI	192
4579	3272	273	<i>The Franks make an irruption into Gaul, but being attacked by the emperor Aurelian, they are driven back with great slaughter, &c.</i>	VII	553
4580	3273	274	<i>Hormisdas king of Persia dying, is succeeded by Varanus, who reigned over the Persians three years.</i>	IV	329
4580	3273	274	<i>Aurelian's triumph being over, he entertained the people with magnificent shews, &c. for many days, and used his royal and noble captives with humanity and generosity: To Zenobia he gave lands in Trivoli, to maintain her suitable to her rank, and bestowed her daughters in marriage to the greatest men in Rome; he made Tetricus governor of Lucania, and paid him high honours, and allowed his son young Tetricus to remain among the senators, &c.</i>	VI	193
4580	3273	274	<i>Aurelian staid this year at Rome, and spent it in regulating the state, and reforming abuses, and doing every thing that might endear him to the people, by forgiving debts, bestowing gifts, &c. He built a most magnificent temple to the sun, and embellished it with golden vessels weighing 1500 pounds weight. The moneyers having abused their trust, and coined a great deal of false money, to prevent their punishment bred a sedition, so that the emperor was forced to send his troops against them, who after killing 7000, were overcome, and punished with great severity. The emperor called in all the bad money, and exchanged it for good money.</i>	VI	194
4580	3273	274	<i>Aurelian withdraws his troops out of Dacia, and carries most of the natives with him, settling them in Mesia and Dardania, and called their habitation New Dacia.</i>	VI	614
4580	3273	274	<i>The Roman emperor Aurelian retiring from Dacia, the Goths re-enter and settle there.</i>	VII	498
4580	3273	274	<i>The emperor goes into Gaul, and allays a commotion there, and forced the Barbarians to repass the Danube that were come into Vindelicia, and rebuilt the city of Orleans; then going into Illyricum, gave the inhabitants of Dacia that were driven out by the Barbarians part of Mesia and Dardania to settle in.</i>	VI	195
4581	3274	275	<i>Mnesibius, one of Aurelian's freedmen and secretaries, being afraid of his master's resentment against his extortions, counterfeits his hand, wrote a roll of the names of the chief officers of the army, and told them he found it in the emperor's closet, and that they were all doomed to destruction; they believing it, fell upon and killed the emperor between Byzantium and Heraclea, at a place called Cænophrurium (or the New Castle) the 25th of January: Soon after his death the matter was discovered; upon which they threw Mnesibius to the wild beasts, built a magnificent tomb and temple to the murdered emperor in the place where he was killed, and the whole army solemnized his obsequies with the utmost pomp; all who were concerned in his death were cut to pieces on the spot, or executed by his successors: The senate ranked him among the gods, and all bewailed his loss.</i>	VI	195

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4581	3274	275	The army refer the choosing a successor to <i>Aurelian</i> to the senate, and they back again to the army, and so backwards and forwards three times, so that eight months was thus spun out when the senate chose <i>Tacitus</i> , on the 25th of September, which the soldiers and people joyfully confirm: <i>Tacitus</i> the historian being his kinsman, the emperor ordered ten copies of his works to be transcribed annually, and laid up in the publick libraries: The publick rejoicings being over, he went into <i>Asia</i> , and defeated several barbarous nations, and compelled them to return home.	VI	199
4581	3274	275	The <i>Goths</i> enter <i>Pontus</i> , <i>Cappadocia</i> , <i>Galatia</i> , and <i>Silesia</i> , in order to settle in those countries; but the emperor <i>Tacitus</i> prevails upon some with money to return home, and those that staid behind were most of them cut to pieces by the emperor's brother <i>Florianus</i> , and the rest drove quite out of the empire.	VII	433
4582	3275	276	<i>Tacitus</i> dies at <i>Tarsus</i> in <i>Cilicia</i> : As he was preparing to return to <i>Italy</i> he was taken ill of a violent distemper, say some; and killed by the soldiers, say others; when he had reigned only six months. <i>Florianus</i> his brother proclaims himself emperor, and is acknowledged by all the provinces of <i>Europe</i> and <i>Africa</i> ; but <i>Syria</i> , <i>Phœnicia</i> , <i>Palestine</i> , and <i>Egypt</i> declared for <i>Probus</i> , who was commander of all the forces in the east. <i>Probus</i> comes against <i>Florianus</i> ; <i>Florianus</i> is killed by his own men, after he had reigned two months, and all proclaim <i>Probus</i> at <i>Tarsus</i> .	VI	199
4583	3276	277	<i>Probus</i> being acknowledged by the senate, and universally by all the provinces, he goes against the <i>Franks</i> and other <i>German</i> nations, who had broke into <i>Gaul</i> , and committed terrible ravages; but proving successful in several battles, writes to the senate that nine kings lay prostrate at his feet, that he had cut 400,000 of the <i>Barbarians</i> to pieces, and incorporated 16,000 among his own troops, that he had recovered sixty great cities, and had intirely freed <i>Gaul</i> , and taken an immense spoil, &c.	VI	200
4583	3276	277	<i>Varanes</i> the I. king of <i>Persia</i> dies, and is succeeded by <i>Varanes</i> II. who hearing the <i>Roman</i> emperor <i>Probus</i> was come into the east, sent ambassadors and presents to him, and to treat of peace: <i>Probus</i> received them very haughtily, and refused the presents, but granted them peace. In his return to <i>Rome</i> passing through <i>Thrace</i> , he gave lands to 100,000 <i>Bastarnæ</i> , a <i>Scythian</i> people, who ever afterwards remained faithful to him. When the <i>Gepidæ</i> , <i>Jurbungi</i> , and <i>Vandals</i> revolted, at <i>Rome</i> he triumphed, and entertained the people with all manner of diversions.	IV	319
4583	3276	277	The <i>Franks</i> , &c. crossing the <i>Rhine</i> , entered <i>Gaul</i> , reduced about 70 of the principal cities to their subjection; but <i>Probus</i> sending some of his best generals against them, gave them a fatal overthrow, and obliged them to quit their booty and return home, whither he followed them, crossing the <i>Rhine</i> after them, laid waste their territories far and near, and even built forts in their country, which so terrified them, that nine of their kings submitted to him, and sued for peace, which he granted.	VII	553
4583	3276	277	<i>Probus</i> the <i>Roman</i> emperor having gained a complete victory over the <i>Burgundians</i> and <i>Vandals</i> , they sue for peace, which he grants, upon condition they returned the booty and prisoners they had taken.	VII	583
4584	3277	278	<i>Saturninus</i> being declared emperor by the <i>Egyptians</i> , <i>Probus</i> sends some troops against him, who engage and put him to flight, and pursue, besiege, and take him by storm in <i>Apamea</i> , and put him and the whole garrison to the sword.	VI	202
4584	3277	278	The <i>Goths</i> enter <i>Thrace</i> , ravage the country, and get great booty; but upon their hearing that the emperor <i>Probus</i> was coming against them, they retire precipitately and leave their plunder behind them.	VII	498
4584	3277	278	The <i>Sarmatians</i> upon hearing of the emperor <i>Probus</i> 's marching against them, retire from <i>Thrace</i> , where they had committed great ravages, abandon the booty they had taken, and sue for peace, which he grants.	VII	607
4585	3278	279	The emperor <i>Probus</i> grants the <i>Sarmatians</i> lands in <i>Thrace</i> , upon their promise of living quietly like other subjects of the empire.	VII	596
4586	3279	280	Some of those <i>Franks</i> <i>Probus</i> had allotted lands to on the coasts of the <i>Euxine</i> sea having seized some ships, sailed to <i>Sicily</i> , took and plundered <i>Syracuse</i> , and put most of the inhabitants to the sword, and rebarked with an immense booty for their own country.	VII	533
4586	3279	280	<i>Proculus</i> and <i>Bonofus</i> revolt; <i>Proculus</i> was declared emperor at <i>Cologne</i> , and acknowledged in <i>Narbonne-Gaul</i> , <i>Britain</i> , and <i>Spain</i> : He defeated the <i>Almanni</i> in several battles, but was overcome by <i>Probus</i> , who pursued him to the <i>Franks</i> , who surrendered him to <i>Probus</i> , who put him to death. <i>Bonofus</i> , by birth a <i>Brittain</i> , and the son of a common school-master, having suffered through neglect the <i>Germans</i> to seize and burn the <i>Roman</i> fleet upon the <i>Rhine</i> , fearing to be punished, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and fought several battles with <i>Probus</i> , but being at last reduced to great straits, he killed himself.	VI	202
4587	3280	281	<i>Probus</i> being every where at peace, employs the army in planting vineyards on the hills of <i>Gaul</i> , <i>Pannonia</i> , and <i>Mæsia</i> , and cutting a canal to drain the marshes of <i>Sirmium</i> into the sea, and in building and repairing several great cities.	VI	203
4488	3281	382	The army being enraged against <i>Probus</i> for obliging them to work, fall upon and kill him in <i>Illyricum</i> , having reigned five years and four months, greatly lamented by the senate and people for his extraordinary goodness, courage, and success. The army declared <i>Carus</i> , the then captain of the prætorian guards, emperor in his stead, whom the senate with some difficulty confirmed.	VI	203

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4589	3282	283	The <i>Quadians</i> and <i>Sarmatians</i> break into <i>Illyricum</i> and <i>Thrace</i> , and after ravaging those provinces advanced towards <i>Italy</i> ; but <i>Carus</i> meeting them gave them a total overthrow, killed 16,000, and took 20,000 prisoners.	VII	603
3590	3283	284	The Roman emperor <i>Carus</i> goes against <i>Varanes II.</i> king of the <i>Persians</i> , enters <i>Mesopotamia</i> , and carries all before him, and advanced even beyond <i>Ctesiphon</i> , the capital of <i>Persia</i> ; but <i>Carus</i> dying soon after, having reigned one year and four months, and his son <i>Numerianus</i> being proclaimed emperor, was by his father-in-law privately murdered, having reigned only eight months: The Roman army proclaimed <i>Dioclesian</i> emperor, (at that time commander of the late emperor's body-guards) at <i>Chalcedon</i> , the 17th of <i>September</i> .	IV	330
4591	3284	285	<i>Dioclesian</i> coming to <i>Venitia</i> , overcame and slew there one <i>Julianus</i> , governor of that province, who had caused himself to be declared emperor.	VI	207
4591	3284	285	<i>Dioclesian</i> and <i>Carinus</i> (the son of the late emperor <i>Carus</i>) have several battles in <i>Illyricum</i> for the empire; at last <i>Carinus</i> is killed, and <i>Dioclesian</i> universally acknowledged, after which he gained several advantages over the <i>Germans</i> and <i>Britains</i> .	VI	207
4592	3285	286	<i>Dioclesian</i> takes <i>Maximian</i> for his colleague and partner in the empire; then he goes into the east, to whom <i>Varanes</i> returned all <i>Armenia</i> , &c. and <i>Maximian</i> goes into <i>Gaul</i> , where he was very successful.	VI	208
4593	3286	287	<i>Carausius</i> , a <i>Gaul</i> by nation, goes into <i>Britain</i> , and is proclaimed emperor, and supports himself with great bravery about seven years, when he was murdered by one <i>Allectus</i> , who proclaimed himself emperor.	VII	434
4593	3286	287	The <i>Franks</i> join the <i>Saxon</i> pirates, and plunder the coasts of <i>Gaul</i> , and carry off an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives.	VII	553
4593	3286	287	The <i>Heruli</i> join the <i>Chabons</i> and <i>Cavions</i> , entered <i>Gaul</i> , and laid waste the provinces bordering on the <i>Rhine</i> ; but <i>Maximian</i> gave them so fatal an overthrow, that there was scarce one left to carry home the news of their defeat.	VII	597
4593	3286	287	The <i>Burgundians</i> , &c. break into <i>Gaul</i> afresh, with prodigious numbers of men; but a famine and plague happening among them, they became an easy prey to <i>Maximian</i> , <i>Dioclesian's</i> partner in the empire.	VII	582
4594	3287	288	<i>Maximian</i> crossing the <i>Rhine</i> , entered <i>Germany</i> , and having laid the enemies country waste all about, returned to <i>Gaul</i> with a prodigious booty, and a great number of captives.	VII	554
4595	3288	289	<i>Maximian</i> allots lands to a great number of <i>Franks</i> and <i>Lates</i> , who submitted to him, in the neighbourhood of <i>Treves</i> and <i>Cambray</i> , which was almost depopled by many battles and ravages.	VII	534
4595	3288	289	The Roman emperor <i>Dioclesian</i> entirely destroys the <i>Sarmatians</i> , or <i>Goths</i> , and reunites <i>Dacia</i> to the empire.	VII	498
4595	3288	289	<i>Maximian</i> sends a large fleet against <i>Carausius</i> , into <i>Britain</i> ; <i>Carausius</i> beats and destroys the whole fleet and army, and is by treaty settled governor and emperor in <i>Britain</i> .	VI	208
4597	3290	291	A war broke out between the <i>Burgundians</i> and <i>Alemans</i> , in which the first got a great part of the latter's country.	VII	582
4598	3291	292	The <i>Persians</i> broke into <i>Mesopotamia</i> , and threatened <i>Syria</i> : Five nations join and over-ran <i>Asia</i> ; and <i>M. Aurelius Julianus</i> revolted in <i>Italy</i> , and proclaimed himself emperor; and <i>Achillens</i> did the same in <i>Alexandria</i> in <i>Egypt</i> . Upon this <i>Dioclesian</i> chose <i>Maximinus Galerius</i> for his successor in the east; and <i>Maximian Constantius</i> , surnamed <i>Chlorus</i> , for his successor in the west, and endowed each with the title of <i>Cæsar</i> , and the tribunitial and proconsular power: They put away their then wives, and <i>Constantius</i> married <i>Theodora</i> the daughter of <i>Maximian</i> , and <i>Galerius</i> the daughter of <i>Dioclesian</i> .	VI	209
4598	3291	292	In this and some following years, <i>Galerius</i> orders several large forests to be grubbed up in <i>Lower Pannonia</i> , and a lake to be discharged into the sea, which drained a vast tract of land, which he formed into a new province, and named after his wife <i>Valeria</i> . The chief cities were <i>Mursa</i> , <i>Aquincum</i> , and <i>Valeria</i> .	VI	211
4598	3291	292	<i>Maximian</i> completely defeated the <i>Quinquegentiani</i> in <i>Africa</i> , and reduced <i>Julianus</i> in <i>Italy</i> to such straits, that he killed himself. <i>Constantius</i> besieges and takes <i>Gefferiacum</i> , or <i>Boulogne</i> , in <i>Gaul</i> , and incorporates all the garrison into his troops.	VI	211
4599	3291	292	<i>Carausius</i> emperor in <i>Britain</i> is murdered by <i>Allectus</i> , his bosom friend and prime minister, who was proclaimed emperor in his stead, and held it three years.	VII	434
4599	3292	293	<i>Constantius</i> cleared <i>Batavia</i> of the <i>Franks</i> that had settled there, and transplanted them with their wives and children into other parts of the empire that were destitute of inhabitants.	VI	211
4600	3293	294	<i>Constantius</i> repaired and rebuilt, at an immense charge, with its former lustre of temples, baths, &c. the famous city of <i>Augustodunum</i> , now called <i>Autun</i> , in <i>Gaul</i> , that in 269 had been destroyed by <i>Tetricus</i> .	VI	211
4600	3293	294	<i>Varanes II.</i> dying, is succeeded by his son <i>Varanes III.</i> who having conquered a people called the <i>Segani</i> , incorporated them into his monarchy, and was called <i>Segansaa</i> , or <i>Seganhab</i> , but reigned only four months.	IV	330
4600	3293	294	<i>Varanes III.</i> dies, and is succeeded by <i>Narsetes</i> , who over-ran <i>Mesopotamia</i> , &c. but <i>Galerius</i> defeated him in two battles, upon which <i>Galerius</i> growing secure, <i>Narsetes</i> falls unexpectedly upon him, and cut his army all to pieces, and recovers <i>Mesopotamia</i> , &c.	IV	331
4601	3294	295	The <i>Carpi</i> are entirely reduced by <i>Galerius</i> , and by <i>Dioclesian</i> transplanted into <i>Pannonia</i> , and other parts of the empire.	VI	212
4602	3295	296	<i>Constantius</i> sends <i>Aclepiodotus</i> the captain of his guards with a fleet and an army into <i>Britain</i> ; <i>Allectus</i> the then emperor there engages him, but is killed, and his army cut to pieces, so that <i>Constantius</i> again reunited <i>Britain</i> to the		

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	empire; and returning into <i>Gaul</i> , transplanted great numbers of <i>Franks</i> to people <i>Amiens</i> , <i>Beauvois</i> , <i>Trois</i> , and <i>Langres</i> , &c.	VI 213
296	<i>Dioclesian</i> recovers <i>Egypt</i> from <i>Achilleus</i> , puts him and many others to death, and gave up <i>Alexandria</i> to be plundered by his soldiers for siding with him. The cities of <i>Coptos</i> and <i>Busiris</i> in <i>Thebais</i> were utterly ruined for joining <i>Achilleus</i> .	VI 213
297	<i>Maximianus</i> goes into <i>Africa</i> , and cuts the armies of the rebellious <i>Moors</i> to pieces, and forced them to deliver up their strong holds, arms, &c. and transplanted them into other countries.	VI 213
297	<i>Narfes</i> king of <i>Persia</i> takes all <i>Armenia</i> from the <i>Romans</i> , defeats <i>Galerius</i> , and cuts off his army, himself escaping with great difficulty.	VI 214
301	<i>Galerius</i> comes against <i>Narfes</i> again, and defeats him, takes all his baggage, and papers, his queen, sisters, children, and concubines; upon which he resigns up five provinces to have peace and his queen again; but his sisters, children, and concubines, &c. are carried to grace a triumph at <i>Rome</i> ; which vexed him so much, that he broke his heart and died with grief, and was succeeded by <i>Midates</i> , otherwise called <i>Hormisdas</i> the second.	IV 331
301	The <i>Alemans</i> invade <i>Gaul</i> , but <i>Constantius Chlorus</i> going against them, gained a complete victory, and cut off 60,000 of them.	VII 589
303	The 10th and last general persecution of the <i>Christians</i> breaks out the 23d of <i>February</i> this year, which raged ten years with a fury not to be expressed in or by words.	VI 216
303	One <i>Eugenius</i> assumed the title of emperor at <i>Selucia</i> in <i>Syria</i> , and went to <i>Antioch</i> , where the townsmen rose unanimously and cut him and his companions off to a man; notwithstanding which <i>Dioclesian</i> ordered the magistrates of <i>Selucia</i> and <i>Antioch</i> to be put to death, as conspirators with <i>Eugenius</i> .	VI 217
305	<i>Dioclesian</i> at <i>Nicomedia</i> , and <i>Maximian</i> at <i>Milan</i> , resign the sovereignty the 1st of <i>May</i> to <i>Galerius</i> and <i>Constantius</i> , who take <i>Severus</i> and <i>Maximian</i> for their <i>Cæsars</i> . <i>Gaul</i> , <i>Italy</i> , <i>Africa</i> , <i>Spain</i> , and <i>Britain</i> , are appointed to be the immediate care of <i>Constantius</i> : <i>Illyricum</i> , <i>Pannonia</i> , <i>Thrace</i> , <i>Macedon</i> , <i>Greece</i> , <i>Asia Minor</i> , <i>Egypt</i> , <i>Judea</i> , <i>Syria</i> , and all the eastern provinces, to the care and government of <i>Galerius</i> . <i>Constantius</i> yielded to <i>Severus</i> <i>Italy</i> and <i>Africa</i> ; and <i>Galerius</i> gave to <i>Maximin</i> <i>Syria</i> and <i>Egypt</i> .	VI 231
305	The whole nation of the <i>Carpi</i> submit to the <i>Romans</i> , whom <i>Dioclesian</i> transplants into the <i>Roman</i> territories.	VII 608
306	The <i>Franks</i> having passed the <i>Rhine</i> , and made an inroad into <i>Gaul</i> , while they were plundering the country <i>Constantine</i> fell upon them, cut great numbers of them to pieces, and took two of their kings prisoners, <i>Alecaric</i> and <i>Gaisas</i> , whom he exposed to the wild beasts at the publick shews, &c.	VII 534
306	The <i>Alemans</i> make inroads into <i>Gaul</i> , which so provoked <i>Constantine</i> , that he exposed their kings that were taken prisoners to be devoured by the wild beasts, at his publick shews.	VII 590
306	<i>Constantius</i> goes into <i>Britain</i> , and overcomes the <i>Picts</i> and <i>Caledonians</i> , that made continual irruptions into <i>Britain</i> , and dies soon after at <i>York</i> , viz. the 25th of <i>July</i> , his son <i>Constantine</i> being with him, who succeeded him in the empire.	VII 435
306	<i>Severus</i> reigning with intolerable cruelty in <i>Rome</i> and <i>Africa</i> , <i>Maxentius</i> , son of <i>Maximian</i> , the late resigned emperor, proclaims himself emperor, and was acknowledged by the <i>Roman</i> people. <i>Maximian</i> goes to <i>Rome</i> , and is a second time declared emperor by the senate, and made colleague with his son <i>Maxentius</i> .	VI 234
307	<i>Severus</i> is ordered to go against <i>Maxentius</i> by <i>Galerius</i> , but upon his arrival his army revolts, and goes over to <i>Maximian</i> their old master; upon which <i>Severus</i> flies towards <i>Milan</i> , but is pursued and besieged in <i>Ravenna</i> , where he surrenders to <i>Maximian</i> , who put him to death, and then married his daughter <i>Fausla</i> to <i>Constantine</i> , who thereupon took the name of <i>Augustus</i> .	VI 235
307	<i>Galerius</i> creates <i>Licinius</i> emperor, the 11th of <i>November</i> , a person of mean birth, but a very good military officer, covetous, tyrannical, cruel and vicious, so that now there were six emperors at one time of the <i>Roman</i> dominions.	VI 236
308	<i>Maxentius</i> the 20th of <i>April</i> declares himself and his son <i>Romulus</i> consuls, and gave himself the title of <i>Cæsar</i> and <i>Emperor</i> , refusing to acknowledge <i>Galerius</i> and his father <i>Maximian</i> who had been named for consuls.	VI 237
308	<i>Sapor</i> , or <i>Sapor</i> , II. is declared king while he is yet in his mother's womb.	IV 336
309	<i>Maxentius</i> having promoted his son <i>Romulus</i> to the consulship, who died soon after, he placed him among the gods, &c.	VI 237
309	<i>Maximian</i> pretends a second time to lay down the purple, and retires to his son-in-law <i>Constantine</i> in <i>Gaul</i> , who entertains him with all imaginable respect; but some <i>Franks</i> revolting, he persuades <i>Constantine</i> to pursue them with a small part of his army, and while he was gone <i>Maximian</i> declares himself emperor a 3d time at <i>Arles</i> , and bribes <i>Constantine's</i> troops to revolt. <i>Constantine</i> returns unexpectedly, and forces <i>Maximian</i> to fly to <i>Marfeilles</i> , where he is taken prisoner and forgiven. In <i>Africa</i> , <i>Alexander</i> , lieutenant of that province, is declared emperor with the usual ceremonies at <i>Carthage</i> , which he supported for three years.	VI 238
310	<i>Maximian</i> teases his daughter <i>Fausla</i> , the wife of <i>Constantine</i> , to betray her husband <i>Constantine</i> , by leaving her chamber door open, &c. She tells her husband, who orders one of his eunuchs to ly in his bed; <i>Maximian</i> comes in the dark and kills the eunuch, crying out, <i>Constantine</i> was dead, and he was emperor; but finding himself mistaken, when his death was put to his choice, he chose to be hanged, which was accordingly performed.	VI 239
310	The <i>Franks</i> endeavour to cross the <i>Rhine</i> , and so to penetrate into <i>Gaul</i> : <i>Constantine</i> attacks them, drives them back, and crossing the <i>Rhine</i> , destroys all before	

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			him ; and taking a vast multitude of captives, exposes them all to be devoured by the wild beasts.	VII	533
4616	3309	310	The <i>Alemanni</i> , &c. having passed the <i>Rhine</i> , laid the neighbouring provinces waste ; but <i>Constantine</i> marches against them, engages and defeats them, recovers the booty, and obliges them to repass the <i>Rhine</i> .	VII	59
4617	3310	311	The emperor <i>Galerius</i> dies in the greatest torments, about the beginning of <i>May</i> , by degrees, and in a measure devoured by lice ; and being persuaded this was a punishment for his cruelties to the <i>Christians</i> , revoked the decree, which revocation was signed by <i>Valerius</i> , <i>Constantine</i> , and <i>Licinius</i> , three of the emperors, and set up the 13th of <i>April</i> in <i>Nicomedia</i> , and his provinces were divided between <i>Licinius</i> and <i>Maximin</i> .	VI	240
4618	3311	312	<i>Constantine</i> coming to <i>Autun</i> , found the people heavily oppressed with taxes, first forgave what they owed, and abated 25 per cent. for the time to come.	VI	241
4618	3311	312	<i>Maxentius</i> sends <i>Rufus</i> and <i>Zenus</i> with an army into <i>Africa</i> , to depose <i>Alexander</i> : They engage, and <i>Alexander's</i> army is routed, and himself taken prisoner, and put to death, and with him all the men of birth and fortune that had sided with him, and laid <i>Carthage</i> in ashes : The same cruelties <i>Maxentius</i> committed at <i>Rome</i> , murdering the senators, debauching the ladies, and ruining the commonalty by the licentiousness of his soldiers, and the cruel extortions of his tax-gatherers.	VI	241
4618	3311	312	<i>Maxentius</i> having a desire to reign alone, quarrels with <i>Constantine</i> , who being inclined to favour <i>Christianity</i> , begs devoutly for a sign, and sees that of the crows in the heavens or sky, with this motto, <i>In this conquer</i> : he makes some standards accordingly, and becomes himself, wife, and family, professors. He passes the <i>Alps</i> , and takes <i>Segusium</i> , now <i>Susa</i> , by storm, but won't permit it to be plundered, nor the people hurt : Then he meets, engages, and defeats <i>Maxentius's</i> army : All the cities between the <i>Po</i> and the <i>Alps</i> submit to him. Soon after he meets and engages <i>Pompeianus</i> , utterly defeats and kills him. Soon after he took <i>Verona</i> by storm, and made all the soldiers prisoners at discretion. <i>Aquileia</i> and <i>Mutina</i> surrendered : Then marching to <i>Rome</i> , <i>Maxentius</i> marches out against him ; they engage, and <i>Constantine</i> gets the victory : <i>Maxentius</i> flies, and crossing a bridge he had laid cross the <i>Tiber</i> , it broke, and he and many of his officers were drowned, the 29th of <i>October</i> . <i>Constantine</i> at the head of his army, entered <i>Rome</i> , carrying the head of <i>Maxentius</i> stuck upon a pole, where he governed with so much gentleness and justice, that the people wanted words to express their joy.	VI	247
4618	3311	312	An edict is issued in <i>November</i> in the names of <i>Constantine</i> and <i>Licinius</i> , putting a stop to the great persecution that had raged for ten years past against the <i>Christians</i> : They sent it also to <i>Maximin</i> , who in compliance published it likewise all over the east.	VI	248
4619	3312	313	A <i>Christian</i> council for the regulating matters belonging to the church was held at <i>Rome</i> , in the apartment of the empress <i>Fausta</i> : <i>Constantine</i> builds a great number of <i>Christian</i> churches, and endows them.	VI	248
4619	3312	313	A terrible famine and plague breaks out in the east, which particularly fell in the eyes, and rendered abundance blind.	VI	250
4619	3312	313	<i>Constantine</i> and <i>Licinius</i> are consuls this year : <i>Constantine</i> goes from <i>Rome</i> to <i>Milan</i> , where he is met by <i>Licinius</i> , who marries his sister <i>Constantia</i> : Here they publish an edict in favour of the <i>Christians</i> . The <i>Franks</i> coming with a design to invade the <i>Roman</i> dominions, <i>Constantine</i> falls upon them, kills vast numbers, and follows them over the <i>Rhine</i> , laid waste their lands, burnt their habitations, and having taken a vast number captive, exposed them to be devoured by the wild beasts in the shows then exhibited to please the people. <i>Africa</i> having submitted, he grants great privileges to the <i>Christians</i> among them.	VI	251
4619	3312	313	<i>Constantine</i> assembles a council of <i>Christian</i> bishops this year at <i>Rome</i> , to consider about the doctrine and persons of <i>Donatists</i> .	VI	252
4619	3312	313	<i>Maximin</i> displeased with the good understanding between <i>Licinius</i> and <i>Constantine</i> , comes against <i>Licinius</i> , and takes <i>Byzantium</i> , and then <i>Heraclea</i> by storm. <i>Licinius</i> engages him, being told in a dream he should conquer if he became a <i>Christian</i> : Most of <i>Maximin's</i> troops were cut to pieces, and the rest came over to <i>Licinius</i> . <i>Maximin</i> made his escape in the habit of a slave. <i>Licinius</i> going to <i>Nicomedia</i> , ordered solemn thanks to be given to the true God, and published the decree made by himself and <i>Constantine</i> in favour of the <i>Christians</i> : Then he pursued <i>Maximin</i> , who poisoned himself, which occasioned him to die a lingering, painful, miserable death, about the middle of <i>August</i> ; and so <i>Licinius</i> became master of all the east. <i>Maximin</i> was declared a publick enemy, his statues pulled down, his inscriptions erased, his wife drowned in the <i>Orontes</i> , his children and relations publicly executed, and likewise his ministers and favourites put to death : The sons of <i>Galerius</i> and <i>Severus</i> were also both put to death.	VI	253
4620	3313	314	<i>Valeria</i> , the widow of <i>Galerius</i> and daughter of <i>Dioclesian</i> , with her mother <i>Prisca</i> , being discovered at <i>Theffalonica</i> , were seized, executed, and thrown into the sea, by order of <i>Licinius</i> .	VI	253
4620	3313	314	<i>Constantine</i> publishes an edict, declaring all those free that <i>Maxentius</i> had condemned to slavery, ordering those who held them in captivity to set them free, upon the severest penalties.	VI	253
4620	3313	314	<i>Constantine</i> goes to <i>Arles</i> , and holds a <i>Christian</i> council of all the bishops in the west, to suppress the <i>Donatists</i> .	VI	254
4620	3313	314	<i>Licinius</i> and <i>Constantine</i> quarrel, and engage near <i>Cibalæ</i> in <i>Pannonia</i> , where <i>Constantine</i> kills him 20,000 men, and <i>Licinius</i> flies to <i>Sirmium</i> , and from thence goes with his wife, children, and treasures into <i>Dacia</i> , where he raised <i>Valens</i> ,		

		one of his officers, to the dignity of <i>Cæsar</i> . <i>Constantine</i> pursues him into <i>Thrace</i> ; they engage upon the plains of <i>Mardia</i> , but neither side gaining the advantage, they conclude a peace, upon the condition that <i>Valens</i> should be deposed, and that <i>Syria</i> , <i>Egypt</i> , <i>Lybia</i> , <i>Asia</i> , <i>Thrace</i> , <i>Mæsia</i> , and the <i>Lesser Scythia</i> should remain in the possession of <i>Licinius</i> ; but <i>Illyricum</i> , <i>Dardania</i> , <i>Macedonia</i> , <i>Greece</i> , and <i>Mæsia</i> (now <i>Serbia</i>) should be ceded to <i>Constantine</i> .	VI	255
314	315	<i>Constantine</i> and <i>Licinius</i> are consuls: <i>Constantine</i> abolishes the punishment of crucifixion; likewise he orders the receivers of his revenue to receive and educate all such children whose parents could not by reason of poverty bring them up: This law was engraved in brass, and hung up publicly in all the cities of <i>Italy</i> : He likewise forbids the <i>Jeus</i> molesting those among them who should profess <i>Christianity</i> , and strictly forbids any not born so to become <i>Jeus</i> .	VI	255
315	316	The empress <i>Fausia</i> is delivered of a son, the 13th of <i>August</i> , at <i>Aler</i> in <i>Gaul</i> . This year <i>Constantine</i> made a law, that all persons of whatever rank guilty of rapes, extortions, &c. should be tried by the governors of the provinces where they lived, and executed without appealing to <i>Rome</i> .	VI	255
316	317	The emperors <i>Licinius</i> and <i>Constantine</i> create <i>Crispus</i> and <i>Constantine</i> , the sons of the emperor <i>Constantine</i> , and <i>Licinius</i> , the son of the emperor <i>Licinius</i> by <i>Constantia</i> sister of <i>Constantine</i> , <i>Cæsars</i> .	VI	255
316	317	<i>August 7</i> . <i>Constantius</i> , son of the emperor <i>Constantine</i> , by <i>Fausia</i> the sister of <i>Maxentius</i> , was born in the city of <i>Sirmium</i> in <i>Illyricum</i> .	VI	256
317	318	<i>Constantine</i> revives the old <i>Roman</i> law against parricides, comprehending therein not only the murder of a father or mother, but also of a son.	VI	256
319	320	<i>Constantine</i> and his son <i>Constantius</i> are consuls, and abrogate the <i>Papian</i> and all other laws against celibacy: He forbids all married men to keep concubines, and orders judges to dispatch the causes of criminals, and jaylors to use their prisoners well, upon pain of death. His son <i>Crispus</i> gains a victory over the <i>Franks</i> , and concluding a peace with them, returns to his father.	VI	256
320	321	<i>Crispus</i> and <i>Constantine</i> , the emperor's sons, are consuls. The emperor forbids all sorts of work to be done on <i>Sundays</i> , and ordered <i>Friday</i> to be kept holy.	VI	256
320	321	The <i>Goths</i> again invade the empire, and are overcome by the emperor <i>Constantine</i> .	VII	499
321	322	<i>Constantine</i> several times defeats the <i>Sarmatians</i> , kills their king <i>Tansimodes</i> , and takes vast numbers captive.	VI	257
322	323	<i>Constantine</i> being busy at <i>Thessalonica</i> in building a port, the <i>Goths</i> enter <i>Thrace</i> and <i>Mæsia</i> , and commit dreadful ravages: <i>Constantine</i> goes against them, overthrows them with great slaughter, and pursues them into the dominions of <i>Licinius</i> ; which he resents so far, that both parties prepare for war, <i>Constantine</i> with 130,000 men and 2200 vessels: <i>Licinius</i> had 115,000 men and 350 galleys: They came to an engagement on the 3d of <i>July</i> near <i>Adrianople</i> , on the banks of the <i>Hebrus</i> , where <i>Licinius</i> had 33,000 men killed on the spot: <i>Licinius</i> with a small army flies to <i>Byzantium</i> , and the rest submit to <i>Constantine</i> , who pursued <i>Licinius</i> , and besieges him in <i>Byzantium</i> , from whence he withdrew to <i>Chalcedon</i> . <i>Crispus</i> engages <i>Abantus</i> , admiral of <i>Licinius</i> 's fleet, and utterly defeated him, killing him 5000 men, and taking and destroying 130 ships, <i>Abantus</i> narrowly escaping. <i>Constantine</i> leaves <i>Byzantium</i> , and follows <i>Licinius</i> to <i>Chalcedon</i> , where they conclude a peace, which <i>Licinius</i> presently breaks: <i>Constantine</i> goes against him again, engages, and kill him 25,000 men; <i>Licinius</i> flies to <i>Nicomedia</i> ; <i>Byzantium</i> and <i>Chalcedon</i> submit to <i>Constantine</i> , who pursues <i>Licinius</i> , and besieges him in <i>Nicomedia</i> : <i>Constantia</i> , sister of <i>Constantine</i> , begs her husband's life, who yields up the sovereignty, and is soon after strangled by <i>Constantine</i> 's orders.	VI	258
323	324	<i>Constantine</i> purges the east as fast as possible of idolatry and heathenism, and promoted <i>Christianity</i> with all his might.	VI	260
324	325	<i>Constantine</i> assembles the famous council at <i>Nice</i> , and assisted in it personally, where <i>Arius</i> , <i>Eusebius</i> of <i>Nicomedia</i> , <i>Theognis</i> of <i>Nice</i> , &c. were condemned to banishment.	VI	260
324	325	On the 25th of <i>July</i> <i>Constantine</i> celebrated the 20th year of his reign with extraordinary pomp, invited all the bishops that composed the council of <i>Nice</i> to an entertainment in his palace, and gave them large presents, distributed great sums to the poor, &c.	VI	260
325	326	<i>Constantine</i> being at <i>Rome</i> , is ill-treated for his introducing <i>Christianity</i> , which he so resented, that he could never be prevailed upon to go there again.	VI	261
325	326	The empress <i>Fausia</i> envying <i>Crispus</i> , <i>Constantine</i> 's eldest son by his former wife, accuses him with soliciting her to his bed, and aspiring at the empire, which so enraged his father, that he caused him to be put to death without being heard. <i>Licinius</i> , the son of the late emperor <i>Licinius</i> , was also put to death. <i>Fausia</i> was soon after discovered of falsely accusing <i>Crispus</i> , and of really prostituting herself with mean persons; for which <i>Constantine</i> ordered her to be suffocated in the steam of a hot bath.	VI	261
326	327	The emperor <i>Constantine</i> in honour of his mother <i>Helena</i> , called the village of <i>Depranum</i> in <i>Bybinia</i> <i>Helenopolis</i> , and endowed it with all the privileges of a royal city. About this time she is said to discover the sepulchre and cross of our saviour. He also called a city in <i>Palestine</i> by the same name.	VI	262
328	329	On the 26th of <i>September</i> <i>Constantine</i> began to build the famous city of <i>Constantinople</i> ; and recalled from banishment the two <i>Arian</i> bishops, <i>Eusebius</i> and <i>Theognis</i> .	VI	263
329	330	<i>Constantine</i> dedicates his new city of <i>Constantinople</i> the 11th of <i>May</i> to the god of martyrs, in which he built an incredible number of churches, erected crosses in all the squares and publick places, a most sumptuous palace, and other publick buildings, appointing a senate, and all other privileges as at <i>Rome</i> , &c.		

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			The solemnity lasted 40 days, during all which time he ordered an immense quantity of provisions to be daily distributed to the populace, and fixed his residence here, never returning to <i>Rome</i> again; which by degrees brought on the destruction of the empire.	VI	263
4638	3331	332	The <i>Sarmatians</i> notwithstanding the great assistance they had received from <i>Constantine</i> , as soon as he was gone, invade and ravage <i>Mæsia</i> and <i>Thrace</i> ; but <i>Constantine</i> returns suddenly, and cutting great numbers of them to pieces, forces the rest to accept of such terms as he thought fit to give them.	VI	264
4638	3331	332	The <i>Goths</i> again invade the empire, and are again beat by <i>Constantine</i> , who kills 100,000 of their men.	VII	199
4639	3332	333	<i>Constantine</i> creates his youngest son <i>Constans Caesar</i> . <i>Syria</i> , <i>Cilicia</i> , and <i>Thrace</i> are grievously afflicted with the plague and famine, which sweep off great numbers of the people, a bushel of wheat being sold for 400 pieces of silver. <i>Constantine</i> sent to the bishop of <i>Antioch</i> 30,000 bushels of wheat, and a prodigious quantity of corn, oil, &c. to the other churches, to be divided among the widows, orphans, ecclesiasticks, &c.	VI	265
4640	3333	334	The <i>Sarmatians</i> being sore oppressed by their enemies the <i>Goths</i> , arm all their slaves, by whose assistance they obtain a complete victory: But the slaves combining together, fall upon their masters, overcome them, and drive them out of their country, and seize it for themselves; upon which the emperor <i>Constantine</i> receives 300,000 of them, and incorporates some of them among his troops, and gave lands to others in diverse distant places.	VII	609
4641	3334	335	<i>Constantine</i> celebrates the thirtieth year of his reign on the 25th of <i>July</i> , with extraordinary magnificence, in <i>Constantinople</i> , and assembles a council at <i>Tyre</i> , and another at <i>Jerusalem</i> , to reconcile the disturbances in the church: That at <i>Tyre</i> condemned and deposed <i>Athanasius</i> , bishop of <i>Alexandria</i> ; and that at <i>Jerusalem</i> admitted <i>Arius</i> and his followers to the communion of the church. <i>Constantine</i> banished <i>Athanasius</i> , and three other bishops, who opposed <i>Arianism</i> , he himself being a great favourer of it.	VI	265
4641	3334	335	<i>Constantine</i> gives <i>Gaul</i> , <i>Spain</i> , and <i>Britain</i> to his eldest son; <i>Asia</i> , <i>Syria</i> , and <i>Egypt</i> to <i>Constantius</i> his second son; <i>Illyricum</i> , <i>Italy</i> , and <i>Africa</i> to <i>Constans</i> his youngest son; <i>Thrace</i> , <i>Macedon</i> , and <i>Achaia</i> , to his nephew <i>Dalmatius</i> ; and to his nephew king <i>Annibalianus</i> , <i>Armenia minor</i> , <i>Pontus</i> and <i>Cappadocia</i> , with the city of <i>Cæsarea</i> for his capital.	VI	266
4641	3334	335	One <i>Calocerus</i> proclaims himself emperor in <i>Cyprus</i> , and makes himself master of the whole island; but <i>Dalmatius</i> , <i>Constantine's</i> general, reduces the island to its duty, takes <i>Calocerus</i> prisoner, and condemns him to be burnt alive at <i>Tarvis</i> in <i>Cilicia</i> .	VI	266
4642	3335	336	The famous heresiarch <i>Arius</i> dies, and soon after <i>Alexander</i> bishop of <i>Constantinople</i> ; to whom <i>Paul</i> succeeds, but was afterwards banished by <i>Constantine</i> into <i>Pontus</i> . This year <i>Constantius</i> , the emperor's second son, marries his cousin, daughter of <i>Julius Constantius</i> , his father's brother.	VI	266
4643	3336	337	<i>Sapor</i> king of <i>Persia</i> sends <i>Constantine</i> a memorial, and demands several provinces. Both sides provide for war; many battles were fought with various success, but at <i>Singara</i> <i>Sapor</i> lost his son, himself was wounded, and forced to retire with all his forces.	IV	333
4643	3336	337	The emperor <i>Constantine</i> falls ill, and is clothed in white, and baptized by <i>Eusebius</i> bishop of <i>Nicomedia</i> , and would not afterward so much as see his purple robes, but spent his time in religious discourses with the bishops, or in pious meditations, &c. by himself before he died. He ordered <i>Athanasius</i> to be recalled from banishment, bequeathed revenues to the cities of <i>Rome</i> and <i>Constantinople</i> , left his will in the hands of <i>Arian</i> , an ecclesiastic, to deliver to his son <i>Constantius</i> , and expired on <i>Whitsunday</i> the 22d of <i>May</i> , in the castle of <i>Achyrona</i> near <i>Helenopolis</i> in <i>Bythinia</i> , aged 63 years, two months, and 25 days, having reigned 32 years, 9 months, and 27 days, universally lamented by all degrees of people: His body, and purple robes, and diadem were put into a gold coffin, and carried to <i>Constantinople</i> .	VI	267
4643	3336	337	Notwithstanding <i>Constantine's</i> division of the empire between his three sons and two cousins, while living, and confirmation of it by his last will, all the soldiers and the senate of <i>Rome</i> unanimously proclaim the three sons only emperors, and leave out the two cousins, <i>Dalmatius Caesar</i> and <i>Annibalianus</i> king of <i>Pontus</i> . The soldiers fly to arms, (by the instigation of <i>Constantius</i> , as 'tis supposed) and cut in pieces <i>Julius Constantius</i> , brother to the deceased emperor, <i>Dalmatius Caesar</i> and <i>Annibalianus</i> , his two sons, <i>Optatus</i> , who had married <i>Anastasia</i> sister to the late emperor, five of his nephews, and most of his ministers, and so reduced his numerous family to his three sons and two nephews, <i>Gallus</i> and <i>Julian</i> .	VI	275
4643	3336	337	One <i>Antoninus</i> , a <i>Roman</i> officer of great credit, revolted to <i>Sapor</i> king of <i>Persia</i> , who received him with great honour, and by his advice besieges <i>Amida</i> , which after attacking 73 days, and losing 30,000 men, he took by storm; he hanged the officers, and sent the men into slavery. Then he goes into <i>Mesopotamia</i> , <i>Singara</i> , and demolishes it, &c.	IV	334
4644	3337	338	The three brothers emperors meet in <i>Pannonia</i> , where they agree and divide the provinces allotted to <i>Dalmatius</i> and <i>Annibalianus</i> by the late emperor, among them.	VI	275
4645	3338	339	<i>March</i> 31 a law is published in the name of the three emperors, forbidding upon pain of death marriages between uncles and nieces, which had before been authorized by the senate, in favour of <i>Claudius</i> and <i>Agrippina</i> .	VI	276
4646	3339	340	<i>Constantine</i> desiring all or part of <i>Italy</i> , which his brother <i>Constans</i> refusing, he enters with a great army, and takes several places. <i>Constans</i> comes against him, draws him into an ambuscade, near <i>Aquileia</i> , and cuts both him and his army to		

- pieces. Upon this the other brother *Constantius* yields all *Constantine's* dominions to *Constant*, thereby making him emperor of all the west. — VI 276
- 341 Many cities in the east were overturned by a violent and dreadful earthquake. This year a law was published in the name of the two emperors, forbidding all idolatrous worship. *Constant* ordered several temples to be demolished, with the celebrated altar of victory in the senate at *Rome*. *Constantius* rebuilt the city of *Amida* upon the *Tigris* in *Mesopotamia*. — VI 277
- 341 The *Franks* make an irruption into *Gaul*, and ravage the country every where, but are forced out by *Constant*. — VII 555
- 343 August 27, *Constantius* declares ecclesiastics and their domestics exempt from all new impositions; and such whose poverty obliged them to work for a livelihood were freed from all customs. — VI 277
- 344 A violent earthquake intirely overthrew all the buildings, and swallowed up all the people of *Neocesarea* in *Pontus*, except the church and bishop's house and family. — VI 277
- 345 The city of *Durra* in *Greece*, with all its inhabitants, was swallowed up by an earthquake, and twelve cities in *Campania* were overturned. — VI 277
- 347 The council of *Sardica* was held, at which *Atbanasius* and *Optus* assisted. A law was made this year that confirmed great privileges to the bishops and clergy, and to their wives, widows, children, and domestics. *Constantius* builds a harbour at *Seleucia*, at an immense charge; and rebuilds the cities of *Seleucia* in *Syria*, and *Antardus* in *Phœnicia*. — VI 277
- 348 *Constant* writes to his brother *Constantius*, to acquaint him, that unless he recalled from banishment those orthodox bishops he had deprived of their sees, he would restore them by force of arms; upon which *Constantius* recalled them. *Constant* sends *Macarius* and *Paulus* into *Africa*, with large sums to relieve the poor, and to endeavour to reconcile the *Donatists* to the church, which they very happily effected, to the great joy of both parties. — VI 278
- 348 The *Persians* having posted themselves in the neighbourhood of *Singara*, a city of *Mesopotamia*, and fortified themselves in their camp; the *Romans* forced it, after great opposition, cut great numbers of the *Persians* to pieces, and forced the rest to fly, or took them prisoners, among whom was *Sapor's* son, whom they put to death, having first beat him with rods, and took the enemies camp, baggage and treasures. — VI 278
- 349 A terrible earthquake overturned a great part of the city of *Berytus*, which so frightened all those that had not embraced *Christianity*, that they came and were baptized. — VI 278
- 350 The *Persians* besiege *Nisibis* a third time, with a vast army and a great number of military-engines: It was defended with all imaginable bravery by *Luritanus*, father-in-law to *Jovian*, afterwards emperor; but the soldiers and people trusted more to the prayers of their bishop *James*, than in their own valour. The *Persians* stopped the river *Mygdonus* that run through the city, and laid the country round it under water, and at last stopping the river with a great wall, which by a mighty flush suddenly broke it down, and by the violence of the sudden gush of water, broke the city walls down, for the space of 100 cubits; but it was so well defended, that *Sapor* after losing 20,000 men, many elephants, engines, &c. was forced to raise the siege, and in the transport of his rage put many of his officers and great men to death, for advising him to this war. — VI 279
- 350 *Magnentius* son of *Magnus*, a German, commander of some troops on the *Rhine*, conspires with *Marcellinus*, receiver of the revenues in *Gaul*: They invite all the officers to a feast in the city of *Autun*, where *Magnentius* puts on the purple, and is saluted the 18th of *January* with the title of *Augustus*. He immediately seized the imperial palace in *Autun*, and distributed what money he found there among the populace, and sends one *Gaiso* (a principal commander in the army) to murder *Constant*, who pursued and overtook him at *Helena*, a small village at the foot of the *Pyrenees*, and killed him there with many wounds, in the tenth year of his reign, a prince extremely devoted to promote the catholic faith, and suppress heresies, &c. — VI 281
- 350 Before the death of *Constant* was published, *Magnentius* sent and murdered all such officers as he thought attached to the deceased prince's interest. *Magnentius* soon made himself master of all the countries beyond the *Alps*, *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Africa*. *Veterania*, general of the foot in *Pannonia*, caused himself to be saluted *Augustus* at *Sirmium*, the first of *May*; *Constantius* is said to confirm the title of emperor to him, and to send him the diadem. A third pretender starts up, one *Flavius Popilius Nepotianus*, son of *Eutropia* sister to *Constantine the Great*, who having assembled a number of gladiators, and persons of desperate fortunes, assumes the purple, and on the 3d of *June* presents himself before the gates of *Rome*. *Anicetus*, who commanded there for *Magnentius*, goes out against him: *Nepotianus* defeats him, and soon after takes the city, and filled it with blood and slaughter. *Maxentius* sends his chief favourite *Marcellinus* against him: A bloody battle ensues, in which *Nepotianus* was killed, after a reign of 28 days. *Marcellinus* carries his head through all the cities of *Rome* upon a spear, and put all those to death who had declared for him, and commanded a general massacre of all those who were any ways related to *Constantine*. — VI 281
- 350 *Maxentius* and *Veterania* agree to oppose *Constantius*, and send deputies to him to treat of peace, which he refuses, but upon his arrival at *Sardica* makes a separate peace with *Veterania*, who joins him against *Maxentius*; but the soldiers deposed *Veterania* the 25th of *December*, who spent the remainder of his life in acts of devotion at *Præsa-Bythinia*, where *Constantius* made him an allowance suitable to his dignity. — VI 281

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4657	3350	351	<i>Constantius</i> marries his sister <i>Constantina</i> to his cousin <i>Gallus</i> , creates him <i>Cæsar</i> , allots him all the east, and <i>Thrace</i> and <i>Constantinople</i> , and sent him to <i>Antioch</i> to watch the <i>Persians</i> .	VI	282
4657	3350	351	<i>Constantius</i> stirs up the <i>Franks</i> and <i>Saxons</i> to attack <i>Maxentius</i> in <i>Gaul</i> , and sends them large sums of money and great quantities of arms for that purpose. <i>Maxentius</i> gives the title of <i>Cæsar</i> to his brother <i>Decentius</i> , and sends him into <i>Gaul</i> , where he engages the <i>Barbarians</i> , but is overthrown, and the country reduced to a deplorable condition.	VI	283
4657	3350	351	<i>Constantius</i> and <i>Maxentius</i> have divers encounters with various success. <i>Syzranus</i> , with a large body of troops under his command, revolts to <i>Constantius</i> . <i>Maxentius</i> attacks and takes <i>Scifia</i> by assault, and levelled it, laid the whole country waste along the <i>Save</i> , and then besieged <i>Mursa</i> , whither <i>Constantius</i> went and attacked him, cut off the greatest part of his army, and took and plundered his camp; but <i>Magnentius</i> got off, and retired into <i>Italy</i> .	VI	285
4658	3351	352	<i>Constantius</i> publishes an edict, empowering eunuchs to make wills: Then he goes into <i>Italy</i> , and masters all <i>Aquileia</i> , and goes into <i>Pavia</i> , where <i>Magnentius</i> obtained a victory over him, but soon after was obliged to surrender all the country bordering on the <i>Po</i> to <i>Constantius</i> , being deserted by his men in troops, who delivered up the places they garrisoned. <i>Magnentius</i> goes to <i>Rome</i> , and finding the people generally inclined to favour <i>Constantius</i> , put vast numbers of them to death, and then retired into <i>Gaul</i> , so that <i>Constantius</i> became master of <i>Rome</i> and all <i>Italy</i> by the beginning of <i>November</i> , and sent a powerful fleet to <i>Africa</i> and <i>Carthage</i> , which immediately submitted, as did <i>Sicily</i> and <i>Spain</i> , and <i>Treves</i> , and several other cities in <i>Gaul</i> . <i>Magnentius</i> offers to resign, but is refused an answer.	VI	286
4658	3351	352	<i>Magnentius</i> sends assassins into the east to murder <i>Gallus Cæsar</i> , who are discovered and put to death. The <i>Jews</i> in <i>Palestine</i> rise in the night, and cutting the throats of the soldiers, set up one <i>Patricius</i> for their prince.	VI	286
4659	3352	353	<i>Constantius</i> marries <i>Eusebia</i> , a native of <i>Thessalonica</i> , a lady highly commended for her chastity, and for the great care she took of the education of her children after her husband's decease: The emperor had so great an esteem for her, that in honour of her he made a new diocese, comprehending <i>Bythinia</i> , &c. and called it <i>Pietas</i> , the import of the word <i>Eusebia</i> .	VI	286
4659	3352	353	<i>Constantius</i> engages <i>Maxentius</i> near <i>Mons Seleucus</i> in <i>Gaul</i> , and routs his army, who flies to <i>Lions</i> , where being apprized his soldiers intended to deliver him up, first with his own hand murdered his mother, his brother <i>Desiderius</i> , and many of his friends and relations, and then himself. <i>Decentius Cæsar</i> strangles himself, and <i>Constantius</i> pardons all the rest.	VI	288
4659	3352	353	<i>Paulus Catena</i> , a noted informer, is sent into <i>Britain</i> by <i>Constantius</i> , to make an inquiry after all those who had sided with <i>Maxentius</i> , and commits many cruelties by condemning the bravest and most innocent men, purposely to have a colourable pretence of sequestering their estates and confiscating their effects.	IV	435
4659	3352	353	<i>Constantius</i> summoned a council at <i>Arles</i> , where he shewed himself a great enemy to the orthodox, and particularly <i>Athanasius</i> and <i>Paulinus</i> . <i>Gaul</i> was terribly ravaged by the <i>Barbarians</i> and disbanded soldiers of <i>Maxentius</i> . At <i>Rome</i> the populace rose, and committed great disorders upon the account of the scarcity of provisions. In <i>Asia</i> the <i>Issarian</i> robbers over ran <i>Lycaonia</i> and <i>Pamphilia</i> , and besieged <i>Seleucia</i> , the capital of <i>Issauria</i> . The <i>Saracens</i> committed dreadful ravages in <i>Mesopotamia</i> ; and <i>Gallus</i> governed the east with intolerable pride and cruelty.	VI	289
4660	3353	354	<i>Constantius</i> sends one <i>Domitian</i> in the quality of præfect of the east, whom <i>Gallus</i> murdered, with <i>Montius</i> , then quæstor, and many others at <i>Antioch</i> , and threw their bodies into the <i>Orontes</i> .	VI	291
4660	3353	354	<i>Gallus Cæsar</i> having been invited into <i>Italy</i> by <i>Constantius</i> , goes, and upon his arrival at <i>Petavium</i> in <i>Noricum</i> , is arrested and carried to <i>Flanona</i> in <i>Dalmatia</i> , where he was put to death.	VI	293
4661	3354	355	The emperor <i>Constantius</i> publishes a law, forbidding the marriage of a brother or sister-in-law, and declaring the children of such marriages illegitimate; and another, ordaining bishops to be judged by bishops, and not by the civil magistrates. He summoned a council at <i>Milan</i> , and banished <i>Liberius</i> , bishop of <i>Rome</i> , into <i>Thrace</i> .	VI	294
4661	3354	355	<i>Constantius</i> gives the title of <i>Cæsar</i> to his cousin <i>Julian</i> , brother to <i>Gallus</i> , and makes him governor of <i>Gæul</i> , and marries him to his sister <i>Helena</i> , but sets spies over him.	VI	296
4661	3354	355	The <i>Alamans</i> attempted to break into <i>Italy</i> ; the emperor <i>Constantius</i> sends <i>Arbetio</i> with the flower of his army against them, who falling into an ambuscade, was defeated with great loss; but some of his officers engaging them a few days after, puts them to flight.	VII	591
4661	3354	355	The <i>Franks</i> joining with the <i>Alamans</i> and <i>Saxons</i> , cross the <i>Rhine</i> , take and pillage above 40 cities on the banks of that river, lay waste the neighbouring provinces, and carry off a prodigious number of captives and immense booty.	VII	556
4661	3354	355	The <i>Quadians</i> break into <i>Pannonia</i> and <i>Mæsia</i> , and having pillaged both provinces, return with immense booty unmolested.	VII	603
4662	3355	356	<i>Constantius</i> gains so many advantages over the <i>Germans</i> that they sue for peace, which he grants them. The empress <i>Eusebia</i> visits <i>Rome</i> , and is received with all imaginable respect. The emperor, to shew his zeal for <i>Arrianism</i> , drives <i>Athanasius</i> from his seat at <i>Alexandria</i> , and puts <i>Gorgias</i> an <i>Arrian</i> in his place. This year he passed a law, condemning those to death who should sacrifice to, or worship idols; and sentenced many persons for being convicted of consulting the magicians, and published a law to have all magicians devoured by wild beasts.	VI	299

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4662	3355	356	<i>Constantius</i> for the first time, with his wife <i>Eusebia</i> and his sister <i>Helena</i> , visit <i>Rome</i> , which he enters in a gilt chariot adorned with precious stones, attended by the senate and whole nobility : During his stay here he is presented by several cities with gold crowns of an extraordinary weight.	VI 39;
4663	3356	357	<i>Julian</i> with 13,000 men marches against the <i>Germans</i> , consisting of 35,000, headed by seven kings, ten princes, and many great lords : He engages them near <i>Seraisbourg</i> , put them to flight, and pursued them, and killed 8000 with the loss of only 247 men, and many of the <i>Germans</i> were drowned in the <i>Rhine</i> ; by which victory <i>Gaul</i> was freed from the <i>Barbarians</i> .	VI 301
4663	3356	357	<i>Constantius</i> enacted a law dated the 3d of <i>July</i> , confiscating the effects of all those who should renounce the <i>Christian</i> , and embrace the <i>Jewish</i> religion ; and by another, he obliged all senators to reside in or near <i>Rome</i> ; and by a third he exempts all merchandizing ecclesiastics, their wives, children, and domestics, from taxes.	VI 302
4664	3357	358	<i>Narjes</i> , ambassador from <i>Sapor</i> king of <i>Persia</i> , comes with a letter, and presents it to the emperor, demanding those countries the <i>Romans</i> had taken from the <i>Persians</i> , calling himself <i>King of Kings</i> , <i>Brother of the Sun and Moon</i> , &c. The emperor sends ambassadors to <i>Sapor</i> to soften him, but he remains inflexible.	VI 303
4664	3357	358	<i>August</i> 28. a most dreadful earthquake was felt in <i>Asia</i> , <i>Pontus</i> , and <i>Macedon</i> , which greatly damaged 150 cities, and utterly ruined <i>Nicomedia</i> by overturning all the houses at once, and buried all its inhabitants under its ruins.	VI 304
4664	3357	358	<i>Constantius</i> publishes a law, declaring all magicians, astrologers, augurs, aruspices, and pretenders to the art of divination, enemies to mankind : and if any were found in the prince's court, they should be adjudged guilty of high treason.	VI 304
4664	3357	358	The <i>Quadians</i> , &c. laid waste great part of <i>Pannonia</i> and <i>Mesia</i> ; but <i>Constantius</i> marching against them, they repass the <i>Danube</i> and return home, and the emperor after them, who besieging them, lays waste their country ; they sue for peace, which is granted upon their setting at liberty their prisoners, and pledging hostages for their good behaviour.	VII 603
4664	3357	358	The emperor <i>Constantius</i> having driven out the <i>Limigantes</i> , or slaves, that had seized upon the <i>Sarmatians</i> country, reinstates the <i>Sarmatians</i> .	VII 610
4665	3358	359	<i>Eusebius</i> and <i>Hypatius</i> , brothers to the empress <i>Eusebia</i> , are consuls. <i>Julian</i> obliges several <i>German</i> nations to quit <i>Gaul</i> , and sue for peace.	VI 305
4665	3358	359	<i>Constantius</i> honours <i>Constantinople</i> with a præfect or governor, and makes <i>Honoratus</i> the first præfect.	VI 306
4665	3358	359	<i>Julian</i> passing the <i>Rhine</i> , unexpectedly advanced to the most distant parts of the country of the <i>Alemans</i> and <i>Burgundians</i> , destroying all with fire and sword ; whereupon <i>Macrianus</i> and <i>Hariobaldus</i> , two of their kings, sue for peace, &c.	VII 592
4666	3359	360	<i>Sapor</i> entering <i>Macedonia</i> , summons's <i>Roman</i> and <i>Busan</i> , two strong forts, and the <i>Romans</i> that garrisoned them surrendered : Then he besieged <i>Amida</i> , which after a long and gallant defence was taken and razed, the chief officers crucified, and the soldiers and inhabitants put to the sword or carried into captivity.	VI 307
4666	3359	360	<i>Constantius</i> determining to have a very great army to go against <i>Sapor</i> king of <i>Persia</i> , sends into <i>Britain</i> and <i>Gaul</i> , to draught off the flower of those troops : When assembled at <i>Paris</i> , they refused to go, and proclaim <i>Julian</i> emperor, which he declining, they threaten him with death if he does not immediately comply : He writes to the emperor an account of what had happened, and desires him to confirm his title, which he refuses. <i>Julian</i> goes against the <i>Athuarii</i> , (inhabitants of <i>Cleves</i> and <i>Munster</i>) laid their country waste, and cut many of them to pieces, and forced them to submit to such laws as he thought fit. His wife <i>Helena</i> , sister of <i>Constantius</i> , dies.	VI 312
4667	3360	361	<i>Julian</i> pretends a great respect for the <i>Christians</i> , though he had privately abjured that religion, and sacrificed to the old <i>Roman</i> gods. He goes against the <i>Allemans</i> , cuts great numbers of them to pieces, and forced the rest to accept his terms. Then he made himself master of all <i>Italy</i> and <i>Sicily</i> , which without striking a blow submitted to him.	VI 314
4667	3360	361	<i>Constantius</i> returns from the east to go against <i>Julian</i> , comes to <i>Mopsucene</i> on the borders of <i>Cilicia</i> , where he is taken so very ill, that he can go no further, and dies the 3d of <i>November</i> , in the 45th year of his age, suspected to be poisoned by means of <i>Julian</i> : Just before he died he was baptized by <i>Euzoius</i> , an <i>Arian</i> bishop, he being a great favourer of that sect : Upon which <i>Julian</i> enters <i>Constantinople</i> the 11th of <i>December</i> following, where he ordered <i>Constantius</i> to be buried in the church of the apostles, with the utmost solemnity, and is himself proclaimed emperor by the senate, &c.	VI 314
4667	3360	361	Just before the death of <i>Constantius</i> , <i>Julian</i> renounced the <i>Christian</i> religion in <i>Illyricum</i> , opened the temples of the gods, offered sacrifices according to the ancient rites, and exhorted all persons to follow his example.	VI 314
4667	3360	361	<i>Julian</i> erects a court of justice at <i>Chalcedon</i> , to enquire into the conduct of the ministers of the late emperor, where many of them are condemned and executed, some very justly and others very wrongfully. He made a great reformation of officers and offices, and eased the people very much of their taxes. The cities send their congratulations to him, and crowns of gold.	VI 326
4668	3361	362	<i>Julian</i> enriches the metropolis of <i>Constantinople</i> , the place of his nativity, with many privileges ; made a large harbour to shelter the ships from the south wind, built a stately library and porch, and goes into the east, orders large sums for the rebuilding <i>Nicomedia</i> , enriched the temple of <i>Cybele</i> at <i>Pessinus</i> with offerings of great value, and appointed <i>Calixenus</i> priestess of the temple. Arriving at the palace in <i>Ancyra</i> , he bestowed large gifts upon the pagan priests, and so went to <i>Antioch</i> , where he administered justice impartially.	VI 327

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4668	3361	362	Dreadful earthquakes were felt in every province ; most of the cities of <i>Palestine</i> , <i>Lybia</i> , <i>Sicily</i> , and <i>Greece</i> , were overturned ; <i>Nice</i> was utterly ruined, and <i>Constantinople</i> greatly damaged. The temples of <i>Apollo</i> at <i>Rome</i> and <i>Daphne</i> , were consumed by fire. The sea broke in, and destroyed whole cities with their inhabitants. At <i>Alexandria</i> the sea laid several towns and villages under water, and drowned the people. A general drought produced a famine, and that was followed by a dreadful plague.	VI	328
4669	3362	363	<i>Julian</i> entering upon his fourth consulship the 1st of <i>January</i> , visited the temple of <i>Jupiter</i> , performing the heathenish sacrifices for the safety of the empire, which had now been long discontinued.	VI	332
4669	3362	363	<i>Sapor</i> king of <i>Persia</i> being defeated, proposes peace to <i>Julian</i> , who rejects it ; but being misled by false guides, is reduced to great straits, but attacked the <i>Persians</i> , defeat them in several encounters, and at last in a general battle routs them with great slaughter ; but being in great distress for want of provision, decamps, and is continually harassed by the enemy ; and in one of these sudden onsets, hastening to repulse the enemy without his armour, <i>Julian</i> is wounded, carried to his tent, and dies, the 26th of <i>June</i> , in the 32d year of his age. The <i>Christians</i> received the account of his death with inexpressible joy, and the <i>Pagans</i> with as great grief. The officers of the army chose <i>Jovian</i> to succeed him, who concluded a thirty years peace with the <i>Persians</i> .	VI	341
4669	3362	363	<i>Jovian</i> arriving at <i>Antioch</i> , repeals all <i>Julian's</i> laws made against the <i>Christians</i> , greatly espoused the orthodox cause, and invited <i>Athanasius</i> to court, and received him very graciously, after which he returned to his bishoprick.	VI	344
4670	3363	364	<i>Jovian</i> arriving at <i>Angra</i> , the metropolis of <i>Galatia</i> , enters his first consulship, taking his son, then an infant, for his colleague. Going towards <i>Constantinople</i> , he is met at <i>Dadastia</i> by <i>Themistius</i> and others from the senate, to conduct him thither, but was found dead in his bed the 16th or 17th of <i>February</i> , having reigned seven months and 20 days. His body was carried to <i>Constantinople</i> , and buried in the church of the apostles, with the usual solemnity.	VI	345
4670	3363	364	After nine or ten days interregnum, <i>Valentinian</i> (son of <i>Gratianus</i> , count of <i>Africa</i> , a <i>Pannonian</i>), was chose and proclaimed emperor by the army, the 26th of <i>February</i> , at <i>Nice</i> , the metropolis of <i>Bythinia</i> : He was a zealous orthodox <i>Christian</i> , and going to <i>Constantinople</i> , he proclaimed his brother <i>Valens</i> colleague with him in the empire the 28th <i>March</i> following, and about 18th of <i>June</i> following parted the empire at <i>Mediana</i> in <i>Dacia</i> , assigning <i>Asia</i> , <i>Egypt</i> , and <i>Thrace</i> to <i>Valens</i> , and retaining <i>Illyricum</i> , <i>Gaul</i> , <i>Spain</i> , <i>Italy</i> , <i>Britain</i> , and <i>Africa</i> to himself ; and then they parted, <i>Valentinian</i> for <i>Milan</i> , and <i>Valens</i> for <i>Constantinople</i> .	VI	258
4670	3363	364	The <i>Goths</i> breaking into <i>Thrace</i> , the emperor <i>Valens</i> sends them a large sum of money, upon which they return home.	VII	500
4671	3364	365	The <i>Goths</i> breaking into the empire under pretence of siding with <i>Procopius</i> , who had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, are defeated, and obliged to lay down their arms, and yield themselves prisoners.	VII	500
4671	3364	365	A dreadful earthquake happens at <i>Casarea</i> in <i>Cappadocia</i> , which overturned several cities in <i>Sicily</i> , <i>Palestine</i> , and <i>Crete</i> . <i>Procopius</i> , a relation of the late emperor <i>Julian</i> , revolts, and being joined by a discarded eunuch of <i>Valens</i> possessed of great wealth, gained over the officers and soldiers, was proclaimed <i>Augustus</i> at <i>Constantinople</i> , and carried to the imperial palace, where he was acknowledged by the people, and soon after gained over a party of <i>Valens's</i> men that were sent against him, and seized <i>Nice</i> and <i>Chalcedon</i> , and took <i>Cyzicus</i> . Elated with this success, <i>Procopius</i> grew proud and tyrannical.	VI	367
4672	3365	366	The empress <i>Albia Dominica</i> , wife of <i>Valens</i> , the 18th of <i>January</i> was delivered of a son called <i>Valentinian</i> , and surnamed <i>Galata</i> , for being born in <i>Galatia</i> .	VI	369
4672	3365	366	<i>Valens</i> and <i>Procopius</i> come to a battle at <i>Nicolia</i> , a city of <i>Phrygia</i> , in which many of <i>Procopius's</i> men deserting him, he fled, but was seized and carried to <i>Valens</i> , and that emperor struck off his head the 27th of <i>June</i> , after he had born the title of emperor eight months, and sent it to his colleague <i>Valentinian</i> in <i>Gaul</i> : The two persons that seized and delivered him up were also put to death.	VI	368
4672	3365	366	<i>Marcellus</i> governor of <i>Nice</i> seizes <i>Chalcedon</i> , and proclaims himself emperor ; but is seized, loaded with chains, and he and his accomplices next day tortured to death.	VI	369
4672	3365	366	The <i>Alemans</i> having passed the <i>Rhine</i> upon the ice, are attacked by the <i>Romans</i> , whom they intirely defeat, and take the standards of the <i>Batavians</i> and <i>Heruli</i> : But <i>Jovinus</i> going against them, overthrew them three several times with great slaughter, and took their kings and their camp, so that very few escaped ; and the emperor fortified both sides of the banks of the <i>Rhine</i> , to prevent a surprize.	VII	598
4673	3366	367	The emperor <i>Valentinian</i> being very ill at <i>Rheims</i> , great contests arise about who should be his successor ; but he recovering names his son <i>Gratian</i> for his colleague at the city of <i>Amiens</i> , the 24th of <i>August</i> , in the ninth year of his age.	VI	352
4673	3366	367	The emperor <i>Valens</i> , by persuation of his empress, is baptized by <i>Eudaxius</i> , the <i>Arrian</i> bishop of <i>Constantinople</i> , who obliged him to swear to treat as enemies all those who opposed that doctrine.	VI	370
4673	3366	367	The <i>Picts</i> , <i>Scots</i> , <i>Attacots</i> , <i>Saxons</i> , &c. breaking into the <i>Roman</i> provinces of <i>Britain</i> , committed great devastations, killed <i>Nectaridus</i> , <i>Severus</i> , and <i>Jovinus</i> , but are repulsed, and vast numbers of them cut off, and all of them driven out by <i>Theodosius</i> , and peace again restored to the inhabitants, who also took one		

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			<i>Valens, or Valentinian, who had proclaimed himself emperor, and delivered him up to the civil magistrate.</i>	VI	378
4673	3366	367	The <i>Alemanni</i> unexpectedly pass the <i>Rhine</i> , take and plunder <i>Mentz</i> , and commit dreadful ravages in the neighbouring provinces, under the conduct of <i>Rhondo</i> , one of their princes.	VII	503
4673	3366	367	The emperor <i>Valens</i> passing the <i>Danube</i> , ravages the country of the <i>Goths</i> .	VII	501
4674	3367	368	A most dreadful earthquake utterly ruined <i>Nice</i> , and left but two houses standing in <i>Germa</i> , a city in the <i>Hellepont</i> .	VI	371
4674	3367	368	The emperor <i>Valentinian</i> goes against the <i>Allemanni</i> into their own country, and after an obstinate battle near <i>Solicinium</i> (now <i>Sulz</i>) on the <i>Neckar</i> , puts them to flight, and kills most of them.	VI	354
4675	3368	369	The emperor <i>Valentinian</i> fortifies the <i>Rhine</i> , from its rise in <i>Rhetia</i> to its mouth, with a vast number of castles on both sides, and particularly one at the confluence of the <i>Rhine</i> and <i>Neckar</i> , where the city of <i>Manheim</i> now stands. The <i>Germans</i> solicit the emperor to forbear, and upon his refusal fall upon the soldiers and workmen, and kill them. This year the emperor caused several senators, governors of provinces, judges, &c. to be put to death, for receiving bribes and oppressing the people.	VI	355
4675	3368	369	Complaint being made to the emperor <i>Valentinian</i> , by a widow whose estate <i>Rhodanus</i> the eunuch had unjustly seized, he was immediately seized, and burnt alive in the circus.	VI	355
4675	3368	369	The <i>Maratacuprians</i> near <i>Apamea</i> in <i>Syria</i> turn robbers, and commit great disorders; <i>Valens</i> sends some soldiers against them, who kill them all, both old and young.	VI	371
4675	3368	369	<i>Valens</i> going into <i>Lesser Scythia</i> , passed the <i>Danube</i> at <i>Novidunum</i> , and after having overcome the <i>Goths</i> in several encounters, they sue for peace, which he readily grants.	VII	502
4676	3369	370	The emperor <i>Valentinian</i> built a bridge over the <i>Tiber</i> , then called the bridge of <i>Gratian</i> , afterwards the bridge <i>Cestius</i> , at present <i>Ponte di S. Bartholomeo</i> .	VI	355
4676	3369	370	A terrible famine forced most of the inhabitants of <i>Phrygia</i> to fly out of the country into other places.	VI	372
4676	3369	370	The <i>Saxons</i> break into the empire, and defeat count <i>Naunienus</i> , and commit dreadful ravages; but <i>Severus</i> reduces them to beg a peace, which he grants them, but as they were returning home fell upon them, and cut them all off.	VI	356
4676	3369	370	<i>Eudoxius</i> the <i>Arrian</i> bishop of <i>Alexandria</i> dies; the <i>Arrians</i> , with <i>Valens</i> approbation, put <i>Demophilis</i> into that see: The orthodox choose <i>Evagrius</i> , but the emperor sends a party of soldiers to drive him out. The <i>Arrians</i> persecute the catholics; they send 80 ecclesiastics to <i>Valens</i> ; but he, instead of redressing them, put them all to death.	VI	372
4676	3369	370	<i>Ermenic</i> , king of the <i>Ostrogoths</i> , falls upon the <i>Heruli</i> , conquers and makes them his tributaries.	VII	499
4677	3370	371	<i>Valentinian</i> passes two laws, greatly encouraging <i>Paganism</i> and its professors.	VI	357
4677	3370	371	<i>Valentinian Galata</i> , the only son of <i>Valens</i> , being sick, he applies to St. <i>Basil</i> for his prayers, who promised to restore the child to health if he would let him be baptized by an orthodox bishop, which <i>Valerius</i> refusing, and being baptized by the <i>Arrians</i> , he died immediately.	VI	372
4678	3371	372	<i>Firmus</i> , a <i>Moorish</i> prince, revolts from the <i>Romans</i> , and is crowned king, ravages <i>Africa</i> and <i>Mauritania</i> , making himself master of <i>Caesarea</i> (now <i>Alger</i>) where he seized a large sum of money.	VI	359
4678	3371	372	<i>Sapor</i> king of <i>Persia</i> strives to gain over the grandees of <i>Armenia</i> , and invites <i>Arfaces</i> their king to a banquet, where he seized him and put out his eyes, and sent him in chains to a castle called <i>Agabana</i> , where he was murdered, and his country ruined.	VI	372
4679	3372	373	<i>Theodosius</i> goes against <i>Firmus</i> (king of the <i>Moors</i> ;) <i>Firmus</i> offers to submit; <i>Theodosius</i> requires hostages; <i>Firmus</i> delays the performance, and <i>Theodosius</i> falls upon <i>Mascezel</i> , &c. his allies, and defeated them with great slaughter; <i>Firmus</i> again pretends to submit, but his ally <i>Mascezel</i> ventures a second battle, and is again defeated; and then <i>Firmus</i> sends the hostages, and a peace is concluded: But <i>Firmus</i> breaking out again, is at last so straitened, that he strangled himself to prevent falling into the hands of the <i>Romans</i> .	VI	361
4679	3372	373	<i>Sapor</i> king of <i>Persia</i> invades the <i>Roman</i> dominions in the east, but is overthrown by <i>Trajan</i> , a <i>Roman</i> general, and <i>Vadomarius</i> , formerly king of the <i>Alemanni</i> .	VI	374
4680	3373	374	Many are taken up at <i>Antioch</i> , for practising magic in order to know the name of the successor of <i>Valens</i> : <i>Theodorus</i> his second secretary was named and accused and convicted of treasonable and illegal practices to take away the emperor's life, for which he was put to death, and vast numbers of innocent people racked, murdered, and banished, as his aids and abettors.	VI	474
4680	3373	374	<i>Gabinus</i> king of the <i>Quadi</i> , in the west, and <i>Paras</i> king of <i>Armenia</i> , in the east, are both treacherously murdered by the <i>Romans</i> .	VI	376
4680	3373	374	<i>Macrinus</i> king of the <i>Alemanni</i> is killed in an ambuscade by the <i>Franks</i> , with whom he was at war.	VII	594
4680	3373	374	<i>Marcellianus</i> , duke of <i>Valeria</i> , having treacherously murdered <i>Gabinus</i> king of the <i>Quadians</i> , to revenge his death, the <i>Quadians</i> pass the <i>Danube</i> , lay all waste for a great space, murder many of the people, and carry away a prodigious number captive.	VII	603
4681	3374	375	The emperor <i>Valentinian</i> ravages the country of the <i>Quadi</i> , and drives them all before him; and while their ambassadors were suing for peace, and he answering them roughly, suddenly falls down in convulsion fits, and dies in extremest agony, the 17th of <i>November</i> , in the 55th year of his age, and 12th of his reign.	VI	364

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4681	3374	375	<i>Valentinian</i> , youngest son of the deceased emperor <i>Valentinian</i> , is declared emperor by the officers of the army the 23d of <i>November</i> , which his brother <i>Gratian</i> and uncle <i>Valens</i> confirm'd; giving him <i>Italy</i> , <i>Illyricum</i> and <i>Africa</i> , for his share of the empire; to <i>Gratian</i> , <i>Gaul</i> , <i>Spain</i> and <i>Britain</i> , for his share; and then <i>Gratian</i> restores his mother <i>Severa</i> to her former honours, who had been divorced and banished.	VI	377
4682	3375	376	The body of the emperor <i>Valentinian</i> , after being enbalm'd, was sent to <i>Constantinople</i> to be interred among the other <i>Christian</i> princes, where it arrived the 28th of <i>December</i> , but was not buried till the 21st of <i>February</i> , 382, following. He is variously characterized by different authors.	VI	365
4682	3375	376	<i>Gratian</i> puts <i>Maximius</i> (prefect of <i>Gaul</i>) to death, for his cruelties exercised both in <i>Italy</i> and <i>Gaul</i> , likewise <i>Simplicius</i> and <i>Doryphorianus</i> for the same fault in <i>Rome</i> .	VI	377
4682	3375	376	The emperor <i>Gratian</i> is so rigid against the <i>Arians</i> , <i>Donatists</i> , &c. that he allowed the <i>Pagans</i> greater liberties than they.	VI	379
4682	3375	376	The <i>Goths</i> being driven out of their country by the <i>Huns</i> and <i>Alans</i> , are allowed by the emperor <i>Valens</i> to settle in vast numbers in <i>Thrace</i> .	VI	380
4682	3375	376	<i>Abamuric</i> , a chief among the <i>Goths</i> , being driven out of his own country, with his people, by the <i>Huns</i> , retires to <i>Cauculanda</i> , then inhabited by <i>Sarmatians</i> , drives out the inhabitants, and seizes it for themselves, where they settle.	VII	610
4682	3375	376	The <i>Huns</i> pass the <i>Palus Meotis</i> , and disperse themselves into diverse countries, and particularly displace the <i>Goths</i> .	VII	459
4683	3376	377	The <i>Goths</i> lately settled in <i>Thrace</i> , being reduced to great straits for want of provisions, began to mutiny, when Count <i>Lupicinus</i> , governor there, commanded them to march from the banks of the <i>Danube</i> , and ordered his soldiers to drive them on the <i>Greatbongi</i> , crossed the river, and when they came to <i>Marcianopolis</i> to <i>Lupicinus</i> , he invited the two chiefs to a banquet, but would let none of their people in with them; they being hungry, flew on the <i>Roman</i> guards, and cut most of them to pieces, for which the attendants of the two chiefs were put to death. The chiefs coming away, heads their men, and declare war. Next day <i>Lupicinus</i> goes against them, but being but few in number, the <i>Goths</i> cut most of them to pieces, and forced him to fly into the city. Those likewise at <i>Adrianople</i> join them. <i>Gratian</i> sends his uncle assistance, but they are all cut off or desert; but soon after the <i>Goths</i> are overcome, and vast numbers slain.	VI	382
4683	3376	377	<i>Gratian</i> makes a law vastly in favour of the clergy, and all any ways belonging to the church. A terrible plague swept away vast numbers of people in all the western provinces.	VI	382
4683	3376	377	<i>Mallobaudes</i> , king of the <i>Franks</i> , is raised to the consular dignity by the emperor <i>Gratian</i> , who was himself his colleague.	VII	557
4684	3377	378	The <i>Goths</i> lately settled in <i>Thrace</i> go into <i>Macedonia</i> and <i>Thessaly</i> , and commit dreadful ravages, advance to <i>Constantinople</i> , plundered the suburbs, and block'd up the city for some time. As <i>Valens</i> was going against them, <i>Gratian</i> sends to inform him, he was coming to his assistance with a large army, and therefore desired him to forbear engaging the enemy till he joined him; and at the same time <i>Fritigern</i> , chief of the <i>Goths</i> , sues for peace, both of which he refuses, comes to an engagement, and has his best generals and two thirds of his army cut to pieces, and the other routed, and <i>Valens</i> himself killed.	VI	384
4684	3377	378	The next day the <i>Goths</i> besiege <i>Adrianople</i> , but are forced to raise it with great loss, and then march to <i>Constantinople</i> , where after spending some time, they are also forced to retire with great loss, then they over-run <i>Thrace</i> , <i>Scythia</i> , <i>Alisia</i> , and <i>Illyricum</i> , without opposition.	VI	388
4684	3377	378	The <i>Quadi</i> and <i>Sarmatians</i> enter the <i>Roman</i> territories, and destroy all with fire and sword, wherever they come.	VI	388
4684	3377	378	There being great Numbers of <i>Goths</i> in the <i>Roman</i> armies in the east, <i>Julius</i> , the governor of <i>Asia</i> , fearing they should revolt, and join their brethren already too numerous, sent private orders to massacre them all at the same time, in the several places where they were quartered, which was executed without resistance. A great body of <i>Sarmatians</i> coming to join the <i>Goths</i> , are most of them cut to pieces by the <i>Romans</i> , and the rest forced to repass the <i>Danube</i> .	VI	38
4684	3377	378	<i>Gratian</i> , by the death of <i>Valens</i> , becoming emperor of the east, as well as of the west, recalls all the Catholic bishops, and restored them to their sees, from whence <i>Valens</i> had banished them, and published liberty of conscience to all <i>Christians</i> , except the <i>Manichees</i> , <i>Photinians</i> , and <i>Eunomians</i> , to whom he would allow no churches.	VI	389
4684	3377	378	The <i>Sarmatians</i> intending to join the rebellious <i>Goths</i> , pass the <i>Danube</i> ; but being met by <i>Theodosius</i> in <i>Thrace</i> , they are entirely overthrown.	VII	610
4684	3377	378	The <i>Alemans</i> passing the <i>Rhine</i> , began to lay waste the neighbouring provinces. Count <i>Nannius</i> and <i>Mellebaudes</i> , king of the <i>Franks</i> , attacked them, and gained a compleat victory, killing 30,000 on the spot, and slaying and taking the rest prisoners in pursuing them.	VII	594
4685	3378	379	<i>Gratian</i> proclaims <i>Theodosius</i> , a person of extraordinary accomplishments, and universally admired for his courage, piety, &c. his colleague in the empire, the 19th of <i>January</i> , at <i>Sirmium</i> , and committed to his care <i>Thrace</i> , and the rest of the provinces that <i>Valens</i> had in the east.	VI	389
4685	3378	379	The emperor <i>Gratian</i> coming to <i>Milan</i> , contracts a familiarity with count <i>Ambrose</i> , and by his influence recalls his law of liberty of conscience, especially to the <i>Re-baptizers</i> .	VI	391
4685	3378	379	The <i>Lombards</i> growing too populous, leaving their native country <i>Scandinavia</i> , to seek new settlements, and first overcome the <i>Vandals</i> , under their two chiefs, <i>Iboreus</i> and <i>Aionus</i> .	VI	391

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4685	3378	379	The emperor <i>Theodosius</i> receives the congratulations and homage of all the cities in the east at <i>Thessalonica</i> , and promises them all the service in his power; then goes against, and in several battles defeats, and at last entirely delivers <i>Thrace</i> from the ravages of the <i>Goths</i> .	VI	393
4685	3378	379	<i>Artaxerxes</i> , supposed to be the 4th son of <i>Sapor</i> , proclaimed king of <i>Persia</i> , upon that prince's death, and lived quietly four years.	IV	337
4686	3379	380	<i>Theodosius</i> being taken extremely ill at <i>Thessalonica</i> in <i>February</i> , desires to be baptized, which was accordingly performed by <i>Akolus</i> bishop of <i>Thessalonica</i> . <i>Gratian</i> comes into <i>Illyricum</i> to watch the <i>Goths</i> , who were preparing to cross the <i>Danube</i> : <i>Gratian</i> concludes a peace with them, which <i>Theodosius</i> upon his recovery confirmed.	VI	393
4686	3379	380	<i>Gratian</i> makes a law, whereby any woman obliged to act upon the stage becoming a <i>Christian</i> , should be exempt from that obligation: But she that behaved misbecoming a <i>Christian</i> , should be condemned to act on the stage for the remaining part of her life.	VI	393
4686	3379	380	<i>Theodosius</i> publishes a law at <i>Thessalonica</i> , the 28th of <i>February</i> , wherein he declares he will have all his subjects adhere to the faith <i>Rome</i> had received from <i>St. Peter</i> , and taught by <i>Damasus</i> bishop of that city, and <i>Peter</i> bishop of <i>Alexandria</i> , viz. confess the divinity of the father, son, and holy ghost; and all that did not should be treated as hereticks. Also another law, forbidding capital trials in <i>Lem</i> ; and another, prohibiting widows to remarry during their time of mourning, viz. 10 or 12 months.	VI	393
4686	3379	380	The <i>Goths</i> again return under <i>Fritigern</i> , <i>Alathius</i> , and <i>Saphrax</i> , break into <i>Thrace</i> and <i>Pannonia</i> , advance to <i>Macedon</i> , and destroy all with fire and sword: <i>Theodosius</i> goes against them, and overthrows them: Then going in triumph to <i>Constantinople</i> , deposes <i>Dionysius</i> the <i>Arrian</i> bishop, and appoints <i>Gregory Nazianzen</i> bishop in his stead; and drove the <i>Arrians</i> out of all the churches which they had held for 40 years past.	VI	395
4687	3380	381	The <i>Hereticks</i> are every where all over the east put out of the churches they held, and the <i>Catholicks</i> put in their place: And to reconcile all differences, the emperor <i>Theodosius</i> summons the second oecumenical council at <i>Constantinople</i> , where all the bishops of his dominions assembled.	VI	395
4687	3380	381	<i>Athanasius</i> , king of the <i>Goths</i> , flies from the <i>Huns</i> to <i>Constantinople</i> , where the emperor goes out to meet him, and receives him with great honours, and treats him nobly, &c.	VII	503
4688	3381	382	<i>Gratian</i> orders the altar of <i>Victory</i> , which stood in the palace where the <i>Roman</i> senate met, to be removed, and confiscated the revenues thereof: It had been before removed by <i>Constantius</i> in 357, but restored by <i>Julian</i> in 361, where it remained till now. He likewise took away the privileges of the <i>Pagan</i> pontiffs and vestal virgins. The <i>Hereticks</i> were also severely used, declaring them guilty of death.	VI	396
4688	3381	382	The emperor <i>Theodosius</i> I. upon the submission of the <i>Goths</i> , allow them lands in <i>Thrace</i> and <i>Mesia</i> , and leave to settle there, those two provinces having been almost dispeopled by the frequent incursions of the several sorts of <i>Barbarians</i> .	VII	503
4689	3382	383	A dreadful famine raged in <i>Rome</i> , and <i>Magnus Clemens Maximus</i> revolts in <i>Britain</i> , and is proclaimed emperor by the soldiers; and coming into <i>Gaul</i> , persuades them to revolt likewise. <i>Gratian</i> goes against him, but is deserted by great numbers of his soldiers, to supply which he took in foreigners, so that the rest also forsook him: He flies, is refused admittance into several cities, and is at last taken at <i>Lions</i> , and put to death by order of <i>Maximus</i> , in the 25th year of his age.	VI	398
4689	3382	383	<i>Maximus</i> upon the death of <i>Gratian</i> takes his son <i>Flavius Victor</i> for his colleague with him in the empire, and gave him the title of <i>Augustus</i> , though then but an infant, and fixed the seat of his government at <i>Treves</i> . <i>Maximus</i> ordered <i>Merobaudes</i> , one of this year's consuls, to put himself to death, which he does, and <i>Balio</i> strangled himself, being condemned to be burnt to death for his inviolable attachment to <i>Gratian</i> .	VI	400
4689	3382	383	<i>Theodosius</i> , rather than go to war with <i>Maximus</i> , and fearing the inroads of the <i>Barbarians</i> , allows him to be his colleague in the empire, and orders him to be proclaimed at <i>Alexandria</i> in <i>Egypt</i> . The beginning of this year <i>Theodosius</i> proclaimed his son <i>Arcadius</i> emperor, with extraordinary pomp, at the palace of <i>Hebdoman</i> , seven miles distant from <i>Constantinople</i> , then about six years old.	VI	402
4689	3382	383	The <i>Huns</i> having over-ran <i>Mesopotamia</i> , lay siege to <i>Edeffa</i> ; but being repulsed by the <i>Roman</i> garrison, are obliged by the <i>Goths</i> to retire.	VII	504
4690	3383	384	<i>Proculus</i> count of the east being accused of extortion, &c. at <i>Daphne</i> near <i>Antioch</i> , was ignominiously deposed, &c. This year a dreadful plague raged in <i>Antioch</i> , and most cities of <i>Syria</i> . A law is published, forbidding all on pain of death or perpetual banishment, to offer sacrifices to idols, or to consult a-ruspices, &c.	VI	403
4690	3383	384	<i>Cynegius</i> , praefect of the east, by order from <i>Theodosius</i> shuts up all the heathen temples, and abolishes superstition there and in <i>Egypt</i> .	VI	404
4690	3383	384	The emperor <i>Theodosius</i> publishes a law, prohibiting the marriage of cousins-germans, commanding the contracting parties to be burnt alive, their estates to be confiscated, and their children to be illegitimate.	VI	404
4690	3383	384	The <i>Sarmatians</i> make an irruption into the dominions of <i>Valentinian</i> , who were drove back with great slaughter, and many taken prisoners, who were sent to <i>Rome</i> to be massacred in the shews of the gladiators, or destroyed by the wild beasts.	VI	405

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4690	3383	384	Valentinian the 2d of March, being Good-Friday, publishes pardon to all criminals, some few excepted, in honour of the approaching feast of Easter.	VI	405
4691	3384	385	A plot is discovered against the emperor Theodosius at Constantinople, and most of the conspirators put to death. The empress Flaccilla and her daughter Pulcheria both die.	VI	406
4691	3384	385	Artaxerxes king of Persia dying, Sapor his son succeeds him, called Sapor the third, who reigned five years.	VII	338
4692	3385	386	The two emperors Theodosius and Arcadius obtain a great victory over the Greuthungi, in which king Odotheus was killed, and carries a vast number of them captive to Constantinople, which they enter in triumph.	VI	407
4692	3385	386	The Goths break into the empire, in order to settle in some of its provinces, but Theodosius engaging them, entirely overthrows them.	VI	504
4693	3386	387	Theodosius publishes a law, address'd by way of letter to all the cities in the east, to let all prisoners free (unless for very enormous crimes) at the feast of Easter then next coming.	VI	408
4693	3386	387	Theodosius wanting money to celebrate the 5th year of his son Arcadius, and the tenth of his own, laid a tax upon all the provinces to raise money, to which all but Antioch submit. The rabble break out into fury, and missing the governor, pull down all the statues of the emperors, &c. but being dispersed by the soldiery, many of the mutineers were punished, by the governor, with extreme severity, so that the greatest part of the people fled into the mountains, &c. besides which the emperor sent commissions to enquire into the riot, who punished many likewise with great severity; but thro' the mediation of saint Chrysostom and Flavianus, bishop of Antioch, the emperor forgave them, and restored the city again to the privileges he had deprived them of.	VI	411
4693	3386	387	Maximus passes the Alps, and goes to Milan. Valentinian flies to Theodosius for protection at Thessalonica, where Theodosius comes to comfort and assure him of help, and prevails on him to renounce Arrianism; then he sends ambassadors to Maximus, desiring him to be content with Gaul, Spain, and Britain; but he refuses, and besieges and takes Aquileia, and many other cities in Italy.	VI	412
4694	3387	388	The Alemanni submit to Maximus voluntarily.	VII	594
4694	3387	388	Maximus is acknowledged emperor in Rome, and all the provinces of Africa. Theodosius raises a great army, chiefly of Goths, Huns and Alans, and goes against, engages him, and entirely defeats one of his generals in Panonia. Soon after he engages and utterly defeats Marcellinus, brother of Maximus, with an army more numerous than his own. Theodosius pursues Maximus to Aquileia, which is taken, and Maximus in it, who is carried in chains to Theodosius. After which he was beheaded the 27th of August; then sending Arbogastes into Gaul, against Victor the son of Maximus, Arbogastes overcame and put him to death, and so ended the war. Theodosius publishes a general amnesty for all persons whatsoever that had sided with Maximus, and restored Valentinian to the full possession of all the western provinces.	VI	413
4694	3387	388	Upon a report that the emperor Theodosius had been beaten by Maximus, the Arrians at Constantinople rise in the night, and set fire to the house of Nestorius, the orthodox bishop of that city, and burnt it and him in it; but upon their humble petition to the young emperor Arcadius, he forgave them, and got his father to confirm their pardon.	VI	414
4694	3387	388	Theodosius publishes a law, forbidding the Apollinarians to hold assemblies, to have bishops or clergy, to live in cities, to appear at court, or to present a petition to the emperor. Another prohibiting all religious disputes. Another declaring the marriages between Jews and Christians unlawful, and the contracting persons subject to the laws against adultery, &c.	VI	415
4694	3387	388	The Franks savage Gaul fiercer than ever. Nannius and Quintinus having defeated those parties of Franks that were left in Gaul, Quintinus pursues them to the Rhine, which he passes, but is there with his army cut all to pieces.	VII	557
4695	3388	389	Theodosius goes to Rome, with his son Honorius and young Valentinian, and entered it in triumph; and by his extraordinary candid behaviour, is greatly instrumental in converting the senate and people to christianity.	VI	415
4695	3388	389	The Pagans at Alexandria fall upon the Christians, for exposing some of their obscene figures, found in one of their temples, and making the temple of Serapis their garrison; they sallied out from thence, and dragging what Christians they met with into the temple, forced them to sacrifice to their idol, or else rack'd them to death; the emperor, to still the riot, forgave the Pagans, but ordered all the temples in Alexandria to be demolished.	VI	417
4696	3389	390	Theodosius, by a law, orders all who professed a monastic life, to retire out of all cities, and to live in deserts; and by another, that all found guilty of unnatural lust should be publicly burnt alive.	VI	418
4696	3389	390	Sapor, third king of Persia, dies, and is succeeded by his son Varanus, who reigned eleven years.	IV	338
4696	3389	390	An obelisk, twenty-four cubits high, was raised in the Circus at Constantinople, and a column before the church of Saint Sophia, on which was a silver statue of Theodosius, weighing 7400 Ounces.	VI	418
4697	3390	391	The Huns commit great ravages in Media and Thrace.	VII	460
4697	3390	391	Theodosius orders the heretics to be driven out of all cities, and that all who renounced the Christian religion, after baptism, should be incapable of giving or receiving any thing by will, or being a legal witness.	VI	418
4697	3390	391	Theodosius unexpectedly falls upon, and cuts to pieces many of the Barbarians, that concealed themselves in the mountains and woods, in the province of Macedonia; and from thence sallied out and did great damage; but while the soldiers		

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			were refreshing themselves, the Barbarians fell upon them with great fury, and killed abundance of them. Next day the emperor attack'd them again and overthrew them with so great a slaughter, that very few of them escaped.	VI	415
4697	3390	391	<i>Theodosius</i> goes to <i>Constantinople</i> , and orders all the heathen temples that remained in that city, to be demolished, and all the <i>Arrians</i> to be driven out of that and all other cities in his dominions.	VI	415
4698	3391	392	The emperor <i>Valentinian</i> sends to <i>St. Ambrose</i> , bishop of <i>Milan</i> , to come into <i>Gaul</i> to baptize him; but before he could get to him, the emperor was murdered by <i>Arbogastes</i> , the 15th of <i>May</i> , aged twenty years and some months.	VI	420
4698	3391	392	Upon the death of <i>Valentinian</i> , one <i>Eugenius</i> was proclaimed emperor in <i>Gaul</i> , a creature of <i>Arbogastes</i> , who soon over-run <i>West Illyricum</i> , <i>Italy</i> , <i>Gaul</i> , <i>Spain</i> , and <i>Britain</i> , but <i>Africa</i> submitted to <i>Theodosius</i> .	VI	421
4698	3391	392	<i>Theodosius</i> receives the ambassadors sent to him by <i>Eugenius</i> very civilly, and sends to consult one <i>John</i> , a hermit, by nation an <i>Egyptian</i> , who advises him to make war upon <i>Eugenius</i> , and assures him of victory; and that he should soon after die in <i>Italy</i> , and leave his son emperor of the west.	VI	422
4699	3392	393	<i>Theodosius</i> proclaims his second son <i>Honorius Augustus</i> , in the palace of <i>Hebdomon</i> , near <i>Constantinople</i> , with great magnificence.	VI	423
4699	3392	393	<i>Eugenius</i> having obtained great advantages over the <i>Franks</i> , leaves <i>Gaul</i> and goes into <i>Italy</i> , where, after repeated solicitations, he re-establishes Paganism.	VI	423
4700	3393	394	<i>Theodosius</i> goes to the <i>Alps</i> , the passes whereof he found guarded by <i>Flavianus</i> , prefect of <i>Italy</i> ; he attacks him; <i>Flavianus</i> is killed, and his soldiers run away; but as he came down those hills, he was met by <i>Eugenius</i> at the bottom, with a numerous army; they engage, and <i>Theodosius</i> loses above 10,000 of his auxiliaries; they are parted by the night. Next morning <i>Theodosius</i> renews the fight, kills many of the enemy, and forces the rest to save themselves by a precipitate flight. <i>Eugenius</i> is carried to <i>Theodosius</i> in chains, where his head is cut off, and carried about on a spear, and the rest submitted to <i>Theodosius</i> , who ordered the children of <i>Arbogastes</i> and <i>Eugenius</i> to be instructed in the <i>Christian</i> Religion, and taken great care of, gave them their paternal estates, and raised them to great offices and employments.	VI	425
4700	3393	394	<i>Theodosius</i> publishes a general amnesty, and sends for his son <i>Honorius</i> , and proclaims him emperor of the West, giving him <i>Italy</i> , <i>Gaul</i> , <i>Spain</i> , <i>Britain</i> , <i>Africa</i> , and <i>West Illyricum</i> , and sends <i>Stilicho</i> to <i>Rome</i> with this declaration, accompanied by his wife <i>Serena</i> , niece to the emperor. She goes to see the statue of <i>Cybele</i> , and snatches a fine necklace that was on the image; an old vestal cursed her, her husband, and children, for which she was punished severely.	VI	435
4700	3393	394	The <i>Roman</i> senate congratulate <i>Theodosius</i> on his victory, and beg the next consulship for the two brothers <i>Olybrius</i> and <i>Probinus</i> , which the emperor grants, and exhorts them to embrace the <i>Christian</i> religion. This year dreadful earthquakes were felt almost all over the empire every day, from the beginning of <i>September</i> to the end of <i>November</i> . Violent and incessant rains laid whole countries under water, and great darkness.	VI	426
4701	3394	395	<i>Theodosius</i> prepares to return to <i>Constantinople</i> , but is seized with a dropsy, whereupon he made his will, bequeathing the eastern part of the empire to his son <i>Arcadius</i> , and the western part to his son <i>Honorius</i> , and died at <i>Milan</i> the 17th of <i>January</i> , in the 16th year of his reign, and 50th year of his life. <i>St. Ambrose</i> pronounced his funeral oration; his body was embalmed, and sent to <i>Constantinople</i> , where it was interred the 9th of <i>November</i> following, in a tomb of porphyry, in the mausoleum of <i>Constantine the Great</i> , near the church of the apostles: he is characteriz'd to be endowed with every virtue becoming a prince, in a very eminent degree.	VI	426
4701	3394	395	<i>Arcadius</i> , upon his father's death, comes out of the East to <i>Constantinople</i> , where he reigned under the direction of <i>Rufinus</i> , whom his father had made his guardian, being then in the 18th year of his age; and <i>Honorius</i> continued at <i>Milan</i> , being in the 11th year of his age, under the guardianship of <i>Stilicho</i> ; the two ministers jealous of one another, <i>Stilicho</i> pretends <i>Theodosius</i> had left the care of both to him, and therefore endeavours to destroy <i>Rufinus</i> .	VI	431
4701	3394	395	The emperor <i>Honorius</i> allowed a colony of <i>Alemans</i> , to settle in the present <i>Switzerland</i> .	VII	594
4701	3394	395	The <i>Huns</i> break into the eastern provinces of the <i>Roman</i> empire, and commit unspeakable ravages.	VII	460
4701	3394	395	<i>Eucherius</i> , uncle to <i>Arcadius</i> , complained to him of <i>Lucianus</i> , count of the east, who is very differently characterized. <i>Rufinus</i> goes privately to <i>Antioch</i> , calls <i>Lucianus</i> to his tribunal, and condemned him to be beat to death with leaden balls, fastened to cords; the <i>Antiochians</i> murmuring at it, he ordered the most stately portico to be built that was in all <i>Syria</i> , to appease them.	VI	431
4701	3394	395	<i>Rufinus</i> proposes his daughter for a wife to <i>Arcadius</i> , but he chuses <i>Eudoxia</i> , daughter of count <i>Bauto</i> , a <i>Frank</i> , and the nuptials were solemnized the 27th of <i>April</i> , she had a vast influence over <i>Arcadius</i> .	VI	433
4701	3394	395	<i>Rufinus</i> disappointed in the marriage, and fearing the arms of <i>Stilicho</i> . and the influence of the eunuch <i>Eutropius</i> , the favourite both of the emperor and the empress, resolves to put all into a flame, and stirs up the <i>Huns</i> and <i>Goths</i> , who penetrated into the empire as far as <i>Antioch</i> .	VI	435
4701	3394	395	<i>Stilicho</i> renews the ancient alliances with the <i>Germans</i> , and goes with a great army to the assistance of <i>Arcadius</i> ; but <i>Rufinus</i> influenced <i>Arcadius</i> to send for the eastern troops that were with <i>Stilicho</i> , and to order him to return home with the western troops, which he did. <i>Gainas</i> , that commanded the eastern troops, was met at the palace of <i>Hebdomon</i> by <i>Arcadius</i> , and <i>Rufinus</i> , who passed his ward to proclaim him his colleague; but <i>Gainas</i> ordered his troops		

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			to cut him to pieces, which they did the 17th of November; cut off his head, and carried it upon a spear to <i>Constantinople</i> , where every one rejoiced at the sight, and was succeeded by <i>Eutropius</i> the eunuch, who was originally an <i>Armenian</i> slave, very covetous, cruel, &c. who used all wicked means to convey the wealth of the empire into his own coffers.	VI	434
4701	3394	395	The <i>Goths</i> under <i>Alaric</i> ravage a great part of the empire, and even threaten <i>Constantinople</i> itself, continuing two years in <i>Greece</i> , &c. destroying all with fire and sword, and sending away multitudes of captives, with the whole wealth of the ravaged country.	VII	505
4702	3395	396	<i>Eutropius</i> so far influences <i>Arcadius</i> , that <i>Stilicho</i> is solemnly declared a public enemy, and all his lands and palaces in the east confiscated, and endeavoured to ruin all his friends. <i>Eutropius</i> prevails with the emperor to enact a law forbidding any body flying into the church for refuge, and that those who did so should be dragg'd out and punished more grievously than if they had not flew thither; this drew the general hatred upon him.	VI	437
4702	3395	396	Dreadful earthquakes were felt in most of the eastern provinces of the empire, the sky appearing all on a flame, over <i>Constantinople</i> , terrified the emperor and the people so much, that they flew out of the city to lie in the fields.	VI	437
4702	3395	396	<i>Fritigil</i> , queen of the <i>Marcomani</i> , by means of saint <i>Ambrose</i> , is converted to the <i>Christian</i> religion, and influences her husband to make peace with the <i>Romans</i> , and to favour the <i>Christians</i> .	VII	602
4703	3396	397	<i>Eutropius</i> , the emperor <i>Arcadius</i> 's favourite and prime minister, stirs up <i>Gildo</i> , brother to the famous <i>Firmus</i> , commander of the <i>Roman</i> troops in <i>Africa</i> , to revolt from <i>Honorius</i> , and come over to <i>Arcadius</i> , which he doing, they oblige <i>Carthage</i> and the whole province of <i>Africa</i> to declare for <i>Arcadius</i> .	VI	438
4703	3396	397	Saint <i>Ambrose</i> , bishop of <i>Milan</i> , dies, universally lamented by all degrees of people throughout the whole empire. <i>Honorius</i> publishes a law, forbidding the <i>Romans</i> to follow foreign fashions. <i>Arcadius</i> banishes all the <i>Apollinarian</i> preachers out of <i>Constantinople</i> , and confiscates all their houses; and passes a law in favour of the <i>Jews</i> ; and sentences to death all domestics that should bear witness against their masters, in cases of treason; the empress <i>Eudoxia</i> is delivered of a daughter, who was named <i>Flaccilla</i> , the 17th of June.	VI	439
4704	3397	398	<i>Mascezel</i> is sent by <i>Stilicho</i> against his rebellious brother <i>Gildo</i> in <i>Africa</i> , where he engages and entirely overthrows him; <i>Gildo</i> flies, is pursued, taken, and put into prison, where he strangled himself; and all <i>Africa</i> returned to <i>Honorius</i> again, and the two brothers are reconciled to one another.	VI	440
4704	3397	398	<i>Mascezel</i> returns to <i>Italy</i> , where <i>Stilicho</i> seemingly receives him with great marks of esteem; but being jealous of his growing greatness, orders him to be pushed into the river, as they were both going over the bridge at <i>Milan</i> , in which he was drowned.	VI	440
4704	3397	398	<i>Stilicho</i> marries his daughter <i>Maria</i> , an infant, to the emperor <i>Honorius</i> , now in his 13th year; he assists the <i>Britains</i> against the <i>Dani</i> , <i>Saxons</i> and <i>Picts</i> , and settles a legion in <i>Britain</i> for their defence.	VI	441
4704	3397	398	A violent earthquake overthrows abundance of houses in <i>Constantinople</i> and <i>Chalcedon</i> , and several buildings are consumed with lightning, and the sea breaks in and lays whole countries under water.	VI	441
4705	3398	399	<i>Eutropius</i> prevails upon <i>Arcadius</i> to create him a patrician, intitle him <i>Father to the Emperor</i> , and to raise him to the consulate, being the first and last eunuch ever advanced to that dignity.	VI	441
4705	3398	399	<i>Tribigild</i> the <i>Goth</i> , commander of a great army of those people as auxiliaries to <i>Arcadius</i> in <i>Nicolia</i> in <i>Phrygia</i> , coming to court, is highly affronted at the haughty behaviour of <i>Eutropius</i> , and is influenced by <i>Gainas</i> , general of all the <i>Roman</i> horse and foot, to revolt; at his return to <i>Nicolia</i> , he plundered it and several other cities, and put all to the sword that fell into his hands, threw the whole province of <i>Asia</i> into confusion and consternation. <i>Eutropius</i> strove to bring him back by large presents and promises; but failing, sends one <i>Leo</i> , a creature of his, at the head of an army against him. <i>Tribigild</i> was cut off all to 300 men by the <i>Pisidian</i> s; but <i>Gainas</i> supplies him with a fresh army, who fell upon and defeated <i>Leo</i> , who perished, and most of his men were cut to pieces; and then he demands <i>Eutropius</i> to be delivered up to him, who after being degraded, was first banished to the island of <i>Cyprus</i> , and afterwards put to death, as the cause of all these troubles.	VI	444
4705	3398	399	<i>Tribigild</i> and <i>Gainas</i> , two officers in the <i>Roman</i> pay, revolt, and with their countrymen the <i>Goths</i> , do great mischief.	VII	506
4705	3398	399	Abundance of heathen temples were shut up and pulled down, both in the eastern and western empires, and some turned into churches, and severe laws enacted against all manner of idolatrous worship.	VI	445
4706	3399	400	<i>Alaric</i> king of the <i>Goths</i> , and <i>Radagaisus</i> king of the <i>Hunns</i> , entered <i>Italy</i> and committed vast ravages.	VII	504
4706	3399	400	Upon the death of <i>Eutropius</i> , the empress <i>Eudoxia</i> , a bold, enterprising, avaritious woman, so influenced her weak husband <i>Arcadius</i> , that the state was reduced to the utmost miseries, by the enormous wickedness of her creatures.	VI	445
4706	3399	400	<i>Gainas</i> makes a pretended peace with <i>Tribigild</i> , and unite their forces together, and went to <i>Sardis</i> in <i>Lydia</i> , plundered that metropolis; and then separated; <i>Tribigild</i> goes to <i>Lampfacbus</i> , and <i>Gainas</i> towards <i>Chalcedon</i> , plundering the countries through which they pass. The emperor offers <i>Gainas</i> whatever terms he required. He first demanded the three greatest officers of the state to be delivered to him, which was done; then, that the emperor and he should have a private conference, which was likewise held in the church of St. Eu-		

phemia in *Chalcedon*, where it was agreed, that they should lay down their arms, and be advanced to the highest dignities in the state, which were both done accordingly.

400 *Gainas* having filled *Constantinople* with his countrymen the *Goths*, revived and greatly encouraged *Arrianism*, and formed a design to seize all the wealth of the city, and set fire to the palace; but mistaking the time of the signal, most of the *Goths* were cut to pieces by the inhabitants; upon which *Gainas* flies again into open rebellion. *Fravitus*, who commanded in *Asia*, opposes and kills several thousand of his men, and forces him back from that province; and upon his arrival in *Thrace*, he and all his soldiers were cut to pieces by the *Roman* soldiers, and so this disturbance ceased.

401 The empress *Eudoxia* being created *Augusta*, orders her image to be carried through all the provinces, to receive the same homage that is paid to the images of the emperors, which no empress before had ever presumed to do.

401 The empress *Eudoxia* is delivered of her third daughter *Arcadia*, on the third of *April*. This year *Constantinople* was shaken with violent earthquakes for three days together, upon which abundance of *Pagans* desire to be, and are baptized into the *Christian* religion.

401 *Varanes*, king of *Persia*, dies, and is succeeded by *Izdigerdes*, whom *Arcadius*, emperor of the east, declared guardian of his son *Theodosius*, which begot a great intimacy and friendship between the two courts.

402 *Theodosius*, son and successor of *Arcadius*, was born the 10th of *April*, and soon after baptized and declared *Cesar*, with extraordinary pomp and solemnity. This year the *Euxine* sea was frozen over for the space of twenty days. A band of slaves and deserters pillaged *Thrace*, pretending to be *Huns*; but *Fravitus* cuts most of them to pieces, and disperses the rest.

402 *Honorius* forgives all debts due to his exchequer, contracted since his first consulate in 386, and orders all legal prosecutions for debt to stop, commenced since 395, the time of his coming to the empire, till he had examined into the circumstances thereof.

403 *Arcadius* promotes his son *Theodosius* to the imperial dignity, in his palace of *Hebdomen*, on the 10th of *January*, with extraordinary magnificence.

403 *Alaric* enters *Italy* without opposition, and ravages the provinces of *Venetia* and *Liguria*, and threatened to besiege the court; whereupon *Honorius* retires from *Milan* to *Ravenna*, which from this time became the ordinary place of his residence.

403 The empress *Eudoxia* is delivered of her fourth and last daughter *Marina*. On the 10th of *February* a statue of silver was erected to the empress, upon a column of porphyry, near the church of *St. Sophia* in *Constantinople*, where sports were exhibited in honour of the empress, which occasioned a misunderstanding between *St. Chrysostom*, bishop of the city, and the empress. This year a statue was reared to *Arcadius*, in the same city, and he built the city of *Arcadiopolis* in *Thrace*.

403 *Stilicho* engages and overcomes *Alaric* king of the *Goths*, at *Pollentia*, takes his camp, with all the rich plunder of several provinces, and his wife and children; upon which *Alaric* sues for peace, which is granted: He repasses the *Po*, and goes to *Verona*, where committing acts of hostility, he is pursued, and forced into the mountains, and so retires into *Pannania*; upon which *Honorius* goes to *Rome*, which he enters in triumph, with *Stilicho* in the same chariot with him, about the beginning of *December*, where he was received with all the marks of joy and respect possible.

404 The empress *Eudoxia* dies of a miscarriage, the 6th of *October*, a few days after she had prevailed on *Arcadius* to banish *St. Chrysostom*: That day he went out of *Constantinople* a fire consumed the great church, the palace where the senate assembled, and many other adjoining edifices.

404 The *Huns* break into *Thrace*, and east *Illyricum*, and having amassed great booty, retired beyond the *Danube*: And the *Issaurian* robbers commit great ravages in *Asia* and *Syria*; but *Arbaxacius* going against them, cut most of them to pieces, and shut up the rest on all sides, but for the sake of a great bribe let them escape, when they over-run the provinces of *Cilicia*, *Pamphilia*, *Lycia*, *Lycania*, *Pisidia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Lower Syria*, pillaging all the open country, and then retired into their inaccessible mountains with their vast booty.

405 *Ragaisus* king of the *Goths*, a *Pagan*, comes with a mighty army into *Italy*, and offering sacrifices to *Jupiter* every morning, vows all the *Romans* to destruction. The *Pagans* all over the empire, but especially at *Rome*, lay all their sufferings upon the *Christians*, for despising the gods and their service. *Stilicho* assembles 30 *Roman* legions at *Pavia*, and reinforced them with a great number of *Goths*, *Huns*, and *Alans*, under *Sarus*, a *Goth*, and *Uldin* king of the *Huns*, and goes towards *Florence*, which *Ragaisus* had besieged, and orders his auxiliaries to fall upon one of the divisions of *Ragaisus's* army, which doing, they kill him 100,000 men without the loss of one man: upon which he retired to the mountains of *Fesula*, where *Stilicho* closely besieged him, and reduced him to such straits, that he attempted to escape and leave his men behind, and so was taken and put to death: His army submitted to the *Romans*, who sold them for slaves in droves, at a crown per head; but all died in a few days, being almost starved to death before in their camp.

406 A dreadful fire reduced great part of *Constantinople* to ashes on the 25th of *October*; and such multitudes of grasshoppers infested *Egypt*, that turned the day into night; and by the stench of them after they were dead occasioned a great plague, which carried off abundance of the people.

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December

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4712	3405	406	December 30th. prodigious numbers of the northern nations entered into and settled in <i>Gaul</i> , which at length utterly ruined the western empire, said to be invited and supported by <i>Stilicho</i> , with an intent to make his son <i>Eucherius</i> emperor of the west.	VI	452
4712	3405	406	The <i>Franks</i> fall upon the <i>Vandals</i> , as they were preparing to march into <i>Gaul</i> , and cut off 20,000 of them.	VI	551
4713	3406	407	The <i>Gauls</i> are terribly ravaged by the <i>Vandals</i> , <i>Alans</i> , and <i>Suevians</i> , and are joined by the <i>Burgundians</i> . They took <i>Mentz</i> by storm, and levelled it to the ground, after having murdered many thousands of the inhabitants in the churches, whither they flew. <i>Worms</i> , <i>Strasbourg</i> , and <i>Spires</i> underwent the same fate; then they mastered all <i>Aquitain</i> , <i>Gascony</i> , <i>Lions</i> , and <i>Narbonne</i> .	VI	452
4713	3406	407	The <i>Britains</i> set up an emperor of their own, named <i>Mark</i> , who was murdered a few days after: Then they advanced one <i>Gratian</i> to that dignity, who after a reign of four months was also murdered; and then one <i>Constantine</i> , a common soldier, was chose, who forced the <i>Picts</i> and <i>Scots</i> out of the <i>Roman</i> province, and then formed a design of reigning over the whole empire: He goes into <i>Gaul</i> , with all the youth of <i>Britain</i> and what <i>Roman</i> forces were in the country, and after various successes settled at <i>Arles</i> , but leaving the <i>Britains</i> defenceless, they were terribly ravaged by their settled enemies, the <i>Scots</i> and <i>Picts</i> .	VI	453
4714	3407	408	<i>Arcadius</i> emperor of the east dies on the 1st of <i>May</i> at <i>Constantinople</i> , in the 31st year of his age, and was buried in the church of the apostles near his wife <i>Eudoxia</i> . He was naturally inclined to virtue, but being of a weak understanding, suffered his people to be grievously abused by his ministers and his wife's favourites. He was succeeded by his son <i>Theodosius</i> , then about eight years old, under the guardianship of his mother.	VI	455
4714	3407	408	<i>Constantine</i> the <i>Britain</i> made himself master of all <i>Gaul</i> : he caused his son <i>Constance</i> , who was a monk, to quit his retirement, and created him <i>Cæsar</i> , and sent him under <i>Gerontius</i> into <i>Spain</i> , where he cut most of <i>Honorius's</i> troops to pieces, and took <i>Didymus</i> and <i>Verinianus</i> their generals, and their wives, prisoners: They were brothers, and related to <i>Honorius</i> . This reduced all <i>Spain</i> , where <i>Gerontius</i> laid, and <i>Constance</i> returned into <i>Gaul</i> , and presented his father with the illustrious prisoners, who ordered them to be privately murdered, and created his son <i>Augustus</i> , and gave him a diadem, and sends ambassadors to <i>Honorius</i> , demanding to be associated with him in the empire, who was forced to send him the imperial purple, and honour him with the title of <i>Augustus</i> , upon condition of his helping him against <i>Alaric</i> .	VI	455
4714	3407	408	<i>Alaric</i> being privately encouraged by <i>Stilicho</i> , threatens to lay waste all <i>Italy</i> , unless the <i>Romans</i> paid him a large sum of money. The senate at last were compelled by <i>Stilicho</i> to send him 4000 pounds weight of gold.	VI	455
4714	3407	408	One <i>Olympius</i> pretending great sanctity, thereby ingratiated himself so far into <i>Honorius's</i> favour, as to wait immediately upon his person where-ever he went; and in the emperor's journey from <i>Parva</i> , so thoroughly convinced him of the treachery of <i>Stilicho</i> , that he sent two orders to <i>Ravenna</i> , where <i>Stilicho</i> was, the one to secure, and the other to put him to death, both which were executed. The army flew to arms, and slew all <i>Stilicho's</i> friends and creatures. The emperor having married <i>Thermantia</i> , <i>Stilicho's</i> second daughter, sent her back to her mother <i>Sereia</i> untouched. <i>Eucherius</i> his son fled to a church, but was dragged out, and executed. <i>Stilicho's</i> estate, and the estates of all his partisans, were confiscated; and <i>Olympius</i> succeeded as prime minister. This year the <i>Roman</i> nobility were forbid all traffick. The <i>Roman</i> soldiers upon <i>Stilicho's</i> death murdered the wives and children of such heathen auxiliaries as he had hired; upon which 30,000 of them join <i>Alaric</i> , who thereupon sends to <i>Honorius</i> , and offers to retire, and never return again, if he would give him money to pay his army their arrears: which he refusing, he sends his brother-in-law <i>Ataulphus</i> into <i>Italy</i> , and goes himself and besieged <i>Rome</i> . A famine soon began in the city, and that was followed by a plague. The <i>Romans</i> send out deputies to treat with <i>Alaric</i> , who agrees to raise the siege, and for ever to continue faithful to the <i>Romans</i> , upon their delivering to him hostages, and paying him 5000 pounds weight of gold, 30,000 <i>L</i> . of silver, 4000 silk garments, 3000 purple skins, and 3000 <i>L</i> . of pepper; all which was done, and ratified by <i>Honorius</i> , and the siege accordingly raised.	VI	458
4714	3407	408	<i>Uldin</i> king of the <i>Huns</i> taking dislike to the <i>Romans</i> , crossed the <i>Danube</i> , and entered <i>Thrace</i> with a numerous army; but behaving in a very haughty manner towards his officers, they desert to the <i>Romans</i> who forced him to retire with great loss and precipitation.	VII	462
4714	3407	408	<i>Anthemius</i> is chose prime minister in the east, to govern it and <i>Theodosius</i> , which he did with great integrity and skill, to the entire satisfaction of the people of all degrees. The <i>Squibs</i> and <i>Huns</i> break into <i>Thrace</i> ; but some of their officers abandoning them to join the <i>Romans</i> , they retire with great precipitation, but the emperor's troops overtaking the <i>Squibs</i> before they reached the <i>Danube</i> , cut great numbers of them to pieces, and took the rest prisoners; so that by this overthrow that nation was nearly extirpated.	VI	459
4715	3408	409	<i>Honorius</i> emperor of the west neglecting to deliver up to <i>Alaric</i> the hostages agreed on, he returns and besieges <i>Rome</i> a second time, and is increased by 40,000 slaves, who made their escape out of the city. <i>Honorius</i> sends 6000 troops to the assistance of <i>Rome</i> , whom <i>Alaric</i> intercepts, and cuts them almost all off. <i>Honorius</i> engages <i>Ataulphus</i> , and kills about 1200 of his men, but can't stop his going to <i>Rome</i> and joining his brother <i>Attila</i> .	VI	459

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3408	409	<i>Olympius</i> , the prime minister to <i>Honorius</i> , is disgraced and discharged, and is succeeded by <i>Jovius</i> prefect of <i>Italy</i> . The soldiers at <i>Ravenna</i> mutiny, and demand the heads of their two generals, and of the emperor's two chamberlains. The senate send a second message to press <i>Honorius</i> to perform the articles of peace, among whom was <i>Innocent</i> bishop of <i>Rome</i> , but without success. <i>Alaric</i> sends several bishops to him without effect. Then he goes to <i>Rome</i> , and in a few days the inhabitants open their gates to him, when he obliges them to proclaim <i>Attalus</i> , then prefect of the city, emperor, and to renounce <i>Honorius</i> , which they do: <i>Attalus</i> was an <i>Arrian</i> , and promoted all of that opinion, making <i>Alaric</i> his generalissimo.	VI 461
3408	409	<i>Attalus</i> sends <i>Constantius</i> into <i>Africa</i> , to secure that province; but he and all his men are cut off by <i>Heracianus</i> , who hinders all manner of provisions going to <i>Rome</i> , which reduces them soon to great straits. <i>Attalus</i> goes from <i>Rome</i> to besiege <i>Honorius</i> in <i>Ravenna</i> : <i>Honorius</i> sends <i>Jovius</i> his prime minister, <i>Valens</i> the general of his foot, <i>Potamus</i> the quaestor, and <i>Julian</i> his first secretary, to wait <i>Attalus's</i> coming to <i>Rimini</i> , and to offer him the partnership in the empire. <i>Jovius</i> betrays his master, and <i>Attalus</i> offers him only his life, and liberty to retire to what island he pleased. <i>Attalus</i> sends another body of troops more numerous than the former into <i>Africa</i> , who were also cut off by <i>Heracianus</i> , who also sent <i>Honorius</i> a seasonable supply of money, which he immediately distributed among the soldiery, with good effect. <i>Alaric</i> reduced <i>Liguria</i> and <i>Æmia</i> , except <i>Bononia</i> , and proclaimed <i>Attalus</i> every where, and forced the people to swear allegiance to him.	VI 463
3408	409	<i>Gerontius</i> revolts from <i>Constantine</i> in <i>Spain</i> , and sets up one <i>Maximus</i> for emperor; upon which the <i>Vandals</i> , <i>Suevians</i> , and <i>Alans</i> , that <i>Constantine</i> had permitted to remain in <i>Gaul</i> , flew to arms, and took several cities.	VI 463
3408	409	The <i>Vandals</i> , &c. break into <i>Spain</i> , and proving too hard a match for the <i>Romans</i> , then commanded by <i>Constantius</i> , son of the emperor <i>Constantine</i> , settle there, and divide those provinces among them.	VII 430
3408	409	All the <i>Armorici</i> , or inhabitants of the sea coasts, shake off the <i>Roman</i> yoke, and erect a new state and government, which proved but short lived.	VI 463
3408	409	The <i>Vandals</i> , <i>Alans</i> , and <i>Suevians</i> quit <i>Gaul</i> , and enter <i>Spain</i> , and take several cities, and defeat <i>Constantine's</i> army that he had sent against <i>Gerontius</i> , under the command of his son <i>Constantius</i> , and forces him to return to his father at <i>Arles</i> , and entered into a league with <i>Gerontius</i> , and then over-run the country, committing the most horrid cruelties, and continued this savage treatment till 411, when having conquered the whole country, they set about tilling the land for their own subsistence.	VI 463
3408	409	The populace rise at <i>Constantinople</i> , and burn the palace of <i>Manaxus</i> , prefect of the city, upon account of the scarcity of bread. The rich men make a voluntary contribution, and divide it among the poor, and whip the bakers through the streets, and so appease the multitude.	VI 463
3409	410	The <i>Britains</i> having often implored the <i>Romans</i> to assist them without success, shook off all obedience to them; but not being able to withstand the continual irruptions of their enemies, again implore the assistance of <i>Honorius</i> , who sent them a legion; these coming unexpectedly, cut the <i>Scots</i> and <i>Picts</i> in great numbers to pieces, and drove them into their own territories; and after advising the natives to rebuild the wall, returned to the emperor.	VII 437
3409	410	<i>Heracian</i> keeping the ports of <i>Africa</i> so well guarded, that the <i>Romans</i> could get no sustenance from thence, was reduced to the necessity of eating human flesh. <i>Alaric</i> and <i>Attalus</i> go to <i>Rome</i> to consult about the measures of relieving <i>Rome</i> . <i>Alaric</i> proposes to send <i>Gomaras</i> , one of his officers, with a detachment of <i>Goths</i> to force <i>Africa</i> : <i>Attalus</i> refuses to employ the <i>Goths</i> , which so exasperated <i>Alaric</i> , that he sent moderate proposals to <i>Honorius</i> , who seemingly complied therewith. <i>Alaric</i> publicly stripped <i>Attalus</i> of all the badges of sovereignty, and sent them to <i>Honorius</i> , and insisted on <i>Attalus</i> and his son <i>Ampelius</i> being pardoned; and then <i>Alaric</i> goes towards <i>Ravenna</i> , to finish the peace: But <i>Sarus</i> the <i>Goth</i> , with 300 men, having remained nearer, <i>Attaniphus</i> goes against him: upon which he declared for <i>Honorius</i> , and went to <i>Ravenna</i> , where being kindly received, so provoked <i>Alaric</i> , that he returned to <i>Rome</i> , and reinstated <i>Attalus</i> again in the sovereign power, and in a few days deposed him again, besieged <i>Rome</i> , and reduced it to extremest necessities, and took it the 24th of <i>August</i> , and gave his soldiers leave to plunder the town, but ordered them not to kill the people. After five or six days spent in plunder, they burnt the greatest part of the city to ashes, and vast numbers of the people were massacred, but they spared all those that fled to the churches for safety, which were the only buildings that were not destroyed.	VI 464
3409	410	<i>Alaric</i> goes from <i>Rome</i> into <i>Campania</i> , with his vast booty, and multitudes of captives, among whom was <i>Placidia</i> , the sister of <i>Honorius</i> , whom he treated with great respect; and after laying waste <i>Campania</i> , <i>Lucania</i> , <i>Sannium</i> , <i>Apulia</i> , <i>Calabria</i> , and <i>Bruttii</i> , he went towards the <i>Straits</i> of <i>Sicily</i> , intending to go from thence into <i>Africa</i> ; but his fleet being shipwrecked, he remained near <i>Rhegium</i> , where he was suddenly taken ill, and died in a few days. The <i>Goths</i> , for fear any insult should be offered to his bones, turned the course of the <i>Busento</i> near <i>Cosenza</i> in the farther <i>Calabria</i> , and buried him with many rich spoils in the bed of the river, and then let the waters return to their old course, and run over him, and killed all the slaves they employed in the work, and then chose <i>Attaniphus</i> , his sister's husband, for their king in his stead.	VI 466

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4716	3409	410	<i>Constantine</i> comes out of <i>Gaul</i> , where he reigned, prepares to enter <i>Italy</i> , under the pretence of helping <i>Honorius</i> ; but being obliged to return into <i>Gaul</i> to repel <i>Gerontius</i> , who had pursued his son <i>Constant</i> out of <i>Spain</i> , <i>Constantine</i> sends to beg help of the <i>Franks</i> and <i>Germans</i> . <i>Gerontius</i> besieges his son <i>Constant</i> in <i>Vienne</i> , took it and him, puts <i>Constant</i> to death, and goes and besieges <i>Constantine</i> in <i>Arles</i> .	IV	466
4716	3409	410	By the wise administration of <i>Anthemius</i> , all remained quiet and secure in the east, where <i>Andronicus</i> , governor of <i>Pentapolis</i> , being proved guilty of extortion, &c. was first excommunicated by <i>Synisus</i> bishop of <i>Ptolemais</i> , and then degraded from his government.	VI	466
4717	3410	411	The emperor <i>Honorius</i> sends <i>Constantius</i> with an army into <i>Gaul</i> against <i>Constantine</i> , for coming into <i>Italy</i> without desire: He is joined by many of the troops of <i>Gerontius</i> , who forsook their master, upon which he raised the siege of <i>Arles</i> , and fled into <i>Spain</i> , where for his severity his soldiers mutiny, and force him to kill his wife, his friend, and then himself. <i>Maximus</i> , whom <i>Gerontius</i> had set up in <i>Spain</i> , is brought by his own men to <i>Constantius</i> , who stripped him of his authority, but spared his life. <i>Constantius</i> besieged <i>Constantine</i> in <i>Arles</i> , when after four months <i>Edobius</i> comes with a very numerous army of <i>Franks</i> to his assistance, which <i>Constantius</i> engaging, presently routed with great slaughter; when, upon oath promising to spare the lives of <i>Constantius</i> and his son, the gates of <i>Arles</i> were opened to him; but they being sent to <i>Honorius</i> , he ordered them both to be beheaded.	VI	467
4717	3410	411	The <i>Afuriens</i> , a <i>Moorish</i> nation, broke into <i>Pentapolis</i> , and laid the province waste, but were soon driven out by <i>Arcifus</i> the governor. The <i>Saracens</i> break into the frontiers of <i>Egypt</i> , <i>Palestine</i> , <i>Phenicia</i> , and <i>Syria</i> , and carry off great booty.	VI	467
4717	3410	411	The <i>Sueves</i> , &c. having intirely driven the <i>Romans</i> out of <i>Spain</i> , make peace with the natives, and divided the <i>Spanish</i> provinces by lot among them.	VII	541
4718	3411	412	The <i>Goths</i> under <i>Ataulphus</i> quit <i>Italy</i> , and go into <i>Gaul</i> , and ravage all the places they come to.	VI	467
4718	3411	412	<i>Sarus</i> the <i>Goth</i> being disgusted at <i>Honorius</i> , goes into <i>Gaul</i> to join <i>Jovinus</i> , that had declared himself emperor there, upon the deposition of <i>Constantine</i> ; which <i>Ataulphus</i> hearing, meets and takes him, and soon after puts him to death. <i>Jovinus</i> finding fault with <i>Ataulphus</i> for it, and promoting his brother <i>Sebastian</i> to be his partner in the empire, <i>Ataulphus</i> sends word to <i>Honorius</i> , that if he would furnish him with a quantity of corn, he would set his sister <i>Placidia</i> at liberty, and send him the heads of the two rebels; which being readily agreed to by <i>Honorius</i> , <i>Ataulphus</i> soon dispatched <i>Sebastian</i> , but <i>Jovinus</i> fled to <i>Valence</i> , where <i>Ataulphus</i> besieged and took him, and delivered him to <i>Dardanius</i> , praefect of <i>Gaul</i> , who put him to death at <i>Narbonne</i> .	VI	468
4719	3412	413	<i>Lucius</i> and <i>Heracianus</i> were consuls this year; but after defending <i>Africa</i> gallantly a long time, <i>Heracianus</i> revolts from <i>Honorius</i> , and proclaims himself emperor, fits out a prodigious fleet, lands in <i>Italy</i> , and marches directly to <i>Rome</i> . Count <i>Marinus</i> goes out against him, upon which he flies, gets into one of his ships, and returns alone to <i>Africa</i> : His men submit, and are pardoned, and himself soon after cut to pieces in <i>Africa</i> .	VI	468
4719	3412	413	The <i>Franks</i> make an irruption into <i>Gaul</i> , set fire to the city of <i>Treves</i> , and lay the country waste.	VII	558
4719	3412	413	The <i>Burgundians</i> , <i>Vandals</i> , and <i>Alans</i> , who entered <i>Gaul</i> in 407, make themselves masters of <i>Alsacia</i> , and are allowed to settle there, which gave rise to the kingdom of the <i>Burgundians</i> in <i>Gaul</i> , under <i>Gondicarius</i> , or <i>Guntiarus</i> .	VII	583
4719	3412	413	<i>Ataulphus</i> begins hostilities again, took <i>Narbonne</i> and <i>Toulouse</i> , and goes to <i>Marsilles</i> , where count <i>Bonifacius</i> engages him, kills great numbers of his men, wounds himself, and makes him retire, when he went to <i>Bordeaux</i> , where he was received as a friend.	VI	469
4719	3412	413	<i>Lucius</i> , a <i>Pagan</i> , having the command of the troops attending the court of young <i>Theodosius</i> , being displeased at the zeal of the young prince for <i>Christianity</i> , resolves to assassinate him, but is hindered by an imaginary apparition. This year <i>Constantinople</i> was surrounded with walls, twenty miles in circumference, in two months time.	VI	469
4720	3413	414	<i>Placidia</i> , sister to the emperor <i>Honorius</i> , is prevailed on to marry <i>Ataulphus</i> king of the <i>Goths</i> , at <i>Narbonne</i> in <i>Gaul</i> , after having been long his prisoner of war, in <i>January</i> , where the nuptials were celebrated with the utmost magnificence: He presented her with 50 basons filled with pieces of gold, and 50 filled with jewels and precious stones. <i>Honorius</i> not consenting to this match, <i>Ataulphus</i> set up <i>Atalus</i> again to be emperor, to bring <i>Honorius</i> to his terms.	VI	470
4720	3413	414	<i>Honorius</i> published a law, forbidding any one to molest such as should take sanctuary in churches, on pain of being punished for high-treason.	VI	470
4720	3413	414	<i>Anthemius</i> resigns his government of the empire and emperor to <i>Pulcheria</i> , sister to the emperor <i>Theodosius</i> , for her extraordinary wisdom and piety, on which account she is honoured with the name of <i>Augusta</i> .	VI	470
4721	3414	415	<i>Theodosius</i> , son of <i>Ataulphus</i> and <i>Placidia</i> , dies in <i>Spain</i> , and is buried in a silver coffin in a church near <i>Barcelona</i> , where <i>Ataulphus</i> was killed in <i>August</i> or <i>September</i> in his own stable, by <i>Dobbius</i> a <i>Goth</i> , one of his servants, whose master he had killed several years before. Upon which the <i>Goths</i> choose <i>Sigeric</i> , the brother of <i>Sarus</i> , for their king, who murders the six children of <i>Ataulphus</i> by his first wife, in revenge for the life of his brother <i>Sarus</i> , and obliged <i>Placidia</i> with other captives to walk twelve miles before his chariot, for which he was assassinated by his own people, the 7th day after his promotion, and <i>Vallia</i> chose in his room, after he had murdered all who stood in competition with him.	VI	471

- 415 *Ataulphus* king of the *Goths* being driven out of *Gaul*, flies into *Spain*, and is murdered. VII 509
- 415 A great tumult happened at *Alexandria*; the *Christians* and *Jews*, that were very numerous, quarrelling about some sports that were exhibited on a *Saturday*. *St. Cyril* the bishop of the city threatened to drive all the *Jews* out of it; upon this the *Jews* having armed themselves, in the dead of the night cried out the great church was on fire; upon which the *Christians* coming out of their houses to quench the fire, were massacred in great numbers; for which the bishop drove them all out of the city; *Orestes* the governor resented it as an incroachment upon his authority: Both write to court; the hermits fly to the city for refuge, and revile *Orestes* with the names of *Pagan* and *Idolater*, and *Ammonius* wounded him on the head with a stone; the monk was seized, and by the prefect racked to death. The populace seized *Hypatia*, daughter of the philosopher *Them*, a person much famed for her great wisdom, and because she was respected by *Orestes*, they dragged her out of her chariot into a neighbouring church, and flayed her alive, then tore her to pieces, and burnt her mangled carcase. VI 471
- 415 *Theodosius* publishes a law to exclude *Pagans* from all employments both civil and military, and deposed *Gemaliet* patriarch of the *Jews*, for abusing his authority. VI 471
- 416 *Vallia* king of the *Goths* sends a fleet out to go and reduce *Africa*, which is destroyed by shipwreck near the *Streights* of *Gibraltar*, and most of his *Goths* on board drowned. He treats with *Constantius*, and concludes a peace with *Honorius*, delivers up hostages, and for 600,000 measures of corn sends back *Placidia* to her brother. *Attila* is taken, has his right-hand cut off, and is banished to the island of *Lipari*. VI 472
- 417 *Honorius* gives his sister to *Constantius* his general to wife, the 1st of *January* against her consent. The *Armorici*, who formed themselves into a new sort of government in 409, are reduced again to the *Roman* subjection by *Constantius*, now brother-in-law to the emperor *Honorius*. VI 472
- 417 *Honorius* goes to *Rome*, which he enters in triumph, causing *Attila* to be fetched from *Lipari* to walk before his chariot, and then sent him back into exile again. This year the *Franks*, after dwelling 200 years on the *German* side of the *Rhine*, are allowed to come and settle in *Thongria*, where they were governed by as many kings as they consisted of cities or cantons. VI 472
- 417 In the east *Constantinople*, and *Cybyra* in *Phrygia*, suffered very much by an earthquake, which threw down a great many houses. VI 472
- 417 *Vallia* in *Spain* cuts off those *Vandals* called *Silingi*, that had settled in *Betica* or *Andalusia*, and terribly mauled the *Alans*, who ruled over the *Vandals* and *Suavians* in *Spain*, whose king *Ata* being killed, they flew to *Gonderic* king of the *Vandals* in *Galicia*, and submitted to him: For these services, and delivering up his conquests, *Constantius* gave *Villa* and his *Goths* *Aquitania Secunda*, containing the present archbishoprick of *Bordeaux*, and some neighbouring cities, and soon after the province of *Auch* and *Gascogn*. *Vallia* fixed his abode at *Toulouse*, which became the capital of the kingdom of the *Goths*. VII 513
- 418 *Honorius* declares by law the right and privilege of sanctuary to all places within 50 paces of every church, and declares those guilty of sacrilege that should arrest any person within that space. VI 473
- 418 *Placidia* is delivered of a son at *Ravenna*, the 2d of *July*, named *Valentinian*, who succeeded his uncle *Honorius* in the empire. VI 473
- 418 In *Spain* *Gonderic* king of the *Vandals* drives *Eremeric* king of the *Suavians* into the mountains of *Biscay*, where he blocked him up. *Asterius*, count of *Spain*, and *Mauroclaus* the vicar, cuts off great numbers of *Gonderic's* men, and forced the rest to retire into *Betica*. VI 473
- 420 The *Franks* pillage and burn *Treves* a 3d time. VII 558
- 420 *Honorius* raises *Constantius* his brother-in-law on the 8th of *February* to the imperial dignity, and declares him his colleague, and gave his wife *Placidia* the title of *Augusta*. Upon sending their statues to *Constantinople*, *Theodosius* refused to acknowledge them; but *Constantius* dying the 2d of *September* following, put an end to all disputes. VI 473
- 420 The emperor *Theodosius* on the 17th of *June* marries *Eudocia*, the daughter of *Heracitus*, an *Atbenian* philosopher, she being first baptized by *Atticus* bishop of *Constantinople*. VI 473
- 421 *Isdigeres*, king of *Persia*, dies, and is succeeded by his son *Varanes* the 5th. *Abdas*, the *Persian* *Christian* prelate, thro' intemperate zeal, burns down a *Pagan* temple; and being by the king requested to rebuild it, refused, for which he was put to death. All the *Christian* churches were demolished, and a terrible persecution followed. *Theodosius* complain'd of this and other matters, and both sides prepare for war. *Ardaburius*, the *Roman* general, goes into *Anaxene*, a *Persian* province, and began to lay it waste with fire and sword. *Narjes*, the *Persian* general, comes and gives him battle, but is defeated, and goes into *Mesopotamia*, a *Roman* province; upon which *Ardaburius* blocks up *Nisibis*. *Varanes* solicits the *Saracens* to break with the *Romans*, which they readily comply'd with, and passed the *Euphrates* with a mighty army, and ravaged the *Roman* province so terribly, that the people joining the soldiers, engaged them, and cut off 100,000 of them, and forced the remainder to return home. *Varanes* goes with a mighty army to the relief of *Nisibis*; upon which the *Romans* retire, and the king returns to his capital. This done, the *Romans* engage his generals, and defeat them, and a second time repulse the *Saracens*, and overthrow the *Persians*, killing them abundance of men and seven generals. Soon after a corps of 10,000, called *Immortals*, were attack'd by the *Romans*, and every man of them cut off, upon which a peace was concluded for a 100 year. IV 321

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4725	3421	422	Honorius sends <i>Custinus</i> with a fine army into <i>Spain</i> , to recover it out of the hands of the <i>Barbarians</i> ; but he imprudently venturing a battle, has 20,000 of his men cut off.	VI	475
4728	3421	422	The <i>Britains</i> being in great distress, through the ravages of the <i>Picts</i> , &c. implore help from the <i>Romans</i> , who grant it, and drive out the enemies.	VII	437
4729	3422	423	<i>Honorius</i> , who till now had entertain'd his sister <i>Placidia</i> with all the love and respect possible, suddenly changes his behaviour to the contrary; upon which she, her son <i>Valentinian</i> , and daughter <i>Honorina</i> , quit the court, and retire to <i>Constantinople</i> , where they are received with great affection by <i>Theodosius</i> . Soon after <i>Honorius</i> dies at <i>Ravenna</i> , upon which <i>Theodosius</i> proclaims himself emperor; but <i>John</i> , the late emperor's chief secretary, sets up himself at <i>Rome</i> , and is acknowledged in <i>Rome</i> , <i>Italy</i> , <i>Dalmatia</i> and <i>Gaul</i> , and sends ambassadors to <i>Theodosius</i> , who ordered them to be imprisoned, and prepares for war.	VI	478
4730	3423	424	<i>Theodosius</i> creates <i>Placidia Augusta</i> , and her son <i>Valentinian Caesar</i> , and sends them with his army against the usurper <i>John</i> ; <i>Salona</i> is taken by storm, and then they go to <i>Aquileia</i> with the army by land, under the command of <i>Aspar</i> the son; but <i>Ardaburius</i> the father going by sea, is shipwreck'd and taken by <i>John</i> , who uses him civilly. He gives information to his son <i>Aspar</i> , who comes at unawares, and seizes the city of <i>Ravenna</i> , took the usurper, and sent him in chains to <i>Placidia</i> at <i>Aquileia</i> , where he was beheaded, after bearing the title of emperor about eighteen months.	VI	480
4731	3424	425	Three days after the death of the usurper, <i>John Actius</i> comes into <i>Italy</i> to his assistance with 60,000 <i>Hunns</i> ; <i>Aspar</i> meets him, and a bloody engagement happens, without any considerable advantage on either side; but <i>Actius</i> being informed of the death of <i>John</i> , makes the best terms he can for himself; <i>Placidia</i> not only pardons, but takes him into favour, with the title of count, (at that time a title of great note:) He submits, and prevails upon the <i>Hunns</i> to return home. <i>Theodosius</i> , upon hearing <i>Placidia's</i> success, declares <i>Valentinian</i> her son, his young cousin and son-in-law, emperor, and <i>Placidia</i> regent during his minority.	VI	483
4731	3424	425	The <i>Vandals</i> , who had settled in <i>Spain</i> , ravaged the <i>Balearick</i> islands; and the <i>Goths</i> , who had been permitted to settle in <i>Gaul</i> , seized on the neighbouring cities, and laid siege to <i>Arles</i> , which <i>Actius</i> obliged them to raise. <i>Thrace</i> was laid waste by the <i>Hunns</i> , but a plague raging in their army they retired.	VI	480
4733	3426	427	<i>Theodosius</i> transplanted the <i>Goths</i> that had been settled in <i>Pannonia</i> 50 years before into <i>Thrace</i> , where they continued 58 years.	VI	480
4734	3427	428	<i>Pharamond</i> king of the <i>Franks</i> dies, and is succeeded by his son <i>Clodio</i> .	VII	559
4734	3427	428	Count <i>Bonifacius</i> in <i>Africa</i> revolts from <i>Valentinian</i> ; <i>Placidia</i> sends a large army under the command of <i>Mavortius</i> , <i>Galbio</i> , and <i>Sinex</i> , who were all intirely defeated; upon which she sent <i>Sigisvult</i> the <i>Goth</i> , who with the assistance of his countrymen, took <i>Carthage</i> and <i>Hippo</i> ; <i>Bonifacius</i> begs the help of the <i>Vandals</i> under the command of <i>Genferic</i> ; they come from <i>Spain</i> , men, women, and children.	VI	481
4734	3427	428	The <i>Vandals</i> evacuate <i>Spain</i> , and go and settle in <i>Africa</i> , where they commit most terrible ravages.	VII	532
4736	3429	430	<i>Actius</i> is made commander of all the troops in the western empire, who gained great advantages over the <i>Jutbongi</i> , the revolted <i>Noricans</i> , the <i>Franks</i> , and the <i>Goths</i> in <i>Gaul</i> .	VI	481
4736	3429	430	A body of <i>Sueves</i> attempting to cross the <i>Rhine</i> in order to go and join their brethren settled in <i>Galiccia</i> in <i>Spain</i> , are attacked by <i>Actius</i> the <i>Roman</i> general, who cut great numbers of them to pieces, and obliged the rest to return to their own home between the <i>Elbe</i> and <i>Weissel</i> .	VII	543
4737	3430	431	<i>Actius</i> intirely reduced the <i>Norici</i> and <i>Vindelici</i> . The true reason of <i>Bonifacius's</i> revolting comes to light; <i>Placidia</i> and he are reconciled, when he strives to free <i>Africa</i> of <i>Genferic</i> and his companions, by offering them large sums to return home: <i>Genferic</i> rejects his offer, falls upon him, and cuts off most of his men, and forces him to fly to <i>Hippo</i> .	VI	482
4737	3430	431	An oecumenical council was held at <i>Ephesus</i> , where <i>Nestorius</i> bishop of <i>Constantinople</i> was condemned, by upwards of 200 bishops, for holding two persons as well as two natures in <i>Christ</i> . <i>St. Austin</i> , bishop of <i>Hippo</i> in <i>Africa</i> , dies in the 4th month of its siege by the <i>Vandals</i> .	VI	482
4738	3431	432	<i>Bonifacius</i> engages the <i>Vandals</i> in <i>Africa</i> , is overthrown with great slaughter, many taken prisoners, and the rest forced to shelter themselves among the rocks and mountains; after which the <i>Vandals</i> committed such dreadful ravages, that the inhabitants of <i>Hippo</i> quitted the city, which was first plundered and then set on fire. <i>Bonifacius</i> retires to <i>Placidia</i> , at <i>Ravenna</i> . <i>Actius</i> perceiving his treachery was discovered, meets and engages <i>Bonifacius</i> , who being much wounded, died soon after. <i>Actius</i> withdraws to the court of <i>Rouas</i> , king of the <i>Hunns</i> , and returns with a great army: <i>Placidia</i> pardons and restores him to his former post.	VI	482
4739	3432	433	A dreadful fire breaks out at <i>Constantinople</i> , which lasted three days, during which it consumed all the publick granaries, &c.	VI	482
4740	3433	434	<i>Honorina</i> sister to the emperor <i>Valentine</i> having suffered herself to be debauched by one of her domestics, named <i>Eugenius</i> , was banished the court, being about 16 years old, she invite <i>Attila</i> king of the <i>Hunns</i> to enter <i>Italy</i> with his army and marry her, &c.	VI	483
4741	3434	435	The <i>Romans</i> make a peace with <i>Genferic</i> king of the <i>Vandals</i> in <i>Africa</i> , and yield them great part of <i>Numidia</i> , all the province <i>Proconsularis</i> , and <i>Bizacene</i> . <i>Actius</i> gains a great victory over the <i>Burgundians</i> .	VII	535

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4741	3434	435	The Romans after having with the Britains built on the Isthmus between the two friths of Glota and Baduria a wall of eight foot broad and twelve foot high, take their final leave of Britain, &c.	VII	438
4741	3434	435	The Burgundians, &c. entered Belgic Gaul, made great devastations and dreadful ravages; but Aetius the Roman General overcame them in a pitched battle, and reduced them to such straits, that Gundicarins their king sued for peace, and obtained it.	VII	583
4742	3435	436	The Huns attack the Burgundians, and cut off 20,000 of them in Gaul; the Goths take several places in Gaul, and besiege Narbonne, but are obliged to raise it and retire.	VI	483
4743	3436	437	The nuptials between Eudoxia, daughter of the emperor Theodosius, and the emperor Valentinian, were celebrated at Constantinople the 29th of October.	VI	483
4743	3436	437	Emeric the Suevian king makes peace with the native Galicians, and being in an ill state of health, resigns his crown to his son Rochila, and lives a private retired life the remainder of his days.	VII	543
4743	3436	437	Clodius makes himself master of Cambray, from whence he pierced into Artois, where Aetius and Majorinus fall unexpectedly upon them, while they were celebrating the nuptials of one of their chiefs, and cut great numbers of them to pieces; but notwithstanding this, he extended his conquests as far as the Somme.	VI	561
4744	3437	438	Aetius removes the Burgundians from the banks of the Rhine, into the present dutchy of Savoy.	VII	583
4744	3437	438	Aetius engages and cuts off 8,000 Goths in Gaul.	VII	510
4744	3437	438	The famous code, or body of Roman laws, are published by Justinian.	VI	484
4744	3437	438	Genferic king of the Vandals surprizes and takes Carthage in Africa, the 23d of October, after it had been possessed by the Romans 585 years.	VII	534
4745	3438	439	Rochila the Suevian king enters Lufitania, and takes Merida the capital of that province.	VII	543
4745	3438	439	Genferic, king of the Vandals, makes a descent into Sicily, ravages the country without opposition, and carries off immense booty.	VI	510
4745	3438	439	The emperor Theodosius, in a fit of jealousy, orders Paulinus, the empress Eudoxia's chief favourite, to be executed; upon which she retires to Jerusalem, and remains there till the time of her death, which happened twenty-one years afterwards, during which time she built many churches, &c.	VI	486
4745	3438	439	Litorius, as auxiliary to the Romans, with his army of Huns besiege Thouluse, the capital of the Goths; upon which Theodoric king of the Goths goes out, gives them battle, overcomes them, and takes Litorius prisoner.	VII	510
4746	3439	440	Cyrus alone was consul, who, as he was a great proficient in polite literature, especially poetry, was much esteemed, and particularly by the emperors; and as he went into the Circus with the consular ornaments, the people received him with such acclamations, as made the emperor jealous, and a few days afterwards stripped him of all his employments, and confiscated his estate, &c. pretending that he inclined to Paganism, and aspired at the empire; but flying into a church for refuge, he got himself ordained a priest. The emperor granted him his life, and afterwards made him bishop of Cetea in Phrygia.	VI	486
4746	3439	440	Arfaces king of Armenia dying, and leaving two sons, Tygranes and Arfactus, by his will divided the kingdom between them; Arfactus disliking his share, appeals to Theodosius, who espouses his cause, and threatens Tygranes with war; upon which he resign'd up the whole to his brother, and retired to the Persian court, where he lived privately. Arfactus, for fear of the Persians, surrendered up the whole to Theodosius, and so put an end to the Armenian kingdom, after it had subsisted many ages, and occasioned many bloody wars.	VI	487
4747	3440	441	The empire being vastly weakened, Theodosius is forced to make peace with Attila king of the Huns, conditioning to deliver up such Huns as had or should take refuge in the Roman dominions; that every Roman prisoner that made his escape from the Huns, without paying his ransom, should be delivered up, or have eight pieces of gold paid for him; that the Romans annually should pay the Huns 700 lb. weight of gold; that the Romans should not assist the enemies of the Huns, &c. In consequence of this treaty, Attila conquered all the nations north of the Euxine sea; then crossing the Danube, over-run Thrace, and demands all the Huns that sheltered themselves in the Roman dominions. This being refused, Attila began to ravage the country, and put all to fire and sword, and forced the emperor to retire from Constantinople into Asia for his better security.	VI	487
4748	3441	442	Theodosius concludes another shameful peace with Attila king of the Huns, and returns to Constantinople, the 28th of August, where he was forced to keep Attila in temper, by making him frequently extraordinary presents. 'Tis said Attila sent two Goths ambassadors to the two emperors; one to Theodosius and one to Valentinian, charging them to say, "Attila, my master and yours, commands you to get a palace ready for his reception."	VI	488
4748	3441	442	The Surves, under the direction and command of their king Rochila, take the city of Seville in Spain, reduce all Betica, and the provinces of Carthagea.	VII	534
4748	3441	442	The emperor Valentinian III. makes peace with Genferic king of the Vandals, and confirms to him all his conquests in Africa.	V	534
4738	3441	442	Varanes, the fifth king of Persia, dies, and is succeeded by Varanes the sixth; by some called Istigertes, who lived peaceably with the Romans seventeen years and four months, and then died.	IV	542
4749	3442	443	Theodosius visits Pontus, and causes the public edifices and walls of Heraclea, to be repaired.	VI	488

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4749	3442	443	<i>Paschasius</i> , bishop of <i>Lilybæum</i> in <i>Sicily</i> , returns from captivity in <i>Africa</i> , where he had been kept upwards of three years, by <i>Genferic</i> king of the <i>Vandals</i> , in a miserable condition.	VII	534
4750	3443	444	<i>Arcadia</i> , the sister of <i>Theodosius</i> , dies, and <i>Antiochus</i> the eunuch, and great chamberlain to <i>Theodosius</i> , is degraded from the rank of a Patrician, and confin'd to the monastery of <i>St. Euphemia</i> at <i>Chalcedon</i> , stripp'd of all his immense wealth, and deprived of all his honours, for extorting upon the people, and a law is made for ever excluding all eunuchs from the patrician dignity.	VI	488
4751	3444	445	<i>Vitus</i> , the Roman general, is defeated in <i>Spain</i> by the <i>Sueves</i> , who under <i>Rochila</i> their king cut off most of his men, and oblige him to save himself by flight.	VI	489
4752	3445	446	<i>Actius</i> , being this year consul the third time, the <i>Britons</i> cruelly harraisd by the <i>Picts</i> and <i>Scots</i> , beg assistance from him, but obtain no relief. What the sword left, the plague took away; so that they were forced to invite the <i>Saxons</i> , who come into that island.	IV	442
4753	3446	447	A terrible plague the foregoing and this year rages in most of the provinces, and a violent earthquake overturn'd several cities, and great part of the new walls of <i>Constantinople</i> , and fifty-seven towers, together with many sumptuous edifices, in <i>Antioch</i> and <i>Alexandria</i> .	VI	489
4753	3446	447	<i>Attila</i> joined by the <i>Goths</i> , <i>Alani</i> , and <i>Gepideæ</i> , over-run <i>Illyricum</i> , <i>Thrace</i> , both <i>Dacia's</i> , <i>Mæsia</i> and <i>Scythia</i> ; took and plundered seventy cities, &c. extending themselves from the <i>Euxine</i> Sea to the straits of <i>Thermopylæ</i> . <i>Arnegiselus</i> , governor of <i>Mæsia</i> , opposes and cuts great numbers of them to pieces; but falling from his horse, is killed and his army put to the rout, and the same happened to others.	VII	468
4753	3446	447	<i>Rochila</i> , king of the <i>Suevians</i> , dies in <i>Spain</i> , and is succeeded by his son <i>Requiarus</i> , who tho' he professed himself a <i>Christian</i> , yet began his reign with plundering his neighbours.	VII	485
4754	3447	448	The <i>Romans</i> sue for peace to <i>Attila</i> , who grants it upon condition that they pay 6000 lb. weight of gold down, and every year 200 lb. weight; that they should return back all deserters, and for the future receive none; that they should pay 12 lb. weight of gold for every <i>Roman</i> captive that escaped without ransom, or send them back, &c.	VI	489
4754	3447	448	<i>Requiarus</i> , king of the <i>Sueves</i> , marries the daughter of <i>Theodoric</i> , king of the <i>Goths</i> in <i>Languedoc</i> , and visiting him at <i>Thoulouze</i> , in his return to <i>Spain</i> , surprized the city of <i>Lerida</i> , and carried off a great number of captives, and then pillaged the territory of <i>Saragossa</i> .	VI	489
4754	3447	448	<i>Attila</i> falsely claims certain curious vessels belonging to the church, pretending that one <i>Silvatus</i> , a <i>Roman</i> banker, had stolen them from him, and threatened <i>Valentinian</i> with war, if he did not surrender them.	VI	490
4754	3447	448	<i>Clodis</i> king of the <i>Franks</i> dies, and is succeeded by his younger son <i>Meroveus</i> .	VII	562
4755	3448	449	<i>Attila</i> sends <i>Edeson</i> his ambassador to <i>Constantinople</i> , where <i>Chrysaphus</i> , the great chamberlain, back'd by <i>Theodosius</i> , promises <i>Edeson</i> great rewards to dispatch his master, and sent <i>Vigilius</i> the interpreter with him to the court of <i>Attila</i> , to be assistant in the affair. <i>Edeson</i> discovers the matter to <i>Attila</i> ; <i>Vigilius</i> is seized, and <i>Attila</i> sends <i>Orestes</i> his secretary to reproach <i>Theodosius</i> , and demand <i>Chrysaphus</i> ; but <i>Nomus</i> , and several other persons of distinction, make up the business.	VI	490
4756	3449	450	The emperor <i>Theodosius</i> is so much bruised by a fall from his horse in hunting, that being with much difficulty carried to <i>Constantinople</i> in a chair, he died there the next day, the 28th of <i>July</i> , in the 50th year of his age, and the 43d of his reign from the death of his father, and buried in the same tomb with his father <i>Arcadius</i> . He is allowed to have been a prince of exemplary piety, tho' but of slender parts, being much governed by his eunuchs and favourites.	VI	490
4756	3449	450	<i>Pulcheria</i> , sister of the late emperor <i>Theodosius</i> , declares <i>Marianus</i> (a person of extraordinary qualifications, tho' of no great birth) emperor, which the senate confirms, and crowned him at <i>Heddomon</i> , the 24th of <i>August</i> , with great solemnity, and then <i>Pulcheria</i> married him with mighty pomp.	VI	493
4756	3449	450	<i>Pulcheria</i> , mother of <i>Valentinian</i> , dies at <i>Ravenna</i> , (where her tomb is still to be seen) after governing the western empire 26 years.	VI	493
4757	3450	451	The emperor <i>Marcian</i> calls the council of <i>Chalcedon</i> , the 8th of <i>October</i> , and ends the first of <i>November</i> .	VI	498
4757	3450	451	<i>Attila</i> king of the <i>Huns</i> sends to the emperor <i>Valentinian</i> , and demands <i>Honoraria</i> his sister for his wife, and half the empire for her dowry. He sends ambassadors to <i>Attila</i> , who seems satisfied; but only dissimbled his intentions; comes with a mighty army into <i>Gaul</i> , having first defeated the <i>Franks</i> , and taken <i>Childeric</i> and his mother prisoner, pretending friendship to the <i>Romans</i> . Several cities opened their gates to him; but his soldiers plundering and ravaging the inhabitants, shewed him to be an enemy, wherefore others opposed him, and then he pulled off the mask. He besieged and took by Storm <i>Tongret</i> , <i>Treves</i> , <i>Strasbourg</i> , <i>Spire</i> , <i>Worms</i> , <i>Mentz</i> , &c. and going into the open country, put all to the sword, and laid <i>Arras</i> , <i>Laon</i> , <i>Besançon</i> , <i>Toul</i> , and <i>Langres</i> , in ashes; and laid siege to <i>Orleans</i> , and took it by storm; and while his men were plundering it, <i>Actius</i> , <i>Theodoric</i> , &c. came with a large army, and cut abundance of the <i>Huns</i> to pieces, forced <i>Attila</i> to repass the <i>Loire</i> , in which many of his men were drowned. At last he reached the plains of <i>Chalons</i> , where they engage. <i>Theodoric</i> king of the <i>Visigoths</i> is slain, and about 300,000 men on both sides, after which <i>Attila</i> retired into <i>Pannonia</i> .	VII	478
4758	3451	452	The <i>Nubians</i> and <i>Blemmyes</i> broke into the eastern empire, but <i>Marcian</i> forces them to accept of peace upon his own terms.	VI	498

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4758	3451	452	<i>Attila</i> invades <i>Italy</i> , and invests <i>Aquileia</i> the metropolis of <i>Venetia</i> , battering it continually for the space of three months, when he took it by assault, and reduced every house in it to ashes, and killed every person that fell into his hands. The cities of <i>Trevigio</i> , <i>Verona</i> , <i>Mantua</i> , <i>Cremona</i> , <i>Brescia</i> , and <i>Bergamo</i> , suffered the same fate. <i>Milan</i> , the metropolis of <i>Liguria</i> , he also took, and burnt the cities round about. <i>Valentinian</i> sends <i>Leo</i> bishop of <i>Rome</i> , and some others, to treat with <i>Attila</i> about an accommodation, who concluded a truce with him.			
4759	3452	453	<i>Attila</i> enters that part of <i>Gaul</i> now called <i>Dauphiny</i> , but is entirely routed by <i>Sangibar</i> king of the <i>Alans</i> , and <i>Theodismond</i> king of the <i>Visigoths</i> . Upon his return home, he married a beautiful young woman, and drinking to excess, in the night bled to death; and with him ended the empire of the <i>Huns</i> .		VII	483
4759	3452	453	<i>Attila</i> by will appointed <i>Ellack</i> his eldest son his successor; but a civil war happening between him, his brethren, and the conquer'd nations, <i>Ellack</i> is killed in battle, and the <i>Huns</i> entirely routed, with a great slaughter on the banks of the <i>Netad</i> in <i>Pannonia</i> .		VII	480
4759	3452	453	<i>Theodismond</i> , king of the <i>Visigoths</i> , is murdered, and succeeded by his brother <i>Theodoric</i> the second.		VII	481
4759	3452	453	The empress <i>Pulcheria</i> dies, and leaves an immense stock of wealth to the poor, and was honoured with the title of Saint both by the <i>Greeks</i> and <i>Latins</i> .		VII	511
4760	3453	454	<i>Actius</i> , now consul the 4th time, is accused by <i>Heraclius</i> the eunuch, to the emperor <i>Valentinian</i> , who being a weak prince, believes the insinuation; sends to speak with him in privacy, and himself and several others stab <i>Actius</i> to death with their swords.		VI	498
4761	3454	455	The emperor <i>Valentinian</i> having violently forced the chastity of <i>Petronius Maximus</i> , <i>Maximus</i> hires two <i>Barbarians</i> to murder <i>Valentinian</i> , who came into the <i>Comptus Martius</i> and killed him, and his favourite eunuch <i>Heraclius</i> , in the face of the whole court, the 17th of <i>March</i> , in the 34th year of his age, and 30th of his reign. The next day <i>Maximus</i> assumed the purple, and being saluted by all the people with the title of <i>Augustus</i> , he immediately raised his son <i>Palladius</i> to the dignity of <i>Cesar</i> ; and his wife dying, he obliged <i>Eudoxia</i> , wife of the late emperor, to marry him against her will, and married her daughter <i>Eudoxia</i> to his son <i>Palladius</i> . She sends to <i>Genferic</i> king of the <i>Vandals</i> in <i>Africa</i> , and begs him to rescue her out of the arms of the tyrant, and to revenge the murder of his friend, he comes with a mighty fleet and army to <i>Rome</i> . <i>Maximus</i> frighted flies, upon which the people pursue and kill him. Three days after, viz. the 15th of <i>June</i> , <i>Genferic</i> enters <i>Rome</i> , and gave it up to be plundered, strictly forbidding his soldiers either to burn the city, or kill the people. They pillaged the houses, churches, and all the public edifices, for fourteen days, and carried away a vast number of captives, each taking as many women as he liked. <i>Genferic</i> stripped the place, and took with him <i>Eudoxia</i> and her two daughters, and <i>Gaudensius</i> the son of <i>Actius</i> .		VI	392
4761	3454	455	<i>Flavius Macilius Avitus</i> , who had been appointed, by the deceased <i>Maximus</i> , commander in chief of all the <i>Roman</i> forces, and was now at the court of <i>Theodoric</i> king of the <i>Visigoths</i> , at <i>Toulouse</i> , is by him prompted to assume the purple; and the 8th of <i>August</i> following was declared emperor at <i>Arles</i> by all the soldiery; from whence he went to <i>Rome</i> , where he was received with the universal applause of all the people, and <i>Marcian</i> readily acknowledged him for his colleague.		VII	534
4762	3455	456	<i>Requiarus</i> , king of the <i>Suevians</i> in <i>Spain</i> , wars upon the <i>Visigoths</i> in <i>Aquitain</i> , and laid the provinces of <i>Terrace</i> waste. His brother-in-law <i>Theodoric</i> , as ally of <i>Rome</i> , endeavours to persuade him to peace and good neighbourhood; but he answering very haughtily, they come to blows, in which <i>Requiarus</i> was entirely defeated, and forced to fly; is pursued, taken, and put to death, and the <i>Sueves</i> , submit to <i>Theodoric</i> , who sets one <i>Aquilphus</i> as governor over them. <i>Aquilphus</i> revolts, and proclaims himself king of the <i>Sueves</i> , but dies soon after.		VI	503
4762	3455	456	<i>Gundeac</i> king of the <i>Burgundians</i> joins <i>Theodoric</i> king of the <i>Visigoths</i> , and goes with him into <i>Spain</i> , where they discomfit the <i>Sueves</i> ; but in their return home, the <i>Burgundians</i> seized on part of <i>Gaul</i> .		VII	544
4762	3455	456	<i>Genferic</i> puts to sea with a numerous fleet and army; designs to ravage the coasts of <i>Italy</i> and <i>Gaul</i> ; was met and engaged by <i>Ricimer</i> , the <i>Roman</i> admiral, and entirely defeated; elated with this success, <i>Ricimer</i> and one <i>Majorinus</i> go to <i>Rome</i> , and oblige the senate to depose <i>Avitus</i> , who was then in <i>Gaul</i> , but <i>Avitus</i> coming back, was met by <i>Ricimer</i> at <i>Placentia</i> , who there stripped him of all the ensigns of majesty; upon which <i>Avitus</i> caused himself to be ordained bishop of <i>Placentia</i> ; but the senate insisting upon his being put to death, he retired towards <i>Briande</i> , and died by the way.		VI	573
4762	3455	456	The <i>Burgundians</i> dwelling amongst the mountains of <i>Savoy</i> , seize on part of <i>Gaul</i> , and take <i>Lions</i> .		VI	504
4762	3455	456	The <i>Heruli</i> make a descent upon <i>Galicia</i> in <i>Spain</i> ; but not succeeding, they sail to <i>Biscay</i> , where they land, and commit great ravages, &c.		VII	504
4763	3456	457	<i>Marcian</i> , the emperor of the East, dies in the seventh year of his reign, and is succeeded by <i>Leo</i> , (surnamed the Great) with the unanimous consent of the senate, people and soldiery, and crowned by <i>Anatolius</i> , patriarch of <i>Constantinople</i> , being the first prince that received his crown at the hands of a bishop. The <i>Eutychians</i> in <i>Alexandria</i> rose in a tumultuous manner, murdered the Catholic bishop <i>Proterus</i> , and chose <i>Timotheus Eleurus</i> , one of their own sect, in his stead.		VI	504
4763	3456	457	<i>Majorinus</i> emperor of the west, falling upon the <i>Vandals</i> who were ravaging <i>Compania</i> , defeats and destroys multitudes of them, and retakes the spoil and plun-			

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			der they had amassed together, and forces the remainder to fly on board their ships.	VII	535
4763	3456	457	After three months interregnum, <i>Majorianus</i> (a person of extraordinary merit) is declared emperor in the West, by the senate, people and soldiery.	VI	505
4763	3456	457	<i>Theodoric</i> king of the <i>Visigoths</i> , having entirely reduced the <i>Sueves</i> in <i>Galicia</i> , enters <i>Lusitania</i> , takes <i>Merida</i> the metropolis, and several other cities; and then goes to <i>Toulouse</i> . Having left a body of troops to reduce some few <i>Suevians</i> in <i>Galicia</i> , who being admitted as friends into <i>Astorga</i> , a town belonging to the <i>Romans</i> , put most of the inhabitants to the sword, plundered the houses, set fire to the place, and carried those that remained alive into captivity; among the rest, the whole clergy and two bishops that happened to be there. <i>Palentia</i> met with the same fate.	VI	505
4763	3456	457	<i>Hengist</i> the <i>Saxon</i> having overcome <i>Portigern</i> in a battle fought in <i>Kent</i> , made himself king thereof.	VII	445
4764	3457	458	The <i>Vandals</i> make a descent into <i>Campania</i> ; the emperor <i>Majorianus</i> goes against them, defeats them, and puts great numbers to the sword, among whom was their commander, brother-in-law to <i>Genferic</i> ; the rest fly to <i>Africa</i> .	VI	505
4764	3457	458	<i>Maldra</i> the <i>Suevian</i> king orders that part of <i>Galicia</i> , which lay on the <i>Douro</i> , to be laid waste, contrary to the peace that had been concluded the year before.	VII	545
4764	3457	458	Upon <i>Portigern's</i> retirement, <i>Aurelius Ambrosius</i> takes upon him the command of the <i>British</i> army, and becomes their king.	VII	445
4764	3457	458	<i>Majorianus</i> enters <i>Gaul</i> , and obliges the <i>Burgundians</i> to surrender <i>Lyons</i> , which they had taken, and to retire.	VI	505
4765	3458	459	<i>Perses</i> succeeds his father <i>Varanes</i> the 6th in the kingdom of <i>Persia</i> , and going against the <i>Euthalites</i> or <i>White Huns</i> , was by them drawn into a snare, that cut off abundance of his men by famine, and compelled him to do homage to their king, and swear never to trouble them again.	IV	344
4765	3458	459	<i>Theodoric</i> surprized some cities in <i>Gaul</i> , belonging to the <i>Romans</i> . <i>Majorianus</i> goes against him, engages and in a pitched battle defeats him, and forces him to sue for peace.	VI	505
4765	3458	459	The city of <i>Antioch</i> was almost entirely overthrown by an earthquake.	VI	505
4766	3459	460	<i>Genferic</i> sues to the <i>Romans</i> for peace, but is denied; whereupon attacking the <i>Roman</i> fleet in the bay of <i>Alicant</i> , took most of their ships, and carried them in triumph to <i>Africa</i> ; and soon after a peace was concluded.	VII	536
4766	3459	460	An earthquake overturned a great part of the city of <i>Cyzicus</i> .	VI	506
4766	3459	460	The <i>Franks</i> , &c. break into <i>Gaul</i> , and having ravaged the most wealthy provinces there, made an irruption into <i>Italy</i> .	VII	552
4766	3459	460	<i>Ricimer</i> gets the emperor <i>Majorianus</i> by treachery into his power, strips him of the Imperial ornaments at <i>Tortona</i> in the <i>Milanese</i> , the second, and put him to death the 7th of <i>August</i> ; and proclaim'd one <i>Severus</i> , the 19th of <i>November</i> following, at <i>Ravenna</i> .	VI	506
4767	3460	461	<i>Leo</i> emperor in the East refusing to pay the usual pension to the <i>Astrogths</i> , allowed to settle in <i>Pannonia</i> , they fly to arms, laid waste <i>Illyricum</i> , and took several cities; but <i>Anthemius</i> drives them into <i>Pannonia</i> again, and then concludes a peace with them.	VI	506
4767	3460	461	<i>Genferic</i> sends a powerful fleet to pillage the coasts of <i>Sicily</i> and <i>Italy</i> , and made himself master of <i>Sardinia</i> . The <i>Visigoths</i> take <i>Narbonne</i> , and besiege <i>Arles</i> . <i>Egidius</i> goes against them, forces them to raise the siege and retire.	VII	536
4767	3460	461	<i>Marcellinus</i> revolts from <i>Severus</i> , and retires into <i>Dalmatia</i> , where he establishes a new sovereignty, independant of the empire.	VI	507
4768	3461	462	<i>Egidius</i> gains a great victory over the <i>Visigoths</i> in <i>Gaul</i> , killing many of them, and <i>Frederic</i> their general the king's brother.	VI	507
4769	3462	463	<i>Beorgor</i> king of the <i>Alans</i> , having entered <i>Italy</i> , <i>Ricimer</i> meets him near <i>Bergamo</i> , and cuts him and all his men off.	VI	507
4770	3463	464	<i>Egidius</i> being murdered, the <i>Visigoths</i> conquered the greatest part of <i>Gaul</i> .	VI	507
4770	3463	464	<i>Childeric</i> king of the <i>Burgundians</i> besieged and took <i>Paris</i> , and conquered all the provinces bordering upon the <i>Rhine</i> . The <i>Saxons</i> settled at <i>Nantes</i> and <i>Bayeux</i> ; the <i>Alemans</i> in the country of the <i>Helvetii</i> , and the <i>Britons</i> were driven out by the <i>Angles</i> and <i>Scots</i> in the territories of <i>Vannes</i> and <i>Treguier</i> , with the adjacent country, supposed to be called <i>Bretagne</i> , from the <i>Britons</i> .	VI	508
4770	3463	464	<i>Rumarius</i> dying, <i>Rumismund</i> his brother reigns over all the <i>Sueves</i> in <i>Galacia</i> alone.	VII	546
4770	3463	464	The <i>Sueves</i> are universally poisoned by one <i>Ajax</i> , an <i>Arrian</i> priest, with that heresy.	VII	546
4771	3464	465	The emperor <i>Severus</i> dies in the 4th year of his reign, being suspected to be poisoned by <i>Ricimer</i> , and an interregnum of near two years followed, during which <i>Ricimer</i> reigned absolutely without the title of emperor.	VI	508
4771	3464	465	A violent fire reduced eight of the fourteen quarters of <i>Constantinople</i> to ashes; it raging six days before it could be extinguished.	VI	508
4771	3464	465	<i>Uric</i> murders his brother <i>Theodoric</i> , king of the <i>Visigoths</i> , and succeeds him in the government, who had reigned thirteen years.	VII	514
4772	3465	466	<i>Ricimer</i> assembles a powerful fleet in order to recover <i>Africa</i> , but was obliged to lay aside his enterprize, not being able to put out through contrary winds, that blew violently all the summer.	VI	508
4772	3465	466	The <i>Huns</i> , under <i>Dengizic</i> son of <i>Attila</i> , broke into <i>Dacia</i> ; but were defeated first by <i>Anthemius</i> , and then by <i>Anagastus</i> general of <i>Thrace</i> , who slew <i>Dengizic</i> , and sent his head to <i>Constantinople</i> .	VII	482
4773	3466	467	<i>Ricimer</i> consents that <i>Anthemius</i> count of the east should be proclaimed emperor of the west, being a native of <i>Constantinople</i> , of an ancient, illustrious, and wealthy family, and who had married <i>Marciana</i> , the only daughter of the late		

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			emperor <i>Marcian</i> , had been consul in 455. and general, and was a patrician, and refused the empire at the death of <i>Marcian</i> : Upon his coming to <i>Rome</i> he was received and proclaimed emperor by the senate and people, with all possible tokens of joy and respect. A few days after he gave his daughter in marriage to <i>Ricimer</i> .	VI	508
4773	3466	3467	<i>Genferic</i> incensed that <i>Leo</i> had not preferred <i>Olybrius</i> to the western empire, sends a powerful fleet, and ravages <i>Peloponnesus</i> and the Greek islands, and destroys all with fire and sword.	VI	508
4774	3467	468	<i>Leo</i> fits out a very great fleet, consisting of 1113 ships, with each 100 men, under the command of <i>Basiliscus</i> , his brother-in-law, and all the best troops of the west under the command of <i>Marcellinus</i> , who went and landed in <i>Sardinia</i> , and recovered the whole island, but was soon after assassinated by one of his officers. <i>Heracianus</i> landed in <i>Lybia</i> , took <i>Tripolis</i> , defeated the <i>Vandals</i> , and reduced the whole province. <i>Basiliscus</i> arrives at cape <i>Mercury</i> , 30 miles from <i>Carthage</i> , where <i>Genferic</i> sends ambassadors to treat with him (and bribing him with a very large sum of money) <i>Basiliscus</i> made a short truce, during which time <i>Genferic</i> sailed out in the night with a great many fire ships, and set fire to the Roman fleet, and destroyed abundance of them, and put the whole into great confusion; during which <i>Genferic's</i> fleet fell upon them, took several, sunk others, and put the whole to flight, with the slaughter of 50,000 men: This expedition is said to have cost both empires above 130,000 pounds weight of gold.	VII	538
4774	3467	468	The Romans are totally routed out of Spain by <i>Euric</i> king of the <i>Goths</i> .	VII	515
4774	3467	468	The emperor <i>Leo</i> marries his daughter <i>Ariadne</i> to one <i>Leo</i> an <i>Isaurian</i> , to be a check upon <i>Aspar</i> , and raised him to the patrician rank, made him captain of his guards, and commander of all the armies in the east.	VI	510
4774	3467	468	<i>Rumismund</i> king of the <i>Sueves</i> sets down before <i>Lisbon</i> , which the governor <i>Lusides</i> , a <i>Lusitanian</i> , betrays to him: And the <i>Goths</i> surprise <i>Merida</i> , and commit dreadful ravages in the country, sparing neither Romans nor <i>Sueves</i> .	VI	510
4776	3469	470	<i>Ella</i> , &c. the <i>Saxon</i> , comes with fresh troops, and after defeating the <i>Britains</i> , possesses themselves of the sea coast of <i>Suffex</i> .	VI	446
4776	3469	470	<i>Childeric</i> extends his conquests as far as the <i>Loire</i> , and takes <i>Paris</i> , and then makes himself master of <i>Angers</i> , after having killed count <i>Paul</i> the Roman general.	VII	564
4777	3470	471	<i>Leo</i> and <i>Aspar</i> quarrelling, to reconcile them <i>Leo</i> marries one of his daughters to <i>Patricius Secundus</i> , <i>Aspar's</i> eldest son, and created <i>Aspar</i> <i>Cæsar</i> , which heightning their natural pride, they plot against the emperor, which being discovered, <i>Aspar</i> is murdered by the eunuchs of the palace; upon which the <i>Goths</i> rise in <i>Constantinople</i> , and do great mischief: <i>Zeno</i> goes against them, and drove them out of the city with great slaughter, when they retire into <i>Thrace</i> , and commit great ravages; and being joined by the <i>Goths</i> in <i>Pannonia</i> , they take <i>Philippi</i> and <i>Arcadiopolis</i> : But upon the emperor's paying them a large sum of money they lay down their arms, and restore the cities, &c.	VI	511
4777	3470	471	<i>Leo</i> publishes several laws against the <i>Arrians</i> , deprived them of their liberty, and forbid them to hold any publick or private assemblies.	VI	511
4777	3470	471	All the <i>British</i> princes engage <i>Ella</i> , but are defeated.	IV	446
4777	3470	471	<i>Euric</i> king of the <i>Visigoths</i> gains great advantages over the Romans in <i>Gaul</i> .	VII	515
4778	3471	472	<i>Ricimer</i> revolts from <i>Anthemius</i> , and besieges him in <i>Rome</i> : The Romans, though afflicted with famine and the plague, made a stout resistance. <i>Bilimer</i> , the emperor's general in <i>Gaul</i> , comes to his assistance, but is overthrown by <i>Ricimer</i> ; who then taking the city by storm, permitted his men to commit the most dreadful ravages and cruelties: The emperor was put to death, and <i>Olybrius</i> proclaimed in his stead the 11th of July; and the 19th of September following <i>Ricimer</i> died of a violent pain in his bowels: <i>Olybrius</i> likewise died at <i>Rome</i> the 23d of October following.	VI	511
4778	3471	472	Mount <i>Vesuvius</i> in <i>Campania</i> threw up such a vast quantity of fiery ashes as turned night into day even at <i>Constantinople</i> ; where the streets and houses were covered with ashes three inches thick.	VI	511
4779	3472	473	<i>Glycerius</i> at <i>Ravenna</i> proclaims himself emperor the 5th of March, supported by <i>Gondibal</i> , nephew of <i>Ricimer</i> . The <i>Goths</i> resolve to make war upon both empires, and send <i>Vidimir</i> to break into <i>Italy</i> ; but he dying soon after, <i>Glycerius</i> by rich presents prevails upon his son to retire, who goes into <i>Gaul</i> and joins the <i>Visigoths</i> , who thus strengthened, soon after conquer <i>Gaul</i> and <i>Spain</i> . <i>Theodimir</i> invades the eastern provinces, but dies soon, and is succeeded by his son called <i>Theodoric the Great</i> .	VI	511
4779	3472	473	<i>Euric</i> king of the <i>Visigoths</i> concludes a peace with the Romans.	VII	515
4779	3472	473	<i>Leo</i> proposes <i>Zeno</i> his son-in-law for emperor of the east, but is opposed by the senate and people of <i>Constantinople</i> . The emperor creates <i>Leo</i> , the son of <i>Zeno</i> and his daughter <i>Ariadne</i> , <i>Cæsar</i> , and declared him partner with him in the empire, though but between 5 and 6 years of age.	VI	512
4780	3473	474	<i>Leo</i> the younger is consul alone, when the emperor <i>Leo</i> the elder was seized with a bloody flux and fever, of which he died in January, having reigned almost 17 years; and <i>Zeno</i> the father was declared colleague to <i>Leo</i> the son, through the mediation of the empress <i>Verina</i> . The ceremony was performed in February following, not in the palace of <i>Hedemon</i> as usual, but in the circus at <i>Constantinople</i> ; but the young prince <i>Leo</i> died in November following, having reigned about 10 months.	VI	512
4780	3473	474	<i>Leo</i> the elder not approving of the promotion of <i>Glycerius</i> to the western empire, had named <i>Julius Nepos</i> , a <i>Dalmatian</i> , nephew of <i>Marcellinus</i> . <i>Nepos</i> goes from <i>Constantinople</i> , lands at <i>Porto</i> , and seizes <i>Glycerius</i> , took him prisoner, stripped him of the imperial ornaments, and caused him to be ordained bishop of <i>Salona</i> in <i>Dalmatia</i> , and reigned in his stead.	VI	512

Euric

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4780	3473	474	Euric breaks peace with the Romans, and enters <i>Auvergne</i> with a great army.	VII	515
4781	3474	425	<i>Nepos</i> having made <i>Orestes</i> general of the Roman forces that were going into Gaul, <i>Orestes</i> delays his march, and goes into <i>Ravenna</i> with an intent to seize <i>Nepos</i> , who being apprehensive of his design, fled by sea on the 28th of August to <i>Salona</i> in <i>Dalmatia</i> , where he was entertained by <i>Glycerius</i> , whom he had a little before deposed. <i>Orestes</i> proclaimed his son <i>Augustus</i> , though very young, emperor, the 29th of October. The new prince called himself <i>Augustus Romulus Augustus</i> , and <i>Orestes</i> took the administration upon himself as tutor and guardian to his son.	VI	513
4781	3474	475	The <i>Saracens</i> break into the eastern empire, and committed dreadful ravages in <i>Mesopotamia</i> ; and the <i>Huns</i> in <i>Thrace</i> put all to fire and sword, the emperor <i>Zeno</i> minding nothing but lewdness and debauchery.	VI	513
4781	3474	475	The empress dowager <i>Verina</i> exasperated against her son-in-law <i>Zeno</i> for his debaucheries, &c. whom she had advanced to the empire, conspires against him with her brother <i>Basiliscus</i> ; he, conscious of his defects, when the affair was discovered to him, fled first to <i>Chalcedon</i> , and then into <i>Isauria</i> , and <i>Basiliscus</i> was declared emperor in his stead by the senate and people of <i>Constantinople</i> , upon which he created his wife <i>Zenonides Augusta</i> , and his son <i>Marcus Caesar</i> .	VI	513
4781	3474	475	<i>Auvergne</i> is delivered to <i>Euric</i> by treaty, and a peace is concluded with the Romans.	VII	517
4781	3474	475	<i>Zeno</i> the emperor makes peace with <i>Geneseric</i> king of the <i>Vandals</i> , and cedes <i>Africa</i> to him and his successors for ever.	VII	539
4782	3475	476	The several Barbarians that served in the Roman army demand of <i>Orestes</i> a 3d part of <i>Italy</i> for their good services, which he refusing, they revolt, and choose one <i>Odoacer</i> for their leader, a private man in the guards of <i>Augustus</i> , a person of extraordinary parts both natural and acquired, and then marched against <i>Orestes</i> , who took refuge in <i>Pavia</i> , which <i>Odoacer</i> took by assault, and first plundered and then reduced it to ashes. <i>Orestes</i> being taken prisoner, <i>Odoacer</i> carried him to <i>Placentia</i> , and put him to death the 28th of August, being the same day he had deprived <i>Nepos</i> of the empire. He then went to <i>Ravenna</i> , where <i>Paul</i> the brother of <i>Orestes</i> was with the young emperor; he put <i>Paul</i> to death, stripped <i>Augustus</i> of the imperial robes, and confined him to <i>Lucullanum</i> , a castle in <i>Campania</i> , and made him a handsome allowance to live on.	VI	513
4782	3475	476	<i>Geneseric</i> makes peace with <i>Odoacer</i> king of <i>Italy</i> , and grants him the islands of <i>Sicily</i> .	VII	539
4782	3475	476	<i>Rome</i> readily submitted to <i>Odoacer</i> , whereupon he proclaimed himself king of <i>Italy</i> , but refused the purple, and so put an end to the title of emperor in the west, five hundred years after the battle of <i>Actium</i> , when the Roman monarchy was first established, and 1229 years after the foundation of <i>Rome</i> .	VI	514
4782	3475	476	<i>Odoacer</i> grants the <i>Heruli</i> leave and lands to settle in <i>Italy</i> .	VII	599
4783	3476	477	<i>Zeno</i> being fled into <i>Isauria</i> , <i>Basiliscus</i> sends <i>Illus</i> and <i>Trocondes</i> , two of his generals, with an army after him; upon which <i>Zeno</i> shuts himself up in a castle, which they besiege for some time, during which <i>Basiliscus</i> becoming hateful at <i>Constantinople</i> , the senate ordered <i>Illus</i> and <i>Trocondes</i> to join <i>Zeno</i> and bring him back against <i>Basiliscus</i> ; which being done, <i>Basiliscus</i> dispatches <i>Harmatius</i> his kinsman with a great army against them, who notwithstanding he had solemnly sworn to be true to <i>Basiliscus</i> , as soon as he had crossed the <i>Bosphorus</i> joined <i>Zeno</i> upon conditions: Thus strengthened, <i>Zeno</i> enters <i>Constantinople</i> without opposition. <i>Basiliscus</i> with his wife and son flies to the great church, and there resigned his crown upon the altar, and soon after perished with hunger and cold in the castle of <i>Limnos</i> in <i>Cappadocia</i> , whither <i>Zeno</i> had sent him and his family.	VI	515
4783	3476	477	<i>Zeno</i> being restored in the month of <i>June</i> , according to his promise raised <i>Harmatius</i> to be general of the household troops, and his son <i>Basiliscus</i> to be <i>Caesar</i> , but soon after murdered the father, deposed the son, and made him reader in a church near <i>Constantinople</i> , who was afterwards ordained bishop of <i>Cyzicus</i> .	VI	515
4783	3476	477	A great fire happens at <i>Constantinople</i> , that consumed the biggest part of the city, with the library, containing 120,000 volumes, among which were the works of <i>Homer</i> , written in golden characters on the great gut of a dragon 120 foot long.	VI	515
4783	3476	477	<i>Audacrius</i> king of the <i>Saxons</i> , and <i>Childeric</i> king of the <i>Franks</i> , march against the <i>Alamans</i> settled among the <i>Alps</i> , and stripped them of the booty they had lately brought out of <i>Italy</i> .	VII	595
4784	3477	478	<i>Theodorus</i> son of <i>Triarius</i> , who had espoused the cause of <i>Basiliscus</i> , broke into <i>Thrace</i> with a numerous army of <i>Goths</i> , and advanced within four miles of <i>Constantinople</i> ; which so frightened <i>Zeno</i> , that he made peace with him upon his own terms.	VI	515
4785	3478	479	<i>Marcian</i> , the son of <i>Anthemius</i> emperor in the west, claiming the empire in right of his wife <i>Leontia</i> , eldest daughter of the late emperor <i>Leo</i> , suddenly attacked the imperial palace at <i>Constantinople</i> , at the head of some desperate malecontents; but not carrying his point, <i>Zeno</i> bribed his companions, and he flew into a church, from whence being dragged, he was ordained a priest, and confined to a monastery near <i>Cæsarea</i> in <i>Cappadocia</i> , by the emperor's order.	VI	515
4785	3478	479	<i>Theodoric</i> breaks into <i>Macedon</i> , and goes into <i>Epirus</i> , where by the treachery of one <i>Sidimont</i> , a <i>Goth</i> , <i>Duras</i> is delivered to him: But <i>Sabinianus</i> , <i>Zeno's</i> general having surprized and cut to pieces <i>Theudimont</i> , brother of <i>Theodoric</i> , as he was coming with a large reinforcement, and taken all their baggage, with 2000 waggons loaded with provisions, forced <i>Theodoric</i> to abandon <i>Duras</i> , and to retire with great precipitation into <i>Pannonia</i> .	VI	515

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4786	3479	480	Zeno makes peace and enters into an alliance with <i>Huneric</i> , son of <i>Genferic</i> king of the <i>Vandals</i> .	VI	515
4786	3479	480	The <i>Goths</i> make themselves masters of all the places the <i>Romans</i> held in <i>Gaul</i> .	VII	516
4786	3479	480	The <i>Gepidae</i> defeat the <i>Hunns</i> with great slaughter, and recover both their ancient lands and liberty.	VII	596
4787	3480	481	<i>Theodoric</i> again breaks into <i>Macedon</i> and <i>Thessaly</i> , and in two years time obliged <i>Zeno</i> to yield to him part of lower <i>Dacia</i> and <i>Moesia</i> , make him general of the household troops, and consul in the year 483; upon these conditions in 482 he retired, restored <i>Larissa</i> the metropolis of <i>Thessaly</i> , and engaged to defend the empire with all his forces.	VI	516
4788	3481	482	<i>Clodoveus</i> , or <i>Clovis</i> , upon his father <i>Childeric's</i> death, succeeded him in his kingdom.	VI	566
4788	3481	482	Soon after the death of <i>Varanes</i> the 6th. who was killed in battle by the <i>Hunns</i> , with almost all his whole army, the <i>Persians</i> chose <i>Obolus</i> his brother, called also <i>Valens</i> , to succeed him, an excellent prince, but hated because he loved peace.	IV	343
4789	3482	483	<i>Leontinus</i> , a native of <i>Chalcis</i> in <i>Syria</i> , and commander of the troops in that province, proclaims himself emperor: <i>Zeno</i> sends <i>Illus</i> the captain of his guards against him, who instead of opposing, joined him, and ravaged <i>Syria</i> and <i>Isauria</i> . <i>Longinus</i> the emperor's brother goes against them; but his whole army is cut to pieces, and himself taken prisoner; and then the rebels entered <i>Antioch</i> in triumph. Then <i>Zeno</i> sends one <i>John</i> , his general, who prevailed upon <i>Theodoric</i> to join him; they go, engage, and overthrow the rebels near <i>Seleucia</i> .	VI	516
4790	3483	484	<i>Leontinus</i> and <i>Illus</i> are besieged in the strong castle of <i>Papyra</i> in <i>Cilicia</i> by <i>John</i> , and <i>Theodoric</i> returned to <i>Constantinople</i> : <i>Trocundris</i> brother of <i>Illus</i> being taken prisoner by <i>John</i> , was beheaded.	VI	516
4790	3483	484	<i>Euric</i> dies, after having reigned upwards of eighteen years, and conquered the greatest part of <i>Gaul</i> and <i>Spain</i> .	VII	516
4791	3484	485	The <i>Bulgarians</i> break into <i>Thrace</i> , but are drove back, and forced to repair the <i>Danube</i> , by <i>Theodoric</i> the Roman general.	VI	625
4792	3485	486	<i>Zeno</i> disobliging <i>Theodoric</i> , he breaks into <i>Thrace</i> with a great army, and puts all to fire and sword, and advanced within 15 miles of <i>Constantinople</i> . <i>Zeno</i> cedes all <i>Italy</i> to <i>Theodoric</i> , upon which he returns to <i>Novae</i> in <i>Moesia</i> .	VI	516
4792	3485	486	<i>Valens</i> , or <i>Obolus</i> , king of <i>Persia</i> , dying, is succeeded by his nephew <i>Cavadis</i> .	IV	343
4793	3486	487	<i>Hengist</i> having joined the <i>Picts</i> and <i>Scots</i> , is engaged by <i>Ambrosius</i> , who gave him a total overthrow.	VII	446
4793	3486	487	<i>Clodoveus</i> makes war upon <i>Syagrius</i> the Roman governor, overcomes and beheads him, after the taking of <i>Soissons</i> .	VII	567
4794	3487	488	<i>Theodoric</i> enters <i>Italy</i> , overcomes <i>Odoacer</i> in several battles, and settles a new kingdom in <i>Italy</i> .	VI	516
4794	3487	488	<i>Leontinus</i> and <i>Illus</i> having bravely defended themselves and the castle of <i>Papyra</i> , for four years, were at last taken by treachery and put to death, and their heads sent to <i>Constantinople</i> .	VI	516
4794	3487	488	<i>Hengist</i> king of <i>Kent</i> dies, and is succeeded by his son <i>Esk</i> .	VII	416
4794	3487	488	The <i>Goths</i> in great multitudes, with their wives and children, and all their effects, set out from <i>Novae</i> in <i>Moesia</i> for <i>Italy</i> .	VII	523
4795	3488	489	<i>Zeno</i> puts several persons of great distinction to death, and confiscates their estates under pretence of having favoured <i>Leontinus</i> and <i>Illus</i> .	VI	657
4795	3488	489	The <i>Goths</i> encounter and defeat <i>Odoacer</i> , and make themselves masters of <i>Milan</i> , <i>Pavia</i> , &c.	VII	524
4796	3489	490	<i>Zeno</i> having been told by an astrologer that one <i>Pelagius</i> , a patrician of great distinction, should succeed him in the empire, put him to death.	VI	517
4796	3489	490	The <i>Goths</i> besiege <i>Odoacer</i> king of <i>Italy</i> in <i>Ravenna</i> .	VII	524
4796	3489	490	The <i>Burgundians</i> , under the conduct of their king <i>Gundebald</i> , entering <i>Italy</i> under the pretence of assisting <i>Odoacer</i> the king against <i>Theodoric</i> the <i>Ostrogoth</i> , committed so great ravages in <i>Liguria</i> , that what with the number they put to the sword, and the number they carried away captive, left so few behind, that there were not sufficient to till the ground.	VII	584
4797	3490	491	<i>Zeno</i> the emperor dies, in the 66th year of his age, and 18th of his reign, one of the most debauched weakest princes that had ever reigned in the east. <i>Longinus</i> his brother set up to succeed him, but was rejected upon account of his lewd and wicked life; and by the interest of the empress dowager <i>Ariadne</i> , <i>Anastatius</i> was declared emperor by the senate, and crowned the 11th of April in the <i>Circus</i> , by <i>Euphemius</i> patriarch of <i>Constantinople</i> , who obliged him to swear to protect the catholic church, and maintain the doctrines of the councils of <i>Nice</i> and <i>Chalcedon</i> .	VI	517
4797	3490	491	The <i>Herali</i> compel their king <i>Rodulphus</i> , without any provocation, to make war upon the <i>Lombards</i> , are by them overthrown with great slaughter, and the remainder obliged to live in subjection to the conquerors, or leave their own habitations; upon which many of them went and settled in the country of the <i>Rugians</i> , now <i>Switzerland</i> .	VII	599
4797	3490	491	<i>Ella</i> tounds the second <i>Saxon</i> kingdom in <i>Britain</i> , called the kingdom of the south Saxons in <i>Essex</i> , &c.	VII	447
4798	3491	492	<i>Longinus</i> , the late emperor <i>Zeno's</i> brother, raising disturbances in <i>Constantinople</i> , is seized, deprived of all his employments, and himself and all his countrymen, the <i>Isaurians</i> , sent back to <i>Isauria</i> their native place; upon which the whole people revol, and raise an army of 150,000 men: <i>Anastasius</i> sends his best troops against them, who engages, cuts great numbers to pieces, defeats and drives them into the mountains.	VI	518

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4793	3492	493	<i>Anastasius</i> taxing the <i>Constantinopolitans</i> against their inclination, they rise, pull down his statues, and <i>Ariadne's</i> , and drag them about the streets.	VI	519
4799	3492	493	<i>Odoacer</i> submits to <i>Theodoric</i> king of the <i>Goths</i> , and is soon after murdered; upon which <i>Theodoric</i> is proclaimed king of <i>Italy</i> , and acknowledged as such by <i>Anastasius</i> the emperor.	VII	525
4800	3493	494	<i>Diogenes</i> , one of <i>Anastasius's</i> generals, is besieged in <i>Claudiopolis</i> , the metropolis of <i>Isauria</i> , by <i>Canon</i> , an <i>Isaurian</i> bishop, and reduced to great straits, but is relieved by <i>John</i> , surnamed <i>Gibbus</i> , who falls unexpectedly upon the rebels, and cuts many of them to pieces, and forces them to raise the siege: The bishop died soon after of the wounds he received in the battle.	VI	519
4802	3495	496	The <i>Alamans</i> out of <i>Alsace</i> , joined by those of <i>Switzerland</i> , enter <i>Germapia Secunda</i> , belonging to the <i>Riparian Franks</i> , and put all to fire and sword.	VII	526
4803	3496	497	<i>John</i> the <i>Scythian</i> general for the emperor <i>Anastasius</i> , intirely defeats the <i>Isaurian</i> rebels, and takes the two heads of them prisoners, viz. <i>Longinus</i> , brother to the late emperor <i>Zeno</i> , and <i>Theodosius</i> , who were put to death, and their heads sent to <i>Constantinople</i> .	VI	195
4803	3496	497	<i>Cavadus</i> king of <i>Persia</i> intoxicated with pride and power, grew hateful to his subjects, particularly for an edict he made, that all the women in the empire should be common to all the men therein: for which he was deposed and cast into prison, and <i>Zambades</i> (by some called his son, by others his brother, &c.) elected in his stead.	IV	343
4803	3496	497	<i>Clovis</i> king of the <i>Franks</i> , with <i>Albofleda</i> his sister, and three thousand of his subjects, are baptized into the <i>Christian</i> faith by <i>Remigius</i> bishop of <i>Rheims</i> .	VII	569
4804	3497	498	The rest of the chief ringleaders of the <i>Isaurian</i> rebellion are taken and sent in chains to <i>Constantinople</i> . Most of the cities of this province of <i>Isauria</i> having been ruined during the war, which lasted six years, the inhabitants that were left were removed into <i>Thrace</i> .	VII	519
4804	3497	498	The emperor <i>Anastasius</i> refusing to set some prisoners at liberty who had been taken in a riot, very narrowly escapes being sacrificed in the <i>Circus</i> by the enraged populace, who finding themselves opposed by the soldiery, set fire to the <i>Hippodrome</i> , which consumed it, and several other stately edifices, with the square of <i>Constantine</i> , in which there was not one single house left standing.	VI	519
4804	3497	498	The <i>Arabs</i> and <i>Saracens</i> break into <i>Palestine</i> and <i>Syria</i> , but <i>Romanus</i> governor of <i>Palestine</i> , and <i>Eugenius</i> , commander of the <i>Roman</i> troops in <i>Syria</i> , drove them back, and recovered the island of <i>Jotape</i> in the <i>Red Sea</i> from the <i>Saracens</i> .	VI	520
4804	3497	498	The <i>Amprici</i> , a people between the <i>Loire</i> and the <i>Seine</i> , having formed themselves into a republick, submit voluntarily to <i>Clovis</i> , and become one nation with the <i>Franks</i> ; upon which the <i>Roman</i> troops surrender the places they held, and enter into the service of <i>Clovis</i> , which ended the <i>Roman</i> dominion, after they had been masters of <i>Gaul</i> more than 500 years.	VII	571
4805	3498	499	<i>Nicasarea</i> , and several other cities in <i>Pontus</i> , are almost utterly ruined by an earthquake.	VI	520
4805	3498	499	The <i>Bulgarians</i> break into <i>Thrace</i> , and commit great ravages, and utterly defeat <i>Arsinus</i> the <i>Roman</i> general, and carry off great booty and many prisoners.	VII	623
4807	3500	501	The blue and green factions quarrelling in the <i>Circus</i> at <i>Constantinople</i> , 3000 of the former were killed.	VI	520
4807	3500	501	<i>Cavadus</i> , the deposed king of <i>Persia</i> , having escaped out of prison by the love and loyalty of his queen, goes to the <i>Euthalites</i> , whose king entertained him courteously, gave him his daughter in marriage, and furnished him with money, &c. by which means holding correspondence with some of the <i>Persian</i> nobility, he was this year restored to his crown. <i>Zambades</i> had his eyes put out, and was then imprisoned, &c.	IV	345
4808	3501	502	The <i>Bulgarians</i> break anew into <i>Thrace</i> , and the <i>Saracens</i> into <i>Palestine</i> , and commit dreadful ravages in these two provinces.	VI	520
4808	3501	502	<i>Cavadus</i> being dunned by his father-in law, king of the <i>Euthalite</i> <i>Hunns</i> , to repay him the vast sums he had advanced for him, enters <i>Armenia</i> , and seizes upon the effects of the people, took <i>Amida</i> by storm, cut the <i>Roman</i> army to pieces, and with the plunder paid his debts.	IV	345
4809	3502	503	The <i>Romans</i> under <i>Celer</i> enter <i>Arzamen</i> , a <i>Persian</i> province, and lay it waste. The <i>Hunns</i> making a sudden irruption into <i>Persia</i> , the <i>Romans</i> besiege <i>Amida</i> , and have it delivered upon paying 50 talents.	VI	520
4810	3503	504	A truce is made between the <i>Persians</i> and <i>Romans</i> for seven years, which lasted twenty.	VI	521
4811	3504	505	One <i>Mondo</i> , a <i>Goth</i> , with some of his countrymen, seized a strong hold called <i>Herta</i> , from whence he made frequent incursions into the <i>Roman</i> territories: The emperor sends <i>Sabinianus</i> against him; <i>Theodoric</i> assists <i>Mondo</i> , and overthrows <i>Sabinianus</i> , and forced him to shut himself up in the castle of <i>Nato</i> .	VI	521
4813	3506	507	The emperor <i>Anastasius</i> built the famous wall, called the <i>Long Wall</i> , 20 foot broad, distant from the city 280 furlongs, extending from sea to sea, at <i>Constantinople</i> , and defended the empire against the sudden irruptions of the barbarous nations.	VI	521
4813	3506	507	<i>Clovis</i> wars upon <i>Alaric</i> king of the <i>Visigoths</i> , and in a battle in the plain of <i>Fougle</i> near <i>Poitiers</i> gave them a total overthrow, cutting off the greatest part of his troops, and killing <i>Alaric</i> with his own hand. The emperor <i>Anastasius</i> sends to complement him upon his victory, and presented him with the consular ornaments, and a diadem, which he accepted, and was called consul.	VII	575

3507	508	<i>Anastasius</i> repairs and fortifies <i>Daras</i> on the <i>Cardus</i> , a frontier town towards <i>Persia</i> , about 15 miles from <i>Nisibis</i> , and three from <i>Carrhae</i> .	VI	521
3508	509	<i>Theodoric</i> king of the <i>Visigoths</i> having defeated the army of <i>Clovis</i> , they conclude a peace.	VII	577
3509	510	<i>Clovis</i> being honoured with the consular dignity from the emperor <i>Anastasius</i> , moves his habitation from <i>Tours</i> to <i>Paris</i> .	VII	577
3509	510	<i>Clovis</i> is proclaimed king of the <i>Riparian Franks</i> , another tribe of the same people, whose territories are incorporated with those of <i>Clovis</i> .	VII	557
3509	510	<i>Clovis</i> seizes and murders <i>Chararic</i> , king of another body of <i>Franks</i> , settled in the bishoprics of <i>Bologne</i> , <i>St. Omer</i> , <i>Bruges</i> , and <i>Ghent</i> , and his son, and incorporates his subjects and dominions into his own.	VII	579
3509	510	<i>Ragnacharius</i> king of <i>Cambray</i> , having rendered himself odious to his own people, <i>Clovis</i> enters his kingdom with a great army, overcomes <i>Ragnacharius</i> , and kills him and his brother, and also another brother called <i>Regomer</i> , king of <i>Mons</i> , and seizes all their dominions, and so becomes king of all <i>Gaul</i> .	VII	580
3510	511	<i>Clovis</i> orders a council at <i>Orleans</i> to be held, for the regulating church affairs.	VII	569
3511	512	The <i>Heruli</i> are allowed to settle in <i>Thrace</i> , where lands are allotted them, upon their promise to live quietly, and assist the empire when occasion called for their help.	VI	521
3512	513	The emperor <i>Anastasius</i> favouring the <i>Eutychians</i> , at their instigation, drove <i>Macedonius</i> , the orthodox patriarch of <i>Constantinople</i> , from his see, and put <i>Timotheus</i> an <i>Eutychian</i> in his stead, (the like was done in many other places) who by introducing novelties in the public worship, created such great and pernicious disturbances, that 10000 of the inhabitants were killed in a riot, and several houses burnt, &c.	VI	521
3513	514	<i>Vitalianus</i> , one of the emperor's generals, espouses the cause of the Catholic bishops, comes to <i>Constantinople</i> at the head of a numerous army, threatens to depose <i>Anastasius</i> , if he did not restore the deposed bishops, and drive out the <i>Eutychians</i> ; the emperor refuses; <i>Vitalianus</i> conquered <i>Mesia</i> and <i>Thrace</i> , took <i>Cyril</i> governor of <i>Thrace</i> prisoner, and then returns to <i>Constantinople</i> , where <i>Anastasius</i> promised to stop the persecution, restore the deposed bishops, and call and stand to the decision of an oecumenical council. <i>Vitalianus</i> returns and disbands his army, and <i>Anastasius</i> breaks his word.	VI	522
3513	514	<i>Cerdic</i> the <i>Saxon</i> , after having been twenty-four years in <i>Britain</i> , and got large territories, set up the third <i>Saxon</i> kingdom, by the name of the <i>West Saxons</i> .	VII	449
3515	516	<i>Gundebald</i> king of the <i>Burgundians</i> dies, and is succeeded by his son <i>Sigismund</i> .	VII	585
3516	517	The northern <i>Barbarians</i> called <i>Getae</i> break into <i>Illyricum</i> , laid <i>Macedon</i> and <i>Epirus</i> waste, defeat <i>Pompeius</i> the emperor's nephew, near <i>Adrianople</i> , penetrate into <i>Thessaly</i> , and then return beyond the <i>Danube</i> , with an immense booty, and a prodigious number of captives.	VI	522
3517	518	The emperor <i>Anastasius</i> was found dead in his chamber on the 9th of <i>July</i> , in the 88th year of his age, and 28th of his reign. The soldiers of the household proclaimed <i>Justin</i> , then praefectus praetorio, emperor, a person of a mean and obscure family in <i>Thrace</i> . Soon after a conspiracy was formed against him; but being discovered, and the ringleaders executed, he reigned without opposition.	VI	523
3518	519	<i>Justin</i> restores all the orthodox bishops to their sees, and discourages all sorts of heresies; and assembles several synods, wherein <i>Eutychianism</i> was particularly condemned.	VI	523
3519	520	<i>Vitalianus</i> being made consul, cabals against <i>Justin</i> , and is murdered in the palace by the emperor's orders.	VI	523
3520	521	<i>Cabades</i> king of <i>Persia</i> proposes that <i>Justin</i> the <i>Roman</i> emperor should adopt <i>Cosroes</i> his youngest son, whom he had declared his successor; but this being refused, he enters <i>Iberia</i> , whose king applies to <i>Justin</i> , who sends an army under <i>Sittas</i> , and the famous <i>Belisarius</i> , who enter <i>Persian Armenia</i> , and laid it waste; but engaging <i>Narfes</i> and <i>Aratius</i> , two <i>Persian</i> generals, were put to flight.	IV	346
3521	522	<i>Narfes</i> and <i>Aratius</i> , two brothers and <i>Persian</i> generals, revolt from <i>Cabades</i> , and serve under <i>Belisarius</i> in <i>Italy</i> , and then <i>Belisarius</i> goes to <i>Daras</i> on the frontiers of <i>Persia</i> .	523 VI	
3521	522	<i>Sigismund</i> king of the <i>Burgundians</i> causes his son <i>Sigeric</i> to be inhumanly murdered.	VII	585
3522	523	<i>Sigismund</i> is defeated by <i>Clodomir</i> king of the <i>Franks</i> , and is delivered up by his own subjects, who submit to the <i>Franks</i> . The <i>Franks</i> throw <i>Sigismund</i> , and his wife and children, into a deep well, where they are all drowned.	VII	586
3523	524	The <i>Burgundians</i> revolt from the <i>Franks</i> , and proclaim <i>Godemar</i> , brother of <i>Sigismund</i> , their king; upon which war breaks out between them, and in a pitch'd battle the <i>Burgundians</i> were put to flight, but the <i>Franks</i> following too rashly, they, and <i>Clodomir</i> their king, are surrounded and cut to pieces, and <i>Clodomir</i> 's head carried by the <i>Burgundians</i> in triumph upon a spear; upon which peace is concluded, and all those countries that had been surrendered to the <i>Franks</i> , are return'd to <i>Godemar</i> .	VII	587
3524	525	<i>Justin</i> by an edict deprives the <i>Arrians</i> of all their churches throughout his dominions, which created a misunderstanding with <i>Theodoric</i> king of <i>Italy</i> , who was a zealous <i>Arrian</i> . The city of <i>Antioch</i> is almost utterly overthrown by an earthquake, and great numbers of the inhabitants buried in the ruins, with <i>Euphrasius</i> their bishop. The cities of <i>Epidamnus</i> , <i>Corinth</i> , and <i>Anazarbus</i> in		

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			<i>Cilicia</i> , underwent the same fate; but were repaired at the emperor's ex- pence.	VI	
4832	3525	526	The <i>Lombards</i> under <i>Audoinus</i> are allowed to settle in <i>Pannonia</i> , by the emperor <i>Justinian</i> .	VII	617
4832	3525	526	<i>Styrax</i> and <i>Gloner</i> , two kings of the <i>Hunns</i> , being stirred up by <i>Cabades</i> king of <i>Persia</i> , against the emperor <i>Justinian</i> , with whom he was at war, breaks into the empire with two powerful armies; but <i>Boarex</i> , widow of <i>Balach</i> , king of the <i>Sabirite Hunns</i> , led to the <i>Romans</i> assistance an army of 100,000 men, en- counters the two kings, destroys their armies, takes <i>Styrax</i> prisoner, and sends him in chains to <i>Constantinople</i> .	VII	483
4832	3525	526	The <i>Heruli</i> having murdered their king, send ambassadors into <i>Thule</i> or <i>Scandi-</i> <i>navia</i> , to fetch them one of the blood royal, many of them residing there.	VII	600
4833	3526	527	The emperor <i>Justin</i> the first of <i>April</i> declares his nephew <i>Justinian</i> partner with him in the empire. <i>Justin</i> dies the beginning of <i>August</i> following, in the 77th year of his age, and 10th of his reign, and <i>Justinian</i> became sole em- peror.	VI	524
4833	3526	527	The fourth <i>Saxon</i> kingdom is founded in <i>Britain</i> by <i>Erchenwen</i> , and called the kingdom of the <i>Engl Saxons</i> .	VII	450
4834	3527	528	<i>Justinian</i> orders <i>Belisarius</i> to build a fort in <i>Mindon</i> , to be a check on the <i>Per-</i> <i>sians</i> . <i>Cavades</i> king of <i>Persia</i> comes against him, they engage, the <i>Persians</i> are victors, and great numbers of the <i>Romans</i> were killed and taken prisoners, and the <i>Persians</i> levelled the fort with the ground.	VI	524
4835	3528	529	<i>Belisarius</i> is made general of the east, and ordered to make an inroad into <i>Persia</i> . <i>Peroses</i> the <i>Persian</i> general meets him near <i>Daras</i> ; they engage, and the <i>Persians</i> are defeated with the loss of 5000 men. The <i>Romans</i> were as successful in <i>Armenia</i> , where they take a great many <i>Persian</i> cities.	IV	347
4836	3529	530	The <i>Persians</i> under the command of <i>Azarethes</i> , joined by a vast number of <i>Sa-</i> <i>racens</i> , commanded by <i>Alcmundarius</i> their king, engage <i>Belisarius</i> ; and after an obstinate fight, put the <i>Romans</i> to the rout.	IV	347
4837	3530	531	The <i>Persians</i> still continued the war, and got advantages over the <i>Romans</i> , ra- vaged the country, and put all to fire and sword.	IV	347
4838	3531	532	<i>Cavades</i> king of <i>Persia</i> dies, and his youngest son <i>Casrboes</i> succeeds him in the kingdom. The <i>Persians</i> and <i>Romans</i> conclude an eternal peace, by which the <i>Romans</i> were to pay 1000 lb. weight of gold, and both parties were to return the places taken, &c.	IV	349
4838	3531	532	A rebellion broke out in <i>Constantinople</i> , upon account of the avaricious practices of two ministers, <i>John</i> the præfectus prætorio, and <i>Trebonianus</i> the quaestor, and <i>Hypatius</i> the emperor's nephew was proclaimed emperor. <i>Anastasius</i> de- posed the two accused officers; but the senators joining the populace, <i>Hypa-</i> <i>tius</i> was carried by violence into the <i>Circus</i> , and proclaimed there: but <i>Bel-</i> <i>isarius</i> the emperor's general, and <i>Mundus</i> governor of <i>Illyricum</i> came with their troops, and fell upon the unarm'd multitude, and killed 3000 of them; took <i>Hypatius</i> and likewise <i>Pompeius</i> , another of the emperor's nephews, who were both beheaded, and the estates of those senators concerned were for the present confiscated, but soon after restored.	VI	526
4838	3531	532	The <i>Franks</i> break the peace with the <i>Burgundians</i> , and under <i>Clilibert</i> and <i>Clotharius</i> enter their territories, besiege <i>Augustodunum</i> , now <i>Autun</i> , ob- lige <i>Godemar</i> their king to save himself by flight, and in 534 made themselves masters of his kingdom.	VII	587
4839	3532	533	<i>Athalaric</i> king of the <i>Astrogoths</i> in <i>Italy</i> dies, and his mother reigns in his stead, and chuses <i>Theodatus</i> her cousin for her colleague, who imprisons her.	VII	650
4839	3532	533	The emperor being engaged with the <i>Goths</i> in <i>Italy</i> , the <i>Hunns</i> enter <i>Illyricum</i> , lay the country waste, take thirty-two castles, and destroyed <i>Cassandria</i> , and return home unmolested with immense booty and 100,000 captives; the <i>Ar-</i> <i>menians</i> shake off the <i>Roman</i> yoke; the <i>Persians</i> enter <i>Syria</i> , take and plunder <i>Boræa</i> , <i>Hierapolis</i> , and many other places; and then besiege and take <i>An-</i> <i>tiach</i> , plunder the town, murder the people, and then reduced the city to ashes, and what few inhabitants remained, carried away captive, and sold them for slaves; and then conclude a peace, upon condition that the <i>Romans</i> should pay 500 lb. weight of gold down, 500 lb. annually, &c. and in his re- turn plundered the cities of <i>Apamea</i> and <i>Chalcis</i> , and laid waste <i>Mesopotamia</i> , carrying off vast booty, and a great number of captives.	IV	352
4840	3533	534	<i>Amalsuntha</i> , queen of the <i>Ostrogoths</i> , murdered by order of <i>Theodatus</i> , for which the emperor <i>Justinian</i> proclaims war against him.	VII	651
4841	3534	535	<i>Belisarius</i> takes <i>Palermo</i> from the <i>Goths</i> , and makes himself master of <i>Sicily</i> , &c.	VII	652
4843	3536	537	<i>Theodatus</i> king of the <i>Goths</i> is by them first deposed, and <i>Vitiges</i> proclaimed king in his stead, and then murdered.	VII	654
4843	3536	537	The <i>Gepidæ</i> join'd by the <i>Heruli</i> begin to plunder the neighbouring provinces; upon which <i>Justinian</i> sends his best generals against them, who drive them en- tirely out of <i>Illyricum</i> , and force them into <i>Dacia</i> beyond the <i>Danube</i> .	VII	596
4844	3537	538	The <i>Goths</i> , after losing abundance of their men, are compelled to raise the siege of <i>Rome</i> by <i>Belisarius</i> , who cut off vast numbers of them in their retreat, and forced many into the river.	VII	658
4845	3538	539	The <i>Franks</i> invade <i>Italy</i> , though they had engaged to help the emperor.	VII	661
4845	3538	539	The <i>Hunns</i> pass the <i>Danube</i> in great multitudes, and lay waste <i>Thrace</i> , <i>Greece</i> , <i>Illyricum</i> , and all the provinces from the <i>Ionian</i> sea to the suburbs of <i>Constan-</i> <i>tinople</i> , &c. and return home with incredible booty, after having committed all manner of cruelties.	VII	483
4845	3538	539	The <i>Bulgarians</i> are defeated by the <i>Romans</i> , and both their kings killed.	VII	623

Y. of Reed	Y. of Christ		Y. of Reed
3539	549	The <i>Bulgarians</i> come again into <i>Thrace</i> , which they plunder and lay waste far and near; but being attack'd by <i>Mandus</i> governor of <i>Illyricum</i> , are totally overcome, most of them being cut to pieces, and the remainder carried prisoners to <i>Constantinople</i> , where the emperor ordered part to be incorporated among his troops, and the rest to be transplanted into <i>Armenia</i> and <i>Laxica</i> .	VII 664
3539	540	<i>Belisarius</i> proclaimed king of <i>Italy</i> , and admitted into <i>Ravenna</i> , &c. but is called to <i>Constantinople</i> by the emperor, whither he carries <i>Vigilius</i> king of the <i>Goths</i> and vast plunder.	VII 663
3540	541	<i>Hedebald</i> is chose king of <i>Italy</i> ; but behaving disagreeably, <i>Vidus</i> one of his guards gave him so violent a stroke on the neck with his sword, as he was seating his nobility, that his head dropp'd on the table with the meat in his fingers, and is succeeded by <i>Eraric</i> .	VII 664
3541	542	The <i>Goths</i> displeased with <i>Eraric</i> , murder him, and proclaim <i>Totila</i> king of <i>Italy</i> in his stead.	VII 665
3541	542	<i>Arthur</i> the great <i>British</i> king dies, and is said to be succeeded by his cousin <i>Constantine</i> .	VII 450
3541	542	The <i>Lazians</i> , a people between the <i>Euxine</i> and <i>Caspian</i> seas, being grievously oppressed by the <i>Roman</i> troops, revolted from the <i>Romans</i> to the <i>Persians</i> , and delivered up all their strong holds and castles to them, who drove out the <i>Roman</i> and put <i>Persian</i> garrisons in their stead. <i>Belisarius</i> the <i>Roman</i> general enters <i>Persia</i> , lays waste <i>Assyria</i> , &c.	IV 353
3542	543	<i>Totila</i> king of the <i>Goths</i> recovers <i>Tuscany</i> , and several other places in <i>Italy</i> .	VII 666
3542	543	<i>Cosroes</i> invades the <i>Roman</i> territories afresh; a dreadful plague rages in <i>Persia</i> , yet he overthrew 30,000 <i>Romans</i> , as they attempted to break into <i>Perjamenia</i> , with only 4000 <i>Persians</i> .	IV 354
3543	544	<i>Cosroes</i> orders <i>Gubazes</i> king of the <i>Lazians</i> to be murdered, and the people to be transplanted; but before it could be executed, 'twas discovered. <i>Gubazes</i> submits to <i>Justinian</i> , who sends him 8000 men, with whom and his own people joined together he has several encounters with the <i>Persians</i> , and at last cut off and drove them all out of his country, upon which a truce for five years is concluded between the <i>Persians</i> and <i>Romans</i> .	IV 356
3546	547	<i>Totila</i> king of the <i>Goths</i> takes and plunders <i>Rome</i> , but spares the lives of the inhabitants and soldiers.	VII 669
3546	547	<i>Ida</i> founded the fifth <i>Saxon</i> kingdom in <i>Britain</i> , and called it the kingdom of <i>Northumberland</i> .	VII 450
3549	550	<i>Totila</i> takes <i>Rome</i> a second time, by the treachery of the <i>Isaurians</i> .	VII 672
from 3549 to 3557	550	The <i>Persians</i> invade <i>Laxica</i> , and take the strong castle of <i>Telchus</i> , and then put the <i>Romans</i> to flight. <i>Gubazes</i> complains to <i>Justinian</i> of the cowardice of his generals, which so exasperated them, that they murder him. The <i>Lazians</i> are going to revolt, but <i>Justinian</i> appeases them by ordering all concerned in the murder to be executed, and making the brother of the deceased, king in his stead. 60,000 <i>Persians</i> besiege <i>Phasis</i> in <i>Laxica</i> ; <i>Justin</i> commander of the <i>Romans</i> falls upon them, kills 12000 on the spot, and forced the rest to run away; upon this <i>Cosroes</i> sues to <i>Justinian</i> for peace, which is mutually agreed to.	IV 357
3551	552	The <i>Gepidae</i> enter the territories of the <i>Lombards</i> , and destroy all with fire and sword; but the <i>Lombards</i> receiving assistance from <i>Justinian</i> the emperor, entirely overthrow the <i>Gepidae</i> .	VII 579
3552	553	The <i>Lombards</i> , after assisting the <i>Romans</i> , are sent home loaded with rich presents for their good services.	VII 618
3552	553	The <i>Goths</i> , by submitting to the <i>Romans</i> , put an end to their government in <i>Italy</i> .	VII 678
3557	558	The <i>Huns</i> come into <i>Thrace</i> , &c. <i>Belisarius</i> defeats and puts them to flight with a very few men; but they hearing of his disgrace, upon his return to <i>Constantinople</i> , return again and ravage all the country, coming before the royal city. <i>Germanus</i> heading the imperial troops, fell upon them, slew great numbers, and obliged the rest to fly.	VII 484
3557	558	A violent earthquake overturned many stately buildings and churches at <i>Constantinople</i> , which destroyed a vast number of people; and then a terrible plague broke out, that swept away vast numbers.	VI 559
3558	559	<i>Belisarius</i> , the famous <i>Roman</i> general, after many years severe service, and obtaining many extraordinary victories, falls a victim to the malicious accusations of his enemies, and is deprived of all his honours and employments, and confined to his house at <i>Constantinople</i> .	VI 520
3559	560	<i>Sigebert</i> king of <i>Mentz</i> engages the <i>Huns</i> upon the banks of the <i>Elbe</i> , and entirely routs them.	VII 485
3560	561	<i>Ethelbert</i> king of <i>Kent</i> kindles a civil war among the <i>Saxon</i> kings in <i>Britain</i> .	VII 451
3560	561	The emperor <i>Justinian</i> convinced of the injury done to his faithful servant and valiant general <i>Belisarius</i> , restores him to all his honours and commands.	VI 530
3564	565	<i>Marcellus</i> , <i>Sergius</i> and <i>Ablatius</i> , three chief officers in the court of the emperor <i>Justinian</i> , conspire his death, are detected and executed, and many banished, but the emperor died soon after, in the 39th year of his reign, and was succeeded by his nephew <i>Justin</i> , son of his sister <i>Vigilantia</i> , who was unanimously proclaim'd by the senate, and crown'd by <i>John</i> patriarch of <i>Constantinople</i> .	VI 530
3565	566	The people grumbling at the discontinuance of the name and office of consul, <i>Justin</i> revives it, after it had been omitted twenty-five years, and entered upon that office the first of <i>January</i> of this year.	VI 531
3567	568	The emperor <i>Justin</i> causes his kinsman <i>Justin</i> to be seized and carried to <i>Alexandria</i> , and there murdered, because the people loved him.	UI 531
3567	568	<i>Longinus</i> alters the ancient manner of government in <i>Italy</i> , and settles in every city a governor, which he called a duke, and took upon himself the name of	

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			exarch, or governor of the whole, under the emperor, which continued till the year of Christ 751.	VII	679
4874	3567	568	The Lombards invade Italy, and make themselves masters of several cities, and found a kingdom which lasted 200 years.	VII	619
4875	3568	569	Alboinus king of the Lombards, having taken <i>Prin</i> , erected it into a duchy, which continues to this day.	VII	620
4875	3568	569	The inhabitants of <i>Perfarmania</i> , being cruelly persecuted by the Persians, for professing the Christian religion, revolt to the Romans. <i>Cosroes</i> invades and over-runs Syria and <i>Mesopotamia</i> ; but <i>Justin</i> being seized with madness, the empress <i>Sophia</i> writes to him in such moving terms, that in 572 a truce for three years was concluded.	VI	357
4876	3569	570	Alboinus is proclaimed king of Italy, and makes <i>Parua</i> his residence, and the metropolis of his kingdom.	VII	620
4877	3570	571	<i>Clephis</i> king of the Lombards, and <i>Messana</i> his queen is murdered by his subjects, for his cruelty towards them.	VII	622
4877	3570	571	The Lombards shake off monarchy, and are governed by dukes.	VII	622
4878	3571	572	<i>Cunimundus</i> king of the <i>Gepidae</i> enter the Lombards country with a numerous army, and commits most cruel ravages. <i>Alboinus</i> king of the Lombards raises a great army, and engages the <i>Gepidae</i> ; and after a very doubtful and obstinate battle, the <i>Gepidae</i> fly, and are pursued by the victorious Lombards, with so great slaughter, that scarce one is left alive. <i>Alboinus</i> flew <i>Cunimundus</i> with his own hand, and cutting off his head, turned his skull into a cup, which he used to drink out of upon all public occasions. The Lombards seized upon all their land in <i>Dacia</i> , and obliged the people to submit to them, or go into other countries, and so ended the kingdom of the <i>Gepidae</i> .	VII	597
4878	3571	572	The empress <i>Sophia</i> prevails on the senate to advance <i>Tiberius</i> the Thracian to the government during her husband's illness.	VI	532
4879	3572	573	<i>Justin</i> influenced by his wife <i>Sophia</i> , raises <i>Tiberius</i> to the dignity of <i>Cesar</i> , and resigns to him the whole management of affairs.	VI	532
4880	3573	574	<i>Cosroes</i> king of <i>Persia</i> breaks into <i>Perfarmania</i> as soon as the truce between him and the Romans expired, and marched to besiege <i>Casarea</i> , the capital of <i>Cappadocia</i> : <i>Justinian</i> the Roman general meets him, engages, and puts him intirely to the rout; which so affects <i>Cosroes</i> , that he soon after fell sick and died of grief, after reigning 48 years.	IV	358
4880	3573	574	<i>Alboinus</i> , the first Lombard king of Italy, is murdered by <i>Helinbild</i> , his shield-bearer, at the instigation of the queen.	VII	621
4883	3576	577	<i>Hormisdas</i> II ^d . succeeds his father <i>Cosroes</i> in the kingdom of <i>Persia</i> , a prince every way unable to support so great a burthen.	IV	359
4887	3580	481	<i>Justin</i> dies, and is succeeded by <i>Tiberius</i> in the empire, who owned <i>Augusta</i> for his wife, and made her <i>Augusta</i> ; which so exasperated <i>Sophia</i> the empress dowager, (who expected him to marry her) that she conspires to set <i>Justinian</i> upon the throne; but <i>Tiberius</i> strips her of all her wealth, and puts <i>Mauritius</i> in the place of <i>Justinian</i> , and peace was restored again.	VI	533
4888	3581	482	<i>Mauritius</i> engages and entirely overthrows <i>Hormisdas</i> king of <i>Persia</i> , took the camp with all the royal plate and treasure, and an incredible number of prisoners, all which he sent to <i>Constantinople</i> . <i>Hormisdas</i> fits out another army, which <i>Mauritius</i> likewise overthrows, took an immense booty, and whole nations of slaves. Upon <i>Mauritius</i> 's return to <i>Constantinople</i> , <i>Tiberius</i> gives him his daughter in marriage, and raises him to the dignity of <i>Cesar</i> , and a peace is concluded with the Persians.	IV	360
4891	3584	585	<i>Ceda</i> the Saxon founds the seventh Saxon kingdom in Britain, and calls it <i>Mercia</i> .	VII	453
4891	3584	585	<i>Uffa</i> the Saxon founds the 6th Saxon kingdom in Britain, and calls it the kingdom of the <i>West-Angles</i> .	VII	452
4891	3584	585	The Lombards restore monarchy among them, and choose <i>Autbaris</i> , son of <i>Clephis</i> , for their king.	VII	622
4892	3585	586	The emperor <i>Tiberius</i> dies, greatly lamented for his extraordinary care of his people, and is succeeded by his son-in-law <i>Mauritius</i> .	VI	534
4895	3588	589	<i>Hormisdas</i> king of <i>Persia</i> breaks the peace concluded with the Romans, but is defeated in several battles with prodigious slaughter.	IV	360
4896	3589	590	A terrible earthquake at <i>Antioch</i> destroys almost the whole city, and buries 30,000 persons in its ruins.	VI	535
4896	3589	590	<i>Autbaris</i> king of the Lombards poisoned.	VII	684
4897	3590	591	<i>Sittas</i> , the architect, a citizen of <i>Martyropolis</i> , betrays that great city and important place into the hands of the Persians, from whom <i>Germanus</i> the Roman general some time after retook it.	IV	360
4897	3590	591	<i>Agilulf</i> duke of <i>Turin</i> marries <i>Theudelinda</i> , wife of <i>Autbaris</i> , and is proclaimed king of the Lombards.	VII	684
4899	3592	593	<i>Hormisdas</i> king of <i>Persia</i> behaving very haughtily, cruelly, &c. is deposed, has his eyes bored out with red hot irons, and cast into prison, and his son <i>Cosroes</i> put in his stead, who ordered his father to be put to death, which so dissatisfied the Persians, that they drove him out of the kingdom; who flying to the emperor <i>Mauritius</i> at <i>Constantinople</i> , is by him kindly received, and assisted with an army that reinstated him upon his throne, and a peace is concluded between the two princes.	IV	363
4900	3593	594	The <i>Avari</i> having broke into <i>Thrace</i> , and taken many strong places, the emperor <i>Mauritius</i> goes against them, and after various battles, is forced to buy a peace.	VI	535
4901	3594	595	<i>Chagan</i> king of the <i>Avari</i> , together with the <i>Gepidae</i> , <i>Sclavi</i> , &c. enter the Roman dominions, swearing they would utterly demolish the Roman name, and		

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			establish a new empire over all people and nations, and after laying <i>Thrace</i> waste, advanced towards <i>Constantinople</i> ; but a violent plague breaking out in their army, swept off multitudes, among whom were seven of <i>Chagan's</i> sons: <i>Chagan</i> offering to set 12,000 <i>Romans</i> at liberty for a small ransom, which <i>Mauritius</i> refusing to pay, he put them all to death, which occasioned a mutiny in the <i>Roman</i> army, and a great tumult at <i>Constantinople</i> .	VI	536
4903	3596	597	The <i>Avari</i> renew their ravages, and are defeated in five successive battles by <i>Priscus</i> the <i>Roman</i> general, who cutting off 30,000 of them, drove the remainder out of the <i>Roman</i> dominions.	VI	536
4908	3601	602	The emperor <i>Mauritius</i> commanding his brother <i>Peter</i> to cross the <i>Danube</i> and winter in the enemies' country, so exasperated the soldiers, that they mutiny and proclaim one <i>Phocas</i> , a centurion, emperor. The populace at <i>Constantinople</i> rise, and force <i>Maurice</i> to embark in disguise, with his wife and children, in a small ship; but being driven back by contrary winds, takes refuge in the church of <i>Antoninus</i> the martyr, about twenty miles distant from <i>Constantinople</i> , whither <i>Phocas</i> comes, and is crowned with loud acclamations in the church of <i>St. John Baptist</i> , with his wife <i>Leontia</i> , by the patriarch.	VI	536
4908	3601	602	In the publick sports at <i>Constantinople</i> a contest happening between the <i>Blue</i> and the <i>Green</i> , <i>Phocas</i> sends his guards to quell the uproar, who using the tribune of the <i>Blue</i> roughly, they cry out, <i>Maurice</i> was yet alive, who would do them justice; upon which <i>Phocas</i> ordered <i>Maurice</i> to be dragged out of his sanctuary, and after killing five of his sons before his face, beheaded him, and put many of his friends and relations to death afterwards.	VI	536
4909	3602	603	<i>Phocas</i> sends his own and his wife <i>Leontia's</i> images to <i>Rome</i> , which are received by <i>Gregory the Great</i> , bishop of <i>Rome</i> , with great respect, and lodged in the oratory of the martyr <i>Casarius</i> ; but <i>Phocas</i> behaving very cruelly, he grew hateful to the people.	VI	537
4910	3603	604	<i>Narsetes</i> , commander of the <i>Roman</i> forces on the borders of <i>Persia</i> , revolts, and is joined by <i>Cosroes</i> king of <i>Persia</i> , who defeat and kill <i>Germanus</i> , who was sent against them, and some time afterwards they also defeated <i>Leontinus</i> . <i>Phocas</i> by solemn oaths and large promises prevails upon <i>Narsetes</i> to lay down his arms and return home; as soon as <i>Phocas</i> had him in his power he ordered him to be burnt alive, to the great grief of the <i>Romans</i> .	VI	537
4911	3604	605	<i>Agilulf</i> king of the <i>Lombards</i> in <i>Italy</i> declares his son <i>Adalwald</i> (or <i>Aldonald</i>) yet an infant, his colleague, and causes him to be openly crowned with great solemnity.	VII	685
4912	3605	606	<i>Phocas</i> sends ambassadors with large presents to <i>Cosroes</i> king of <i>Persia</i> , in order to make peace, who rejects all his offers, ravages <i>Mesopotamia</i> and <i>Asia</i> , and carries off immense booty.	IV	366
4913	3606	607	<i>Constantina</i> , widow of the late emperor <i>Maurice</i> , is rack'd, and confesses that several of the great officers were conspiring with her to set her son <i>Theodisus</i> on the throne; for which she and many of the grandees are put to death, and also three of her daughters, and multitudes daily imprisoned, where they died miserably.	VI	538
4914	3607	608	<i>Cosroes</i> lays waste <i>Syria</i> , <i>Palestine</i> , and <i>Phenicia</i> , putting all to fire and sword; and having defeated the troops sent against him, entered <i>Galatia</i> , and commits dreadful ravages, and goes to <i>Chalcedon</i> ; and while this was doing abroad, <i>Phocas</i> murders all who were any ways related to, or favourers of <i>Mauritius</i> at home.	VI	538
4915	3608	609	The <i>Jews</i> at <i>Antioch</i> rise, and murder the <i>Christians</i> in great numbers, and dragged the mangled carcasses of <i>Anastatius</i> the patriarch about the streets in a most ignominious manner. <i>Bonolus</i> , who was going against the <i>Persians</i> , strove to quell the tumult by fair means; but not prevailing, orders his troops to fall on them, who cut great numbers to pieces, and drove the rest out of the city.	VI	539
4915	3608	609	<i>Phocas</i> being upbraided with his vices, in the <i>Circus</i> at <i>Constantinople</i> by the populace, he ordered several immediately to be beheaded on the spot, and others to be cast into the sea; which so enraged them, that they set the palace and publick prison on fire. The great men having an intention to murder <i>Phocas</i> in the <i>Hippodrome</i> , are betrayed by <i>Anastatius</i> the <i>Comes largitionum</i> ; but <i>Phocas</i> puts him as well as them to death.	VI	538
4916	3609	610	<i>Heraclius</i> , son of <i>Heraclius</i> governor of <i>Africa</i> , proclaims himself emperor, and is as such acknowledged by the <i>Africans</i> , who furnish him with a great army and fleet; He comes to <i>Constantinople</i> , engages and beats the fleet of <i>Phocas</i> ; <i>Phocas</i> flies into the palace, whither <i>Plotinus</i> , whose wife he had debauched, followed, took and bound him in chains, and so sent him to <i>Heraclius</i> , who orders first his hands and feet, then his privy members, and lastly his head to be cut off.	VI	539
4917	3610	611	<i>Heraclius</i> is proclaimed emperor at <i>Constantinople</i> , and crowned by <i>Sergius</i> the patriarch. The <i>Persians</i> continued their ravages and destructions, being now arrived at <i>Antioch</i> , no force then on foot being able to withstand them.	VI	539
4919	3612	613	The <i>Persians</i> over-run <i>Cappadocia</i> , and take and sack <i>Cæsarea</i> , and carry off immense booty, and a vast number of captives. The empress <i>Eudocia</i> is delivered of a son, but died soon after. <i>Heraclius</i> desires peace of <i>Cosroes</i> , and offers to pay an annual sum, but is refused.	VI	539
4921	3614	615	<i>Agilulf</i> dies, and is succeeded by <i>Adalwald</i> his son, as king of the <i>Lombards</i> in <i>Italy</i> .	VII	686
4922	3615	616	The <i>Persians</i> come again into <i>Syria</i> , break into <i>Palestine</i> , and take <i>Jerusalem</i> , where they sell 90,000 <i>Christians</i> for slaves to the <i>Jews</i> ; but <i>Zacharias</i> the patriarch, and part of the cross on which <i>Christ</i> was crucified, with immense booty, is carried into <i>Persia</i> .	VI	539

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4922	3615	616	The emperor <i>Heraclius</i> marries his brother's daughter <i>Martina</i> , and caused her to be crowned with the usual pomp by <i>Sergius</i> patriarch of <i>Constantinople</i> .	VI	539
4923	3616	617	The <i>Persians</i> renew their ravages; <i>Heraclius</i> goes into <i>Armenia</i> , and again offers proposals for an accommodation, which are rejected: Then he entered <i>Persia</i> , took and levelled several towns with the ground; and then went to attack <i>Cosroes</i> , who ran away, when he entered <i>Gazysum</i> , where he seized immense treasure, and burnt the city, and carried off 50,000 captives: But going to winter in <i>Albania</i> , the weather proving very cold and troublesome to the <i>Persians</i> , he sent them home without ransom.	IV	368
4925	3618	619	The <i>Persians</i> over-run all <i>Egypt</i> , take and pillage <i>Alexandria</i> , and then come into <i>Africa</i> and besiege <i>Carthage</i> , and return to <i>Persia</i> with the spoils of several provinces, and a prodigious number of captives. <i>Heraclius</i> begs for peace again, but is refused by <i>Cosroes</i> , unless he will renounce his crucified god, and adore the sun.	IV	366
4925	3618	619	<i>Heraclius</i> defeats the <i>Persians</i> in two pitched battles, and cut off great numbers, and their general <i>Sarabracas</i> .	IV	368
4926	3619	620	<i>Heraclius</i> concludes a peace with the <i>Aluari</i> , and goes against the <i>Persians</i> in person: <i>Saas</i> the <i>Persian</i> general invites <i>Heraclius</i> to an interview, under pretence of peace; <i>Heraclius</i> sends 70 persons of distinction, whom <i>Saas</i> loads with chains, and sends them captive into <i>Persia</i> . <i>Cosroes</i> fleas <i>Saas</i> alive, for having seen the Roman emperor and not took him likewise. <i>Heraclius</i> penetrates through <i>Armenia</i> into <i>Persia</i> , and lays all waste before him, engages and defeats the <i>Persians</i> , and takes their camp and baggage, and then returned to <i>Constantinople</i> .	IV	368
4928	3621	622	<i>Heraclius</i> crosses the <i>Euphrates</i> , takes <i>Samofa</i> , &c. and intirely overthrows <i>Sarabracas</i> on the banks of the <i>Sanis</i> .	IV	368
4930	3623	624	<i>Cosroes</i> not able to beat <i>Heraclius</i> , raises a universal persecution against all the <i>Catholicks</i> in his dominions, and only spares the <i>Nestorians</i> .	IV	368
4931	3624	625	<i>Cosroes</i> engages the <i>Auari</i> , <i>Hunns</i> , and <i>Slavonians</i> , to invade <i>Thrace</i> , which they do, and destroy all before them, and besiege <i>Constantinople</i> , while <i>Heraclius</i> enters <i>Persia</i> , and lays it waste, and <i>Theodorus</i> the Roman engages and gives <i>Saas</i> the <i>Persian</i> a dreadful overthrow.	IV	368
4932	3625	626	<i>Heraclius</i> invades <i>Persia</i> again, and at <i>Nineveh</i> meets <i>Razastes</i> the <i>Persian</i> general, whom he engages, kills him and a great part of his army, and puts the rest to flight, with only the loss of 50 Romans. <i>Cosroes</i> flies to <i>Seleucia</i> , with his wives and children; and <i>Heraclius</i> destroyed the <i>Persian</i> provinces with fire and sword, released the Roman captives, recovered the standards, and carried off great part of the wealth of <i>Persia</i> .	IV	368
4932	3625	626	<i>Sarbarazes</i> revolts with his whole army from <i>Cosroes</i> , who falling ill, declares his younger son <i>Merdasas</i> his successor; whereupon <i>Syroes</i> his eldest son joins <i>Chardanichas</i> , seized his father, and threw him chained into prison, where he was murdered, with <i>Merdasas</i> and his other children: Then <i>Syroes</i> being king, concluded a perpetual peace with <i>Heraclius</i> , by which all the Roman provinces were again restored to the empire.	IV	369
4933	3626	627	All the <i>Persians</i> and Romans that were prisoners of war in either dominions were set at liberty; and <i>Heraclius</i> upon his approaching <i>Constantinople</i> is met by his son <i>Constantius</i> , the patriarch, the nobility, and people, with all the demonstrations of joy possible.	IV	542
4933	3626	627	<i>Syroes</i> king of <i>Persia</i> dies, and is succeeded by his son <i>Ardeser</i> , or <i>Artaxerxes</i> , a child of seven years old, who after reigning seven months, is murdered.	IV	369
4933	3626	627	<i>Adalwald</i> and <i>Theudelinda</i> both die, and <i>Ariwald</i> succeeds as king of the <i>Lombards</i> .	VII	689
4934	3627	628	<i>Sarbarazes</i> the <i>Persian</i> general having killed <i>Ardeser</i> , sets up himself for king in his room; but after much blood being spilt, the nobility depose him, and set up <i>Hermisdas</i> , or <i>Isdigerdes</i> , (one of <i>Syroes</i> nephews) two years afterwards.	VI	370
4934	3627	628	<i>Heraclius</i> goes to <i>Jerusalem</i> with that part of the cross that had been carried into <i>Persia</i> , which he entered in great pomp, returned it to the great church, and instituted the festival of <i>The Exaltation of the Holy Cross</i> , observed by the present Roman church on the 14th of September: Then the emperor banished all the <i>Jews</i> , forbidding them under severe penalties to come within three miles of that holy city.	VII	544
4935	3628	629	The emperor <i>Heraclius</i> coming to <i>Edeffa</i> , <i>Abanastius</i> , the patriarch of the <i>Jacobites</i> , influenced him so far as to imbrace the doctrine of the <i>Monothelites</i> , who acknowledge but one will in <i>Christ</i> .	VI	543
4936	3629	630	<i>Mahomed</i> , or <i>Mabomet</i> , (who called himself king and prophet of the <i>Saracens</i>) died this year, having first reduced <i>Mecca</i> and <i>Medin</i> , and part of <i>Arabia</i> , and was succeeded by <i>Eububexer</i> , one of his kinsmen.	VI	543
4938	3631	632	<i>Eububexer</i> enters <i>Persia</i> , intirely defeats <i>Syroes</i> , and puts an end to the <i>Persian</i> empire, after it had continued upwards of 400 years in the line of <i>Artaxerxes</i> ; and he and his <i>Saracens</i> inhabited the country: Then he broke into <i>Palestine</i> , laid waste the territory of <i>Gaza</i> , and cut the governor and all his troops to pieces.	IV	370
4939	3632	633	<i>Eububexer</i> dies, and is succeeded by <i>Haumar</i> , who conquered <i>Bostra</i> , and several other cities of <i>Arabia</i> , and intirely defeated <i>Theodorus</i> , the king's brother, who went against him.	VI	543
4940	3633	634	<i>Boanes</i> the Roman general is overthrown by the <i>Saracens</i> , who take and conquer all <i>Pbenicia</i> .	VI	543
4941	3634	635	<i>Haumar</i> sends one part of his army into <i>Egypt</i> , and leads the other to <i>Jerusalem</i> . <i>Cyrus</i> bishop of <i>Alexandria</i> engages to pay them 200,000 <i>Denarii per Annum</i> , so saves <i>Egypt</i> from being plundered.	VI	543
4942	3635	636	<i>Haumar</i> took <i>Jerusalem</i> after a siege of near two years.	VI	544
4942	3635	636	<i>Ariwald</i> dies, and is succeeded by <i>Rotbaris</i> , who introduces the first written laws among the <i>Lombards</i> in <i>Italy</i> .	VII	689

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4944	3637	638	<i>Manuel</i> governor of <i>Egypt</i> refuses to pay the annual sum of 200,000 <i>Dinarii</i> to the <i>Saracens</i> ; upon which they engage, and <i>Manuel</i> is beat, and they become masters of the whole country, which had belon _g ed to the <i>Romans</i> ever since the time of <i>Augustus</i> .	VI	543
4944	3637	638	<i>Rotharis</i> engages the <i>Romans</i> , defeats them, and kills 8000 upon the spot.	VII	691
4946	3639	640	<i>Hauemar</i> takes all <i>Syria</i> , with <i>Antioch</i> , the metropolis of the east.	VI	543
4947	3640	641	<i>Heraclius</i> the <i>Roman</i> emperor dies, and was succeeded by his son <i>Constantine</i> , who after a reign of seven months died also, suspected to be poisoned by his stepmother <i>Martina</i> , whose son <i>Heracleonas</i> succeeded him.	VI	544
4948	3641	642	The senate depose <i>Heracleonas</i> the emperor, after six months reign, cut off his nose, and pull out the tongue of his mother <i>Martina</i> , and send them both into banishment, and advanced <i>Constans</i> son of <i>Constantine</i> to the throne; upon which <i>Pyrrhus</i> the heretical patriarch of <i>Constantinople</i> quits his see, and flies into <i>Africa</i> , being suspected of being privy to the death of <i>Constantine</i> .	VI	544
4953	3646	647	The <i>Saracens</i> break into, and conquer the whole province of <i>Africa</i> .	VI	544
4954	3647	648	<i>Mahias</i> , or <i>Mabuvias</i> , the <i>Saracen</i> admiral, falls upon <i>Cyprus</i> with a great fleet and army, reduced the island, and laid the city of <i>Constantia</i> in ashes; then went and took the island of <i>Aradas</i> ; then went and took <i>Rhodes</i> , and destroyed the famous <i>Colossus</i> of the sun, after it had been made 1300 years, containing 900 camels loads of metal.	VI	544
4958	3651	652	King <i>Rotharies</i> dies, who for his great wisdom and moderation was much lamented; and though an <i>Arian</i> himself, permitted his subjects to embrace orthodoxy if they liked it best, and appointed a bishop of each persuasion in all the great cities of his dominions: He was succeeded by <i>Aio</i> his son, whom he had made partner with him in the government five months before.	VII	691
4963	3656	657	<i>Mabuvias</i> prepares a mighty fleet at <i>Tripolis</i> in <i>Phœnicia</i> , with an intent to besiege <i>Constantinople</i> . Two <i>Christian</i> captives breaking open the goal, that was very full of them, kills the governor, and sets fire to the fleet, and made their escape: But <i>Mabuvias</i> having got another fleet, engages the imperial fleet, commanded by <i>Constans</i> in person, and beat him, the emperor being forced to fly to <i>Constantinople</i> in disguise.	VI	544
4964	3657	658	<i>Constans</i> goes against the <i>Slavoi</i> , and defeats them in several encounters; but not being able to drive them out of the country they had seized, returned to <i>Constantinople</i> , and the country bears the name of <i>Slavonia</i> to this day.	VI	545
4964	3657	658	The <i>Saracens</i> quarrelling among themselves, lead to make peace with the emperor <i>Constans</i> ; to which he consents, and cedes to them the provinces they had taken, upon their engaging to pay him 1000 <i>Nisimi</i> a year, together with a horse and a slave.	VI	545
4965	3658	659	<i>Constans</i> being jealous of his brother <i>Theodosius</i> , causes him to be ordained a deacon, and soon after murdered him, but was ever after so terrified in his mind, that he could not rest night or day.	VI	545
4966	3659	660	<i>Mabuvias</i> the <i>Saracen</i> having killed his competitor <i>Hali</i> , reigned alone, and broke the peace with the <i>Romans</i> , and sent his son <i>Jad</i> into the <i>Roman</i> territories, as far as <i>Chalcedon</i> , took <i>Amorium</i> , a strong city of <i>Phrygia</i> , put a garrison into it, and returned to his father with immense booty; but <i>Andreas</i> the <i>Roman</i> general soon retook it, and put all the <i>Saracens</i> to the sword.	VI	545
4968	3661	662	The <i>Franks</i> and <i>Lombards</i> quarrelling, <i>Constans</i> goes against the latter with a great fleet and army, lands at <i>Tarentum</i> , and takes several places, and besieges <i>Beneventum</i> ; but <i>Grimoald</i> , duke thereof, coming to its relief, the emperor retired to <i>Naples</i> : An engagement happening soon after, 20,000 <i>Romans</i> together with their general were cut off.	VI	545
4968	3661	662	<i>Grimoald</i> , duke of <i>Benevento</i> , is proclaimed king of the <i>Lombards</i> .	VII	693
4969	3662	663	<i>Constans</i> visits <i>Rome</i> , and takes away the valuable rarities, and sends them to <i>Constantinople</i> , returns to <i>Naples</i> , and from thence goes to <i>Syracuse</i> , where he staid five years, grievously oppressing the people, and stripping the churches of their rich ornaments and vessels; thus becoming hateful, he was murdered as he was bathing, by one <i>Troilus</i> , in the 27th year of his reign, <i>Anno</i> 668.	VI	545
4969	3662	663	<i>Grimoald</i> falls upon the <i>Franks</i> in the dead of the night, and slew almost all of them that were come into <i>Italy</i> to rethrone <i>Partharis</i> .	VII	693
4969	3662	663	<i>Romuald</i> , son of <i>Grimoald</i> , attacks the <i>Romans</i> , who was come to drive the <i>Lombards</i> out of <i>Italy</i> , and entirely defeats them, and gains many cities.	VII	694
4974	3667	668	Upon the death of <i>Constans</i> , the <i>Syracusans</i> proclaim one <i>Mexizus</i> emperor; but <i>Constantine</i> , son of the late emperor, comes from <i>Constantinople</i> with a great fleet, defeats, takes, and puts <i>Mexizus</i> to death, and got himself acknowledged emperor in his stead.	VI	545
4974	3667	668	<i>Grimoald</i> , with the consent and approbation of the <i>Italians</i> , corrects, alters, and improves the laws of <i>Rotharis</i> .	VII	697
4974	3667	668	The <i>Bulgarians</i> enter the <i>Roman</i> territories, commit great ravages, and defeat the emperor <i>Constans</i> 's army, so that he is obliged to allow them a large annual pension to be quiet.	VII	624
4976	3669	670	The <i>Saracens</i> enter <i>Africa</i> , and commit most terrible ravages and cruelties, and carry away 80,000 captives.	VI	546
4977	3670	671	The <i>Saracens</i> make a descent into <i>Sicily</i> , take and plunder <i>Syracuse</i> , and overrun all the island, destroying every thing with fire and sword.	VI	546
4978	3671	672	The <i>Saracens</i> enter <i>Thrace</i> , and come and besiege <i>Constantinople</i> ; but after an unsuccessful vigorous attempt, they return in September to <i>Cynicus</i> , and continued for seven years to besiege it in the summer, and go to <i>Cyzicus</i> in the winter.	VI	546
4978	3671	672	<i>Grimoald</i> bleeds to death, but first bequeaths to his youngest son <i>Garibald</i> the kingdom of the <i>Lombards</i> , who accordingly succeeded him; but <i>Partharis</i> , who had been expelled, returning to <i>Pavia</i> , the <i>Lombards</i> re-elect him king, and depose <i>Garibald</i> .	VII	697

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4983	3676	677	<i>Florus Petronius</i> and <i>Cyprianus</i> gain a signal victory over <i>Sulpharus</i> the <i>Saracen</i> , in <i>Syria</i> , and kill 30,000 of his men: The <i>Maronites</i> seize on mount <i>Libanus</i> , and fortify themselves, and by the assistance of some <i>Christian</i> slaves they reduce the whole country between mount <i>Taurus</i> and <i>Jerusalem</i> , and by frequent incursions force <i>Mahawias</i> to sue to <i>Constantine</i> for peace, which was agreed to thus: 1. It should be inviolably observed for 30 years by both nations. 2. The <i>Saracens</i> should retain the provinces they had seized. 3. They should pay 3000 pounds weight of gold annually, 50 slaves and 50 fine horses.	VI	546
4984	3677	678	The <i>Bulgarians</i> to the number of 100,000, cross the <i>Danube</i> and enter and ravage the empire, and put the <i>Roman</i> army to flight: The emperor agrees to pay them an annual sum, and then they retire.	VI	546
4984	3677	678	A large body of <i>Bulgarians</i> are settled in the dukedom of <i>Benevento</i> .	VII	624
4986	3679	680	The emperor <i>Constantine</i> calls the sixth general or oecumenical council at <i>Constantinople</i> , where the doctrine of the <i>Monothelites</i> was condemned.	VI	546
4986	3679	680	<i>Parsebaris</i> takes his son <i>Canipert</i> for a partner with him in the government.	VII	697
4991	3684	685	The emperor <i>Constantine</i> dies of a lingering illness, in the 18th year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son <i>Justinian</i> , a youth of 16 years of age.	VI	547
4992	3685	686	<i>Abdelmelech</i> , the new prince of the <i>Saracens</i> , confirms the old peace, and proposes to pay <i>Justinian</i> 1000 <i>Nommi</i> a day, and a slave and a horse, to suppress the <i>Maronites</i> : He agrees, and sends <i>Magisprianus</i> against them, who overcomes and disables them for a long time to interrupt the <i>Saracens</i> .	VI	547
4993	3686	687	<i>Justinian</i> goes against the <i>Bulgarians</i> , who had been allowed by his father to settle in <i>Lower Masia</i> , which from them was called <i>Bulgaria</i> , and ravages their country: They assemble, engage, defeat, and drive him quite out of the country, and recover all he had taken from them: And then he went against the <i>Slavonians</i> , over whom he got the advantage several times; so that now he would quarrel with the <i>Saracens</i> , though <i>Abdelmelech</i> strove all he could to prevent it.	VI	547
4993	3686	687	<i>Justinian</i> II. invades the <i>Bulgarians</i> , overcomes them, and obliges them to quit their country or live in intire subjection, he refusing peace upon any other terms: They assemble together from all parts, and fall upon the emperor, defeat his army, force him to restore the prisoners and booty he had taken, and to confirm the annual pension his father had allowed them.	VII	625
4994	3687	688	<i>Mahomed</i> engages the <i>Romans</i> , and is beat, and besieged in his own camp; but finding means to draw off the <i>Slavonian</i> general with 20,000 men, the <i>Romans</i> were so frightened at this revolt, that they run away; and the enemy pursuing, killed abundance of them. When the emperor came to <i>Lucara</i> , he was so exasperated, that he ordered 10,000 <i>Slavonians</i> that remained with him to be cut to pieces, with their wives and children, and their bodies to be thrown into the sea.	VI	547
4996	3689	690	<i>Partbaris</i> king of the <i>Lombards</i> dies, upon which <i>Alachis</i> duke of <i>Trent</i> revolts, and drives <i>Canipert</i> , son of <i>Partbaris</i> , from the throne: but <i>Canipert</i> defeating and slaying <i>Alachis</i> , he reigned in the stead of his father.	VII	697
5000	3693	694	<i>Constantine</i> upon his return to <i>Constantinople</i> , instead of raising troops, &c. spends his time in erecting new buildings, &c. which gaining him the ill-will of the people, and suffering his two chief ministers to execute many of the nobility wrongfully, and ordering <i>Rufas</i> , one of his generals, to fall upon the inhabitants in the night-time of a certain day, and massacre them in their houses, and to begin with the patriarch <i>Callimicus</i> ; before the time came, <i>Leontius</i> governor of <i>Greece</i> was declared emperor, who seizing <i>Justinian</i> , carried him to the <i>Circus</i> , where his nose was cut off, and then he was banished to <i>Chersona</i> , and his two favourites, <i>Theodorus</i> and <i>Stephen</i> , were burnt alive.	VI	548
5001	3694	695	<i>Sergius</i> , who commanded the <i>Roman</i> troops in <i>Lazica</i> , betrayed that province to the <i>Saracens</i> .	VI	548
5002	3695	696	The <i>Saracens</i> invade <i>Africa</i> , take <i>Cartage</i> , and over-run all the country; but <i>John</i> the patrician going against them, drives them out again.	VI	548
5003	3696	697	The <i>Saracens</i> equip another great fleet, and again invade <i>Africa</i> , and force <i>John</i> to fly, who embarks his troops for <i>Constantinople</i> ; but the fleet touching at <i>Crete</i> , the soldiers revolt, and proclaim <i>Aspar</i> , one of <i>Laomius</i> 's generals, emperor. <i>Aspar</i> (or <i>Tiberius</i>) goes directly to <i>Constantinople</i> , surprizes the city, took <i>Leontius</i> prisoner, cut off his nose, and put him into a monastery in <i>Dalmatia</i> , in the third year of his reign.	VI	548
5004	3697	698	The emperor <i>Aspar</i> , or <i>Tiberius</i> , being settled in the empire, sends his brother <i>Heraclius</i> with an army into <i>Cappadocia</i> , to watch the <i>Saracens</i> , who having private quarrels, <i>Heraclius</i> penetrates into <i>Syria</i> to <i>Samanda</i> , put 200,000 to the sword, and returned with immense plunder.	IV	548
5005	3698	699	The <i>Saracens</i> again break into the <i>Roman</i> empire, besiege, take, and fortify <i>Mopsuestia</i> in <i>Cilicia</i> .	VI	548
5007	3700	701	<i>Boanes</i> , surnamed <i>Heptadamen</i> , betrayed <i>Armenia</i> to the <i>Saracens</i> .	VI	548
5008	3701	702	The <i>Armenian</i> nobility revolt from and drive out the <i>Saracens</i> with great slaughter, and send to <i>Tiberius</i> for assistance; but <i>Mohammed</i> enters <i>Armenia</i> with a great army, recovers the country, and burns the conspirators alive. Then they invade <i>Cilicia</i> , but <i>Heraclius</i> engages, and kills, and takes 10000 of them; the prisoners he sent in chains to <i>Constantinople</i> .	VI	548
5008	3701	702	The deposed emperor <i>Justinian</i> flies from <i>Chersona</i> to the king of the <i>Chazars</i> , who entertained him kindly, and gave him his sister <i>Theodora</i> in marriage; but <i>Tiberius</i> prevails with the king to deliver him up alive or dead, by large promises; which being known, <i>Justinian</i> flies to <i>Trebis</i> king of the <i>Bulgarians</i> , who receives him, and uses him very respectfully, raises a great army, and goes directly to <i>Constantinople</i> , and besieges and takes it the 3d day. <i>Tiberius</i> flies with his treasures to <i>Apollonia</i> ; but soon after, he, his		

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			brother, and <i>Leontius</i> , were taken and beheaded by <i>Justinian</i> ; and the patriarch <i>Callinicus</i> had his eyes put out, and afterwards banished to <i>Rome</i> .	VI	549
5009	3702	703	<i>Cenipert</i> dies extremely lamented, and leaves his kingdom to his son <i>Luitberg</i> , who being but an infant, <i>Ragumbert</i> duke of <i>Turin</i> having defeated <i>Asprand</i> his guardian, causes himself to be proclaimed king of the <i>Lombards</i> .	VII	699
5010	3703	704	<i>Ragumbert</i> king of the <i>Lombards</i> dies, and is succeeded by his son <i>Aripert</i> ; but several lords declaring for <i>Luitberg</i> , are defeated in a battle fought near <i>Pavia</i> , in which <i>Luitberg</i> was taken and put to death.	VII	699
5011	3704	705	<i>Justinian</i> breaks the peace concluded with his friend and restorer <i>Trebelis</i> , and enters <i>Thrace</i> with a mighty army; but was totally defeated, and forced to fly in a light vessel to <i>Constantinople</i> .	VI	549
5012	3705	706	<i>Justinian</i> fits out a mighty fleet, and goes against <i>Chersona</i> and <i>Bosphorus</i> , for their intention of delivering him up while a prisoner among them. He orders them all to be cut to pieces, men, women and children, which was executed upon so many as did not get away. Those who flew went to the <i>Chazari</i> , who joining them, they defeated the emperor's forces several times, and proclaimed one <i>Philippicus</i> emperor. <i>Justinian's</i> troops revolt, and go over to <i>Philippicus</i> , who immediately marches to <i>Constantinople</i> , and enters it. <i>Justinian</i> being at <i>Sinope</i> in <i>Poplagonia</i> , <i>Elias</i> prince of the <i>Bosphorans</i> goes and takes him prisoner, and cuts off his head. His son <i>Tiberius</i> takes sanctuary in a church, from whence being dragg'd, he was killed in 711.	VI	550
5017	3710	711	The emperor <i>Philippicus</i> being a favourer of the <i>Monothelites</i> , summon'd a council of bishops of that persuasion, who condemned and revoked the sixth general council, and established their own doctrine.	VI	550
5017	3710	711	<i>Luitprand</i> son of <i>Asprand</i> declared king of the <i>Lombards</i> .	VII	701
5018	3711	712	The <i>Bulgarians</i> break into <i>Thrace</i> , and come to <i>Constantinople</i> ; lay waste the country, put prodigious numbers of people to the sword, and returned loaded with spoil, without interruption. The <i>Saracens</i> invade and take <i>Medea</i> , &c. and carry off a great number of captives. <i>Philippicus</i> growing hateful, one <i>Rufus</i> gets into the palace, and while he was asleep, put out his eyes, and went away undiscovered.	VI	550
5018	3711	712	The people on <i>Whitsunday</i> proclaim <i>Artemius</i> (called also <i>Anastasius</i>) chief secretary to <i>Philippicus</i> emperor, a man of great learning and a true catholic.	VI	550
5019	3712	713	The <i>Bulgarians</i> enter <i>Thrace</i> , and advance as far as <i>Constantinople</i> ; and having laid the country waste, and put a vast multitude to the sword, returned home unmolested, with an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives.	VII	624
5020	3713	714	<i>Anastasius</i> having sent out a large fleet against the <i>Saracens</i> , the sailors mutiny, kill their admiral, and declare one <i>Theodosius</i> emperor, who comes and besieges <i>Constantinople</i> , and after six months takes it, and sends the magistrates and patriarch to <i>Nice</i> to <i>Anastasius</i> , to tell him what had happened, who upon promise of his life, renounced all claim to the empire, became a monk, and was banished to <i>Thessalonica</i> .	VI	550
5022	3715	716	<i>Leo</i> , commander in chief of all the forces under the late emperor <i>Anastasius</i> , refuses to acknowledge <i>Theodosius</i> , and proclaims himself emperor, engages and overthrows, and takes prisoner, the son of <i>Theodosius</i> , who had been sent against him at <i>Nicomedia</i> , and then goes to <i>Constantinople</i> , where he is met by <i>Germanus</i> the patriarch, &c. with offers of <i>Theodosius's</i> resignation, upon sparing his life, which he readily grants, and <i>Theodosius</i> and his sons enter into orders, and <i>Leo</i> was crowned by <i>Germanus</i> the 25th of March.	VI	551
5022	3715	716	The <i>Saracens</i> surprize and take <i>Pergamus</i> .	VI	551
5023	3716	717	<i>Solymen</i> a <i>Saracen</i> general breaks into <i>Thrace</i> , but he dying, <i>Humar</i> succeeds him, but through the severity of the weather, loses most of his men.	VI	551
5024	3717	718	<i>Humar</i> , with an army of <i>Saracens</i> , besieges <i>Constantinople</i> by land, and <i>Saphian</i> and <i>Izetb</i> by sea, with two mighty fleets; but after thirteen months siege, and losing most of their ships by storms, &c. they raise the siege and retire.	VI	551
5025	3718	719	<i>Anastasius</i> the deposed emperor flying to the <i>Bulgarians</i> , tells them, upon his approach with an army the people would restore him; they arm and go with him; but finding strong opposition, they seize him, and deliver him to <i>Leo</i> , who put him to death.	VII	625
5026	3719	720	<i>Haumar</i> prince of the <i>Saracens</i> , vexed at his disappointment at <i>Constantinople</i> , raises a persecution against the <i>Christians</i> , and forces some to embrace <i>Mahometism</i> .	VI	551
5026	3719	720	<i>Sergius</i> governor of <i>Sicily</i> revolts, and declares one <i>Basilus</i> emperor, and changed his name into <i>Tiberius</i> ; but <i>Paul</i> , an officer of the household, being sent against him, took him, and cut off his head.	VI	551
5026	3719	720	The empress <i>Maria</i> is delivered of a son, to the great joy of the emperor and the whole empire, and is called <i>Constantine</i> .	VI	551
5026	3719	720	The deposed emperor <i>Anastasius</i> comes with a great army of <i>Bulgarians</i> , and claims the crown, and besieges <i>Constantinople</i> , which being vigorously defended, they seize <i>Anastasius</i> , and deliver him up, who was put to death with all his accomplices, and then caused his son to be crowned on <i>Easter-day</i> by <i>Germanus</i> the patriarch. The <i>Saracens</i> under their new prince <i>Ized</i> , who succeeded <i>Haumar</i> , ravaged the coasts of <i>Italy</i> and <i>Sicily</i> , put all to fire and sword; but intestine divisions arising among them, they are employed at home.	VI	552
5028	3721	722	<i>Luitprand</i> king of the <i>Lombards</i> takes and plunders <i>Ravenna</i> .	VII	709
5031	3724	725	The emperor <i>Leo</i> by a law commands all images to be removed out of all the churches, and forbids all manner of worship to be paid to them. <i>Germanus</i> the patriarch opposed this law with all his power; for which <i>Leo</i> deposed him, and put <i>Anasta-</i>		

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			<i>sius</i> in his room. The populace become outrageous at the pulling down and turning out the images, attack the palace, but are driven back with great slaughter; and in the west the people openly revolted in defence of their images, prompted to it by <i>Gregory II.</i> bishop of <i>Rome</i> .	VI	553
5035	3728	729	<i>Luitprand</i> being softened by a moving speech of <i>Gregory</i> bishop of <i>Rome</i> , gives over the siege of <i>Rome</i> , &c.	VII	707
5037	3730	731	<i>Gregory</i> the then pope begs the friendship and protection of <i>Charles</i> , king of the <i>Franks</i> .	VII	708
5038	3731	732	<i>Leo</i> marries his son to the daughter of the <i>Chazari</i> , being first instructed in the <i>Christian</i> religion, and baptized by the name of <i>Irent</i> .	VI	554
5038	3731	732	<i>Leo</i> fits out a mighty fleet, with an intent to chastize the revolted <i>Italians</i> ; but it being shipwreck'd in the <i>Adriatic</i> sea, he caused the revenues of the pope in <i>Calabria</i> and <i>Sicily</i> to be confiscated.	VI	554
5047	3740	741	A dreadful earthquake at <i>Constantinople</i> overturns many churches, monasteries, and private houses, and buries abundance of people in their ruins. Soon after <i>Leo</i> emperor of <i>Constantinople</i> dies, in the 26th year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son <i>Constantine</i> .	VI	554
5048	3741	742	<i>Constantine</i> goes against the <i>Saracens</i> in <i>Asia</i> ; in his absence <i>Artabazus</i> , who had married his Sister, gave out that he was dead, and was thereupon proclaimed emperor, who took <i>Nicephorus</i> his eldest son for his partner in the empire; but <i>Constantine</i> came against him, and defeated him several times, and besieged <i>Constantinople</i> , and took it. <i>Artabazus</i> and his two sons were delivered up, and had their eyes put out. <i>Anastolius</i> the patriarch was punished in the most degrading manner possible.	VI	554
4049	3742	743	<i>Luitprand</i> dies greatly lamented, and is succeeded by his son <i>Hildebrand</i> or <i>Hildebrand</i> .	VI	554
5050	3743	744	<i>Hildebrand</i> is deposed, and <i>Radus</i> duke of <i>Friuli</i> chosen in his room.	V I	709
5050	3743	744	<i>Constantine</i> goes again against the <i>Saracens</i> , and defeats them several times, took <i>Germanicia</i> and other strong holds. The <i>Saracens</i> fit out a mighty fleet, which the emperor meets and destroys all but three ships. In <i>Syria</i> and <i>Palestine</i> such terrible earthquakes happened as swallowed up whole cities, and an extraordinary darkness, that lasted from the 4th of <i>August</i> to the first of <i>September</i> .	VII	709
5050	3743	744	A terrible plague breaks out in <i>Calabria</i> , and spreads into <i>Sicily</i> , <i>Greece</i> , and the islands of the <i>Aegean</i> sea, and then to <i>Constantinople</i> , where it lasted three years, with such fury, that the living could scarce bury the dead.	VI	555
5051	3744	745	<i>Rachis</i> , with the consent and approbation of the states convened at <i>Pavia</i> , publishes a new pandect of laws.	VI	555
5053	3746	747	<i>Constantine</i> proclaims his son <i>Leo</i> , about a year old, emperor, and goes into <i>Armenia</i> , takes <i>Mitlene</i> , &c. but the <i>Bulgarians</i> breaking into <i>Thrace</i> , laid the whole country waste. <i>Constantine</i> goes against them in person, but was defeated and forced to fly to <i>Constantinople</i> , where he renews the edict against images, which began to be used again. Those bishops that opposed it were deposed, and those monks that preached against it were banished, or put to death, and an edict was published, prohibiting any one to take upon him a moral life; most of the religious houses were suppressed, and the monks obliged to marry.	VII	700
5056	3749	750	The <i>Bulgarians</i> disobliged by <i>Constantine</i> , surnamed <i>Copronymus</i> , make a sudden irruption into the <i>Roman</i> territories, lay the country waste, and carry off a great booty unmolested.	VI	555
5056	3749	750	The emperor enters the <i>Bulgarians</i> country, and begins to lay all waste with fire and sword; they fall upon him as he marched through a narrow pass, called <i>Baragaba</i> , put him to flight, and pursued him with great slaughter to the very gates of <i>Constantinople</i> .	VII	626
5057	3750	751	<i>Rachis</i> resigns his kingdom, and turns monk; upon which his brother <i>Astulphus</i> is chose, and reigns in his stead.	VII	627
5058	3751	752	<i>Astulphus</i> invades the exarchate of <i>Italy</i> , and takes <i>Ravenna</i> , and puts an end to the name and power, and by adding all their dominions to his own, turned it into a dukedom.	VII	710
5060	3753	754	<i>Astulphus</i> king of the <i>Lombards</i> publishes a new pandect of laws.	VII	711
5060	3753	754	<i>Pepin</i> king of <i>France</i> , by the instigation of pope <i>Stephen</i> , comes into <i>Italy</i> with a great army, besieges <i>Pavia</i> , and obliges <i>Astulphus</i> by a solemn oath to restore those places he had seized in the <i>Roman</i> dukedom, the exarchate and pentapolis to the pope.	VII	712
5062	3755	756	<i>Pepin</i> king of <i>France</i> puts the pope in possession of the exarchate, &c. of <i>Italy</i> .	VII	714
5062	3755	756	<i>Astulphus</i> dies, and <i>Desiderius</i> duke of <i>Tuscany</i> gets himself proclaimed king, and is supported by pope <i>Stephen</i> .	VII	714
5069	3762	763	A violent frost begins the 1st of <i>October</i> , and lasts till the end of <i>February</i> following, so that the two seas at <i>Constantinople</i> were froze for a hundred miles from the shore.	VI	555
5069	3762	763	<i>Constantine</i> goes against the <i>Bulgarians</i> , and cuts them all off to a man.	VI	556
5069	3762	763	The <i>Romans</i> entirely overthrow the <i>Bulgarians</i> .	VII	626
5080	3773	774	<i>Charlemagne</i> entering <i>Italy</i> , besieges <i>Pavia</i> , takes it and the king, and his wife and children, which he sends to <i>France</i> , where they were never heard of more, and so put an end to the kingdom of the <i>Lombards</i> , taking the sovereignty thereof to himself.	VII	719
5081	3774	775	<i>Constantine</i> is seized, in his march against the <i>Bulgarians</i> , with a violent fever, and dies at <i>Strongylum</i> in the thirty-fifth year of his reign.	VI	556
5082	3775	776	<i>Leo III.</i> succeeded his father <i>Constantine</i> in the eastern empire, and was crowned the latter end of <i>April</i> , and in <i>May</i> his brother <i>Nicephorus</i> formed a conspiracy against him, which being discovered, he and his accomplices were banished to <i>Cbersona</i> .	VI	556

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Y. of World	Y. of Flood	Y. of Christ		Vd.	Pg.
5082	3775	776	<i>Elerich</i> king of the <i>Bulgarians</i> resigns his crown, and repairs to <i>Constantinople</i> , and is baptized. The emperor creates him a patrician, and married him to a relation of the empress <i>Irene</i> .	VI	557
5085	3778	779	<i>Leo</i> gaining some advantages over the <i>Saracens</i> , they to be revenged, persecute the <i>Christians</i> , and demolish all their churches in <i>Syria</i> .	VI	557
5086	3779	780	<i>Leo</i> revives the edict against images, and punished with great severity those who paid any worship to the virgin <i>Mary</i> , the saints or their images; being seized with a fever, he died this year the 16th of <i>September</i> .	VI	557
5086	3779	780	<i>Constantine</i> succeeded his father <i>Leo</i> in the empire, under the guardianship of his mother <i>Irene</i> , he being but ten years old. A conspiracy was formed against him in favour of his uncle <i>Nicephorus</i> ; but being discovered, the authors were banished, and then she obliged the late emperor's brother to take orders. The <i>Saracens</i> broke into the eastern provinces, but were driven out by the forces sent by <i>Irene</i> against them.	VI	557
5087	3780	781	<i>Hespius</i> governor of <i>Sicily</i> revolts, but is drove out by <i>Theodorus</i> , whom the empress <i>Irene</i> sent against him. He flies to the <i>Saracens</i> in <i>Africa</i> , who acknowledge him for emperor, and then they fell upon the eastern provinces with such fury, that <i>Irene</i> agrees to pay them an annual pension to quiet them.	VI	557
5087	3780	781	<i>Arechis</i> duke of <i>Benevento</i> revolts from the <i>French</i> , and changing his dukedom into a principality, causes himself to be crowned king.	VII	724
5094	3787	788	<i>Irene</i> breaks off the match between <i>Rotrudis</i> , daughter of <i>Charles</i> the great king of <i>France</i> , and her son, and obliges him to marry one <i>Mary</i> , a woman of mean descent, for which he ever after hated his mother.	VI	557
5096	3789	790	<i>Constantine</i> takes the government upon himself, and banishes his mother and her favourites from the court. A terrible fire breaks out at <i>Constantinople</i> , which consumed great part of the city, with the patriarch's palace, in which were the comments of <i>St. Chrysostom</i> on the several books of the scripture, written with his own hands.	VI	558
5097	3790	791	A violent earthquake makes the inhabitants of <i>Constantinople</i> quit their habitations, and retire into the open fields. <i>Constantine</i> is reconciled to his mother, and recalls her to court, then goes against the <i>Bulgarians</i> , but meets with a dreadful overthrow.	VI	558
5097	3790	791	<i>Constantine</i> being egged on, puts his four uncles eyes out.	VI	558
5098	3791	792	The <i>Bulgarians</i> entirely defeat the emperor <i>Leo</i> III.	VII	627
5100	3793	794	The emperor <i>Charles</i> the great, having several times defeated the <i>Huns</i> , destroyed their cities, and by putting all to fire and sword, completed the utter destruction of that warlike people.	VII	485
5101	3794	795	<i>Irene</i> persuades her son to divorce his wife <i>Mary</i> , and marry one of her maids named <i>Theodota</i> , which was done with the utmost magnificence; then he went against the <i>Bulgarians</i> , who run away.	VI	559
5102	3795	796	The emperor <i>Constantine</i> being with his mother at the baths of <i>Prusa</i> in <i>Bythynia</i> , has word brought that his wife <i>Theodota</i> was delivered of a son, upon which he goes to <i>Constantinople</i> . <i>Irene</i> conspires against her son, and sends some of the officers of the army to <i>Constantinople</i> , who go to him and seize him, and carry him to the palace of <i>Porphyra</i> , where he was born, and tore out his eyes in so rude a manner, that he died a few days after with the anguish of the operation.	VI	559
5103	3796	797	The <i>Saracens</i> enter the empire, defeat the forces sent against them by <i>Irene</i> , come up to <i>Constantinople</i> , and carry off immense booty, and vast numbers of captives.	VI	559
5104	3797	798	<i>Saturacius</i> , <i>Irene</i> 's great favourite, conspires against her, but is detected, and punished only by forbidding any one to keep him company, which so vexed him that he died. Soon after <i>Irene</i> , to gain popular applause, remits an annual tribute the people had long paid, promoted commerce, and indulged image worship, &c.	VI	560
5106	3799	800	Pope <i>Leo</i> III. crowned <i>Charles</i> the great, king of <i>France</i> , emperor of the west, on <i>Christmas-Day</i> .	VI	560
5108	3801	802	<i>Charles</i> the great, now emperor of the west, sends ambassadors to <i>Irene</i> , empress of the east, with proposals of a firm and lasting peace, and to make a marriage between himself and her, and to unite the two empires. The nobility disliking it, they go one night in a large body to the palace, and seize upon and confine <i>Irene</i> to her chamber; then conduct <i>Nicephorus</i> , (whom they chose emperor) to the great church, and crowned him; and <i>Irene</i> was shut up in a monastery, which she had built in the island of <i>Lesbos</i> .	VI	560
5109	3802	803	The emperor <i>Nicephorus</i> concludes a treaty of peace, and acknowledges <i>Charles</i> the Great emperor of the west, &c.	VI	561
5111	3804	805	<i>Nicephorus</i> causes <i>Nicetas Tryphyllus</i> (who had set him on the throne) to be poisoned, because he was beloved by the army; and then took his son <i>Saturacius</i> partner with him in the empire, and crowned him as usual; then he marched against the <i>Saracens</i> , who had broke into the empire, but was most shamefully beaten, and narrowly escaped being taken.	VI	561
5112	3805	806	Three hundred thousand <i>Saracens</i> invade the empire anew, take <i>Tyane</i> , the metropolis of <i>Cappadocia minor</i> , and extend their ravages to the gates of <i>Angra</i> in <i>Galatia</i> . <i>Nicephorus</i> sends ambassadors with rich presents to <i>Auran</i> their kalif, who grants peace thus; the emperor to pay 30,000 pieces of gold annually, and 6000 for his own head and his son's, and that he should not rebuild the demolished forts: But as soon as they were gone, he rebuilt the forts; upon which they returned, and put all to fire and sword in <i>Cyprus</i> , then demolished all the churches, and murdered all the inhabitants.	VI	561
5112	3805	806	The <i>Bulgarians</i> fall upon a party of the <i>Romans</i> that were escorting 1100 pounds weight of gold to pay the army, which they take, and cut off all the guards.	VII	627

Y. of World	Y. of Flood	Y. of Christ		Vol. Pag.
5120	3806	807	The <i>Saracens</i> make a descent upon the island of <i>Rhodes</i> , and take a great number of prisoners; but in their return home their fleet suffered much by a violent storm.	VI 561
5125	3808	809	The <i>Bulgarians</i> surprise <i>Sardica</i> , a city of <i>Mædia</i> , and put the whole garrison, consisting of 6000 men, to the sword: <i>Nicephorus</i> goes against them, but they retired with their booty: He comes back to <i>Constantinople</i> , and taxes the people to raise money to repair <i>Sardica</i> : A tumult rises, and attacks the palace; but the guards killing great numbers of them, quell them.	VII 276
5127	3810	811	<i>Nicephorus</i> goes with a great army into <i>Bulgaria</i> , and destroys all with fire and sword: <i>Crumus</i> their king sues for peace; the emperor refuses, and goes on wasting the country, destroying the cities, and murdering the inhabitants. <i>Crumus</i> sends a second time, offering to quit the country, &c. <i>Nicephorus</i> will not hear; then <i>Crumus</i> attacks the emperor's camp and forces, cuts off the emperor, and almost his whole army, took all the arms and baggage, cut off <i>Nicephorus</i> 's head, and made a drinking cup of his skull: <i>Nicephorus</i> is said to have been a <i>Manichee</i> , one who denied providence; and to have been excessively lewd, cruel, covetous, and debauched.	VII 627
5117	3810	811	<i>Saturacius</i> succeeded his father <i>Nicephorus</i> , and was declared emperor at <i>Adrianople</i> by some few of the officers that had escaped; but the senate proclaimed and crowned <i>Michael</i> , that had married his sister, who a few days after caused his wife <i>Procopia</i> and his son <i>Theophylact</i> to be crowned also; upon which <i>Saturacius</i> with his wife <i>Theophania</i> retired into a monastery, and died there about two years after.	VI 572
5118	3811	812	The <i>Saracens</i> break into the empire on one side, and the <i>Bulgarians</i> on the other: <i>Leo</i> drives back and defeats the first, and <i>Michael</i> goes against the last, has several slight skirmishes, but at last was utterly defeated, and forced to fly shamefully back to <i>Constantinople</i> ; this so affected him, that he begged <i>Leo</i> to take the purple, which with some difficulty he accepted.	VII 627
5119	3812	813	<i>Michael</i> and his wife <i>Procopia</i> retire to the monastery of <i>Pbarns</i> , where on the 11th of <i>July</i> he took the habit. <i>Leo</i> goes against the <i>Bulgarians</i> , and after a very obstinate battle the <i>Romans</i> were put to flight; but the enemy pursuing disorderly, the <i>Romans</i> rallied and engaged again, and got so complete a victory, that the <i>Bulgarians</i> did not invade the empire again for some years.	VI 563
5120	3813	814	The emperor <i>Leo</i> overcomes the <i>Bulgarians</i> in a pitched battle, wherein he slew and took a very great number.	VII 628
5126	3819	820	The emperor <i>Leo</i> having revived the edict against images, and banished <i>Nicephorus</i> the patriarch, <i>Theodorus</i> , a famous monk, &c. for not complying, one <i>Michael Balbus</i> conspires against <i>Leo</i> , is detected, and condemned to be burnt alive; but his accomplices fell upon <i>Leo</i> as he was going to his devotions, and killed him in the chapel of the palace, banished the empress <i>Theodora</i> and her four sons to the island <i>Prota</i> , where they were made eunuchs, and <i>Michael</i> was declared emperor, and crowned by the patriarch.	VI 564
5127	3820	821	The emperor <i>Michael</i> recalls great numbers of bishops, monks, and others who had been banished by <i>Leo</i> on account of image worship, and restores them.	VI 564
5128	3821	822	A civil war breaks out in the east by one <i>Thomas</i> , who gave out, that he was <i>Constantine</i> the son of <i>Irene</i> : Under this pretence he raised a great army, and over-ran all <i>Asia</i> , and proclaimed himself emperor, and was acknowledged by the patriarch of <i>Antioch</i> . <i>Michael</i> sends his troops against him; they meet and engage in <i>Asia</i> , where <i>Thomas</i> overthrows them; then defeats <i>Michael</i> 's fleet, and besieges <i>Constantinople</i> , but is forced to raise it.	VI 565
5128	3821	822	They engage again, and <i>Thomas</i> is routed with great slaughter by land, and his fleet driven on shore, and ruined at sea: Upon this <i>Gregory</i> one of his generals revolted with 12,000 men; <i>Thomas</i> goes after him, cuts most of his men to pieces, takes him prisoner, and puts him to death: Soon after he is put to flight with great slaughter by the <i>Bulgarians</i> , and his fleet revolts to <i>Michael</i> , who sends his troops against him, and while they were engaged most of his troops desert: <i>Thomas</i> flies to <i>Adrianople</i> , where being besieged, his own men delivered him up, and having his hands and feet cut off, he died in great agony.	VI 566
5128	3821	822	The <i>Saracens</i> who had settled in <i>Spain</i> growing too numerous, transport a large number into <i>Creta</i> . <i>Damianus</i> , the emperor's general, joined by <i>Photinus</i> , goes against them; they engage, <i>Damianus</i> is killed, and the whole army put to flight. Then the <i>Saracens</i> built <i>Candax</i> , or <i>Candia</i> , and soon became masters of the whole island.	VI 566
5129	3822	823	<i>Michael</i> sends <i>Craterus</i> against the <i>Saracens</i> in <i>Creta</i> ; they engaged, and <i>Craterus</i> kills great numbers, and makes them fly; but instead of pursuing, goes to revelling; the <i>Saracens</i> in the middle of the night fall upon them, half drunk and asleep, and cut them all off to a man, <i>Craterus</i> himself hardly escaping.	VI 566
5132	3825	826	<i>Michael</i> emperor of the east forces <i>Euphrosyne</i> , daughter of <i>Constantine Porphyrogenitus</i> , out of the monastery whither she had retired, and marries her: One of his officers fancying another sacred virgin, takes and debauches her: Complaint being made, the offender to avoid punishment revolts to the <i>Saracens</i> in <i>Africa</i> , where he is proclaimed emperor, and sent with an army into <i>Sicily</i> , where he is beheaded; but the <i>Saracens</i> never quitted the island till they had conquered it, and then went into <i>Italy</i> , and conquered <i>Calabria</i> .	VI 567
5135	3828	829	The emperor <i>Michael</i> dies of a flux, the 1st of <i>October</i> , in the 9th year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son <i>Theophylus</i> , who punished all the murderers of <i>Leo</i> , and sent the empress <i>Euphrosyne</i> back to her monastery, and performed every part of the imperial government with unwearied diligence.	VI 568

Y. of World	Y. of Flood	Y. of Christ		Vol.	Page
5138	3831	832	The emperor <i>Theophilus</i> marries his daughter <i>Mary</i> to one <i>Alexius Mofes</i> , an <i>Armenian</i> by birth, a person of great personal beauty, bravery, and endowments; made him proconsul, created him <i>Cæsar</i> , and sent him against the <i>Saracens</i> in <i>Italy</i> , where he did wonders; but being misrepresented to the emperor, he desired leave to retire and live privately, which was granted.	VI	568
5138	3831	832	The <i>Saracens</i> beat the <i>Romans</i> who went to hinder their depredations.	VI	568
5140	3833	834	<i>Theophilus</i> commands the <i>Roman</i> forces, obtains a complete victory over the <i>Saracens</i> , killing great numbers, and carrying 20,000 of them prisoners to <i>Constantinople</i> in triumph.	VI	568
5141	3834	835	<i>Theophilus</i> the <i>Roman</i> emperor is defeated by the <i>Saracens</i> , and rescued with great danger by <i>Manuel</i> , one of his generals, whom he use very ill soon after, so that he was forced to fly to the <i>Saracens</i> for protection, who received him with great honour, for which he defeated the <i>Cermata</i> for them several times.	VI	569
5145	3838	839	The emperor <i>Theophilus</i> invaded <i>Syria</i> , ravaged the country, and after taking several strong holds, returns to <i>Constantinople</i> , leaving the army under the command of <i>Theophobus</i> .	VI	569
5146	3839	840	<i>Theophobus</i> the <i>Perfian</i> general, commander of the <i>Roman</i> army in <i>Syria</i> , is proclaimed emperor by 30,000 <i>Perfians</i> ; but he refuses, and resigns to <i>Theophilus</i> .	VI	569
5147	3840	841	<i>Theophilus</i> having destroyed <i>Saxopetra</i> , the birth-place of the prince of the <i>Saracens</i> , he swore he would at all events destroy <i>Amorium</i> , the birth-place of <i>Theophilus</i> , in <i>Cilicia</i> : He raises a great army, and advances and besieges <i>Amorium</i> , takes it, puts the men to the sword, levelled the city, and carried the women and children away captive; which so afflicted the emperor, that he fell sick and died, at <i>Magnaure</i> , in the 13th year of his reign.	VI	570
5147	3840	841	<i>Michael</i> the son of <i>Theophilus</i> , a child of six years old, succeeded his father in the empire of the east, under the regency of his mother <i>Theodora</i> , who immediately recalled all those that had been banished for image-worship, and drove <i>John</i> the patriarch away, put <i>Methodius</i> , a monk, in his stead, and is said to cut 100,000 <i>Manichees</i> to pieces; upon which <i>Carbeas</i> at the head of 4000 of that sect revolted to the <i>Saracens</i> , who returned with them into the <i>Roman</i> territories, and dispeopled whole nations.	VI	571
5149	3842	843	<i>Roderick the Great</i> became king of all <i>Cambria</i> , or <i>Wales</i> , which before was divided into six kingdoms.	VII	453
4161	3854	855	The emperor <i>Michael</i> takes the government upon himself, and begins with murdering his guardian <i>Theophilus</i> , then giving ear to the false accusations of his uncle <i>Bardas</i> , locks up his mother and three sisters in a monastery, and then fell into the most extravagant debaucheries and cruelties, making <i>Nero</i> his example.	VI	571
5162	3855	856	The emperor <i>Michael</i> besieging a <i>Saracen</i> city on the <i>Euphrates</i> , one Sunday as his army was at their devotions the <i>Saracens</i> fallly out upon them, put the whole army to flight, and took their camp and baggage.	VI	571
5164	3857	858	The <i>Saracens</i> entering the empire with 30,000 men, put <i>Michael</i> to flight at the head of 40,000; but his brother <i>Petronas</i> falls upon the <i>Saracens</i> near <i>Epirus</i> , cut off the kalif and his whole army, and took his son prisoner.	VI	572
5166	3859	860	The emperor <i>Michael</i> creates his uncle <i>Bardas Cæsar</i> , when he acted beyond all law or reason, first putting away his wife, without pretending any fault, and marrying his niece; for which the patriarch <i>Ignatius</i> refused to communicate with him; to revenge which he calls a council, and gets <i>Ignatius</i> falsely condemned for the murder of his predecessor <i>Methodius</i> , for which <i>Ignatius</i> was deposed and imprisoned, and <i>Photius</i> put in his place.	VI	572
5167	3860	861	<i>Bardas</i> persuades the emperor to go against the <i>Cretan Saracens</i> : They encamp at <i>Cborus</i> , where on the 1st of <i>April</i> he orders <i>Bardas</i> to be murdered, which was done, and the 26th of <i>May</i> following declared <i>Basilus</i> his great chamberlain, his partner in the empire, who strove what he could to reclaim <i>Michael</i> ; but finding it impossible, with some others enters his room when in bed, and murders him, and reigns alone, to the liking of all persons.	VI	573
5168	3861	862	Two patricians, <i>George</i> and <i>Symbatius</i> , conspire against <i>Basilus</i> ; but being discovered, have their eyes put out, and their accomplices banished.	VI	573
5169	3862	863	The emperor <i>Basilus</i> proclaims his eldest son <i>Constantine</i> his partner in the empire, and his sons <i>Leo</i> and <i>Alexander Cæsars</i> ; and made his 4th son <i>Stephen</i> take orders: His four daughters took the religious habit in the monastery of <i>St. Euphemia</i> .	VI	573
5169	3862	863	<i>Basilus</i> goes against the <i>Manichees</i> settled in <i>Armenia</i> , from whence they made frequent inroads into the empire, under their leader <i>Carbeas</i> , who was now become very numerous: He laid their country waste, killed their best commanders, and returned with immense booty.	VI	573
5170	3863	864	The <i>Manichees</i> under <i>Chrysochir</i> break into the empire; but the imperial troops meet, engage, and cut them all off almost to a man, with their leader.	VI	573
5177	3870	871	The <i>Britains</i> are drove out of <i>Cornwall</i> , south of <i>Scotland</i> , and <i>Carlisle</i> , and take shelter in <i>North Wales</i> .	VII	454
5186	3879	880	<i>Basilus</i> and his son <i>Constantine</i> invade <i>Syria</i> , take several strong holds, with an incredible number of prisoners; and in their return they take <i>Cæsarea</i> , the capital of <i>Cappadocia</i> : He was forced to put multitudes of the prisoners to the sword, upon which several of their governors joined the emperor. The <i>African</i> and <i>Cretan Saracens</i> were likewise defeated with great slaughter, and their fleet destroyed by <i>Nazar</i> , the <i>Roman</i> admiral: But the <i>Carthaginian Saracens</i> took <i>Syracuse</i> .	VI	573
5191	3884	885	<i>Constantine</i> being dead, <i>Basilus</i> advances his second son to be his partner, who is presently accused by a favourite monk with a design to kill his father; for which he was thrown into goal; but his father dying soon after, he succeeded		

him,

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5192	3835	886	him, when he ordered the monk who had falsely accused him to be first whipped, and then banished to <i>Athen</i> , where his eyes were put out.	VI	574
5199	3892	893	<i>Photius</i> , patriarch of <i>Constantinople</i> , having conspired to put one of his kinsmen on the throne, was deposed, and <i>Stephen</i> the emperor's brother put in his place.	VI	574
5201	3894	895	<i>Simeon</i> king of the <i>Bulgarians</i> entering the <i>Roman</i> empire, is opposed by the <i>Roman</i> army under <i>Gracius</i> and <i>Curticius</i> , which he defeats, kills their generals, and uses the prisoners very barbarously and inhumanly.	VII	629
5203	3896	897	<i>Simeon</i> king of the <i>Bulgarians</i> engages the <i>Ungri</i> , or <i>Hungarians</i> , and is entirely overthrown: upon which he sues for peace, and the emperor <i>Leo</i> grants it; but as soon as <i>Leo</i> was returned to <i>Constantinople</i> , <i>Simeon</i> falls unexpectedly upon the <i>Hungarians</i> , puts them to flight, ravages their country, and puts all to fire and sword.	VI	575
5206	3899	900	The emperor <i>Leo</i> sends a great army under <i>Theodosius</i> a patrician against the <i>Bulgarians</i> , which <i>Simeon</i> their king entirely defeats, and obliges the <i>Romans</i> to make peace upon his own conditions.	VII	630
5207	3900	901	The empress <i>Theophano</i> dies, and <i>Leo</i> marries one <i>Zoe</i> , who had been his concubine; but she dying soon after, he married one <i>Eudocia</i> ; and she dying in child-birth, he married another <i>Zoe</i> : All fourth marriages being at that time held unlawful, <i>Nicolaus Mysticus</i> the patriarch excommunicated the emperor for his marrying a fourth time; which so exasperated him, that he deposed <i>Mysticus</i> , and put <i>Euthymius Syncellus</i> in his room; which occasioned a schism, and great disturbances in the church.	VI	575
5208	3901	902	As the emperor <i>Leo</i> was entering the great church on <i>Whitsunday</i> , a mean person gave him a violent blow on the head with a great club, and left him for dead; but <i>Leo</i> recovered, and the assassin being seized, was racked, and his hands and feet cut off, and then burnt alive.	VI	525
5209	3902	903	The <i>Saracens</i> take <i>Taurrominium</i> in <i>Sicily</i> , with a mighty fleet, and then they took <i>Thessalonica</i> , which <i>Simeon</i> , the emperor <i>Leo</i> 's secretary, redeemed with a mighty sum. <i>Leo</i> sends an army against them, and gained several victories over them.	VI	575
5217	3910	911	The <i>Saracens</i> invade the empire with a great army, which is defeated by <i>Himerius</i> the <i>Roman</i> general.	VI	576
5218	3911	912	The <i>Saracens</i> with a great fleet commit dreadful ravages on the coast: <i>Himerius</i> goes with the <i>Roman</i> fleet against them, and is utterly defeated; which so affected the emperor, that on the 11th of <i>May</i> he died of the cholera, and was succeeded by his brother <i>Alexander</i> , who being a lewd, cruel, and dissolute person, began his reign by banishing all the good and great, and promoting the most profligate and mean persons.	VI	577
5218	3911	912	The emperor <i>Alexander</i> 's debaucheries threw him into an inward bleeding, of which he died, after reigning 13 months, and declared his nephew <i>Constantine</i> (a child of about six years old) his successor; and appointed those who had indulged his own debaucheries the child's guardian.	VI	578
5218	3911	912	One <i>Constantine Ducas</i> , son of <i>Andronicus</i> , a famous general, was by many of the nobility declared emperor in the <i>Circus</i> ; but the guards seized him, cut off his head, and most of his companions were put to death or banished.	VI	578
5218	3911	912	The <i>Bulgarians</i> savage <i>Thrace</i> , and besiege <i>Constantinople</i> ; but are forced to raise the siege and return home.	VII	630
5220	3913	914	The emperor's governors quarrelling among themselves, the empress <i>Zoe</i> his mother is recalled to court, and made regent, who dismissed all <i>Alexander</i> 's favourites.	VI	579
5220	3913	914	The <i>Saracens</i> and <i>Bulgarians</i> both break into the empire; the latter over-ran <i>Thrace</i> , and besiege <i>Adrianople</i> : <i>Simeon</i> having bribed <i>Pancatucus</i> the governor with rich presents, he delivered the city up.	VII	630
5223	3916	917	A peace is concluded with the <i>Saracens</i> , and a great army sent against the <i>Bulgarians</i> , who at first were defeated; but rallying, and falling upon the pursuing <i>Romans</i> , intirely overthrew them.	VII	631
5226	3919	920	<i>Romanus Lacapenus</i> , the <i>Roman</i> admiral, having by his great interest at court got himself declared <i>Cesar</i> , banishes the empress <i>Zoe</i> to the monastery of <i>St. Euphemia</i> , and caused himself to be crowned emperor by the patriarch.	VI	579
5227	3920	921	<i>Romanus</i> caused his two sons, <i>Stephen</i> and <i>Christopher</i> , to be crowned in the great church; reserving his third son <i>Theophylactus</i> for the patriarchal dignity.	VI	579
5228	3921	922	The <i>Bulgarians</i> overthrow the <i>Romans</i> with great slaughter, take many of the great men prisoners, burn the imperial palace at <i>Pegæ</i> , and became masters of <i>Adrianople</i> a second time, and torture <i>Leo</i> , who defended it, to death.	VII	631
5229	3922	923	The <i>Bulgarians</i> again enter the empire, lay waste <i>Macedon</i> and <i>Thrace</i> , taking many strong holds, and putting garrisons in some, and levelling others: Then they go to <i>Constantinople</i> , and offer to come to an accommodation; they conclude a peace, and return home.	VII	632
5231	3923	924	<i>John Radenus</i> the <i>Roman</i> admiral surprizes the <i>Saracen</i> fleet in the harbour of <i>Lemnos</i> , destroyed the whole fleet, and cut them all off to a man.	VI	579
5234	3927	928	<i>Simeon</i> king of the <i>Bulgarians</i> engages the <i>Chrobat</i> , and is intirely defeated, and soon after dies of grief, and is succeeded by <i>Peter</i> his second son, who breaks into <i>Macedon</i> , and destroys all with fire and sword. <i>Romanus</i> going against him, he proposes a peace and alliance; which being concluded, he marries <i>Mary</i> the granddaughter of <i>Romanus</i> .	VII	632
5235	3928	929	The <i>Syrian Saracens</i> invade the <i>Roman</i> territories, but are driven back by the <i>Roman</i> general in those parts. A severe frost, that lasted 120 days, was followed by a plague, which swept off abundance of people. Earthquakes troubled several provinces, and whole cities were overthrown.	VI	580
5239	3932	933	A great fire destroyed many stately buildings at <i>Constantinople</i> , and <i>Christopher</i> the son of <i>Romanus</i> dies.	VI	580

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5240	3933	934	One <i>Basilus</i> , a <i>Macedonian</i> , giving out that he was <i>Constantine Ducas</i> that had been slain, many followed him; but being taken and carried to the emperor at <i>Constantinople</i> , he orders one of his hands to be cut off, and then set at liberty; but still insinuating upon his being the son of <i>Andronicus</i> , seized a strong hold, and made frequent incursions; but being taken again, was burnt alive.	VI	580
5250	3943	944	The <i>Roffi</i> , formerly called the <i>Roxolani</i> , and <i>Bastarnæ</i> , fit out a fleet of 10,000 ships, and commit terrible ravages on the coasts of the empire: But <i>Theopbanes</i> the <i>Roman</i> admiral falling unexpectedly upon them, destroyed their whole fleet: of those who escaped on shore, abundance were cut to pieces; so that very few returned home.	IV	580
5250	3943	944	<i>Stephen</i> , the youngest son of <i>Romanus</i> , seizes his father, deposes and forces him into a monastery in the island <i>Prota</i> (where he died four years after) and proclaims himself emperor, and is allowed to be partner with his elder brother <i>Constantine</i> .	VI	580
5251	3944	945	<i>Constantine</i> the son of <i>Les</i> being now near forty years old, and having only the name of emperor, without any share in the government, invites the two brother emperors, <i>Stephen</i> and <i>Constantine</i> , to a feast, and in the midst of their jollity seized them, and sent <i>Stephen</i> to the island of <i>Pavormus</i> , and <i>Constantine</i> to <i>Terebinthus</i> , and ordered them to be both ordained priests, and caused his son <i>Romanus</i> to be crowned with the usual solemnity.	VI	580
5254	3947	948	The <i>Saracens</i> break into the empire, and are defeated several times; and <i>Leo</i> overthrowing them in a pitched battle, took <i>Apollasemus</i> , the kailif's kinsman, who being carried to <i>Constantinople</i> , the vain emperor <i>Constantine</i> trod upon his neck, by way of insult.	VI	581
5255	3948	949	The kailif of the <i>Saracens</i> having <i>Constantine</i> the third son of the <i>Roman</i> general <i>Bardas Phocas</i> in his power, used him most cruelly to make him abjure <i>Christianity</i> ; but not prevailing, poisoned him: <i>Phocas</i> in return put all any way related to the kailif to death that fell into his hands, and drawing the kailif into an ambush, cut off his army almost to a man, he hardly escaping; and then <i>Phocas</i> entered his dominions, took many strong holds, and laid waste whole provinces.	VI	581
5256	3949	950	The <i>Cretan Saracens</i> commit dreadful ravages on the frontiers of the empire. <i>Constantine</i> sends an army and fleet into <i>Crete</i> ; but through the ignorance of the commander the whole miscarried; great part of the army was cut to pieces, and the camp and baggage taken by the enemy.	VI	581
5264	3957	958	<i>Romanus</i> , the emperor <i>Constantine</i> 's son, egged on by his wife <i>Theophano</i> , prevails upon <i>Nicetus</i> to poison his father; but <i>Constantine</i> luckily spilling great part of the draught, the remainder was not strong enough to kill him.	IV	581
5266	3959	960	The emperor <i>Constantine</i> is taken ill on a journey, and brought back to <i>Constantinople</i> , where he dies the 9th of <i>November</i> , in the 49th year of his reign, and is succeeded by his son <i>Romanus</i> , esteemed one of the lewdest and wickedest princes that ever reigned; and though endowed with extraordinary natural parts, made no use of them, committing the whole management of affairs to his favourite <i>Joseph</i> .	VI	582
5267	3960	961	<i>Romanus</i> the emperor orders the patriarch <i>Polyeustus</i> to solemnly crown his youngest son <i>Basilus</i> .	VI	582
5268	3961	962	<i>Nicephorus Phocas</i> goes against the <i>Cretan Saracens</i> , defeats them several times, and takes all their strong holds; likewise corrupts the kailif, and <i>Arcmus</i> his lieutenant, and reduced the whole island. <i>Leo</i> his brother overthrew the <i>Saracens</i> several times in the east, where most of them were killed on the spot, or taken prisoners, and was rewarded with a triumph: But <i>Nicephorus</i> , by the management of <i>Joseph</i> , is sent against <i>Chabdumus</i> kailif of the <i>Saracens</i> , overthrew him in a pitched battle, took <i>Beraa</i> , and great wealth with it, and set multitudes of <i>Christians</i> at liberty.	VI	582
5269	3962	963	The emperor <i>Romanus</i> dies, the 15th of <i>March</i> , and the empress <i>Theophano</i> is regent for her sons <i>Basilus</i> and <i>Constantine</i> , who contrary to the will of <i>Joseph</i> the prime minister, calls <i>Nicephorus</i> to court, and honours him with a triumph.	VI	582
5269	3962	963	<i>Nicephorus</i> is proclaimed emperor by the army in <i>Syria</i> , on the 2d of <i>July</i> ; upon which the houses of <i>Joseph</i> and his friends at <i>Constantinople</i> were levelled with the ground, and <i>Nicephorus</i> joyfully acknowledged emperor, and crowned at <i>Hebdomon</i> by the patriarch <i>Polyeustus</i> ; then he banished and confined <i>Joseph</i> in a monastery in <i>Paphlagonia</i> , where he died two years after.	VI	583
5270	3963	964	The emperor <i>Nicephorus</i> marries the empress <i>Theophano</i> , for which the patriarch excommunicated him; but a council being called, he was restored to the communion of the church.	VI	583
5271	3964	965	<i>Nicephorus</i> sends an army under <i>Manuel</i> into <i>Sicily</i> , to drive out the <i>Saracens</i> , who drew him into the mountains, and then cut off him and his army: <i>John Zimines</i> cut off the <i>Saracens</i> in the province of <i>Cilicia</i> , and overthrew and drove them quite out of <i>Cyprus</i> , and reunited it to the empire again.	VI	583
5272	3965	966	<i>Nicephorus</i> goes against the <i>Saracens</i> in <i>Cilicia</i> , and took three of their strongest cities, and wintered in <i>Cappadocia</i> .	VI	583
5273	3966	967	<i>Nicephorus</i> besieges and takes <i>Mosfusta</i> , and <i>Tarsus</i> : A great fleet of <i>Saracens</i> coming to the relief of <i>Tarsus</i> three days after it surrendered, returned, but was most of it destroyed by a storm, and the rest taken by the <i>Romans</i> , with the soldiers.	VI	584
5274	3967	968	<i>Nicephorus</i> breaks into <i>Syria</i> , and reduces a great part of it; then besieged <i>Antioch</i> ; but the garrison being numerous, and well provided, winter forced		

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			him to raise the siege, after he had spent three months before it, when he returned to <i>Constantinople</i> : But <i>Burtzas</i> , a patrician, unexpectedly in the depth of winter marched his troops to <i>Antioch</i> , and took it, and once more aided it to the empire.	
5275	3968	969	<i>Nicephorus</i> banishes <i>Burtzas</i> and <i>Zimisces</i> from the court for some groundless suspicions, who together with the empress conspire against him, and murder him in the palace, when <i>John Zimisces</i> was proclaimed and acknowledged emperor by every body.	VI 584
5275	3968	969	The emperor <i>John Zimisces</i> displaces all the friends of the late emperor <i>Nicephorus</i> , and banished his brother <i>Leo</i> to <i>Lebor</i> , recalled all those that <i>Nicephorus</i> had banished, and restored all those he had degraded: Going to the great church to be crowned, <i>Poleudus</i> the patriarch refused his admission till he had done penance for the crime of murdering <i>Nicephorus</i> ; he promises to revoke the acts against the church, settle his paternal estate upon the poor, and banish the empress and <i>Abulantius</i> , and was then crowned on <i>Christmas</i> day.	VI 584
5275	3968	969	The emperor <i>Zimisces</i> takes <i>Bahlius</i> and <i>Constantine</i> , the two sons of <i>Romanus</i> , for his colleagues in the empire; and caused the senate and people of <i>Constantinople</i> to acknowledge them as such.	VI 585
5275	3968	969	The <i>Saraceni</i> with a vast army besieges <i>Antioch</i> , but are overthrown and driven out of <i>Syria</i> by the <i>Romans</i> .	VI 585
5275	3968	969	The <i>Russi</i> , or <i>Rossi</i> , the present inhabitants of <i>Podolia</i> , break into <i>Bulgaria</i> , and after ravaging the country, and burning several towns, they return home loaded with booty.	VI 585
5276	3969	970	The <i>Rossi</i> invade the empire with 300,000 men; having wasted all <i>Thrace</i> , they sat down before <i>Adrianople</i> ; <i>Bardas Sclerus</i> goes to its relief with 13,000 men, and by a stratagem draws a strong party of them into an ambuscade, and cuts every man of them off; and unexpectedly falling on the main body of their army, overthrew them, put a great number to the sword, and took a vast number prisoners, with the loss of only 25 men.	VII 630
5276	3969	970	<i>Bardas Phocas</i> , nephew to the late emperor, is encouraged by several of the nobility, takes <i>Cæsarea</i> in <i>Cappadocia</i> , and proclaims himself emperor. <i>Bardas Sclerus</i> goes against him to <i>Cæsarea</i> , where <i>Phocas</i> being forsaken by his prompters, flies to the strong castle of <i>Cyropæum</i> , where he submitted to <i>Sclerus</i> , upon a solemn assurance of pardon, which the emperor performed, but banished him to the island of <i>Chios</i> . This year the emperor married <i>Theodora</i> the daughter of the late emperor <i>Romanus</i> .	VI 585
5276	3969	970	The <i>Russi</i> come again into <i>Bulgaria</i> , and having overcome the <i>Bulgarians</i> , settle in their country.	VI 585
5277	3970	971	<i>Zimisces</i> goes against the <i>Rossi</i> who were now settled in <i>Bulgaria</i> , and invests <i>Persthalba</i> , the capital of <i>Bulgaria</i> , at unawares; 8000 <i>Rossi</i> attempt to get into the city, but are cut all off, and next day the city was taken by assault, and great numbers of the inhabitants put to the sword: 8000 <i>Scythians</i> retire into the citadel, which the <i>Romans</i> took by storm, and the <i>Scythians</i> all destroyed. <i>Borises</i> king of the <i>Bulgarians</i> being taken, the emperor used him suitable to his rank, and released him, with his wife, children, and all the <i>Bulgarians</i> ; but the city was destroyed, as belonging to the <i>Rossi</i> .	VII 632
5277	3970	971	<i>Zimisces</i> goes towards <i>Dorostorum</i> , on the <i>Danube</i> , where he was met by 300,000 of the <i>Rossi</i> ; they engage, and after a most obstinate fight the <i>Rossi</i> were put to flight with great slaughter; they entering <i>Dorostorum</i> , <i>Zimisces</i> follows and besieges them; a second battle is fought, and they are again terribly beaten; at last they cut their way through the <i>Roman</i> camp, and many of them escape.	VI 586
5277	3970	971	<i>Stephen Dosthalus</i> , general of the <i>Rossi</i> , proposes a peace, and to quit <i>Bulgaria</i> if he should be acknowledged as a friend and ally of the empire, he and his countrymen permitted to return home unmolested, and a free trade be established between the two nations; which was signed by both parties.	VI 586
5282	3975	976	<i>Basilus</i> the eunuch, prime minister to the emperor <i>Zimisces</i> , for fear of punishment for his rapine, &c. hires the cup-bearer to poison him in his return from the east, which was done, this being the 7th year of his reign.	VI 587
5282	3975	976	<i>Basilus</i> and <i>Constantine</i> were declared the successors of <i>Zimisces</i> by his will, and as they were not of age, <i>Basilus</i> the eunuch took upon him the government, and recalled their mother <i>Theophana</i> .	VI 587
5283	3976	977	<i>Samuel</i> king of the <i>Bulgarians</i> breaks into the empire, does much damage, and carry off great booty.	VI 587
5283	3976	977	<i>Bardas Sclerus</i> being dispossessed by <i>Basilus</i> the eunuch of his high command of general of all the forces in the east, and by him sent into <i>Mesopotamia</i> , there he was proclaimed emperor by the army, and comes with a great force towards <i>Constantinople</i> , engages the imperial army, cuts great numbers to pieces, puts the rest to flight, took their camp, and in it vast sums of money, and an immense quantity of arms and provisions. Soon after he engaged the emperor's army again, and gains another complete victory, by which most of the officers were slain, and <i>Leo</i> the general, and many persons of distinction taken prisoners. Then he took <i>Nice</i> , and engaging <i>Bardas Phocas</i> at <i>Amorium</i> , put his army to the rout; but having recruited, returns, and again engages and totally routs <i>Sclerus</i> .	VII 633
5286	3979	980	<i>Bardas Phocas</i> is declared emperor, and <i>Sclerus</i> likewise entering <i>Mesopotamia</i> , sets up his former pretensions, and offers to join <i>Phocas</i> , and divide the empire, which was agreed and sworn to by both parties; but as soon as their forces were joined, <i>Phocas</i> seized <i>Sclerus</i> , and put him in prison. The emperor <i>Basilus</i> and his brother <i>Constantine</i> falls upon <i>Dulphinus</i> , commander under <i>Pho-</i>	VI 589

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			cas, and put his army to flight, and took him and other great officers prisoners, who were immediately nailed to several great trees on the road: Then going against <i>Phocas</i> , killed him, and put his army to flight with great slaughter, and took the leading men prisoners, carried them to <i>Constantinople</i> , and punished them divers ways.	VI 591
5292	3985	986	<i>S. Iernus</i> heads those that were left, but through the intercession of his son <i>Romanus</i> , and the promise of the emperor <i>Basilus</i> , he is prevailed with to lay down his arms and pretensions, and go to <i>Constantinople</i> , where he is made great chamberlain, and lived with much honour the remainder of his life.	VI 591
5301	3994	995	The <i>Romans</i> unexpectedly cross the <i>Sperchius</i> in the night, and fall upon the <i>Bulgarians</i> in the dark, cut great numbers to pieces, took their baggage, with many prisoners, mastered their camp, and forced their king <i>Samuel</i> and his son to hide themselves among the slain, who by that means stole away into <i>Bulgaria</i> .	VI 591
5307	4000	1001	<i>Basilus</i> the emperor goes into <i>Bulgaria</i> , defeats king <i>Samuel</i> in a pitched battle, took <i>Vidini Scopi</i> , and several other strong cities, but had liked to have been cut off afterwards, with his whole army, by <i>Samuel</i> , who unexpectedly fell upon them in the <i>Streights of Cimba</i> ; but <i>Nicephorus</i> governor of <i>Philippopolis</i> falling upon <i>Samuel's</i> rear, put them to flight, <i>Basilus</i> pursuing them took 15,000 prisoners, and put out their eyes, leaving one to every hundred with one eye for a guide to the rest. King <i>Samuel</i> was so shocked at this dreadful fight, that he fell into a swoon, and died two days after.	VII 595
5307	4000	1001	<i>Gabriel</i> , son of <i>Samuel</i> , succeeds his father in the kingdom of <i>Bulgaria</i> . The emperor continued to ravage the country, and to take the strong holds; but sending <i>Theophylact</i> , one of his generals, to reduce the strong holds among the mountains, the natives cut off him and his whole army; upon which <i>Basilus</i> retires, but in his rout took several castles, and burnt <i>Buteliana</i> , the royal palace, and <i>Gabriel</i> was killed by <i>Gudisthalbus</i> , who succeeded him.	VII 595
5323	4016	1017	<i>Basilus</i> enters <i>Bulgaria</i> again, and took several places, and many of the people; <i>Gudisthalbus</i> offers to submit upon the emperor's own terms. <i>Ibarnes</i> draws the <i>Roman</i> into an ambush, and cuts every man of them off. <i>Basilus</i> returns, destroys all with fire and sword, and put out the eyes of the prisoners: But having lost great part of his army in several encounters, he returned to <i>Constantinople</i> .	VII 595
5325	4018	1019	<i>Basilus</i> resolves never to sheath his sword till he had reduced all <i>Bulgaria</i> , and <i>Gudisthalbus</i> being killed in a battle near <i>Acridus</i> , all the chiefs of <i>Bulgaria</i> submitted to the emperor, who made a progress through the country to receive the homage of the several provinces.	VII 595
5327	4020	1021	<i>Xiphius</i> and <i>Nicephorus</i> , the sons of <i>Bardas Phocas</i> , revolt; but <i>Basilus</i> found means to bring <i>Xiphius</i> to his duty, and to dispatch <i>Nicephorus</i> , and so the rebellion ceased: But <i>Basilus</i> punishing with too great severity all that had been concerned in the disaffection, breeds new commotions; but the ringleaders being seized and executed, all was quiet again.	VI 593
5331	4024	1025	The emperor <i>Basilus</i> making great preparations for a war against the <i>Saracens</i> in <i>Sicily</i> , sends a strong body of forces under <i>Orestes</i> , his favourite eunuch, before him, intending to follow with a large fleet and army, but dies in the <i>December</i> of this year, and <i>Constantine</i> his brother, who had done little but bear the name of emperor in his life-time, now becomes sole emperor; but being a weak, effeminate, and vicious prince, he suffered his ministers to oppress and injure the provinces without controul, all of honour, resolution, and virtue, being turned out, or put to death.	VI 594
5334	4027	1028	The emperor <i>Constantine VIII.</i> dies, and is succeeded by his son-in-law <i>Romanus II.</i> who gained the hearts of the people by easing their taxes in general, being vastly liberal to the church, and ransoming all taken captive in the late war.	VI 594
5336	4029	1030	The <i>Saracens</i> broke into <i>Roman Asia</i> ; the commander of the troops in those parts being defeated, <i>Romanus</i> goes himself: The <i>Saracens</i> beg for peace, and promise quietness for the future: <i>Romanus</i> rejects them, and sends a strong party to observe their motions, who falling into an ambush, are every man of them cut off; after which the <i>Saracens</i> defeated another strong body, besieged the camp, and reduced the <i>Romans</i> to great straits, and took all the baggage, the emperor with difficulty escaping to <i>Antioch</i> . 800 <i>Saracens</i> that was eluding the plunder, coming to a small town, they summoned <i>Maniaces</i> the governor to surrender: He sent them a large quantity of wine, &c. with which making too free, <i>Maniaces</i> sallied out in the night, while they were either drunk or asleep, and cut them all off to a man, and recovered 280 camels loaded with the spoils of the <i>Roman</i> army, which he sent to the emperor, who made him governor of <i>Media</i> for his reward.	VI 595
5339	4032	1033	A dreadful plague breaks out and rages so terribly in <i>Cappadocia</i> , <i>Paphlagonia</i> , and <i>Armenia</i> , that the inhabitants forsake these provinces: A terrible famine followed, and mighty earthquakes succeed the famine, which destroyed whole cities, and did great damage in <i>Constantinople</i> .	VI 595
5340	4033	1034	The empress <i>Zoe</i> having got her husband the emperor <i>Romanus</i> murdered, sends for <i>Alexius</i> the patriarch, and commands him to marry her to one <i>Michael</i> , brother to <i>John</i> the eunuch, <i>Romanus's</i> favourite, with whom she had held a criminal conversation during the life of <i>Romanus</i> , <i>Alexius</i> scruples, but 100 lb weight of gold made him perform the office, when <i>Michael</i> was proclaimed emperor, and partner with <i>Zoe</i> .	VI 595
5340	4033	1034	<i>Tangrotipix</i> , now master of <i>Persia</i> , opened a passage for his countrymen in <i>Armenia</i> , and being strengthened by their assistance, made war on <i>Pisaris</i> , kairif of <i>Babylon</i> , slew him, and annexed his dominions to those of <i>Persia</i> .	VI 595

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5341	4034	1035	<i>John</i> the eunuch governs all the eastern empire with an absolute sway, in the name of his brother <i>Michael</i> , who to atone for his former life, now spent his time in acts of devotion, religion, and piety, and advances <i>Michael</i> his sister's son to the dignity of <i>Cæsar</i> .	VI	596
5342	4035	1036	A peace for 30 years is concluded by <i>Michael</i> between the <i>Romans</i> and <i>Saracens</i> , whose <i>kailif</i> being dead, his widow embraced <i>Christianity</i> .	VI	596
5342	4035	1036	Dreadful earthquakes overturned several cities in different parts of the eastern empire, and twelve pretended ambassadors comes to <i>Edessa</i> , with 5000 horse, and as many camels, pretending they were loaded with presents for the emperor, but were full of armed men; which being discovered, the governor cut every one of them to pieces, and so saved the city.	VI	596
5342	4035	1036	One <i>Deleanus</i> , a <i>Bulgarian</i> slave at <i>Constantinople</i> , runs away from his master, goes into <i>Bulgaria</i> , and pretends to be the son of <i>Gabriel</i> , and grandson of <i>Samuel</i> their late kings: The <i>Bulgarians</i> proclaim him king, and sacrificed all the <i>Romans</i> that fell into their power. The inhabitants of <i>Dyrrachium</i> in <i>Bulgaria</i> sets up one <i>Tschomer</i> for their king: <i>Deleanus</i> cajoled <i>Tschomer</i> so far, that the latter joined him with all his forces, when he got him stoned to death. Then <i>Deleanus</i> goes against the emperor <i>Michael</i> at <i>Thessalonica</i> ; <i>Michael</i> leaves all his baggage and treasure with <i>Ibatza</i> , who revolted with it to <i>Deleanus</i> : Then they besiege <i>Thessalonica</i> ; but the governor sallying out unexpectedly, cut 15,000 <i>Bulgarians</i> to pieces, and forced the rest to run away.	VII	63
5344	4037	1038	<i>Tangrolipix</i> sends his nephew <i>Cuthimuser</i> against the <i>Arabians</i> , who overthrow him in a pitched battle; and being forced to take shelter in <i>M.A.A</i> , <i>Stephen</i> the <i>Roman</i> general refuses him a passage; they engage; the <i>Romans</i> are beat, and <i>Stephen</i> taken prisoner.	VI	597
5347	4040	1041	The emperor <i>Michael</i> having subdued all <i>Bulgaria</i> , being grievously afflicted with the dropsy, resigns the empire, retires into a monastery, and died the 10th of <i>December</i> , and was succeeded by <i>Calaphates</i> , his sister's son; but he behaving cruelly and disrespectfully, the people sent for <i>Theodora</i> (the emperor <i>Constantine</i> 's youngest daughter) out of a monastery, and saluted her empress with her sister <i>Zoe</i> , and <i>Michael</i> voluntarily resigned, and retired into a monastery.	VI	57
5347	4040	1041	<i>Tangrolipix</i> goes against the <i>Arabians</i> himself, and is beat. <i>Afan</i> , nephew to <i>Tangrolipix</i> , goes into <i>Media</i> with 20,000 men, and ravages the country; but being drawn into an ambush, was cut off with his whole army by the <i>Roman</i> generals. Soon after another army of 100,000 <i>Turks</i> comes into <i>Media</i> , and ravages the country. The <i>Romans</i> shutting themselves up in their strong holds, are besieged in <i>Arta</i> , which the <i>Turks</i> set fire to, and destroyed 150,000 of the inhabitants.	VI	599
5348	4041	1042	<i>Michael</i> and his uncle <i>Constantine</i> taking up the religious habit, thought themselves secure; but the empress <i>Theodora</i> caused both their eyes to be pulled out, and banished them, their relations, and adherents.	VI	597
5348	4041	1042	The empress <i>Zoe</i> being pressed to marry, sends for <i>Constantine Monomachus</i> out of banishment, a beautiful man, and of noble extract, marries him, and has him crowned by the patriarch.	VI	598
5349	4042	1043	<i>Maniaces</i> , general of all the western forces, revolts, and is joined by the <i>Bulgarians</i> , and declares himself emperor: <i>Stephen Sebastophorus</i> goes against him with a very numerous army, but is routed at the first onset, and <i>Maniaces</i> a few days afterwards was killed by an unknown hand, upon which the revolted returned to their duty.	VI	598
5349	4042	1043	The <i>Ross</i> come before <i>Constantinople</i> with a mighty fleet; but being defeated by the emperor's fleet, they renew their ancient alliance and return home.	VI	598
5350	4043	1044	The emperor <i>Constantine</i> goes into the east, to recover what the <i>Saracens</i> had taken during the two last reigns; but while he is doing this, <i>Leo Tornicius</i> proclaims himself emperor, and at the head of a great army goes to <i>Constantinople</i> , and besieges it; but not being able to reduce it, retires to <i>Arcadiopolis</i> , where being overcome, and sent to <i>Monomachus</i> in chains, he pulled out his eyes, and banished him, which quashed the rebellion and restored peace.	VI	598
5354	4047	1048	<i>Abraham Hakim</i> , half brother to <i>Tangrolipix</i> , engages <i>Liparites</i> the <i>Roman</i> governor of <i>Iberia</i> ; the victory at last was with the <i>Romans</i> , though their general <i>Liparites</i> was taken prisoner: The emperor sends ambassadors with rich presents and a large sum to ransom <i>Liparites</i> , and to propose an alliance with <i>Tangrolipix</i> ; all which <i>Tangrolipix</i> agreed to, but generously gave the whole ransom and presents to <i>Liparites</i> , to repair his losses and furnish his equipage.	VI	599
5355	4048	1049	<i>Tangrolipix</i> sends an ambassador to <i>Constantinople</i> , who arrogantly requiring the emperor to submit to his master, and acknowledge himself his tributary, <i>Monomachus</i> dismissed him with scorn, and drove him out of the city.	VI	599
5355	4048	1049	The <i>Patzinace</i> , a <i>Scythian</i> nation, cross the <i>Danube</i> on the ice, and enter the empire with 200,000 men, and destroy all with fire and sword; but great numbers of them being swept off by the dilempers that raged among them, <i>Constantine Arianites</i> the <i>Roman</i> general falls unexpectedly upon them, kills many, and the rest threw down their arms; great numbers are allowed to scule in <i>Bulgaria</i> , some returned home, but <i>Tyrach</i> and 140 of the most noble among them were sent to <i>Constantinople</i> , where embracing <i>Christianity</i> they are treated suitable to their rank.	VI	600
5358	4051	1052	The emperor sends 15,000 <i>Patzinace</i> under <i>Cotalunes</i> their own general to reinforce the army in <i>Iberia</i> ; but they revolt, and being joined by great numbers of their countrymen, encamp on the banks of the <i>Danube</i> , and make continual incursions into the empire, and frequently defeat the troops sent against them; but at last they sue for peace, which is granted for 30 years.	VI	600
5360	4053	1054	<i>Tangrolipix</i> commits great ravages in <i>Iberia</i> , kills all the people that falls into his power, and takes many towns.	VI	600

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5361	4054	1055	<i>Constantine Monomachus</i> the emperor of the east dies, and is succeeded by <i>Theodora</i> , sister to his wife <i>Zoe</i> .	VI	600
5362	4055	1056	The empress <i>Theodora</i> dies of a violent pain in her bowels, and bequeathed the empire to <i>Michael Stratoticus</i> , an old unfit person, who suffered the eunuchs to manage all things to their liking, and disoblged every body else.	VI	603
5363	4056	1057	On the 8th of <i>June</i> , <i>Comnenus</i> a famous general was by the soldiery proclaimed emperor. <i>Stratoticus</i> sends an army against him, which is beat, and <i>Comnenus</i> marches to <i>Constantinople</i> , where <i>Stratoticus</i> is deposed, and goes into a monastery, and <i>Comnenus</i> was proclaimed emperor by the senate and people, and crowned in the great church by <i>Michael Cerularius</i> the patriarch.	VI	603
5364	4057	1058	<i>Comnenus</i> finding the exchequer empty, seizes the church-lands, &c. The patriarch threatens him, for which <i>Comnenus</i> deposed him, and put <i>Constantine Lichudes</i> in his stead.	VI	603
5365	4058	1059	The emperor <i>Isaac Comnenus</i> finding himself very ill, resigns the empire, and retires into a monastery, naming <i>Constantine Ducas</i> for his successor, who was accordingly crowned by the patriarch, who applied himself diligently to reform abuses of all sorts, that through the unsettledness of the late times had crept in.	VI	603
5368	4061	1062	The <i>Uzians</i> , a <i>Scythian</i> nation, pass the <i>Danube</i> with an army of 500,000 men, and ravage the countries next it. <i>Nicephorus Betonates</i> (afterwards emperor) and <i>Basilus Apocapes</i> go against them, are put to flight at the first onset, and both taken prisoners, when the <i>Uzians</i> laid waste <i>Thrace</i> and <i>Macedon</i> , and penetrated into <i>Greece</i> , destroying all with fire and sword. The emperor strives to buy a peace with rich presents, and offers to pay an annual tribute, which being refused, after observing a general fast, he goes against them with a handful of men. A plague breaking out among the enemy, swept away great numbers, and the <i>Hungarians</i> falling upon the remainder, cut almost all off.	VI	603
5371	4064	1065	A great earthquake overturned many fine buildings at <i>Constantinople</i> , and a comet appeared for forty days together.	VI	603
5371	4064	1065	The emperor <i>Constantine</i> falling ill, obliges his wife <i>Eudocia</i> solemnly to sign an oath, that she would never marry again, which was religiously deposited with the patriarch, and then he appoints her regent and guardian over his three sons, <i>Michael</i> , <i>Andronicus</i> , and <i>Constantine</i> , to whom he left the empire.	VI	604
5372	4065	1066	The <i>Turks</i> break into the empire; the empress gets herself publicly absolved from her oath of widowhood, and marries <i>Romanus Diogenes</i> , who had been condemned for aspiring to the crown, but pardoned by the empress, and he was thereupon proclaimed emperor.	VI	605
5373	4066	1067	<i>Romanus</i> being informed the <i>Turks</i> had surprized, taken and plundered <i>Neocesarea</i> , pursued and overtook them, as they were carrying off their booty, fell upon them, cut great numbers to pieces, recovered the spoil, and pursued his march to <i>Alippe</i> , which he retook, and <i>Hierapolis</i> ; then meets and engages the <i>Turks</i> again, and obtains a complete victory; upon which several towns submit, and he returns to <i>Constantinople</i> .	VI	605
5374	4067	1068	The <i>Turks</i> , during the emperor's absence at <i>Constantinople</i> , defeated <i>Philaretus</i> , who was left to guard the banks of the <i>Euphrates</i> , took <i>Iconium</i> the capital of <i>Cilicia</i> . <i>Romanus</i> goes against them; they retire with their booty; the <i>Armenians</i> fall on them, put them to flight, and took their baggage and booty.	VI	606
5375	4068	1069	<i>Romanus</i> goes again against the <i>Turks</i> ; <i>Axan</i> the <i>Turkish</i> sultan desires peace, but is refused; they engage, and <i>John Ducas</i> , brother of the late emperor <i>Constantine</i> , treacherously cries out the emperor was put to flight, and flies himself with his troops to the camp. In the pursuit the <i>Turks</i> killed great numbers; so that at last the emperor, overcome by numbers, was taken prisoner, and used with the utmost honour and respect, and concluding a peace, was sent back to <i>Constantinople</i> to have it confirm'd. In his passage is informed, that <i>John</i> brother of <i>Constantine Ducas</i> had driven <i>Eudocia</i> from the throne, and proclaimed her eldest son <i>Michael</i> emperor, and he acted as guardian. <i>Romanus</i> was taken prisoner; <i>John</i> ordered his eyes to be pulled out, the anguish whereof killed him a few days after.	VI	606
5376	4069	1070	<i>Axan</i> the <i>Turkish</i> sultan invades the <i>Roman</i> territories. <i>Isaac Comnenus</i> goes against them, is at first successful, but soon after is utterly defeated and taken prisoner; then <i>John Ducas</i> the emperor's uncle goes against them, and gets advantages; but <i>Rufinus</i> a <i>Gaul</i> revolting, reduced several cities in <i>Phrygia</i> and <i>Cappadocia</i> , proclaiming himself emperor. <i>John</i> goes against him, but is defeated and taken prisoner; but <i>Rufinus</i> , to stop the <i>Turks</i> , released and joined his prisoner, and both go against the <i>Turks</i> , but are both beat and taken prisoners.	VI	606
5377	4070	1071	<i>Cutlu-Moses</i> , cousin to <i>Tangrolipix</i> , comes against <i>Axan</i> with a large body of <i>Arabians</i> ; but before they engage, the late kailif of <i>Babylon</i> , who now only acted in spirituals, brought them to this accommodation, that <i>Axan</i> should enjoy the kingdom erected by his father, and <i>Cutlu Moses</i> should enjoy such other provinces as he should conquer.	VI	606
5378	4071	1072	<i>Cutlu Moses</i> , assisted by <i>Axan</i> , wars against the empire, and in a small time conquered <i>Media</i> , <i>Lycaonia</i> , <i>Cappadocia</i> , and <i>Bythmia</i> , fixing his seat at <i>Nice</i> .	VI	606
5379	4072	1073	<i>Rufinus</i> being restore'd by his wife, was restored to favour, and entrusted with a command in <i>Asia Minor</i> ; revolts afresh, and proclaims himself again emperor, and defeats the troops of <i>Michael</i> ; at last <i>Alexius</i> gets him and sends him in chains to <i>Constantinople</i> , and the rebels surrender up the cities, &c. they had taken, and return to their duty; but a famine being at <i>Constantinople</i> , and the emperor to fill his coffers lessened the wheat measure, by which and other avaritious actions, he became so hateful, that <i>Nicephorus Betonates</i> proclaims himself emperor, supported by the <i>Turks</i> ; and at the same time <i>Nicephorus</i>		

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5384	4071	1078	<i>Bryennius</i> , commander at <i>Dyrrachium</i> , did the like, and prepares to march to <i>Constantinople</i> . <i>Michael</i> resigns the empire, and retires to a monastery, took orders, and was soon after made bishop of <i>Ephesus</i> .	VI	607
5387	4080	1081	<i>Botoniates</i> enters <i>Constantinople</i> , and was crowned by the patriarch the 25th of May, and sends <i>Alexius Comnenus</i> against <i>Bryennius</i> ; they engage at <i>Calaura</i> in <i>Thrace</i> , where <i>Bryennius</i> was beaten and taken prisoner, and then goes against <i>Basilacius</i> , who had proclaimed himself emperor at <i>Dyrrbachium</i> . They engage, and <i>Alexius</i> beats him, and pursues and besieges him in <i>Thessalonica</i> ; takes him and sends him to <i>Constantinople</i> , where his eyes were pulled out, and then he was put into a monastery.	VI	608
5387	4080	1081	<i>Alexius Comnenus</i> is proclaimed emperor by the army in <i>Thrace</i> , and goes to <i>Constantinople</i> , and seizes the city by surprize, and plunders it. <i>Botoniates</i> resigns and retires to a monastery, and took the habit. <i>Alexius</i> was proclaimed and crowned by the patriarch in April.	VI	609
5387	4080	1081	<i>Solyman</i> , son and successor to <i>Cutlu Moses</i> , sends to treat of peace with <i>Alexius</i> , who at first refuses, but is glad afterwards to comply, to go against <i>Robert Guiscard</i> , duke of <i>Puglia</i> and <i>Calabria</i> , son-in-law to <i>Michael</i> the late deposed emperor, who invaded the <i>Roman</i> territories, and besieged <i>Dyrrbachium</i> ; but the <i>Venetians</i> coming to the assistance of <i>Alexius</i> , fell upon the enemies fleet, and gave them a total overthrow; then landing and joining <i>Paleologus</i> , the commander of the town, destroyed their works, burnt their engines, and drove them to their camp, and carried off great booty; but <i>Robert</i> continued the attack with great resolution. At last the emperor comes in person against them, and is beat, has the flower of his army cut off, and a vast number of officers of the greatest rank, and was forced to fly, leaving <i>Robert</i> master of his camp and baggage, who then took the city.	VI	610
5387	4080	1081	<i>Alexius</i> is forced to strip the churches and monasteries to raise money, which gained him the ill-will of the clergy. Making an alliance with <i>Henry</i> emperor of <i>Germany</i> , gets him to invade <i>Robert's</i> dominions in <i>Italy</i> . <i>Robert</i> goes against him, relieves the pope besieged in the castle of <i>St. Angelo</i> , retakes <i>Rome</i> , and drove them out of <i>Italy</i> . <i>Eohmond</i> defeats <i>Alexius</i> in two battles, takes <i>Illyricum</i> , enters <i>Thessaly</i> , and sets down before <i>Larissa</i> ; but after several battles, for want of money to pay his troops, he is forced to return to <i>Italy</i> .	VI	611
5387	4080	1081	The <i>Venetians</i> with a powerful fleet engage <i>Robert</i> as auxiliaries to <i>Alexius</i> , and defeat him in two successive battles; but soon after <i>Robert</i> destroyed almost their whole fleet, and used his prisoners very barbarously. The <i>Venetians</i> and <i>Alexius</i> refit and recruit their shattered fleet, and engage <i>Robert</i> again, sunk most of his ships, and took abundance of prisoners. Soon after <i>Robert</i> dies at <i>Cephalonia</i> , aged seventy-nine. <i>Roger</i> his son succeeded him, and recalled his troops, and surrenders the conquests to the emperor <i>Alexius</i> , from whom they had been taken.	VI	611
5388	4081	1082	The <i>Scythians</i> cross the <i>Danube</i> , invade <i>Thrace</i> , and lay it waste with great cruelties. <i>Alexius</i> sends <i>Pacurianus</i> and <i>Branas</i> against them; they engage, and through the rashness of <i>Branas</i> , the greater part of the <i>Romans</i> are cut to pieces, and the two generals taken prisoners. <i>Talicius</i> goes against them, cuts great numbers of them to pieces, and forces the rest to run away.	VI	611
5389	4824	1083	The <i>Scythians</i> come again into <i>Thrace</i> ; the emperor goes against them in person; and after an obstinate fight, from morning to night, he was forced to retire precipitately, losing a prodigious number of his men by the sword and captivity, <i>Alexius</i> himself very hardly escaping. At the same time the <i>Turks</i> break into the empire, took all the principal places in <i>Asia</i> and the island of <i>Chios</i> ; and while the empress's brother was gone into the east, he was again overthrown by the <i>Scythians</i> , who took his camp and baggage, tho' a little after he defeated them.	VI	611
5390	4083	1084	The emperor <i>Alexius</i> entirely defeats the <i>Scythians</i> , so that very few escaped, which put an end to the <i>Scythian</i> war; and then <i>Alexius</i> goes against the <i>Turks</i> , with whom his brother-in-law had had several engagements, with various successes.	VI	612
5390	from 4083 to	1084	<i>Tzachas</i> having married the sultan's daughter, revolts and erects a new principality in <i>Smyrna</i> , &c. <i>John Ducas</i> besieges <i>Mytilene</i> by land, and <i>Constantine Delassenus</i> by sea. After much time spent, an engagement happens, in which <i>Tzachas</i> is totally defeated, and a peace concluded, which <i>Tzachas</i> breaking, <i>Delassenus</i> sailed after him, sunk most of his ships, put his men to the sword, <i>Tzachas</i> flies to <i>Smyrna</i> , equips a new fleet, and goes to <i>Abydos</i> . The sultan goes against him in person by land, and <i>Delassenus</i> by sea. <i>Tzachas</i> surrenders himself to his father-in-law, who received him very graciously, but ordered him to be murdered, and then concluded a peace with the emperor.	VI	612
5399	4092	1093	The <i>Scythians</i> encouraged by an impostor, that pretended to be <i>Leo</i> son of the late emperor <i>Romanus Diogenes</i> , crossed the <i>Danube</i> , and proclaimed <i>Leo</i> emperor, and besiege <i>Adrianople</i> , where <i>Leo</i> is taken prisoner by stratagem, and 7000 <i>Scythians</i> cut off, 3000 taken, and the rest run away.	VI	612
5400	4093	1094	The <i>Scythians</i> come into the empire again with a very numerous army, but are overthrown in two successive battles, when a peace was made upon the emperor's own terms, and then <i>Alexius</i> returned to <i>Constantinople</i> loaded with booty.	VI	613
5400	4093	1094	The western <i>Christians</i> , by the instigation of one <i>Peter</i> a hermit undertake the recovery of the <i>Holy Land</i> from the <i>Turks</i> . Pope <i>Urban II.</i> having called a council at <i>Clermont</i> in <i>France</i> , where 310 bishops met, and the ambassadors of most <i>Christian</i> princes, a religious war was concluded on, and an army of 300,000 raised under the command of several princes.	VI	614

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5402	4095	1096	<i>Gautier</i> , with 20,000 men, began his march towards <i>Jerusalem</i> , who was followed by <i>Peter</i> the hermit, with 20,000 more; then <i>Godfrey of Bouillon</i> arrives at <i>Phillippolis</i> with 10,000 horse and 70000 foot, and quarrelling with <i>Alexius</i> , lays the country waste, and marches to <i>Constantinople</i> , where they agree <i>Alexius</i> should supply arms, provisions, and all his forces, and he was to have the provinces that should be taken from the <i>Turks</i> . <i>Peter's</i> army mutinies, and separates into small parties, most of which fall a prey to the <i>Turks</i> ; so that out of <i>Peter's</i> 40,000 only 3,000 are left.			VI 615
5403	4096	1097	<i>Nice</i> is besieged by <i>Godfrey</i> , &c. the imperial seat of <i>Solyman</i> , the then <i>Turkish</i> sultan, which after two months siege, was surrendered to <i>Butamites</i> , lieutenant to <i>Alexius</i> ; among the captives were the wife and two of the children of <i>Solyman</i> , who were sent to <i>Constantinople</i> .			VI 615
5403	4096	1097	<i>Bohemond</i> , prince of <i>Tarentum</i> , is attacked by <i>Solyman</i> at the head of 60000 <i>Turks</i> ; but being joined by <i>Hugh</i> , brother to <i>Philip I.</i> king of <i>France</i> , beat the <i>Turks</i> , cut off 40000, and forced the rest to fly into the mountains.			VI 615
5403	4096	1097	On the 21st of <i>October</i> , the <i>Christians</i> set down before <i>Antioch</i> , which was garrisoned with 7000 horse and 20,000 foot, so that it held out till <i>June</i> , 1098, following; and a few days after engaging <i>Corbenus</i> , the sultan of <i>Perzia's</i> general, killed and took 100,000 of his men, with the loss only of 4200 <i>Christians</i> .			VI 615
5404	4097	1098	<i>Tangripermes</i> , a <i>Turkish</i> pirate, seized the cities of <i>Smyrna</i> and <i>Ephesus</i> , reduced the islands of <i>Rhodes</i> and <i>Chios</i> , and committed dreadful ravages; but the fleet and army of <i>Alexius</i> beating the pirates, they were again recovered.			VI 616
5405	4098	1099	The success of <i>Alexius</i> over the <i>Turks</i> so elated him, that he demands <i>Antioch</i> from <i>Bohemond</i> , who was created prince thereof by the confederate princes; upon which <i>Bohemond</i> demanded and took <i>Laodicea</i> , &c. <i>Alexius</i> in revenge attacks the supplies coming from the west, and gave them a total overthrow, and has most of his own fleet destroyed by a storm. He also besieged and took <i>Laodicea</i> ; thus a war ensued, and <i>Bohemond</i> besieges <i>Dyrrbachium</i> , but his army being straitened for want of necessaries, a peace was honourably concluded.			VI 617
5406	4099	1100	<i>Alexius</i> goes against the <i>Turks</i> , and totally overthrows them near <i>Nice</i> .			VI 617
5407	4100	1101	The <i>Turks</i> come again into the empire, but are defeated in several successive battles; so that they sue for peace, which the emperor grants.			VI 617
5424	4117	1118	The emperor <i>Alexius</i> dies in the 37th year of his reign, and is succeeded by his son <i>John</i> , and crowned in the great church by the patriarch; and soon after a conspiracy is formed in favour of his brother-in-law <i>Bryennius</i> , but discovered and disappointed.			VI 617
5426	4119	1120	The <i>Turks</i> break the peace, and again invade the empire. The emperor <i>John</i> goes against them in person, beats them several times, and recovers several cities, &c. and then they sue for peace, which he grants.			VI 617
5427	4120	1121	The <i>Scythians</i> pass the <i>Danube</i> , and entering <i>Thrace</i> , destroy all with fire and sword. <i>John</i> goes against them, cuts a prodigious number of them to pieces, takes many prisoners, and drives the remainder over the <i>Danube</i> ; then he overcame the <i>Servii</i> and the <i>Hunns</i> , and made them repass the <i>Danube</i> , went after them, took their strong holds, and forced them to accept of such terms as he thought fit to grant them.			VI 618
5430	4123	1124	The <i>Turks</i> having again broke the peace, <i>John</i> goes against and drives them every one before him, and took abundance of cities, &c.			VI 618
5446	4139	1140	<i>John</i> goes into the east with an intent to recover <i>Antioch</i> , then held by the <i>Latins</i> , but was not able to accomplish his purpose.			VI 618
5449	4142	1143	<i>John</i> being wounded with a poisoned arrow at <i>Cilicia</i> , occasioned his death the 8th of <i>April</i> , in the 24th year of his reign. He appointed his youngest son <i>Manuel</i> to succeed him in the empire, who accordingly did so, and seized his brother <i>Isaac</i> , and confined him to a monastery to prevent his pretensions to the crown.			VI 619
5450	4143	1144	The emperor <i>Manuel</i> goes against the <i>Turks</i> , and reduces several cities in <i>Phrygia</i> , which they had taken; returns to <i>Constantinople</i> , and married <i>Gertrude</i> , sister-in-law to <i>Conrade</i> emperor of <i>Germany</i> .			VI 619
5452	4145	1146	<i>Conrade</i> , &c. designing to go against the <i>Turks</i> in <i>Palestine</i> , promised to furnish forage, &c. for the troops; but instead thereof, laid waste the countries, and shut up the towns through which they were to pass, and the <i>Greeks</i> mixed quick lime with the flower they sold them, which occasioned a dreadful mortality among the <i>Christian</i> troops, and likewise gave private intelligence to the <i>Turks</i> , &c. <i>Roger</i> king of <i>Sicily</i> , to revenge the affront, took the island of <i>Corcyra</i> , took and plundered <i>Corinth</i> and <i>Thebes</i> , &c. but through the mediation of the pope, peace is concluded, after they had done much mischief to each other.			VI 619
5464	4157	1158	<i>Manuel</i> goes against the <i>Turks</i> with a great army, who sue for peace, but are refused. Soon after the emperor is much wounded, and his army not only greatly harrassed and killed by showers of darts, but entirely shut up by the <i>Turks</i> , who then propose peace, and it is agreed to; but the emperor not performing the conditions, the sultan sends 20,000 men into <i>Phrygia</i> , who kill all they meet with; but the emperor's forces coming up with them, cut all off to a man, and recovered the whole booty.			VI 620
5486	4179	1180	<i>Manuel</i> dies in the 38th year of his reign, having for some time before taken the monastic habit, to atone for the debaucheries of his youth. He was succeeded by his son <i>Alexius Comnenus</i> , a youth of twelve years old, whose mother governed with an absolute sway, and neglecting the empire, strove only to amass wealth by extortion, &c. The <i>Turks</i> break into <i>Phrygia</i> , take <i>Sozopolis</i> , &c. <i>Andronicus</i> , cousin-german to the late emperor, got himself pro-			

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5490	4183	1184	claimed guardian of the emperor, and under that title committed most dreadful cruelties upon the <i>Constantinopolitans</i> , pretending great affection for the emperor, orders him to be solemnly crowned 1183, when his partisans cry out long live <i>Alexius</i> and <i>Andronicus</i> , Roman emperors, and so both were crowned; but a few days after <i>Andronicus</i> ordered <i>Alexius</i> to be strangled, and then put all the nobility to death, from whom he feared any opposition.	VI	621
5490	4183	1184	<i>Alexius Comnenus</i> , brother to the late emperor <i>Manuel</i> , excites <i>William</i> king of <i>Sicily</i> to war against <i>Andronicus</i> , who takes <i>Dyrrhachium</i> , then goes to <i>Thessalonica</i> , and takes it by storm, and plunders and murders all the people; then he engages and defeats the army of <i>Andronicus</i> , which so provoked him, that he glutted his revenge upon all without distinction, which so alienated his subjects from him, that they proclaim <i>Isaac Angelus</i> emperor. <i>Andronicus</i> endeavours to fly into <i>Scythia</i> , is taken and delivered in chains to <i>Isaac</i> , who cut off one of his hands, and pulled out one of his eyes, and then delivered him to the enraged populace, who after glutting their revenge upon him, killed him in the second year of his reign.	VI	622
5491	4184	1185	<i>Isaac</i> now emperor, recalls all the banished nobility, &c. and restores all the confiscated estates, &c. and then sent an army under <i>Branas</i> against the <i>Sicilians</i> , who cut them almost all off to a man, and their fleet, consisting of 200 sail, being dispersed by a storm, was mostly taken by the emperor's admiral. Vast numbers of prisoners were sent to <i>Constantinople</i> , where the emperor ordered them to be starved to death.	VI	623
5492	4185	1186	The emperor sends a mighty fleet and army against <i>Isaac Comnenus</i> , who had seized the island of <i>Cyprus</i> , but both were entirely destroyed; upon this the <i>Mesians</i> revolt, and join the <i>Scythians</i> , who over-ran the neighbouring provinces. He sends his uncle <i>John Ducas</i> against them, who gains several advantages against them; but being jealous, he recalls him, and sends <i>John Cantacuzenus</i> in his stead, whose rashness and indiscretion gave the enemy opportunity frequently to defeat him; then he sends <i>Branas</i> . <i>Alexius</i> gets some advantages, and then suddenly goes to <i>Adrianople</i> , and proclaims himself emperor, and marches directly to <i>Constantinople</i> , where the emperor <i>Isaac</i> engages and kills him, and puts an end to the rebellion.	VI	623
5494	4187	1188	<i>Frederic Barbarossa</i> , emperor of <i>Germany</i> , marching at the head of a great army to support the <i>Crusade</i> , had been promised provisions and support while he passed thro' <i>Isaac's</i> dominions; but when the bishop of <i>Munster</i> , the earl of <i>Nassau</i> , and count <i>Walram</i> , <i>Frederic's</i> ambassadors, came to <i>Constantinople</i> , <i>Isaac</i> threw them into prison, and by his armies obstructed <i>Frederic's</i> passage, and seized on their provisions; upon which the <i>Germans</i> go into <i>Thrace</i> , and seize all the corn they find, and then defeated <i>Isaac's</i> army, and all the country between the <i>Ægean</i> and <i>Euxine</i> sea, submit to <i>Frederic</i> . <i>Isaac</i> sets the ambassadors at liberty, and sues for peace, which he obtains on very severe terms.	VI	623
5498	4191	1192	An impostor sets up to be the son of the late emperor <i>Manuel</i> , and being supported by the sultan of <i>Iconium</i> , took all the cities of the <i>Meander</i> ; but a priest taking the opportunity of his being drunk, stabbed and killed him.	VI	624
5499	4192	1193	The <i>Scythians</i> invade the empire, and destroy all with fire and sword. The emperor goes against them, but has the greatest part of his army cut to pieces. He then sends <i>Alexius Guido</i> , who was also defeated; after that <i>Batatzes Basilus</i> , who was killed and the greatest part of his army on the spot.	VI	624
5500	4193	1194	The emperor again goes against the <i>Scythians</i> , and his army proclaims his brother <i>Alexius Angelus</i> emperor; upon which <i>Isaac</i> flies to <i>Marcia</i> , is taken, and has his eyes put out, and cast into prison, in the 9th year of his reign. <i>Alexius</i> reigns very badly, and the <i>Scythians</i> and <i>Turks</i> laid waste and took all the best provinces through his negligence, he suffering his wife and favourites to govern in all things.	VI	624
5508	4201	1202	<i>Alexius</i> releases his brother <i>Isaac</i> out of prison, and calls his son <i>Alexius</i> , then twelve years old, to court, from whence some time after making his escape, he goes to the pope, who warmly recommended him to <i>Philip</i> emperor of <i>Germany</i> , his brother-in-law, who engaged the <i>French</i> and <i>Venicians</i> to put young <i>Alexius</i> upon the throne, who sailed for <i>Corfu</i> . At their arrival at <i>Dyrrhachium</i> , the inhabitants swear allegiance to him, and then sailed to <i>Cbalcedon</i> , and landed their troops; and soon after taking <i>Constantinople</i> , the emperor retires to <i>Zagora</i> in <i>Thrace</i> , with the imperial ornaments and his treasures, and then <i>Isaac</i> and his son were both declared emperors, and crowned the first of <i>August</i> , 1203; then they pursued <i>Alexius</i> to <i>Adrianople</i> , and drove him quite away.	VI	625
5509	4202	1203	A dreadful conflagration happened in <i>Constantinople</i> , that burnt down a great part of the city.	VI	626
5510	4203	1204	The emperor <i>Isaac</i> dies, and <i>Alexius</i> being forced to lay heavy taxes upon his people, to pay his deliverers what he owed them by contract, occasioned great complaints; which being fomented by <i>John Ducas</i> , surnamed <i>Murtzuplus</i> , who sends in the emperor's name to the marquis of <i>Monferrat</i> , offering to deliver up the palace and fortress of <i>Blacberne</i> in <i>Constantinople</i> , (who prepares to come) and then gives out that the emperor had sold the city to the <i>Latins</i> , who were in full march to take possession; and in the uproar goes into his chamber and strangles him, and then his creatures proclaimed him emperor; this enraged the confederate princes of the west so far, that they come and besiege <i>Constantinople</i> , which they took by storm, and murdered all they met. This great revolution happened 874 years after the removal of the imperial seat from <i>Rome</i> to <i>Constantinople</i> .	VI	627
5510	4203	1204	<i>Baldwin</i> earl of <i>Flanders</i> is elected emperor of <i>Constantinople</i> , and crowned with extraordinary magnificence in the church of <i>St. Sophia</i> , and is allowed Con-		

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			Constantinople and Thrace, and a limited power over the other provinces. <i>Boulfaie</i> , marquis of Montserrat, has <i>Thessaly</i> , which was erected into a kingdom. The <i>Venetians</i> had the islands of the <i>Archipelago</i> , part of <i>Peloponnesus</i> , and several cities in the <i>Hellisponi</i> .		VI	628
5510	4203	1204	<i>Theodorus Lascaris</i> , son-in-law to <i>Alexius Angelus</i> , escaping from his confinement in Constantinople into <i>Bythinia</i> , was joyfully received, and making himself master of <i>Phrygia</i> , <i>Mysia</i> , <i>Ionis</i> , and <i>Lydia</i> , took upon him the title of emperor, and fixed his imperial seat at <i>Nice</i> ; and <i>David</i> and <i>Alexius Comnenus</i> seizing on <i>Pontus</i> , <i>Galatia</i> , and <i>Capadocia</i> , erected a new empire at <i>Trapend</i> .		VII	286
5510	4203	1204	<i>David</i> and <i>Alexius Comneni</i> , grandsons to the tyrant <i>Andronicus</i> , escaping out of Constantinople, seized on the most easterly parts of <i>Pontus</i> , <i>Galatia</i> and <i>Cappadocia</i> , fixed their residence in the famous city of <i>Trabzon</i> , and erected the aforesaid countries into an empire, called the empire of <i>Trabzon</i> . (Some call it a kingdom, and others a lordship, till the year of Christ 1260.		VII	289
5512	4205	1206	<i>John</i> king of <i>Bulgaria</i> marches against <i>Baldwin</i> first emperor of the <i>Latins</i> in Constantinople, as he was besieging <i>Adrianople</i> , defeats his army with great slaughter, relieves the city, and carries the emperor prisoner to <i>Ternova</i> , the then capital of <i>Bulgaria</i> , where he caused his hands and feet to be cut off, and his body to be thrown into a neighbouring valley, and there after three days extreme misery he died, and was devoured by wild beasts.		VII	639
5512	4205	1206	<i>Theodorus Lascaris</i> engages the sultan <i>Jathatines</i> at <i>Antioch</i> , kills and cuts off his head; upon which the <i>Turks</i> fly, and leave the <i>Greeks</i> masters of their camp and baggage. <i>Alexius Angelus</i> , author of the war, was taken prisoner, carried to <i>Nice</i> , and confined to a monastery by his son-in-law <i>Lascaris</i> , who makes a peace with the <i>Turks</i> upon his own terms.		VI	629
5512	4205	1206	<i>Henry</i> , brother of <i>Baldwin</i> , succeeded him as emperor of the <i>Latins</i> at Constantinople, and first warred with the <i>Scythians</i> , and drove them out of <i>Thrace</i> , then he was at war with <i>Lascaris</i> emperor of <i>Nice</i> , who at last was forced to acknowledge him; and then with <i>Michael Angelus</i> , who seized <i>Ætolia</i> and <i>Epirus</i> , and called himself lord or despot of the country, but could not dislodge him.		VI	629
5524	4217	1218	<i>Henry</i> emperor of Constantinople dies in the 11th year of his reign, and is succeeded by <i>Peter</i> count of <i>Auxerre</i> , his brother-in-law, who was crowned at <i>Rome</i> by pope <i>Honorius III.</i> on the 9th of <i>April</i> . From <i>Rome</i> he goes to <i>Venice</i> , and makes an alliance with that republic against <i>Theodorus</i> , who succeeded his brother as despot or lord of <i>Ætolia</i> and <i>Epirus</i> ; goes and besieges <i>Dyrrhachium</i> , which <i>Theodorus</i> had lately taken. At last they came to an agreement, and <i>Theodorus</i> promises him a free passage; but suddenly falls upon him, cuts most of his forces to pieces, took him prisoner, and put him to death, and he was succeeded by <i>Robert</i> his second son, <i>Philip</i> count of <i>Namur</i> , his eldest son, refusing to accept it.		VI	630
5528	4221	1222	<i>Theodorus Lascaris</i> emperor of <i>Nice</i> dies, and is succeeded by his son-in-law <i>John Ducas</i> , surnamed <i>Vataces</i> , who was crowned by <i>Manuel</i> , patriarch of the <i>Greeks</i> at <i>Nice</i> . <i>Alexius</i> and <i>Angelus</i> , brothers to the deceased emperor, apply to the <i>Latins</i> , who furnish them with an army. <i>John</i> engages them, cuts off the flower of their army, and takes them both prisoners. Then building a fleet, he falls upon the <i>Latins</i> in the islands of the <i>Archipelago</i> , drove them before him, and took most of the islands.		VII	287
5532	4225	1226	<i>Affan</i> king of <i>Bulgaria</i> gives his daughter <i>Helena</i> to wife to <i>Theodore</i> , son of the emperor <i>Ducas</i> , and makes an alliance with the emperor <i>Ducas</i> ; likewise renews the peace between him and the sultan of <i>Iconium</i> ; and then takes all the places on the <i>Bosphorus</i> and <i>Hellisponi</i> , held by the <i>Latins</i> ; and <i>Theodorus</i> prince of <i>Epirus</i> invades and takes <i>Thessaly</i> and <i>Thrace</i> , assumes the title of emperor, and is crowned by the patriarch of <i>Bulgaria</i> ; and then, tho' he had lately concluded a peace with <i>John</i> king of <i>Bulgaria</i> , he broke into his country; but <i>John</i> , after a long and bloody dispute, routed his army, took him prisoner, and put out his eyes.		VI	630
5534	4227	1228	<i>Robert</i> , emperor of the <i>Latins</i> in Constantinople, dies at <i>Acbaia</i> , and is succeeded by <i>Baldwin II.</i> his son, a child of eight years old, and <i>John Brienne</i> , formerly king of <i>Jerusalem</i> , is appointed regent.		VI	630
5541	4234	1235	<i>John Ducas</i> the <i>Greek</i> emperor, and <i>John Asen</i> king of <i>Bulgaria</i> , besiege Constantinople; but the regent falling out very vigorously, put their whole army to flight, consisting of 100,000 men, killed a great number, forced them to raise the siege, and took a great booty.		VI	631
5542	4235	1236	<i>Robert</i> and <i>John</i> come again before Constantinople, and are again defeated and put to flight; but through frequent sallies and encounters, the <i>Latins</i> are reduced to few in number, whereupon the regent retires into the imperial city, and sends the young emperor to solicit the western princes personally for assistance. The <i>Venetians</i> come with a powerful fleet, and force <i>Asen</i> and <i>Vataces</i> to raise the siege.		VI	631
5543	4236	1237	<i>John Brienne</i> , the regent at Constantinople, dies, in the 9th year of his administration. The <i>Bulgarians</i> and <i>Greeks</i> quarrel, so that <i>John Asen</i> joins the <i>Latins</i> , and lays siege to <i>Cbiortli</i> , but soon after raises it.		VI	631
5544	4237	1238	<i>Anne</i> , wife of <i>John</i> king of <i>Bulgaria</i> , dying, he marries the daughter of <i>Theodorus</i> , late despot of <i>Epirus</i> , whom he had taken prisoner, and deprived of his sight some years before; upon which <i>Asen</i> sets <i>Theodorus</i> at liberty, and assists him to recover his dominions from <i>Manuel</i> his brother, which done <i>Theodorus</i> appoints his son to govern in his stead, causing him to be acknowledged emperor.		VI	631
5544	4237	1238	<i>John Asen</i> king of <i>Bulgaria</i> dying, <i>John Vataces</i> emperor of <i>Nice</i> makes an alliance with the <i>Scythians</i> in <i>Macedon</i> , enters the dominions of <i>Theodorus</i> , takes			

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			a great part of them, forces him to lay down the title of emperor, and be content with that of despot.	VI 31
5545	4218	1239	The emperor <i>Baldwin</i> returning from the west, upon his arrival at <i>Constantinople</i> is crowned emperor by the patriarch in the church of <i>Sr. Sophia</i> , makes an alliance with the <i>Comneni</i> at <i>Trabezond</i> , and by their assistance besieges and takes <i>Cibicli</i> from the emperor of <i>Nice</i> ; who soon after retook it, and the island of <i>Rhodes</i> .	VII 289
5561	4244	1255	<i>John Ducas</i> or <i>Vataces</i> , emperor of <i>Nice</i> , dies, and is succeeded by his son <i>Theodorus Lascaris II.</i> who renewing the ancient alliance with the sultan of <i>Iconium</i> , passes the <i>Hellspont</i> , and wars with the <i>Bulgarians</i> , and the despot of <i>Epirus</i> , who had invaded <i>Macedon</i> and <i>Thrace</i> , and was so successful as to compel them to accept of peace, upon such terms as he thought fit to allow them.	VII 287
5564	4255	1256	The <i>Tartars</i> cut off the troops belonging to the sultan of <i>Iconium</i> , and reduce him to such straits, that he flies to the emperor <i>Theodorus Lascaris</i> , who receives him kindly, and sends him back with an army commanded by <i>Ybar Ducas</i> , a general of great note, for which the sultan surrendered the city of <i>Laodicea</i> to <i>Lascaris</i> .	VI 632
5564	4257	1258	<i>Theodorus Lascaris</i> , emperor of <i>Nice</i> , dies, and is succeeded by his son <i>John</i> , a child of nine years old, and appointed <i>Arsenius</i> the patriarch, and <i>George Muzalo</i> , his guardians; but while the funeral obsequies were performing for the deceased emperor, the nobility fall upon and murder <i>Muzalo</i> and his two brothers, and then declared <i>Michael Paleologus</i> guardian, who immediately goes against <i>Michael Angelus</i> , despot of <i>Epirus</i> , who had broke into <i>Thrace</i> and <i>Macedon</i> , engages and routs him with great slaughter.	VII 288
5565	4258	1259	<i>Michael Paleologus</i> , guardian to the young emperor of <i>Nice</i> , is declared emperor, and crowned by the patriarch; and then he recovered <i>Peloponnesus</i> from the <i>Latins</i> , and the despot of <i>Epirus</i> .	VII 288
5567	4260	1261	<i>Alexius Strategopulus</i> , general under the emperor <i>Paleologus</i> , surprizes <i>Constantinople</i> , kills all he meets with, and sets fire to it in four places at one time. <i>Baldwin</i> the <i>Latin</i> emperor of <i>Constantinople</i> , and the <i>Latin</i> patriarch, and some other of his intimate friends, fly to <i>Venice</i> . Soon after <i>Paleologus</i> settles his affairs at <i>Nice</i> , and then goes to <i>Constantinople</i> , with the empress, his son <i>Andronicus</i> , the senate and the nobility, to take possession of that imperial city, and to fix his residence there.	VII 635
5569	4262	1263	<i>Baldwin</i> , the deposed <i>Latin</i> emperor, marries his daughter to <i>Charles</i> king of <i>Sicily</i> , and gave him <i>Constantinople</i> for her dowry. <i>Charles</i> makes preparations to come and take it. <i>Paleologus</i> orders himself to be crowned emperor a-new, and then puts out the eyes of the young emperor <i>John</i> , to whom he had sworn to resign the empire when of age; for which <i>Arsenius</i> the patriarch excommunicated him: And <i>Michael</i> despot of <i>Epirus</i> , and <i>Constantine</i> king of <i>Bulgaria</i> , who had married the young emperor's sisters, broke into <i>Thrace</i> , and laid it waste. <i>Paleologus</i> goes against them, has most of his troops cut to pieces and taken prisoners, and hardly escapes himself. The <i>Venetians</i> seized the islands of the <i>Archipelago</i> . <i>Paleologus</i> sends to pope <i>Urban IV.</i> and promises to submit to the <i>Latin</i> church; upon which peace is made, and in a council held at <i>Lyons</i> , in 1274, <i>Paleologus</i> acknowledged the pope's supremacy.	VI 635
5580	4273	1274	<i>Joseph</i> the patriarch of <i>Constantinople</i> , and all the clergy, oppose what <i>Paleologus</i> had done at <i>Lyons</i> , which so enraged him, that he rack'd some, whipped others, imprisoned many, banished the patriarch <i>Joseph</i> , and put <i>Veccus</i> in his stead, which occasioned many uproars, seditions, and a universal uneasiness.	VI 635
5581	4274	1275	<i>Stephen</i> , the fourth king of <i>Hungary</i> , upon overcoming <i>Cea</i> prince of <i>Bulgaria</i> , by cutting his whole army to pieces, was acknowledged king of <i>Hungary</i> and <i>Bulgaria</i> .	VII 639
5587	4280	1281	<i>John</i> emperor of <i>Trabezond</i> goes to <i>Constantinople</i> , and marries <i>Eudocia Paleogina</i> , daughter to <i>Michael Paleologus</i> emperor of the east, (as he called himself.)	VII 291
5589	4282	1283	Pope <i>Martin IV.</i> excommunicates <i>Michael Paleologus</i> for contributing to the famous massacre of the <i>French</i> in <i>Sicily</i> , commonly known by the name of the <i>Sicilian Vespers</i> , on <i>Easter-day</i> , <i>March 30</i> , 1282, which with his other fatigues threw him into a lingering illness as he was marching against the <i>Turks</i> , and after receiving the ambassadors of the <i>Tartars</i> daily increasing, he died in the 24th year of his age, and was succeeded by his son <i>Andronicus</i> .	VI 635
5589	4282	1283	<i>Andronicus</i> begins his reign with restoring the ceremonies of the <i>Greek</i> church, and refusing to acknowledge the pope's supremacy: This threw the whole empire into a ferment; his brother <i>Constantine</i> was the darling of the people for overthrowing the <i>Turks</i> in several engagements, wherefore <i>Andronicus</i> orders him to be thrown into prison, and several other persons of great distinction. The <i>Turks</i> under <i>Othoman</i> take several places in <i>Phrygia</i> , <i>Caria</i> , and <i>Bithynia</i> , and the city of <i>Nice</i> . <i>Andronicus</i> sends <i>Philanthropenus</i> against them, who gets several advantages over them, and then proclaims himself emperor. <i>Libadarius</i> , general for <i>Andronicus</i> , goes against him, and as they were going to engage, he was seized by the <i>Cretans</i> , and delivered to <i>Libadarius</i> , who put out his eyes. The mean while the <i>Turks</i> extend their conquests in <i>Asia</i> , and in the <i>Mediterranean</i> . <i>Andronicus</i> hires 10,000 <i>Mossagetes</i> , who do him great harm; then he hires a body of <i>Catalans</i> , who revolt and join the <i>Turks</i> , this first brought the <i>Turks</i> into <i>Europe</i> . <i>Michael</i> having been declared emperor with his father, goes with a body of <i>Greeks</i> , <i>Mossagetes</i> , &c. against the <i>Catalans</i> and <i>Turks</i> ; but the auxiliaries become neuter, and <i>Michael</i> is routed; then the <i>Catalans</i> and <i>Turks</i> over-run <i>Thrace</i> , destroying all with fire and	

sword.

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			sword. The <i>Catalans</i> resolve to invade <i>Thessaly</i> : The <i>Turks</i> acquaint the emperor, if he would let them pass they would return home; to which the emperor consents, and orders ships, &c. to be got ready; but the <i>Greek</i> officers longing for their booty, contrive to fall upon and cut them to pieces in the night: This being discovered, the <i>Turks</i> send word to their countrymen of their danger, and fortify themselves in a strong castle: More <i>Turks</i> come and destroy all before them; <i>Andronicus</i> marches against them with all his force; the <i>Turks</i> sally out, and put the besiegers to a disorderly flight, took many officers, and the emperor's camp, the military chest, several standards, the imperial crown, and all the baggage.		VI 637	
5597	4290	1291	Pope <i>Nicholas</i> the 4th earnestly endeavours to engage <i>John</i> emperor of <i>Trabezond</i> in the <i>Holy War</i> .		VII 291	
5601	4294	1295	<i>John Comnenus</i> emperor of <i>Trabezond</i> dying, is succeeded by his eldest son <i>Alexius II.</i> in the empire, who reigned eight years.		VII 291	
5602	4295	1296	<i>Philes Paleologus</i> (a relation of the emperor, and a person of great piety, but no soldier) undertakes to go against the <i>Turks</i> with a small body of men, and engages <i>Caleb</i> the <i>Turkish</i> general, who had been ravaging the country with 1000 foot and 200 horse, and intirely destroyed them.		VI 638	
5609	4302	1303	<i>Alexius II.</i> emperor of <i>Trabezond</i> dying, is succeeded by his son <i>Basilus</i> , who reigned 17 years.		VII 291	
5622	4315	1316	The emperor <i>Andronicus</i> tells the patriarch <i>Gerasimus</i> , that as his grandson and heir <i>Andronicus</i> could not by any means be reclaimed, he intended to secure him. The patriarch tells the young prince, and he escapes to <i>Adrianoph</i> , where he is proclaimed emperor by the army; but his grandfather proclaims him a publick enemy and a traitor, and obliges the <i>Constantinopolitans</i> to take the oath of allegiance to himself a-fresh. The young prince sends a body of troops against <i>Constantinople</i> ; his grandfather dispatches <i>Theoleptus</i> , bishop of <i>Philadelphia</i> , and other persons of distinction to him with proposals of an accommodation, which at last was thus concluded; that the empire should be divided, and the prince have <i>Thrace</i> and the suburbs of <i>Constantinople</i> ; and the emperor the city of <i>Constantinople</i> , and all the cities and islands in the east and west. The <i>Turks</i> in the mean time enlarge their dominions in <i>Asia</i> , reduce most of the places on the <i>Meander</i> , and take <i>Prusa</i> in <i>Bythinia</i> , which they entered in 1327, where <i>Orchanes</i> upon the death of his father <i>Othoman</i> settled the seat of the <i>Turkish</i> empire. The young and old emperors of <i>Constantinople</i> quarrel again, but at last matters are made up, and the grandfather admits the grandson to be his colleague; and he and his wife <i>Anne of Savoy</i> , whom he had lately married, were solemnly crowned in the church of <i>St. Sophia</i> ; but the young one wanting to rule alone, flew out again, committed open hostilities, and took <i>Constantinople</i> by treachery, and deprived his father of all rule and authority in 1328, but permitted him to live in the palace, and wear the ensigns of majesty, and allowed him 24,000 pieces of gold for his yearly maintenance.		VI 641	
5626	4319	1320	<i>Basilus I.</i> emperor of <i>Trabezond</i> , dies, and is succeeded by his son <i>Basilus II.</i> who after a reign of 19 years, is murdered by his wife <i>Irene</i> , who reigned in his stead.		VII 291	
5634	4327	1328	The king of <i>Bulgaria</i> enters <i>Thrace</i> , and lays the country waste, &c. but <i>Andronicus</i> coming unexpectedly towards him, he retires and leaves great part of his booty behind: <i>Andronicus</i> pursued him, and carried the war into <i>Bulgaria</i> , ravaged the country, and destroyed all with fire and sword, and then concludes a peace.		VI 641	
5636	4329	1330	<i>Othoman</i> being lately dead, <i>Andronicus</i> recovers <i>Nice</i> , &c. which <i>Orchanes</i> his son and successor soon after retakes, and overthrows the emperor's army, who flying, leave their camp, baggage, and arms to the enemy, and all the emperor's plate and furniture.		VI 642	
5636	4329	1330	The old emperor <i>Andronicus</i> , to make the court easy, retires voluntarily into a monastery, where having lived two years, dies.		VI 642	
5644	4337	1338	<i>Andronicus</i> makes a very dishonourable peace with the <i>Turks</i> , yielding all their conquests to them.		VI 642	
5646	4339	1340	The inhabitants of <i>Thessaly</i> revolt: The emperor marches against them in person. The <i>Turks</i> break the peace, and ravage the sea coasts, then repass the <i>Streights</i> with immense booty and great numbers of captives.		VI 642	
5647	4340	1341	<i>Andronicus</i> dies, and his eldest son <i>John</i> succeeded him, who being but nine years old, <i>John Cantacuzenus</i> was appointed his guardian, and behaved with the greatest uprightness and care possible; but being opposed by <i>John</i> the patriarch, who continually represented every thing in an evil light to <i>Anne</i> the empress, she at last declared him a publick enemy, and a traitor; upon which the army, at the head whereof he then was at <i>Dydimothicum</i> , declared <i>Cantacuzenus</i> emperor.		VI 643	
5648	4341	1342	All the friends and relations of <i>Cantacuzenus</i> at <i>Constantinople</i> are thrown into goal, his estate confiscated, and an army sent against him. He writes to the patriarch, exhorting him to peace and concord; but the messengers were thrown into prison. At last <i>Cantacuzenus</i> goes to <i>Constantinople</i> ; the citizens open their gates, and salute him emperor; and an accommodation is come to, in which the empress, &c. allowed him to be colleague with her son <i>John</i> , which was sworn to by <i>Cantacuzenus</i> , <i>John Paleologus</i> , and the empress, on the 8th of February 1347. He was soon after crowned by <i>Isidore</i> , the patriarch of <i>Constantinople</i> . <i>Cantacuzenus</i> marries his daughter to young <i>Paleologus</i> , and so settled all things in quiet, and caused her to be crowned and acknowledged empress by the nobility, senate, &c.		VI 645	

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5659	4352	1353	The <i>Genoese</i> of <i>Galata</i> now become very powerful at sea, being denied the liberty to enlarge their city, set fire to the suburbs of <i>Constantinople</i> , seized the emperor's ships then riding in the harbour, and made open war on the empire, gained advantages at sea, and seized some islands in the <i>Archipelago</i> .	VI	645
5663	4356	1357	<i>Crales</i> king of the <i>Servians</i> sows discord between the two emperors, so that they come to an open rupture: The young prince's army was overthrown in <i>Thrace</i> , and he forced to take refuge in <i>Constantinople</i> , all the other cities submitting to <i>Contacuzenus</i> : However, soon after a peace was concluded, and <i>Contacuzenus</i> resigned up all authority, and went into a monastery at <i>Maugana</i> , but his son <i>Matthew</i> , whom he had declared emperor, pursued the war.	VI	645
5663	4356	1357	<i>John Palæologus</i> goes against <i>Matthew</i> his brother-in-law; they engage, and <i>Matthew</i> is defeated, and forced to quit the field, but was soon after taken, and upon renouncing all claim to the crown set at liberty.	VI	645
5663	4356	1357	The <i>Turks</i> under <i>Solyman</i> , one of the sons of <i>Orchanes</i> , passed the <i>Hellepont</i> , took the strong castle of <i>Coiridocustron</i> ; then went to <i>Gallipolis</i> , and defeated the governor, and took the place, which gave them their first settlement in <i>Europe</i> , where they have continued ever since.	VI	645
5664	4357	1358	The sultan <i>Orchanes</i> dying, <i>Amurath</i> his son and successor pursued the conquests begun by <i>Solyman</i> , mastered several parts of <i>Thrace</i> , and made <i>Adrianople</i> the seat of his empire in <i>Europe</i> .	VI	645
5666	4359	1360	<i>Andronicus</i> , the emperor's eldest son, having contracted an intimacy with <i>Contuzes</i> , <i>Amurath's</i> eldest son, they conspire to murder their respective fathers, and to live in strict union between themselves: They are discovered, have their eyes pulled out, and are then cast into prison.	VI	646
5668	4361	1362	Blind <i>Andronicus</i> , by the help of the <i>Genoese</i> of <i>Gala</i> , escapes, and makes war upon his father, takes <i>Constantinople</i> , and gets his father and brother <i>Manuel</i> , who had been declared his successor, into his power, and imprisons them.	VI	646
5670	4363	1364	Old <i>Andronicus</i> and <i>Manuel</i> escape out of prison, upon which blind <i>Andronicus</i> yields up the empire to them, rather than engage in a civil war again.	VI	646
5671	4364	1365	The sultan <i>Amurath</i> being treacherously slain, is succeeded by his son <i>Bajazet</i> , who pursuing the former conquests in <i>Europe</i> , adds <i>Thessaly</i> , <i>Macedon</i> , <i>Phocis</i> , <i>Peloponnesus</i> , <i>Mysia</i> , and <i>Bulgaria</i> to them.	VI	646
5675	4368	1369	The <i>Bulgarians</i> by the assistance of the <i>Greek</i> emperors having shook off the <i>Hungarian</i> yoke, attempt the recovery of <i>Adrianople</i> , under the conduct of their king <i>Sasmenos</i> , from the <i>Turks</i> ; but are utterly defeated by <i>Amurath</i> .	VII	639
5675	4368	1369	<i>Bajazet</i> enters <i>Bulgaria</i> with a great army, makes an intire conquest of it, and turns it into a <i>Turkish</i> province, which it remains to this day.	VII	639
5697	4390	1391	<i>Bajazet</i> sends to <i>Andronicus</i> , demands a yearly tribute, and his son <i>Manuel</i> to attend him in his wars; which, as <i>Andronicus</i> was now not able to resist, was performed.	VI	646
5698	4391	1392	<i>Andronicus</i> emperor of <i>Constantinople</i> dies, and is succeeded by <i>Manuel</i> his son, then at <i>Bajazet's</i> court, who comes away without taking his leave; for which <i>Bajazet</i> immediately comes into <i>Thrace</i> , and destroys with fire and sword all the country round <i>Constantinople</i> , which he invested by sea and land. The western princes send <i>Sigismund</i> king of <i>Hungaria</i> , and <i>John</i> count of <i>Nevers</i> , with an army of 130,000 men to his assistance, who besieging <i>Nicopolis</i> , <i>Bajazet</i> raises the siege of <i>Constantinople</i> , and goes against them: They engage; <i>Bajazet</i> conquers, kills 20,000, took their camp and baggage, count <i>Nevers</i> , and 300 great officers, and 20,000 foldiers: All the officers, except count <i>Nevers</i> and five others, were put to death.	VI	646
5699	4362	1363	<i>Bajazet</i> returns to the siege of <i>Constantinople</i> , which finding resolutely defended, privately agrees with <i>John</i> the son of blind <i>Andronicus</i> to set him upon the throne, <i>Bajazet</i> to have <i>Constantinople</i> , and <i>John</i> to remove the imperial seat to <i>Peloponnesus</i> : This signed and sealed, <i>Bajazet</i> acquaints the inhabitants he would retire, if they would drive out <i>Manuel</i> and set <i>John</i> upon the throne: The city was immediately ready to fall into a civil war; <i>Manuel</i> for peace sake sends to <i>John</i> , then in the <i>Turkish</i> camp, and offers to resign upon leave given him, his wife, and children, where they thought fit: This was agreed to, and <i>John</i> went into the city, and <i>Manuel</i> went first to <i>Venice</i> , then to other courts, soliciting help against the <i>Turks</i> . <i>John</i> was crowned: <i>Bajazet</i> reminds him of their agreement, and pressed him to surrender <i>Constantinople</i> , and retire to <i>Peloponnesus</i> : The citizens refused; <i>Bajazet</i> renews the siege, and reduced them to extream necessities; but news being brought that <i>Tamerlane</i> the <i>Tartar</i> , having subdued all <i>Persia</i> , was coming into <i>Asia</i> against <i>Bajazet</i> , he raised the siege to go against him: They engage in the plains of <i>Angoria</i> in <i>Galatia</i> , the 28th of <i>July</i> 1401. where after cutting most of <i>Bajazet's</i> men to pieces, himself was taken prisoner, put into an iron cage, and shewn, where he is said to have dashed out his own brains in 1402.	VI	647
5708	4401	1402	<i>Manuel</i> retires to <i>Constantinople</i> , where he is received with extraordinary joy, and <i>John</i> deposed and banished to the island of <i>Leibos</i> . <i>Bajazet's</i> five sons rend and tear the <i>Turkish</i> empire for 10 years with fierce civil wars; but at last <i>Mohammed</i> the youngest having overcome the others, was proclaimed sultan of the whole <i>Turkish</i> empire. <i>Manuel</i> improved this time, and recovered several provinces, which <i>Mohammed</i> for the assistance he had given him suffered him quietly to enjoy till his death in 1424.	VI	647
5730	4423	1424	<i>John</i> son of <i>Manuel</i> succeeds his father, who having supported one <i>Mustapha</i> , a pretended son of <i>Bajazet's</i> , against <i>Amurath</i> II. son of <i>Mohammed</i> , <i>Amurath</i> to revenge the affront besieges <i>Constantinople</i> ; but his younger brother <i>Mustapha</i> , supported by the prince of <i>Camerania</i> , revolts in <i>Asia</i> , and proclaims himself sultan. <i>Amurath</i> raises the siege, and goes against him, who was		

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			treacherously delivered up to <i>Amurath</i> , and by him strangled. <i>Amurath</i> goes against the prince of <i>Camerania</i> , and compels him to accept of what terms he thought fit to give him. Then he entered <i>Macedon</i> and <i>Greece</i> , and took all those provinces; then reduced <i>Servia</i> , then besieged <i>Belgrade</i> , where the <i>Christians</i> killed 15,000 <i>Turks</i> in one sally, and forced <i>Amurath</i> to raise the siege; and in his return <i>John Hunniades</i> (the famous Hungarian prince) cut great numbers of <i>Amurath's</i> men to pieces; and soon after engaging him again, killed 20,000 <i>Turks</i> on the spot, and as many in the pursuit. <i>Amurath</i> sends two other armies more numerous than the former into <i>Transylvania</i> , which were cut off almost to a man by the same brave Hungarian, who also recovered from the <i>Turks</i> all <i>Bulgaria</i> and <i>Servia</i> , but at last was overcome in the fatal battle of <i>Varna</i> , in the year 1444, where <i>Uladislaus</i> king of <i>Hungaria</i> was also cut to pieces.	VI 648
5750	4443	1444	<i>Hunniades</i> is close protector of the kingdom of <i>Hungaria</i> during the minority of young <i>Ladislaus</i> . <i>Hunniades</i> engaged <i>Amurath</i> at <i>Cassana</i> for three days together, where overpowered by numbers, the third day the <i>Christians</i> were routed, in 1448: In this battle 38,000 <i>Turks</i> were slain, and 8000 <i>Christians</i> , with the flower of the Hungarian nobility.	VI 648
5754	4447	1448	The Greek emperor <i>John</i> sends to <i>Adrianople</i> to <i>Amurath</i> to conclude a peace; <i>Amurath</i> demands some strong holds in the <i>Euxine</i> sea, and 300,000 aspers a year tribute, which he is forced to yield to.	VI 648
4754	4447	1448	<i>John</i> emperor of <i>Constantinople</i> , in order to gain assistance from the western princes, went to the council held at <i>Ferrara</i> , attended by the patriarch <i>Joseph</i> , a great number of prelates, and the flower of the Greek nobility, in order to settle the disputes between the Latin and Greek churches. The plague raging at <i>Ferrara</i> , the council moved to <i>Florence</i> , where the union was effected between the two churches, and subscribed by the patriarch and the other prelates. Upon his return the people being highly dissatisfied with what had been done at the council, this with other calamities threw the emperor into an illness, of which he died, in the 27th year of his reign.	VI 649
5755	4448	1449	<i>Constantine</i> brother of <i>John</i> succeeded to the empire, now confined to <i>Constantinople</i> only.	VI 649
5755	4448	1449	<i>John II.</i> son of <i>Alexius</i> 3d emperor of <i>Trabezond</i> , having murdered his father, set himself upon the throne.	VII 292
5756	4449	1450	<i>Amurath</i> the sultan dies, and is succeeded by his son <i>Mohammed</i> , who immediately strangled all his brothers: He built a castle about five miles from <i>Constantinople</i> , called <i>Genichiar</i> , but by the Greeks, <i>Nes Coftram</i> ; repaired another over-against it called <i>Aspionstom</i> ; these two commanded the <i>Streights</i> of the <i>Bosphorus</i> , and shut up <i>Constantinople</i> , from whence the garisons made frequent excursions: This begot a quarrel; <i>Mohammed</i> sends <i>Caracia</i> , who took what places the emperor had on the <i>Euxine</i> sea, and besieged <i>Constantinople</i> , took <i>St. Stephen's</i> tower by assault, and put the garison to the sword; and other forts submitted, <i>Selybria</i> only held out, which at last overcome by frequent assaults, was taken, and every man put to the sword.	VI 650
5759	4452	1453	On the sixth of <i>April</i> <i>Mohammed</i> sits down before the imperial city of <i>Constantinople</i> with an army of 300,000 men; the besieged behaved themselves with the utmost bravery, and by frequent sallies cut off vast numbers of the enemy, and destroyed their works; but <i>Mohammed</i> encreasing his army by continual reinforcements to 400,000, and battering the walls night and day, and a fleet of 300 ships block'd the city up by sea; but four <i>Genese</i> and one Greek ship sailing into the midst of them, sunk some, disabled others, and made dreadful havock of the whole, and brought the city relief of corn, &c. but the besieged tired out, the emperor sends to the sultan, offering to acknowledge himself his vassal, and pay a yearly tribute, if he would raise the siege and go away; to which <i>Mohammed</i> answered, he was determined to have the city; but if he would deliver it up immediately, he would yield <i>Peloponnesus</i> to him, and other provinces to his brothers, which <i>Constantine</i> refuses. On Tuesday the 29th of <i>May</i> the <i>Turks</i> began the attack at 3 in the morning, and after a prodigious number were killed, the enemy took the city by storm, put the emperor, nobles, and inhabitants all to the sword, and plundered it for three days successively, when <i>Mohammed</i> entered it in triumph, chose it for the seat of his empire, and promised all the natives that would stay or come there liberty to live unmolested, with the free exercise of the <i>Christian</i> religion. Thus the death of the last <i>Roman</i> emperor, the loss of <i>Constantinople</i> , and the final dissolution of the <i>Constantinopolitan</i> <i>Roman</i> empire happened the 29th of <i>May</i> , this year of the <i>Christian</i> <i>Æra</i> .	
5768	4461	1462	<i>Mohammed</i> the great sultan of the <i>Turks</i> besieges and takes <i>Trabezond</i> , and murders all the royal family of <i>Comnenus</i> , and thereby put an end to the empire of <i>Trabezond</i> , 258 years after its erection.	VII 293

F I N I S.